

**Coinage in Roman Syria:
- AD 253.**

64 BC

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Volume 1

Abstract

The thesis examines the production, circulation and significance of coinage in northern Syria during the first three centuries of Roman control of the province. The coinages of the region are distinct and share features which justify their study as a group. The thesis includes a catalogue of the issues produced by the thirteen cities in the region which minted coins, and the coinage of the Kingdom of Commagene. A study of site finds, drawn from published excavations and first-hand examination of unpublished material in the middle east, hoards, and countermarks, highlights features of the patterns of circulation of these coinages in Syria, as well as 'foreign' issues circulating in the region. The distribution of Syrian issues outside Syria, the longevity of coins in circulation, and the effects of debasements of the silver coinage upon the circulating medium are also considered.

Central to the study is the coinage of Antioch, one of the major imperial mints in the Roman Empire whose coinage has been largely neglected, and has never been fully catalogued until now. Separate sections study the metrology and denominational structure of sequences of issues, and broader surveys cover the relationship of Syrian coinage to that of other provinces and to that of Rome itself. The thesis considers ways in which the Syrian coinage can be used to understand better aspects of other provincial and Roman imperial coinages, such as to what extent the Roman provinces had a consistent 'monetary' policy in the eastern provinces, and whether the coinage of Rome was viewed as a 'preferred currency' in the east, as some scholars have suggested.

The survey ends in AD 253, when it is suggested that imperial policy regarding Syrian coinage might have changed, and when coinage of a Greek type ceases in the region.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to Syrian Coinage

1.1 Introduction

The province of Syria was a crucial bastion in the defences of the eastern Roman Empire. Along with the border provinces of Pontus, Galatia-Cappadocia, Mesopotamia and Arabia, it formed the first line of defence against two powerful eastern neighbours, the Arsacid kingdom of the Parthians, and its successor, the kingdom of the Persian Sassanians. For such an important region, it has received surprisingly little scholarly attention when compared to some other areas, *eg.* Britain, North Africa, or Egypt. Its coinage has hardly been studied at all, even though it is an important part of the evidence for the province. The obvious gap in our knowledge of Syrian coinage prompted me to focus my attention on it, and in particular, the coinages of the northern part of Syria, encompassing an area which stretches eastwards in a broad band from Seleucia Pieria on the coast to the cities on the Euphrates. Within northern Syria was located one of the most important mints in the Roman empire. The provincial capital, the city of Antioch, issued a huge number of coins, in silver and bronze, over the three hundred years encompassed by the present study. In addition, other cities in the region struck their own coinages, which contributed in a more modest way to the amount of coinage in circulation. Although the coins frequently carried portraits of Roman emperors and sometimes had Latin inscriptions, they did not simply imitate the currency of the mint at Rome. These issues were provincial coinages, which usually bore Greek legends and carried types specific to the issuing city. They circulated throughout Syria, although they do not appear to have circulated very much in other provinces.

Surveys of coinage in the eastern provinces of the Roman empire have become increasingly numerous in recent years, and a variety of well-illustrated studies and catalogues are now available.¹ The Balkans and Asia

¹ Modern studies of the function and nature of these coinages owe much to the various important works by L. Robert: *Monnaies antiques en Troade*, Paris, 1939; *Hellenica, Recueil d'epigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, 13 vols., Paris, 1940-1965; *Études de numismatique grecque*, Paris, 1951; (with J. Robert) *La Carie, histoire et géographie historique avec le recueil des inscriptions antiques*, Paris, 1954; *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale, Inscriptions, monnaies et géographie*, Paris,

Minor have come in for a great deal of attention, as have the coinages of Palestine/Judaea. There have been a number of specialist studies and catalogues of Alexandrian coins published in the last two decades. Until now, the coinage of northern Syria, and of Antioch in particular, was one of the last major fields of Roman numismatics which lacked even a basic catalogue. Although some attention was focused on this area from the turn of the century until the second world war, when European involvement in the Middle East was at its height, this interest did not result in the

1966; *Monnaies grecques; types, légendes, magistrats monétaires et géographie*, Paris 1967; most of these concentrated on epigraphy and types. With regard to numismatics, Robert was particularly interested in the context of civic coinage among cities in Asia Minor, and his contribution to the numismatic studies of this region is outstanding. In a similar manner, Henri Seyrig dealt with coinages of Syria. Seyrig's particular numismatic interests were in the use of coinage for solving questions related to the status of Syrian cities, their eras and their cults. His most important numismatic studies have been gathered together in a single volume, *Scripta numismatica*, Paris, 1986. Konrad Kraft unfortunately died before his most important contribution to the study of provincial coinage was completed. *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1972, is none the less a milestone in research on the coinage of Asia Minor, and Asia in particular, and demonstrated that civic coinages were not wholly independent in their issue, but had to be understood in a wider numismatic context. Since Kraft, some of the most important work on the coinage of Asia has been that published by Ann Johnston, 'New Problems for Old: Konrad Kraft on Die-Sharing in Asia Minor', *NC* 14 (1974), pp. 203-207; 'Caracalla or Elagabalus? A Case of Unnecessarily Mistaken Identity', *ANSMN* 27 (1982), pp. 97-147; 'Die-Sharing in Asia Minor: The View from Sardis', *INJ* 6-7 (1982-3), pp. 59-78; 'Hierapolis Revisited', *NC* 144 (1984), pp. 52-80; 'The So-Called Pseudo-Autonomous Greek Imperials', *ANSMN* 30 (1985), pp. 89-112; 'Greek Imperial Statistics: A Commentary', *RN* 26 (1984), pp. 240-257. An important contribution to the study of civic festivals through coinage is that by R. Zeigler, *Städtisches Prestige und kaiserzeitliche Politik*, Düsseldorf, 1985. Hans von Aulock's catalogues of little-known coinages in Lycia, Lycaonia, Pisidia and Phrygia have added to the body of material in Asia Minor: *Die Münzprägung des Gordian III und der Tranquillina in Lykien*, Tübingen, 1974; *Münzen und Städte Lycaoniens*, Tübingen, 1976; *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens*, Tübingen, 1977 and 1979; *Münzen und Städte Phrygiens*, Tübingen, 1980 and 1987. There are many other works on Asia Minor. Only recently have provincial coinages and Roman coinages been surveyed together. David Walker's *Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage* was unquestionably one of the most important contributions to this field. Fundamental questions about the nature of provincial coinage have been explored in more recent works: C.J. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks*, London, 1985; K. Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East*, Berkley, 1987; K. Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coins*, London, 1988. The most significant catalogues to date are those in the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* series, in particular the Copenhagen, von Aulock and Levante collections. The forthcoming volume 1 of *Roman Provincial Coinage* (A.M. Burnett and M. Amandry, London) promises to provide a catalogue of coinage from the first century BC to the reign of Vitellius, with a detailed commentary.

emergence of any overall study of the coinage from the region.² In more recent years numismatic interest in Syria seems to have lapsed. The extraordinary lack of interest in the issues of a major Roman mint such as Antioch can perhaps be explained in part by the repetitive nature of its types, which have little to interest the many numismatists who are particularly concerned with the representational and narrative aspects of coinage. However, as studies of other provincial mints, both major and minor, are progressing apace, the need for even a basic catalogue of Antiochene coins is pressing. Such a catalogue forms the core of the data in this work. Since Antioch was such an important mint and influenced the coinages of other nearby cities, catalogues of the coinages of these cities have also been included in the present study. The total number of cities included in the catalogue comes to thirteen, plus the regal coinages of the kingdom of Commagene. For these cities, not a single catalogue of any of them exists, with the sole exception of Rhodus, which was catalogued as a Cilician city, although studies of other subjects have often occasionally referred to coins from this area.³ The coinage of Antioch therefore forms the principal focus around which the other coinages of the catalogue are grouped.

This is the first tentative step towards a corpus of Syrian coinage. It examines the coinages in circulation in northern Syria from 64 BC to the mid third century AD. The former date is that at which Syria was formally annexed by Rome; the latter date, uncertain but probably around AD 253, was the date at which it will be suggested that the silver coinage was reformed to eliminate or suppress the issue of the traditional Syrian

² In particular, the various publications by E.T. Newell, Andre Dieudonné, Henri Seyrig, Alfred Bellinger, and Dorothy Waagé added much to our knowledge of Syrian coinage. On their respective publications, see bibliography. The best catalogue of Antiochene coinage was that published by Waagé, which was merely the coin report for the excavations at Antioch during the 1930's. Since most of the finds were bronze coins, silver was not dealt with in any detail in her catalogue. A less thorough study was that of W. Wruck, *Die syrische Provinzialprägung von Augustus bis Traian*, Stuttgart, 1931, which took a fixed period from Augustus to Trajan and studied only the issues which Wruck considered to be imperial coinage. Both of these catalogues are extremely dated. The silver coinage of Syria, most of which seems to be connected with Antioch, has been attributed to a number of different mints, sometimes with good reason, and sometimes without good reason. The attributions have caused much confusion. 'A comprehensive treatment of the silver provincial issues of greater Roman Syria is sorely needed', K.W. Harl, *op. cit.*, p. 133, n. 45.

³ E. Levante, 'The Coinage of Rhodus' *NC* 1985, pp. 237-243. On Syrian coins and the study of Syrian history and cults, note in particular the publications of Henri Seyrig.

tetradrachm, and during which period the striking of bronze coinage of Greek type also ceased in northern Syria. The earlier date therefore represents a change of administration, the second a change in the nature of the coinage being issued.

This work is partly a catalogue of Syrian coinage, but it is also a study of patterns of circulation, and of the relationships of various coinages to one another. Neighbouring regions are not ignored, and the coinages from the regions around northern Syria, that is, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Mesopotamia, and southern Syria, are discussed in the sections on circulation. An understanding of Syrian coinage can also help to shed light on many aspects of the Roman coinages produced elsewhere. Other sections explore the relationship of the silver tetradrachm coinage to the bronze coinage, of the bronze and silver coinage to military finance, of the denarius coinage to silver coinages in the eastern empire, of Syrian provincial coinage to the Hellenistic coinage. The study is therefore very broadly based, examining the entire bronze and silver coinages of Antioch for three centuries, a large group of other city coinages, and, in very general terms, the major bronze and silver issues of the whole of the eastern Roman empire as well. Necessity has forced me to use a wide range of *comparanda*. To sort out and catalogue the bronze coinage of Antioch alone requires familiarity with both the Antiochene silver coinage and the civic bronzes of surrounding cities, many of which had their coinage produced at Antioch in the third century AD. The latter point is particularly poignant; without a knowledge of both the civic coinages of surrounding cities and the coinage of Antioch, this fact might have been lost, or its value misunderstood, so that part of Antioch's production, of coinage for other cities, would have been missed. Elements of these bronze coinages have parallels outside Syria; these too have had to be explored. Finally, to understand the silver coinage of Syria, one has to look at the silver coinage of the Roman empire in general, at the organisation of minting, the effect of debasements at Rome, and the spread of the denarius, to give a few examples. This has meant spending some time examining coinages which might at first appear to be irrelevant to the study of Syrian numismatics: the issues of Caesarea in Cappadocia, or the cistophori of Asia. The results of these comparisons are surprising indeed, and demonstrate that coinages of other regions are very pertinent to an understanding of Syrian coinage. Had I not compared the coinages of Syria and Alexandria, I would never have spotted an obverse die link between an Egyptian bronze

coin and a Syrian tetradrachm. Important eastern coinages cannot be studied in isolation. In turn, the Syrian coinage provides information about the fundamental questions surrounding provincial coins under the Roman empire. Why were they struck? How did they circulate? What were they worth? Several theories about the nature of provincial and Roman imperial coinage are questioned here. What emerges is a picture in which the coinages of the eastern Roman empire are not the poor relations of Roman state coinage, slowly being transformed from Greek to Roman denominations until their disappearance in the second half of the third century AD. Unexpectedly, the Roman state seems to have fostered the continued issue of eastern coinage with its many 'archaic' (*i.e.* non-Roman) features, even when there are strong indications of centralised control.

Coins are used as the primary source of information in this study. I have not drawn on literary and historical sources as much as others might have done in dealing with the same material. This is because I have found the sources misleading when interpreting my numismatic data. Sources can be a useful tool, but they are often ambiguous when it comes to dealing with fundamental and important matters concerning the coinage, and they should not be allowed to 'tyrannize' the subject. The confusing attributions of eastern denarii of Septimius Severus are the result of modern historical speculation on a few comments by ancient authors; by abandoning the historical preconceptions, Septimius' coinage falls neatly into an intelligible pattern. If the sources recording Roman campaigns against Parthia, or imperial visits to the eastern provinces, did not exist, what would we make of the presumed peaks in output of certain issues? If there were no record of a fall of Antioch to the Persians in the third century AD, what would we conclude from the increased output of radiate coinage and the abandonment of the tetradrachm under Trebonianus Gallus? Having constructed the first general study of coinage in northern Syria, I examine key points for which numismatics has been used as historical evidence for the province, and in some cases suggest alternative explanations for the testimony of the coinage.

Silver and bronze coinages have generally been examined separately. To a numismatist familiar with the regular coinage of Rome, or even the provincial coinages of Asia Minor, such a policy might seem strange, but the coinage of northern Syria is best examined in this manner. The two metals were rarely issued concurrently, and their

patterns of production, distribution, and use seem to have been different. To discuss the two together would lead to extreme complications and confusion. For example, it would be very awkward to have to constantly break off discussions of the complex production of silver under the Flavians and Trajan, which involves several mints and relates to silver production in other parts of the Roman world, in order to insert equally complex and entirely different discussions of the contemporary bronze coinages. By separating them I have avoided having to repeat myself many times simply to allow the reader to pick up the threads of an earlier discussion. Separation of silver and bronze has the advantage of making the data intelligible.

One would like to leave no stone unturned; but the subject is akin to a pebble beach. The types on the coins shed light on local cults and Syrian deities, and the legends occasionally give an indication of the status of the issuing city, or help to pin down a civic era more accurately. Comments on types and legends at each city may be found in the Catalogue. If I have covered the Dionysiac types of Nicopolis Seleucidis (surviving on 7 specimens) in only a few sentences, this is not because I consider them unimportant, it is because I wish to give more space to other problems. Others may quarry the detail provided by the catalogue to provide much more information on the Dionysiac cult at Nicopolis. If I have not catalogued the silver coinages in as much detail as the bronze, it is a) because the amount of material is immense (consider how many denarius types exist for Pescennius Niger alone); and b) because adequate catalogues of much of the material which I discuss already exist. This can be deduced from the references cited.⁴ It is my arrangement of the material which is different, and I describe coins in sufficient detail to explain my arrangement. Hence I have not listed every variation in the position of the eagle's head on the reverses of tetradrachms of Trajan Decius (since I do not think that this is significant for my arrangement).

The volume of material included here has had some effect upon the detail with which the individual issues can be studied, and the lack of published site find material has had an even more restrictive effect upon the comments on circulation. The repetitive types of Antioch have meant that few collectors and museums have specialised in gathering the material, and the coinage is under-represented, even in the larger

⁴ *RPC*; *RIC*; Wruck; Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, to name but a few examples.

collections. Sadly, this has made die studies impossible. It has also meant that frequency in museum collections bears no relation to the frequency of various issues among the site finds, even to the extent that common site finds are extremely rare in museums, and means that museum collections are a wholly inaccurate source for determining the frequency (or rarity) of issues. Section 3 of Chapter 2 evaluates the different types of evidence for determining the size of the original issues. In the Catalogue I have cited only one example from a collection per type, without listing every specimen known to me. I have compiled such a list, but its inclusion in the Catalogue would make the Catalogue itself almost impossible to use, let alone write.

Inevitably new variants and types will be found to supplement the Catalogue; the fact that some of the coins listed exist in only a single specimen demonstrates the limitations of the evidence. In creating the Catalogue I have tried to concentrate on organising the material into issues. Future die studies, and detailed work on individual cities or issues, will undoubtedly refine some of the thoughts expressed here.

Money, and latterly, time, have prevented me from examining every collection of coins which numismatists regularly visit, but included is at least one major collection which is off the beaten track. In any case I am confident that any possible omissions in the Catalogue will be minor. Needless to say this task would have been quite impossible without the active assistance of those whose collections I consulted: H. Veli Yenisoganci, Mehmet Alkan, Faruk Kiliç and Lale Saraç (Antakya), H.D. Schultz (Berlin), Yaakov Meshorer and Haim Gitler (Israel Museum, Jerusalem), Michele Piccirillo (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem), Dan Barag (Hebrew University, Jerusalem), Marcia Sharabani (Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem), Andrew Burnett, Roger Bland and Ian Carradice (British Museum), William Metcalf and Carmen Arnold-Biucchi (New York), Chris Howgego and Cathy King (Oxford), Michel Amandry (Paris), Brooks Levy (Princeton), Richard Doughty (Washington), Saul Weinberg (University of Columbia-Missouri), and my colleague in the Department of Coins and Medals of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Ted Buttrey. Some of these deserve further acknowledgements for sharing the fruits of their own research with me. Andrew Burnett and Michel Amandry gave me access to the data used in producing the first volume of *RPC*, and provided me with not a few casts. I must also thank Roger Bland for providing me with photographs and details of relevant coins in other

collections, many of which were not directly related to his own study of the third century coinage of Antioch. Others I must thank for either hospitality, information or ideas, and sometimes all three, in particular, Michel Prieur (Paris) and Peter Lampinen (New Jersey). Others I have consulted about various topics covered by this study. David Walker gave much encouragement and advice when I was very new to the subject, and continued to do so as my work progressed.⁵ Several of the above people also took time to read various draughts, and to offer advice, or to correct numerous errors.

Various institutions generously gave financial assistance which in one way or another contributed to my study, either direct grants-in-aid-of-research or simple day-to-day maintenance. The Worshipful Company of Skinners of London kindly assisted me, very early on, with a grant from the Lawrence Attwell Bequest. The British Academy provided me with a Major State Studentship for one year. Thanks must also go to those who supported my visits abroad: the University of London provided a grant from the University Central Research Fund; the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara supported two of my three numismatic visits to Turkey with a Travel Grant and a Research Grant; and more recently, the Faculty of Classics and the Old Schools of the University of Cambridge provided me with travel funds whilst at the Fitzwilliam. I have also to thank my supervisor Richard Reece and the staff of the British Museum for finding me modest sources of income in the dark days of subsistence without any grants.

Every institution was either prepared to let me make casts, or made the casts themselves, often when the numbers required were considerable. The unenviable task of photographing them was undertaken by Mr. Andrew Morris of the photography department at the Fitzwilliam; he has worked miracles and made an unattractive series of coins look quite presentable.

The collection and sorting of the data has taken over six years. Its scope was originally more ambitious. Detailed *comparanda* from Cyprus, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, and Coele-Syria, and other regions of the Roman empire, have had to be relegated to future studies.

It is evident from the copious notes made by Henri Seyrig, now on deposit in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, that Seyrig himself was planning a catalogue of Syrian coinage. His catalogue was intended to

⁵ It was with deep sorrow that I learned of David Walker's death in 1989.

cover many more cities than does the present study, and included the mints of Phoenicia and Coele-Syria. It did, however, adhere to the traditional pattern of separating the SC coinage of Antioch from those which bear ethnics, and the former, which comprised the largest and most important part of the coinage of northern Syria, was excluded altogether from his study. The catalogue presented here includes material from Seyrig's notes, particularly the coinages of Antioch, Laodicea and Apamea during the first century BC, but I have not always agreed with his readings of dates and magistrates' initials.

This work is divided into six chapters. The first deals with the general nature of Syrian coinage, and the second with coin production in or for northern Syria. The third discusses circulation, and includes lists of both published and unpublished site find material (most of the latter examined and identified by me). The fourth discusses the metrology of the silver and bronze issues, and the fifth chapter views the coinage of Syria in a wider context and lays interpretations on the material presented in the previous two sections, including instances and analogies from other areas. The sixth chapter forms the conclusions. The catalogue of bronze coinage is to be found in the appendices.

1.2 Mountains, rivers and man-made borders

Northern Syria is bounded to the west by the Mediterranean sea and a chain of mountains (the Jebel Nusariyeh or Ansariyeh), and to the east by a wide tract of wilderness and the Euphrates river. To the north lie the Amanus mountains and the high country northwest of the Euphrates which rises up towards the Anatolian plateau. This high region formed a 'bridge' between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, and since prehistoric times has been the preferred route between the sea and Mesopotamia, rather than across the deserts of Syria and Arabia. To the south of these highlands lie the mountains of Lebanon and the Syrian desert. Roughly in the centre, running north, is one of the few major rivers in Syria, the Orontes, which begins in the mountains of Lebanon and flows into the Mediterranean. The chain of high mountains along the western shore is broken only once, where the Orontes flows from Antioch to the sea. The coast presents few anchorages; the ancient cities were usually situated at any available natural harbour, or at river mouths. Along the coast, moving south, were the cities of Rhosus (situated on a river), Seleucia (with a harbour and a seasonal river), Laodicea (with a harbour and a river mouth), Gabala (with a natural harbour), Paltos (on a promontory by a river mouth) Balanaea (at a river mouth) and Aradus (a low offshore island). Other cities were located along the Orontes valley, Laodicea ad Libanum, Emisa, Epiphanea, Larissa, Apamea, and Antioch; or the Euphrates, Samosata, Antioch ad Euphratem, and Zeugma. Finally, others were situated on important routes of communication, Nicopolis Seleucidis (on the road between Antioch and Caesarea Germanicia, which ultimately leads to Cappadocia and Pontus), Caesarea Germanicia (at a junction of roads from Antioch and Samosata), Doliche (a temple city on the route between Cilicia and the Euphrates at Zeugma), Cyrrhus (on the right bank of the river Oenoparus, the modern 'Afrin, at the axis of various roads from Antioch, Nicopolis, Doliche, Zeugma and Beroea), Hierapolis (a very important Syrian cult centre on one of the main routes flanking the Euphrates valley), Beroea (on a river at the junction of roads from Antioch, Cyrrhus, Hierapolis and Chalcis), Chalcis (on the same river where it enters

a marsh), and Raphanea (guarding a pass in the mountains between Aradus and the Orontes valley).⁶

The political outlines of Roman Syria, the 'man made borders', are less easy to define than the physical limits. They are not without consequence, since classicists have divided Syria into regions, and it is these regions which have become the framework for the presentation of numismatic catalogues. What do these divisions mean, and how valid are they? Where do they come from? Recent catalogues covering the city coinages of Syria have usually followed *BMC* and *Historia Numorum*, which in turn followed Eckhel, in dividing the northern half of the Levant into five main regions.⁷ Beginning with Commagene, they move south to regions labelled Cyrrhestice, Chalcidice, Palmyrene, and then follow with what is usually called 'Seleucis and Pieria'. Within these regions each city is placed alphabetically, with no regard to its geographical situation relative to others in the same region. I have not followed the order of these divisions in the present study. This is because such a layout denies the predominance of Antioch in the output and circulation of coinage in the region. In the present work the imperial coinage of Syria, most of which was produced at Antioch, is given first consideration. The relatively minor civic issues of the same city are not catalogued separately, since they generally fit well in the sequence of imperial coinages at Antioch. The other cities catalogued are those whose output and types were usually influenced by Antioch, which includes all of the cities in the northern half of 'Seleucis' and all of Commagene. It is worth examining the validity

⁶ General studies of topography and geography may be found in A. Poidebard, *La Trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie: les limes de Trajan a la conquête Arabe*, Paris, 1934; R. Mouterde, A. Poidebard, *Le limes de Chalcis: Organisation de la steppe en haute Syrie romaine*, Paris, 1945; G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord*, 3 vols., Paris 1953-1958, and the indispensable work by R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris, 1927. The situation of Gabala, Balanaea and Aradus is illustrated by Seyrig, *Questions Aradiennes* Pls. I, V, and VIII. The site of Paltos is described by P.J. Riss, 'L'activité de la mission archéologique Danoise', *Les Annales Archaeologiques de Syrie* VIII/IX (1958/9), pp. 107-132 (at pp. 111-112). For Cyrrhus, see M.E. Frézouls, 'Recherches sur la ville de Cyrrhus', *Les Annales Archaeologiques de Syrie* IV/V (1954/5), pp. 89-128.

⁷ For example, *SNG (Copenhagen)*, *SNG (Fitzwilliam)*, H.C. Lindgren, F.L. Kovacs, *Ancient Bronze Coins of Asia Minor from the Lindgren Collection*, San Mateo, 1985. A notable departure from the traditional scheme may be found in the *SNG Levante* volume for Cilicia. Its geographical arrangement, from west to east, makes regional similarities and differences in the coinage of Cilicia much easier to comprehend than collections catalogued according to *BMC*.

of the traditional divisions, and seeing how well or badly the numismatic evidence fits them.

A. Literary sources

The principal sources of literary evidence for the divisions of Syria have been dealt with by Jones, *Cities* pp. 226-294. A list of Syrian cities is provided by Pliny, but, as Jones has demonstrated, this list is hopelessly muddled, and is not very informative about the divisions of the province, save that Pliny used a source which listed the cities of Coele-Syria. The only explicit information contemporary with the period being studied here is given by Strabo and Ptolemy; it remains to decide whether the descriptions they give are at all accurate, or whether they derive from earlier accounts, when administrative boundaries were different.

i) Strabo (63/4 BC - c. AD 21)

Seleucis was, according to Strabo, the 'best' part of Syria. Seleucis is here clearly contrasted with other regions, which he lists as Commagene, Coele-Syria, Phoenicia and Judaea. Seleucis comprised the Tetrapolis (16.ii.4), which included the city-territories of Antioch, Seleucia, Laodicea and Apamea; Cyrrestice (16.ii.8), which bordered on the Amanus, the territory of Antioch, and Commagene; Parapotamia (16.ii.11) bordering on the city territory of Apamea on the west and the Euphrates on the east; and Chalcidice. To the south, on the river Eleutherus, was the border with Phoenicia and Coele-Syria (16.ii.12). The inference is that the Amanus formed the northwestern border (16.ii.1; 16.ii.8). Indeed, Strabo's layout of Syria is the one traditionally used by numismatists when cataloguing city coinages by region.

ii) Ptolemy (fl. AD 127-148)

Ptolemy's approach is fairly methodical. First he lists, under the ambiguous title 'Syria', the cities and features which in fact delineate the coast of Syria (5.iv.2). He begins at Alexandria ad Issum and continues south as far as Balanea, and then under the heading 'Phoenicia' continues from the mouth of the Eleutherus southwards (5.iv.3). It would seem, therefore, that Ptolemy or his source considered Alexandria the upper limit of the Syrian coast, and that the Eleutherus river formed the northernmost boundary of Phoenicia. Having completed the coast, an inland boundary is drawn around the region (5.iv.5), and the mountains and rivers of Syria are plotted (5.iv.6-7). The inland boundary seems to be the Roman *limes* and not a Seleucid boundary, so it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that

Ptolemy's division of 'Syria' and 'Phoenicia' also corresponds to the Roman boundaries for these two districts. Ptolemy then lists the cities of various regions, without distinguishing their size or status, although those in the desert must have been villages (5.iv.8-21); the list of regions seems to be rather confused, and may be the result of Ptolemy attempting to reconcile lists of cities compiled in different periods, when the boundaries were different. However, since he did not distinguish cities from villages, Ptolemy may not have distinguished the principal administrative units from smaller sub-districts. In the area covered by this study he lists the cities of Commagene, Pieria, Cyrrhastica, and Seleucis.

Historical sources give us some indication of the development of political boundaries within Syria during the period covered by this study. Seleucid Syria seems to have been divided into two main districts, a division which was probably the result of the occupation of the south by the Ptolemies until 198 BC, when it was annexed by Antiochus III. The north, with its capital at Antioch, seems to have been called Seleucis; the south was called Coele, with its capital at Ake-Ptolemais. This fact, and other sources, would seem to point to a boundary at the river Eleutherus.⁸

When Pompey arrived in Syria in 64 BC very little of the Seleucid empire was left. The Seleucids had maintained a presence in Cilicia Pedias and the upper Orontes valley, but to the east and south the cities had either become independent or fallen under the rule of a local dynast, such as Straton of Beroea, Sampsigeramus of Emisa, Ptolemy of Chalcis, or the warring Hasmonaean factions in Judaea. Commagene was ruled by a line of kings who claimed descent from the Armenian and Seleucid households. There was, therefore, plenty of opportunity for Pompey to deviate from the Seleucid organisation of Syria, if any of this framework remained by 64 BC. The political makeup which Pompey found in Syria in 64 BC was one of a conglomerate of city territories and Arab kingdoms. Rather than turn the whole region into a collection of city states, he preferred to maintain the status quo and we find the same petty dynastic houses ruling their territories for several more decades, and some - at least in the case of the

⁸ The Seleucid provinces or satrapies were governed by a *strategos*, who in turn had sub-governors ruling the smaller territorial units, e.g. Samaria. The organisation of Seleucid Syria is dealt with in detail by O. Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV of Syria*, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, Dissertationes VIII, Gyldendal 1966, pp. 106-114; and H. Bengtson, 'Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit', *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* XXXII (1944) and XXXVI (1952).

dynasty of Emisa or the royal house of Commagene - were ruling into the late first century AD. Evidently hostile elements, such as Silas, tyrant of Lysias on the Orontes, or the city of Apamea, were besieged and taken by force, and Pompey had to intervene to prevent civil war in Judaea. The new province was placed under the command of one man, a territory which included Cilicia Pedias, the old Seleucid province of Seleucis, the territories to the east of Seleucis (but perhaps controlled by dynasts - see introduction to catalogue of coins of Chalcis, below), and those parts of Syria Coele which were not in the hands of dynasts, mainly Phoenician cities. Commagene, Arabia, Judaea, and the region around the Beqa'a valley in Lebanon were ruled by 'client-kings', although Arabia remained independent of Roman rule for longer than the others. It would seem, therefore, that Rome was in no hurry to make far-reaching political changes in Syria.⁹

During the later first century BC and first century AD some of these client states were absorbed into the province of Syria. Cleopatra had been given portions of Syria by M. Antonius, but these of necessity were dissolved after 31 BC. In at least one case, that of Chalcis, the local dynasty was restored after Cleopatra's fall. The early empire saw the number of client kingdoms decline; Commagenian kings were appointed and dismissed several times by Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius, and the kingdom of Herod in Judaea was divided among his sons. When some of these proved unable to control their territories, they had to submit to Roman intervention. In order to contain the Jewish revolt under Nero, Judaea seems to have been made a special province, and Vespasian was appointed legate. Judaea seems to have continued as a province under its own legate from Vespasian onwards. Under the Flavians and Trajan there were major changes. Antiochus IV of Commagene was deposed in AD 72, and his kingdom broken up. At this point the province of Cilicia was formed and presumably those parts of Cilicia Pedias which were not in the Commagenian kingdom were finally removed from the authority of the legate of Syria. The Herodian dynasty, which ruled the remnants of the Ituraean principality of Chalcis, and the tetrarchy north of Galilee, came to an end between the reigns of Vespasian and Domitian. Arabia was annexed under Trajan in 106, but given its own legate. By the time of Trajan's Parthian campaigns the inland cities east of Antioch were minting coins; presumably none of them were any longer under the control of dynasts. Some used an era reckoned from

⁹ The political geography of Syria on the eve of Pompey's annexation is summarised by Jones, *Cities*, pp. 255-6.

the abolition of the dynasty, Samosata in AD 72 and Chalcis ad Belum (if the letters KE found on its coins actually are a date) in *circa* AD 92. An inscription from Heliopolis names a governor, probably C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus, as governor of Syria Phoenicia Commagene, which seems to suggest that Phoenicia was regarded as a separate administrative entity along with Syria and Commagene.¹⁰

Under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus a more permanent Roman presence was established in northern Mesopotamia, a conquest which was consolidated by Septimius Severus. Mesopotamia was given its own legate, and presumably any territory on the east bank of the Euphrates that was under Roman administration (such as Strabo implies for the kingdom of Commagene in the first century BC) was ceded to the new province. Mesopotamia remained a separate province throughout the period covered by this study, until it was overrun by the Sassanian Persians, probably *circa* AD 251.

Septimius Severus made some major changes to the political boundaries in Syria, dividing the province into two commands by creating the new province of Syria Phoenicia, governed by a separate praetorian legate. Syria Phoenicia now apparently included Aradus, Heliopolis and, perhaps, Emisa.¹¹ Antioch became the capital of Syria Coele. The nature of any other changes made during the first half of the third century is obscured by poor historical records. The increasing threat and invasions by the Sassanian emperors probably saw some alterations. An increased control over minting activity from Elagabalus onwards, with centralisation at Antioch, may have been the result of an increased centralisation of administration in northern Syria in the second quarter of the third century. The campaigns of Severus Alexander and Gordian III may have brought about changes to the boundaries. Philip appointed his brother Julius Priscus to an important command in Syria, probably similar to that

¹⁰ On the creation of Cilicia under Vespasian, Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 8. Chalcis was restored to Zenodorus, who issued coins, 30-20 BC. The end of the kingdom of Chalcis is briefly discussed by Jones, *Cities*, pp. 281-2. The Quadratus inscription, *IGLS* 2775; note comments by Rey-Coquais, *Syrie*, p. 64. For the legates of Judaea and Arabia, see B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidum*, sections 34 and 35.

¹¹ For the legate of Syria Phoenicia, see *IGLS* 2776. *IGLS* 4007 seems to suggest that Aradus was in Syria Phoenicia. That Emisa was in the province of Phoenicia in the Severan period may be the reason why Herodian calls the cult of Elagabal 'Phoenician', and Heliodorus calls himself a Phoenician - F.G.B. Millar, 'The Problem of Hellenistic Syria', in A. Khurt and S. Sherwin-White, *Hellenism in the East*, London, 1987, p. 129.

created for the Danube, also controlled by a relative (until replaced by Decius, who overthrew Philip and became emperor in his place). The Persian attacks on Syria might have led to the reorganisation of political boundaries and administrative districts within the province. The later third century does not concern us, being outside the period of this study; unfortunately, the evidence for the organisation of Syria between Elagabalus and Valerian is as yet too poor to determine whether important changes were made in this period.

B. Numismatic sources

The numismatic evidence would accord well with Strabo's general layout of Syria as a whole. Antioch, Samosata, Damascus and Tyre were all *metropoleis* by the mid second century AD; these cities would therefore be the capitals of Strabo's Seleucis, Commagene, Coele and Phoenicia respectively.¹² These also fit nicely with what we know of Seleucid Syria. The principal Seleucid administrative districts of Syria were Cilicia (*i.e.* Cilicia Pedias), Commagene, Syria Seleucis, and Coele with Phoenicia. Two of these, Seleucis and Commagene, are of interest to us here. What of Ptolemy's divisions? It seems likely that Commagene and Seleucis are the principal administrative districts, and that Cyrrestica and Pieria were, by the Roman period, either geographical names or sub-districts of Seleucis. Cyrrestica, which Strabo claims was part of Seleucis, presumably derives from the city of Cyrrhus, and may have been a smaller Seleucid administrative district, and very possibly a Roman one. Pieria, also the name of the region around Dium in Macedonia, seems to correspond to the Amanus, of which the highest point according to Ptolemy is 'Mount Pieria', just as another of Ptolemy's divisions of Syria, 'Casiotis', seems to derive from the other major mountain in northern Syria, Mount Casius.

This would seem to imply that Syria Seleucis, Commagene, Phoenicia and Syria Coele were districts with their own *metropoleis* in the second century AD, even if they had not been so earlier. There is an inscription from Gerasa which mentions an Antiochene priest of the four eparchies. It dates from early in the reign of Hadrian. From a later period, and very much more perplexing, are coins of Laodicea from the sole reign of

¹² The *metropolis* was usually the capital city of a provincial *koinon*, although the title was occasionally applied to other important cities. Antioch was a *metropolis* from Seleucid times, Samosata at least from the reign of Hadrian (for coins, see catalogue), Damascus also from the reign of Hadrian (*BMC* 8), and Tyre by circa AD 93/4 (*BMC* 288).

Caracalla and the reigns of Macrinus and Elagabalus which carry the inscription METR. IIII PROV. Regardless of whether this is an empty title in Laodicea's case by this date, it does seem to indicate that Syria was still regarded as being divided into four, even after Severus' separation of Syria Phoenicia under its own governor in 194.¹³

Neither Strabo nor Ptolemy mention Cilicia Pedias in conjunction with Syria. Presumably it was an administrative unit separate from Seleucis in the first century BC and first century AD, when it was included in Syria. Historically under the Seleucids it had been a separate province from Seleucis or Commagene, with its capital at Tarsus. The coinage of Cilicia shares much in common with that of Syria in the first century BC, but later developments in both provinces are not shared between them, with Cilicia's pattern of circulation failing to penetrate into northern Syria to any significant degree, except in the region around Antioch.

The main divisions of northern Syria in the period up to the late second century AD may therefore have been Syria Seleucis and Commagene, to the south of which lay Syria Coele and Syria Phoenicia. Until AD 194 these were probably under the control of one legate. Within these areas it is evident from Strabo and Ptolemy that there were smaller units in Syria Seleucis. Both sources agree on the existence of Cyrrestice and Chalcidice. These are not merely city territories, and presumably were once administrative districts. Whether these existed in the Roman period is unclear. These smaller divisions, however, are of no real concern for this study.

In terms of ancient geography, the present work is concerned with the coinage of Commagene and the northern half of Seleucis. The coinage of Antioch forms the backbone of the study. Not only did the products of this mint dominate northern Syria, but when the cities in the region came to issue coins themselves, they produced, for the most part, coinages which

¹³ On the division of Seleucis under the Seleucids, see Jones, *Cities*, pp. 241-2. There is one problem with the interpretation of Pieria as the Amanus; that Aradus was once called 'Antioch of Pieria'. However, I am inclined to agree with Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 442, that the source for this is in error: 'Antioch of Pieria, which the Syrians call Aradus' mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium, is a mistake, and that Rhosus (Arsuz), rather than Aradus, is intended. The equation with Aradus is accepted by Jones, *Cities*, p. 244 and 452 n. 24. On the four parts of Syria: The inscription from Gerasa is published by C.B. Welles, in H. Kraeling, *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis* (1938), 399, n. 53. The coins of Laodicea, although not particularly rare, have not been adequately published, although I intend to cover them in a subsequent study of Laodicean coinage.

in fabric, style and types, ultimately derive from the coinage of Antioch. There may even be stronger connections. The coinage of Seleucia Pieria under Tiberius, or of Antiochus IV of Commagene, may be the work of Antiochene die engravers, or even the products of the Antioch mint. In the second century AD there was a proliferation of city coinages in the Syrian hinterland, under Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus. These coinages, none of which have received much attention in the past, frequently use a common type and series of denominations which appear to imitate the coinage of Antioch. The use of the ethnic within a laurel wreath as the common reverse type for the largest denomination of these second century coins clearly draws its inspiration from the main reverse type of the large bronzes of Antioch, with the letters SC in a wreath. A further strong connection with Antioch is provided by the unique coin of Hierapolis in the Antakya Museum which bears the letters SC (Catalogue no. 3). Another feature that the second century coinages of inland Syria share with one another and with the issues of Antioch, is the presence of the so-called 'numeral letters' (see below, appendix 2). In the third century Antioch came to dominate the coinage of the region in quite another sense; at most of the cities in northern Seleucis and Commagene independent production of coinage halted, and Antioch probably produced coinage on their behalf (see below).

The coinages examined in this study form a coherent group, linked by types, denominations, and sometimes, obverse dies, to Antioch. Patterns of circulation also confirm that they were conceived of as part of the same currency system. It is this group of coinages, the issues of Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, Rhodus, Nicopolis Seleucidis, Chalcis, Beroea, Cyrrhus, Hierapolis, the Kingdom of Commagene, Zeugma, Antioch ad Euphratem, Samosata, Caesarea Germanicia, and Doliche, which comprise the 'core' of the present work.¹⁴

¹⁴ The only cities among this group not to conform wholly to the standardised pattern based on Antiochene coinage are Rhodus, Nicopolis Seleucidis, and Samosata. The former two may be excused for their proximity to Cilicia, and some may even wish to consider them Cilician cities (E. Levante 'The Coinage of Rhodus', *NC* 145 (1985), pp. 236-243; Ptolemy places Nicopolis in Cilicia); the coinage of Samosata lacks numeral letters in the second century, and even in the third century, when some of its coinage was produced at Antioch, Samosata continued to produce coins independently (K. Butcher, 'Two Related Coinages of the Third Century AD.: Philippopolis and Samosata', *INJ* 9 (1986-7), pp. 73-84), but it otherwise conforms to the northern pattern. Cilicia Pedias, which was for some time in the province of Syria, is not influenced by this pattern at all, and nor

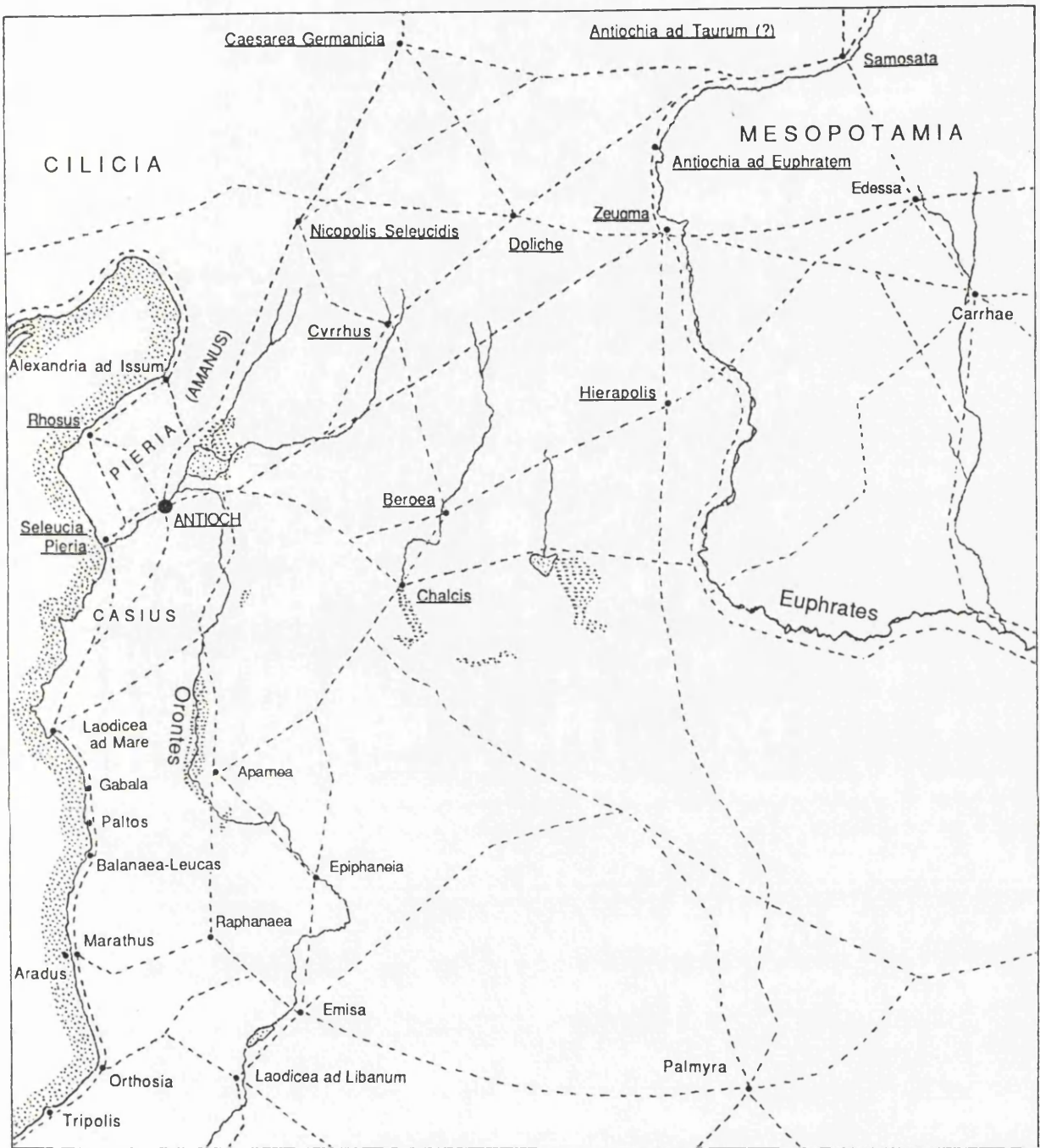


Figure 1: Map of Northern Syria, 64 BC - AD 253, including some of the major roads (after A. Poidebard, 1943). Cities underlined are included in the Catalogue.

are the cities of Cappadocia. Of the influence of this group on third century Mesopotamia, more will be said in later chapters.

2.3 The structure of Syrian provincial coinage

In the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, during the first century BC and first two and a half centuries AD, the bulk of the bronze coinage in circulation was minted at cities within each province, and, in a number of cases, the silver coinage was likewise produced within the province. Bronze coinage from the mint at Rome did not form a significant part of the money in circulation in areas such as Asia Minor or Syria, presumably because there was no deliberate policy by the Roman government to send it to the east, and in the east itself local coinages were deemed sufficient to meet local needs. These local coinages have received various names, 'Greek Imperial', 'Local', 'Colonial', 'Roman Provincial'. These names have been used in an attempt to differentiate the coinages from the emperor's own coinage which was mostly struck at Rome, and which has traditionally been called 'Roman Imperial'. This division has been maintained by most numismatists working with Roman coinage in the eastern provinces. Imperial coinage is seen as being mainly produced at Rome and having some degree of validity throughout the empire (I shall present below a case against the view of a universal 'imperial' currency during the early empire). It is therefore seen as an important historical and economic document, a vehicle for imperial propaganda, and its circulation or non-circulation a measure of Roman monetary policies or 'Romanisation'. The provincial coinage is seen as having a limited circulation, either because it was issued by a lesser authority than the emperor or because there were restrictions governing its use. In at least one case, that of the province of Egypt, there was a deliberate policy of keeping foreign coin out of the province, and a unique system, quite different from the currency system of Rome, was maintained there. It is quite possible that the Roman authorities in Syria, at least for a time, exercised a similar policy.

These eastern provincial coinages have been subject to varying degrees of treatment by specialists in Roman coinage, but for the most part they have been regarded as having little economic significance, playing a subordinate rôle to the 'superior' and 'universal' coinage of Rome.¹⁵

¹⁵ Studies of the significance of the provincial coinages, both as historical and economic documents, lag behind those of the 'Roman Imperial'. Bellinger summarised the problem in a brief survey of eastern coinages

Specialists in 'Roman Imperial' coinage (*i.e.* Latin coins of the type produced at Rome) have all too frequently taken scant or inconsistent notice of eastern coinage, even on important matters of imperial finance, and the only yardstick applied (very arbitrarily) in the decision as to whether a coinage was imperial or not seems to have been the presence or absence of Latin legends. This attitude is much too simplistic; it is also confusing, and does little to dispel the myth that the eastern provincial coinage was a numismatic dinosaur which somehow survived the Roman conquest. The complexity and impenetrability of provincial coinage has been a major stumbling-block. Few scholars wish to tackle a coinage which is badly catalogued, badly preserved, and whose patterns of circulation, denominational structures and organisation are completely unknown. Michael Grant created some models for defining these coinages which helped to stress the importance of provincial coins as part of 'Roman' coinage. Recently, several important works have gone a long way towards strengthening this view.¹⁶ Grant, in works principally concerned with the coinage of Augustus and his immediate successors, sought to define

published in 1956 ('Greek Mints under the Roman Empire', in Carson and Sutherland, *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly*, Oxford, 1956, p. 143-4). It was he, among others, who saw how a gap between 'west' and 'east' was forming, and how a student of Roman coinage, in using the main references for Roman Imperial coins, 'might be excused for believing that he had at hand the essentials of the Roman monetary structure, to which the scattered products of the civic mints could make only a trivial contribution'. The bias towards the western provinces when considering Roman coinage has been strong. This has sometimes led to a distortion of the importance of bronze from the mint of Rome in the circulation patterns of the eastern provinces, with civic coinage playing a lesser rôle: 'Local city-coinages in *aes* continued, now (under Tiberius) as later, to supplement imperial *aes*, with those of Spain still prominent.' So C.H.V. Sutherland in his survey *Roman Coins* (p. 152). Mattingly, however, recognised the importance of provincial coinage: 'It (Roman *aes*) was not barred from the West and, perhaps, wandered out occasionally to the East. But the East has its own abundant supplies.' H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, second edition, London, 1960, p. 182. In the same work an entire chapter is devoted to provincial coinage. A similar recognition of the limited circulation of bronze from Rome in the east comes in *RIC I* (first edition, 1923, p. 12). Recognition, however, did not lead many numismatists to consider provincial coinage important.

¹⁶ In particular, A.M. Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman World*, and, for the Republic, M.H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic*. For the third century, J.P. Callu, *La politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238 à 311*, Paris, 1969. The importance of provincial coinage has also been explored in recent works dealing more exclusively with the subject; K. Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coins: An Introduction to the 'Greek Imperials'*; K.W. Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East*; and C.J. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks*.

categories of coin, mostly in terms of authority, but also in terms of circulation. Aside from those issues which could be classified as official, i.e. 'official issues of the Roman state or its representatives', there were five other principal divisions of coinage in the Roman world. These were, briefly, a) civic coins; b) issues of tribes; c) issues of koina; d) issues of client-kings; e) imitations.¹⁷ How important were these distinctions? The civic coinage obviously includes the greater part of provincial coinage, and must be considered an important category. There are a few issues in the names of tribes in the eastern Roman empire, but these are rare and the mechanisms for issuing them were probably identical to the civic issues struck around them. The distinction between the first two groups, therefore, is based on what we know about the historical status of the issuers, and is not information derived from the coins. The status of the second two is more problematic. Those of the koina will be dealt with below. Client-kings, such as Antiochus IV of Commagene, whose coinage is examined in this work, were nominally independent, and free to act as they wished within the bounds of their kingdoms (as long as the Romans did not see fit to intervene). Presumably these kings paid for and issued their own coins. To some extent, therefore, the regal coinages of client-kings have nothing to do with the other coinages of either the Roman empire or provinces; they are independent coinages of a 'Hellenistic' type, even if their denominations and types can sometimes be shown to parallel those of the Roman.¹⁸ As for Grant's final category, imitations, the recognition of these in the east is not always easy, and their status is unclear. More will be said about some of the more obvious examples later. Other ideas about the structure of these coinages were derived wholly from the evidence of the coins themselves; imperial coins bore no other indication of authority, and

¹⁷ M. Grant, 'The Pattern of Official Coinage in the Early Principate', in Carson and Sutherland, *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to Harold Mattingly*, Oxford, 1956, pp. 102-112. Grant perhaps laid more importance on the division of 'official' and 'local' coinage than was necessary; *FITA*, preface, p. 10; *SMACA*, introduction, p. 11. A similar layout was employed by Sutherland and Kraay for their *Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire in the Ashmolean Museum*, which was divided into 'Coinages of State', 'Regional Coinages', 'Regal and Dynastic Coinages', and 'Civic Coinages'.

¹⁸ The status of client-kings is explored by D.C. Braund in *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of Client Kingship*, London, 1984. The Pontic kings, among others, appear to have used some Roman denominations. Herod Agrippa I copied contemporary types of Roman *aes* on some of his coins; A.M. Burnett, 'The Coinage of King Agrippa I of Judaea and a New Coin of King Herod of Chalcis', in *Mélanges de numismatique offerts à Pierre Bastien*, Wetteren, 1987, pp. 25-38.

the profits from the coinage went to the emperor; coins with an imperial head and an ethnic on the reverse were issued jointly by the emperor and the leagues or cities; and the 'pseudo-autonomous' coinage was produced by the cities for their own profit.¹⁹ Such a system would seem to be practically unworkable. In the present study I make only a few distinctions between categories, and even these cannot be regarded as individual and entirely separate components, since some coinages occasionally span two categories, or fall between them. None the less, the categories or groups help to understand the coinages of the eastern empire. I am aware that these groups might seem too general or broad to apply elsewhere, but they make the structure of Syrian coinage more intelligible.

Provincial coinage may be defined in general terms as a coinage which did not normally circulate outside a particular area or province. To some extent its circulation was governed by geography, but provincial boundaries and incompatible currency systems may have restricted circulation as well. Coins struck in eastern cities are rarely found in the west. Their presence on western sites does not necessarily mean that they functioned there as currency.²⁰ If they had been part of a universal currency, accepted everywhere, we might expect them to have circulated more widely than they did.

The eastern provincial coinages can be divided into groups as follows:

i) *imperial coinage*. The use of this term to define a category of provincial coinage may seem to be confusing this category with the 'Roman Imperial' of the mint at Rome. In some senses the confusion is difficult to avoid.

¹⁹ The coinage of Antioch, which struck all three categories, was a good example of this 'system': Bellinger, *Dura, Preliminary report*, viii-ix, 1939, pp. 407ff; a view followed by Downey, *A History of Antioch*. Bellinger seemed to claim the idea as his in *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to Harold Mattingly*, but he was building on the comments of others, such as MacDonald, 'The Pseudo-Autonomous Coinage of Antioch', *NC* 4 (1904). The idea of a 'joint coinage' for Antiochene tetradrachms was put forward by Sydenham in E.S. Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch*, Oxford, 1921, p. 316.

²⁰ On geography and circulation, see *GIC*, pp. 32-50. Hoards of denarii found in the west occasionally contain eastern drachms of similar size and appearance. As western hoards do not contain eastern silver coins of larger sizes, the drachms were presumably included because they were simply mistaken for denarii. Other coins occur in votive deposits, such as the sacred spring at Bath; D.R. Walker, *Roman Coins from the Sacred Spring at Bath*, Oxford, 1988. In the same work, Walker discusses the phenomenon of orichalcum *asses* of Trajan, struck at Rome, probably for issue at Antioch, which did circulate in the north western provinces in some numbers.

Important issues of silver and, sometimes, bronze, seem to have been issued by the Roman government for circulation within a province, or at least within certain areas. These issues are for the most part concentrated at the principal eastern mints used by the imperial authorities, Caesarea in Cappadocia, Antioch in Syria, and Alexandria in Egypt. Rome also produced a few coinages for the east. In the case of these coinages, there is no direct reference on the coins to any authority other than the government, which in most cases is embodied in the representation of the emperor. These coins are usually characterised by reverse legends which refer only to the emperor's titles or regnal year. The case for the imperial nature of these coinages is strengthened greatly by the relationship that the four mints mentioned above had with one another (a theme explored in later chapters). In specific cases the burden of finance may have been borne in whole or in part by provincial cities, but most of it was perhaps financed by the Roman government through the same means as the imperial coinage of Rome. In the case of Egypt, the entire coinage was an imperial coinage struck specifically for that province.²¹

ii) *league coinage*. Occasional issues were struck in the names of provincial *koina*. Some of them may have been financed by the principal cities of the *koina*, but in a number of cases they show a marked relation to imperial coinages and may have been the product of imperial benefactions, or might even be regarded as a regular imperial coinage for the provinces in question.²² The inscriptions which the coins bear are sometimes in the genitive plural (eg. Crete, Cyprus) and sometimes in the genitive singular (eg. Bithynia, Syria). Some silver *cistophori* were issued for the *koina* of

²¹ Grant, 'The Pattern of Coinage in the Early Principate', pp. 102-112, divided his imperial coinage into four sections according to degrees of circulation. Three of these divisions concern us here, i) circulation within a province or part of a province; ii) circulation in groups of provinces; iii) circulation over the whole of the east. The case for the existence of the third group seems very weak. The CA coinages of Augustus perhaps fall into this category, but the extent of their circulation is based on small numbers of provenances. The products of the various mints striking the Augustan CA coinages may still have been largely confined to a provincial locality, regardless of the fact that they shared common types. Later rulers did not attempt to introduce similar coinages. The division between the first and second groups would be very hard to draw, and in reality I doubt that such precise distinctions can be made. Where, for example, would one place Trajan's Arabian drachms? They were certainly made for Arabia, but circulated outside of that province, although they do not seem to have circulated over the whole of the province of Syria as well.

²² Grant rejected these when defining imperial issues, 'The Pattern of Official Coinage in the Early Principate', p. 98.

Asia and Bithynia. The connection between issues of cistophori and the Roman authorities seems to argue a case for many league coinages being imperial, as do other factors which will be discussed in later sections. The league coinages seem therefore to be borderline between the first category and the following one, although many of the important issues would appear to be connected with the imperial authorities. Only one small issue is known in the name of the Syrian *koinon*.

iii) *civic coinage*. These issues were struck by provincial cities. Production of coinage was not necessarily a major aspect of civic life and finance, and the number of civic mints in proportion to the total number of provincial cities was not overwhelmingly large. Some cities may have commissioned coinage from other cities for their own use (a possibility implied by the 'workshop' system; see below). Some issues may have been financed by wealthy individuals, and there is evidence in Asia for this.²³ Most of the coinage is, however, anonymous, simply bearing an ethnic, usually in the genitive plural. Whatever the source of finance for the coinage, an individual, a group of citizens, or public funds, the coinage was probably financed from within the civic community to meet (perceived) local needs. Some anomalies in the pattern of civic mints striking coins may represent financial intervention by Roman authorities, but it is the exceptional nature of these coinages which has prompted such suggestions, and they should not be seen as the key to understanding other civic coinages.²⁴ There is no conclusive evidence of a single public benefactor financing an issue of civic coins in the region discussed in this work, although some of the early coins bear symbols and monograms which may refer to

²³ See Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman World*, pp. 60-1, relating how, during the first century AD, only twelve out of twenty-eight or twenty-nine communities in the *conventus* of Sardis struck coins. The issue of coin as an optional obligation in holding a civic appointment is explored in *GIC*, pp. 85-90, and by K. Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East*, Berkeley, 1987.

²⁴ For example, the shortlived, but apparently large, issues of bronze coins under Septimius Severus in the Peloponnese, or under Gordian III in Lycia; S. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, 'The Severan Emissions of the Peloponnese', *INJ* 6-7 (1982-3); H. von Aulock, *Die Münzprägung des Gordian III und der Tranquillina in Lykien*, Tübingen, 1974. In both of these regions bronze coinage in other periods under Roman rule was extremely limited. Crawford, 'Finance, Coinage and Money from the Severans to Constantine', *ANRW* II 2, pp. 572-575, suggested that civic coins were struck to meet the needs of the Roman military, but the evidence to support this suggestion is not very convincing, and it must remain speculative. Crawford's view is discussed in later chapters.

magistrates responsible. None the less the Roman authorities may have had a hand in the organisation of minting civic coins. In Asia Minor, the spread of 'workshops' in the late second and early third century may be connected with a process of centralisation of minting, with cities commissioning issues from a group of centralised mints. The extent of a similar pattern for northern Syria has only recently been recognised, and here a process of centralisation seems particularly likely (see section 2.1).

Regal coinage may be defined as a category not directly related to the other groups of provincial coins. Many regal coinages bear no reference to any imperial or civic authority, and appear to be independent coinages issued by, and probably financed by, the rulers of the kingdoms. Occasionally the coinage may portray a Roman emperor and only name the king, as in the case of most of the coinage of Herod Agrippa II, but this too could have been financed by the king himself.²⁵

The coinage of the region examined in this study consists of two main categories: an imperial coinage in silver and bronze, struck mainly at Antioch but occasionally involving the co-operation of other mints, and various civic coinages, which in this region were of bronze only. In addition, a regal bronze coinage was issued for the rulers of Commagene until AD 72, when the kingdom was forcibly absorbed into the Roman empire.

Certain aspects of civic coinage familiar to specialists in the material from Asia Minor are not a feature of the coins encompassed by the present study - there are no direct references to public festivals, no *homonioia* coins recording 'alliances' between cities, and no clear instances of magistrates' names appearing on the coins. There are other differences in the pattern of coinage. In northern Syria an imperial bronze coinage was established on a scale quite unlike that of Asia Minor, where civic coinages seem to have made up most of the circulating medium. In Syria the main unit of silver currency, the tetradrachm, was maintained long after it had disappeared in Asia. It may not be fruitful to search for analogies among the issues of western and southern Asia Minor. The best comparisons might

²⁵ It is possible that some exceptional issues of gold and silver coinages struck by 'client kings', such as those of the peripheral kingdoms of Pontus and Bosphorus, were supported in whole or in part by imperial finances, which might help to explain the continued debasement of Bosporan gold over the third century, in line with debasements of Roman silver currency.

well be with the coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia, itself in a province linked to the eastern *limes* and often utilised by the imperial government for minting imperial coinage. The close working relations between the imperial mints of Caesarea and Antioch will be explored in a later chapter.

The provincial coinage of northern Syria highlights a number of problems relevant to the nature of provincial coinage as a whole, and these will be explored in subsequent chapters. The distinctions between different groups of Syrian coinages is useful for examining the structure of provincial coinage in more detail. How did provincial silver and bronze relate to the coinage of Rome, and to other important coinages in the Roman empire? Who authorised its production, and what was it used for? Did cities produce coins in response to Roman military activity? Some of the coinages of northern Syria can help to shed light on these particular questions.

Chapter 2: Production

2.1. Historical survey of production

A. Bronze coinage

The aim of this section is to discuss the patterns of minting activity in the region defined in the previous chapter, and to provide an historical narrative covering relevant events in the Roman province. The chapter does not attempt to link issues of coins with known events; it merely describes the historical context of the coins and examines a few historical problems where coinage has been used as supporting evidence.

The first period, from the first century BC to late second century AD, sees the establishment of the Roman province of Syria and the creation of a Roman imperial currency for the province as a whole. The introduction of the SC bronze of Antioch under Augustus, with its image of the emperor, suggests that this is a period of major transition, of 'Romanisation' of the currency. A glance at the other coinages of the region, inside and outside the area of this study, shows that this is not the whole truth. Undue emphasis on the SC coinage of Augustus, important and innovative though it is, obscures the fact that the civic bronzes of other cities in Syria of the imperial period maintain their old Hellenistic pre-Augustan (and sometimes pre-Roman) forms. Some cities, like Seleucia or Laodicea ad Mare, did not issue bronze coins with an imperial portrait until after Augustus. The continuation of Hellenistic denominational structures is implied by the use of the same types for coins of specific size and weight, and by metrology and marks of value (see section on metrology and denominations).

What is significant in this period, throughout northern Syria, is the gradual adoption of the imperial imago in the Julio-Claudian period, mostly for larger denominations, and the establishment of a similar range of denominations to those of Antioch at most cities by the early second century AD. There is, therefore, a trend towards a 'Romanisation' of the obverse types (by placing the emperor's head on many issues), and towards unification of denominational structures, based on the imperial and civic coinage of Antioch. It would be unwise to suggest that this resulted in a

thorough 'Romanising' of the currency of Syria and the abandonment of Greek denominations, since I believe that I have good evidence that this is not the case (see section on metrology and denominations).

The second period begins with a hiatus in production, under Commodus and continuing through the reign of Septimius Severus, during which there was little minting activity in the region, and Antioch itself produced no bronze coinage at all. The various changes which the coinage seems to have undergone are discussed in later sections. The adoption of even larger denominations than those of earlier periods seems to have started in the Levant under Commodus (*eg.* Aradus) and Septimius (*eg.* Laodicea ad Mare), but they were not taken up in Commagene or northern Seleucia until the reign of Caracalla, at Hierapolis, although Antioch only began producing large bronze coins under Elagabalus.²⁶ From this date, until the last issues under Valerian, Antioch probably controlled the issue of much of the coinage in northern Syria. The extent to which Roman denominations were adopted in this period is the subject of a later discussion (section on metrology and denominations).

i) From the Seleucids to Marcus Aurelius

Bronze coinage had been produced in northern Syria since the reign of the first Seleucid monarch, Seleucus I. The relevant mints striking a bronze coinage in the name of the king were his own foundations, Antioch, Seleucia and Apamea.²⁷ These coins, like the royal silver coinage, were probably financed by the king's fiat and produced for the Seleucid government's own specific needs. There is therefore no independent civic bronze coinage contemporary with or prior to the early Seleucid period. This is not surprising, given that there was little pre-Macedonian silver coinage produced in northern Syria.²⁸ Production of bronze civic coinages

²⁶ Specimens of large bronzes of Aradus in American Numismatic Society, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, and Fitzwilliam, Leake Collection; for Laodicea, see *BMC* 95-96.

²⁷ E.T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints*, American Numismatic Society Numismatic Studies No. 4, New York 1941, pp. 86-180, and A. Houghton, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton*, New York 1983, pp. 1-32. Antioch was the dominant mint, although Seleucia may have commenced a little earlier; Newell, *op. cit.* p. 88-9. The attribution of bronze to Apamea is not certain; Houghton *op. cit.*, p. 29. Laodicea struck silver but no royal bronze has been attributed to the city under the Seleucids.

²⁸ Silver coins were produced at Manbog (Hierapolis) by the priest-kings 'Abd Hadad and 'Abyati, and for Alexander the Great and Seleucus I. The

did not begin in northern Syria until c. 169 BC, during the reign of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV. The first cities to strike included a number which issued civic coins discussed in this study; Antioch, Seleucia, and Hierapolis, and further south, Apamea, and Laodicea. Their apparent lack of uniformity as a whole seems to indicate that they were not organised as part of a royal scheme for civic coinage, although royal patronage is not inconceivable, since the cities all began striking at about the same time. Under Alexander Balas there were further issues of civic bronze in the region: at Antioch, Seleucia, Cyrrhus, Laodicea and Apamea, and an issue of coins for Antioch and Seleucia inscribed 'adelphon demon' is attributed to his reign. Since these are the only two Seleucid rulers for whom a civic coinage in northern Syria was issued, it is difficult to draw comparisons between these civic coinages and the later coinages struck under Roman rule.²⁹

However, the system of coinages issued under these rulers is not dissimilar to that which we find in the Roman period. The main royal mints were situated in the capitals of each province. In northern Syria this was Antioch, although other cities such as Seleucia seem also to have produced sporadic royal coinages. These royal coinages consisted of silver tetradrachms and bronze coins without city ethnics. In addition there were the occasional civic coinages, always of bronze, usually bearing the royal portrait and a city ethnic, some of which were produced in the cities which were also royal mints. This compares quite well with an imperial silver coinage, mostly of tetradrachms, an imperial bronze coinage, and a series of civic bronze coinages which we find in northern Syria during the Roman period.

The background to the Roman conquest of Syria, and the first issues of coinage in the new province, lies in the fratricidal wars of the Seleucid dynasty and Rome's relations with both that kingdom and Armenia. The details of the final years of the Seleucid kingdom need not concern us, but a

coinage of the priest-kings may, therefore, predate the final collapse of Achaemenid power. H. Seyrig, 'Le monnayage de Hiéropolis de Syrie a l'époque d'Alexandre', *RN* 13 (1971), pp. 11-21.

²⁹ A discussion and full list of cities striking civic coinages under Antiochus IV is given by O. Mørkholm in *Antiochus IV of Syria*, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, Dissertationes VIII, Copenhagen 1966, pp. 125-30. Whether or not this represents a new spirit of autonomy in relations between the Seleucid king and his cities will not be discussed here. On the 'Adelphon demon' issues, Houghton, *op. cit.* n. 1, p. 26.

rough outline of the interrelation between historical events and the civic coinages of the cities is necessary.

As the Seleucid kingdom collapsed, grants of autonomy to cities left them free to strike their own coinages in both silver and bronze. The prolonged feud between Antiochus VIII (Grypus) and Antiochus IX (Cyzicenus) came to an end in 96 BC when Antiochus Grypus was murdered, but the conflict was destined to outlive them both and bring about the complete disintegration of the Seleucid monarchy. In the wake of the Seleucid kingdom's collapse city states were able to assert themselves, and petty kingdoms developed throughout Syria. Grypus is thought to have freed Seleucia, since its era of autonomy on coins dates to 109 BC, although there was a royal issue for Demetrius III dated year twenty (89/8 BC), which was the first year in which Seleucia began issuing its distinct autonomous bronze coinage.³⁰ In the complex series of conflicts which mark the end of Seleucid influence in Syria, the sons of Grypus prevailed, but soon quarrelled amongst themselves, reducing their sphere of influence to little more than the northwestern corner of Syria and eastern Cilicia. Demetrius III occupied Antioch, 92-89 BC, and during his reign the city began to issue a non-regal bronze coinage (see catalogue below) in its own name. This may have marked the end of royal bronze coinage at Antioch (Demetrius issued bronzes which are attributed to Antioch, *eg* Houghton, *op. cit.*, no. 391), but it is not altogether clear whether any later rulers issued regal bronze there. The bronzes of Philip Philadelphus cited by Houghton, nos. 395-6, p. 25, appear to me to be cores of plated tetradrachms, and the attribution of bronzes of Tigranes to Antioch has been doubted.³¹

The death of Philip Philadelphus and his brother Antiochus XII, king of Damascus, brought the king of Armenia, Tigranes, to control of the Seleucid realm. Tigranes freed Laodicea and probably Apamea, the former first coining in 80/79 BC and the latter in 77/6 BC. Seleucia may have commenced its autonomous bronze in response to Tigranes' occupation of Syria, since the city was reputed to have refused to recognise him.³²

³⁰ For Seleucia, see A.R. Bellinger, 'The End of the Seleucids', *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 38 (1949), p. 69, n. 47. On Demetrius' coins, see Houghton, *op. cit.*, p. 28, no. 414; for the subsequent autonomous coinage, see catalogue below.

³¹ For Tigranes and a coinage at Antioch, see C. Foss, 'The Coinage of Tigranes the Great: Problems, Suggestions and a New Find', *NC* 1986, pp. 19-66, in particular p. 59.

³² The eras of Apamea and Laodicea are discussed by Seyrig, *Eres*, pp. 15-20 and 26-32.

In 72 BC Lucullus defeated Mithradates VI of Pontus and forced him to take refuge in Armenia. Lucullus then dispatched his brother-in-law Ap. Claudius Pulcher to Antioch to demand that Tigranes, as king of Armenia, surrender Mithradates to the Romans. Tigranes refused, and Lucullus invaded Armenia (69 BC). The invasion of his home kingdom forced Tigranes to withdraw from Syria, and into the power vacuum stepped a grandson of Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, Antiochus XIII (Asiaticus), who had the nominal support of Lucullus. Tigranes was defeated in 69 BC, leaving Antiochus XIII as rightful king of Syria, until he was challenged by a son of Philip Philadelphus, Philip II (Barypous). The struggles of these petty kings have left no trace in the bronze coinage. In 64 BC Pompey defeated Mithradates and came to Antioch, where Antiochus XIII was based. The Seleucid claimants had proved unable to maintain any security in the Levant, and no doubt they were now no more important in Roman eyes than the minor Syrian kings with whom they vied for power, such as Sampsigeramus of Emisa, or Ptolemy of Iturean Chalcis. Pompey's intention was to turn Syria into a Roman province. Antiochus XIII was dismissed. Antioch was supposedly granted its freedom, although the legends on its coinage remained unchanged, with no mention of autonomy. Seleucia was honoured in a similar fashion, supposedly for having refused to recognise Tigranes. A new era was established at Antioch, reckoned from the date of Tigranes' surrender to Pompey in the autumn of 66 BC.

The Pompeian era (64-48 BC)

The history of Roman Syria down to the reign of Augustus is well documented. There is little point in discussing it in detail. Antioch was made the administrative capital of the new province. Pompey returned to Italy in 62 BC, leaving M. Aemilius Scaurus as a makeshift governor. The first properly appointed governor was L. Marcius Philippus, appointed in 59 BC. Thereafter the governors were apparently normally meant to hold office for one year. There were exceptions. In 57 BC A. Gabinius was appointed to Syria to deal with the growing power of the Arab dynasts. He instituted a number of reforms, but he was accused of embezzlement and recalled in 55. His successor M. Licinius Crassus was killed in 54 fighting the Parthians, and C. Cassius Longinus, Crassus' quaestor, became governor in his stead, but was unable to check the victorious Parthians' advance into Syria.

Cassius was besieged at Antioch, but managed to arrange a counter attack.³³ The Parthians remained a serious threat during the governorship of Cassius' successor, M. Calpurnius Bibulus, who died in office, October 50 BC.

Following the Roman conquest the mints in northern Syria striking coinage were, in every case, cities that had struck coinage in the preceding decades. The coinage produced was in many cases of the same types and module as those which had gone before; Antioch continued to produce the same types and denominations, as did Seleucia, Laodicea, and Apamea. There was, therefore, no apparent attempt by the Romans to change the coinages of the new province. Antioch certainly produced coinage in its third year of the new Pompeian era, which was in fact the first year of the Roman occupation, and Seleucia and Laodicea seem to have continued the production of coinage as before, dating according to their own city eras (both Seleucia and Laodicea struck in 65/4 BC). Apamea did not strike for several years, not until year seven (60/59 BC), its coinage dated by the same era as Antioch. Seyrig thought that this gap in production might have been a result of Pompey's treatment of Apamea (the city was besieged by him in 63 BC), but in the light of similar (presumed) instances for other cities at different times it is clear that a break in production of coinage is not a very good indicator of the humiliation of a city. This pattern of minting continued down to 47 BC. Parthian attacks on Syria had little effect on the production of coinage, and all four cities of the Tetrapolis struck coins c. 51 BC. Antioch's production of bronze seems to have coincided roughly with the issue of tetradrachms at the same city (see Figure 2, Chapter 2.1, section B. i). No inland cities beyond the valley of the Orontes produced any coinage. In Commagene a regal coinage for Antiochus I was issued (Catalogue nos. 1-2).

From Julius Caesar to Antonius (48-31 BC))

After the defeat of Pompey in the civil war with Caesar (6 June 48 BC), Pompey occupied Cyprus and planned to escape to Antioch, but Syria refused to welcome him and he fled to Alexandria, where he was murdered by the advisors of the boy-king Ptolemy XIII. Caesar, after becoming embroiled with the domestic troubles of the Ptolemies in the winter of 48/7 BC, visited Syria on his way to Pontus. The cities of Laodicea and Antioch were particularly honoured. A new grant of freedom was made to both

³³ G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab conquest*, Princeton, 1961, p. 150. The counter attack is dated Oct. 7th, 51 BC, according to Cicero, *ad Att.* 5.21.

cities, and Laodicea adopted the name 'Julia'. The details of the grant of freedom to Antioch (about May 20th, 47 BC) are preserved in part by Malalas.³⁴ The first coins of the new era of Caesar contain the first four titles of the city as in the declaration cited by Malalas.

Caesar left Syria in the charge of a relative, Sex. Julius Caesar. In 46 BC, Q. Caecilius Bassus, an adherent of Pompey, led a mutiny at Apamea, and killed Sextus Caesar. A new governor, L. Antistius Vetus, managed to keep Bassus at bay, but the war between the governors and Bassus continued until the end of 44 BC when Cassius, one of Caesar's assassins, reached Syria. Cassius, who had been governor of the province some years earlier, managed to maintain control of the province and succeeded in defeating the legitimate governor of Syria, Cornelius Dolabella. Cassius 'ruled' Syria until 42 BC and was confirmed as governor by the Senate. He left late in the summer of 42, with a considerable number of troops, to join Brutus in the struggle against the supporters of Caesar, leaving Q. Atius Labienus on a mission to enlist the help of Orodes II of Parthia. After the Battle of Philippi (October 42) and the deaths of Brutus and Cassius, Labienus stayed in Parthia. M. Antonius arrived in Syria to organise finances and appointed Decidius Saxa as governor (summer 41 BC). Dio 48.24.3 and Plutarch, *Ant.* 24 record disaffection as a result of Antonius' activities. Labienus judged the time was right when Antonius left for Egypt and became visibly entangled in the affairs of Egypt and Cleopatra VII in particular. With the assistance of the Parthian heir-apparent, Pacorus, Labienus invaded Syria, coerced the legions there which had supported Cassius into open revolt, and took Apamea early in 40 BC. He defeated Saxa, taking Antioch and driving Saxa's forces into Cilicia. The Parthians reputedly overran all of Syria apart from Tyre³⁵, and Labienus gained control of a large portion of southern Asia Minor. In the summer of 39 BC Antonius sent his general Ventidius into Cilicia. Labienus was defeated there and died soon after. Ventidius then forced the Syrian gates, defeated and killed Pacorus and recovered Syria. Antonius arrived in 38 and took over from Ventidius who was attacking Commagene, the ruler of which, Antiochus I, was accused of collaborating with the Parthians. Antiochus surrendered his capital Samosata to Antonius.³⁶ Antonius appointed C. Sosius as governor, and left Syria in his charge, returning there in the autumn of the following year with plans

³⁴ Malalas 216. 15-7.

³⁵ Dio 48.24.3; 48.25.3-4.

³⁶ Josephus, *Ant.* 14. 439-40.

for an invasion of Parthia. He married Cleopatra, probably at Antioch, and presented her with various territories which he controlled.³⁷ He also bestowed honours on a number of cities. In the spring of 36 he set out on his Parthian campaign, but returned, defeated, in the autumn.³⁸

Caesar's visit to Syria in 47 BC seems to have had a marked effect; not only did it initiate a new era at Antioch and Laodicea but at the same time the weight of the large bronze denomination at Antioch was increased and a new large denomination at Laodicea was introduced. Periods of Antiochene bronze output continued to coincide with issues of tetradrachms. A considerable spate of countermarking on the reformed bronze of Antioch took place in or after 45/4 BC; it may have been connected with the issue of very large module bronzes of the same type struck in 42/1 BC, which in itself may be connected with Cassius' military operations and preparations for the war with Antonius and Octavian. Similarly the Parthian invasions under Pacorus and Labienus in 40 BC may have resulted in the revival of the Seleucid era at Antioch and Apamea in that year.³⁹ The recovery of Syria by Antonius resulted in further changes; the module of the bronze coinage of Antioch was reduced to something like the pre-Caesarean standard, and an Antonian era was introduced at Apamea (but soon abandoned), and, more permanently, at Rhodus, which began striking coins in this period.⁴⁰ Coinages were also struck bearing Antonius' portrait at Balanea, Marathus and Aradus, probably in connection with their break up of the 'empire of Aradus' by Antonius.⁴¹ These are the first portrait coinages of the Roman period in northern Syria, along with silver issues which bore the portraits of Antonius and Cleopatra of Egypt. In Commagene the city of Samosata began issuing coins with no reference to the King. These are undated, but the fact that they are sometimes overstruck on the larger reformed coins of Antioch suggests that they are roughly contemporary with these issues, since the Antiochene denomination was reduced again in about 39/8 BC. They would therefore seem to be contemporary with the reign of Antiochus

³⁷ Baldus, 'Syria', in A.M. Burnett, M.H. Crawford (eds.), *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic*, BAR International Series 326, 1978, p. 125.

³⁸ Florus, 2. 20.10; Orosius, 6. 19.1.

³⁹ Baldus, *loc. cit.*, n. 37, p. 125.

⁴⁰ Baldus, *loc. cit.*, pp. 137-8.

⁴¹ Baldus, p. 132-3; he also cites a coin of Antonius from Apamea, but the identification is incorrect.

I, and not confined to a period after the capture of Samosata by Antonius.⁴² All the while production of Syrian civic coinage continued in a sporadic fashion, and no political motives can be discerned for activity or inactivity at any major mint.⁴³

Augustus (27 BC - AD 14)

Antonius' power was broken at Actium (September 31 BC), and Octavian visited Syria in 31/30 BC. No apparent changes were made to the coinage of northern Syria in the early years of Augustus' rule. In the reorganised scheme of Augustus' empire Syria was made an imperial province, governed by a legatus, of consular or praetorian rank, appointed by the emperor for an indeterminate period and dismissed at the emperor's pleasure. In 20 BC the emperor paid a second visit to Antioch.

Over a period of years, probably beginning no earlier than the penultimate decade of the first century BC, Augustus' administration introduced an entirely new coinage at Antioch. All earlier types on the Antiochene coinage with ethnics were abandoned c. 19/8 BC, and never revived. A new group of denominations was introduced, a 'sestertius' (a denomination not struck subsequently) and two smaller denominations, one group bearing the letters SC and the other CA (Catalogue nos. 38-42). Their legends were in Latin and they bore Augustus' portrait. Their exact date is uncertain. Assuming that their attribution to Antioch is correct, they must be before 5/4 BC, from which date there is a secure stylistic sequence for Antiochene coinage until the end of Augustus' reign. Their imperial titulature shows that they are after 23 BC. Burnett and Amandry have suggested a date in the 10's BC (*RPC* nos. 4101-5). It is tempting to link the end of the traditional bronze coinage of Antioch and the introduction of these imperial coins with the *imperium* of Agrippa in the east, 23-21 BC, and again in 17/6-13 BC, or perhaps in connection with Augustus' visit to the east in 20. An important figure, rather than the governor of Syria, would likewise have been in a position to introduce a similar type in Cyprus.⁴⁴ Perhaps it is to this period, or maybe a little later, that the denomination with the reverse bearing the title AVGVSTVS in a wreath

⁴² Baldus, pp. 145-6.

⁴³ Some Roman-style coinages with Latin legends have been attributed to Syria, eg. dupondii of Q. Oppius, attributed to Antioch and Laodicea or Apamea by Grant, *FITA* p. 61-4, although there is no evidence whatsoever to support such attributions.

⁴⁴ M. Amandry, 'Le monnayage Julio-Claudian a Chypre: I. Auguste', *Centre d'etudes Chypriotes*, Cahier 7, 1987/1, pp. 25-6.

belongs (Catalogue no. 43). A second issue of SC coinage began in about 5/4 BC (Catalogue nos. 44-46), or perhaps a little later. A very small issue of CA coins seem to be associated (no. 47). The legate P. Quinctilius Varus may have been responsible for the beginning of this issue, but they may equally belong to the governorship of Varus' successor (*ignotus*). One die bears a Greek obverse legend and the obverse is surrounded by a filleted rather than a dotted border, characteristic of contemporary tetradrachms.⁴⁵ There were only two denominations of this imperial coinage, but smaller coins bearing the Antiochene ethnic were reintroduced, although they bear different types to those prior to 19/8 BC. They were first produced under Varus, and the larger of these minor denominations bears his name. There was also an issue of bronze coins of the same size and weight as the SC coins, probably intended to be the same denominations, which bear the portrait of Augustus on the obverse and the wreath of an *archiereus* on the reverse, with the legend 'archieratikon Antiocheis', accompanied by a date according to the Actian era. This so-called 'archieratic coinage', issued over four years, 5/4-2/1 BC, seems to honour Augustus as High Priest of Antioch. It appears to be roughly contemporary with the second issue of SC coinage. The dating and groupings of issues of SC bronze and related coinages will be discussed in more detail in the catalogue.

The SC coins were to remain the standard bronze coinage for Antioch and probably for Roman Syria for the next two centuries. This should be seen as a deliberate move to create an 'imperial' bronze coinage for Syria. There may have been experiments with other types, for example, the 'sestertii' and CA coins of Augustus and the 'Commagene' dupondii of Tiberius and Vespasian, but the SC coinage prevailed. This SC coinage was produced far more frequently than the issues of other cities. It was struck for almost every emperor of the first century AD, excluding only Gaius (although SC coins were countermarked in his reign), Vitellius, and Titus. Production was still intermittent, and gaps of up to a decade are possible, but no other civic coinages of northern Syria can compare with it in volume or frequency. The pattern at Antioch was now firmly set; the coinage consisted of the two large SC denominations and two or three smaller denominations with ethnics. Proconsular governors' names appear

⁴⁵ Catalogue no. 44; Wruck p. 24 thought it was actually a tetradrachm die, Howgego p. 8 disagrees; no die-link between these bronzes and tetradrachms has yet proved it, but such a link is possible.

on some of the coins with ethnics, but neither occur on the SC coinage. Occasionally in the first century AD large denominations, corresponding in size and weight to the SC denominations, were struck with Antiochene ethnics and the governor's name. Under Tiberius these 'legate coins' were produced as special issues, and were not struck at the same time as the SC coinage. Furthermore they are characterised by the use of Greek rather than Latin legends. Later issues of the legate coinage with Antiochene ethnics occur in the reigns of Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho and Vespasian, but this time the obverse language is in Latin. This, however, seems to be the result of these coins being produced at the same time as the SC coinages, and as a matter of expediency obverse dies used to produce the more plentiful SC coinage were also used to produce the coins with ethnics. The intermittent nature of the coinages with ethnics may imply that they are to all intents and purposes a civic coinage, financed by the city authorities, and not an imperial coinage as was the SC coinage.

There was a further refinement of the SC coinage later in the reign of Augustus, after about AD 4/5, with the introduction of a dot or pellet, placed at various fixed points in the reverse field (see appendix 2). It is not clear what the significance of the dot is, but its absence or presence, and its regular positioning at twelve, three, six or nine o'clock anticipates the use of numeral letters which eventually replaced it.

Elsewhere in northern Syria, Seleucia and Rhodus issued coins under Augustus. Their bronze coinages are little different to those that had been issued in preceding decades, but at Seleucia, silver tetradrachms bore the emperor's portrait. Seleucia's bronze coinage bore traditional types. None of the issues of these cities was very great, and the denominations are all smaller than the new SC denominations of Antioch.

Tiberius (AD 14-37)

Under Tiberius there were few developments. Very early in his reign Antioch struck large denominations with Greek legends and an ethnic. There was an almost identical issue of large bronzes at Seleucia just over a year later. The dies for both the Antiochene and Seleucian bronzes may have been engraved by the same craftsmen.

The presence of Germanicus in the east, AD 17-19, appointed to deal with two difficult political problems, that of Parthia and Armenia and that of the Jews, seems to have had no influence on the coinage. No Antiochene

issues can be attributed to this period.⁴⁶ A large issue of what are supposed to be dupondii and asses, usually attributed to Commagene, were struck circa AD 19-21, contemporary with the government of Cn. Sentius Saturninus, who replaced Cn. Calpurnius Piso, the legate accused of conspiracy against Germanicus.⁴⁷ They may indeed be issues for the newly created province of Commagene, but they seem to have circulated widely in northern Syria and may equally be issues of Antioch. The attribution of this coinage to Commagene rests on the main reverse type, a caduceus between a pair of crossed cornucopiae. It occurs as a Commagenian coin type only on coins referring to Antiochus IV's two sons, Epiphanes and Callinicus (for this coin and its probable prototype, see Catalogue, Commagene no. 14, below). The crossed cornucopiae found on the dupondii occur as a countermark type, probably of Flavian date, on the coinage of Antiochus IV of Commagene, but again this could be a countermark belonging to the rebellion of Epiphanes and Callinicus, and hence the Commagenian context of the crossed cornucopiae is simply a reference to Antiochus' sons, and not a symbol of Commagene. The caduceus is an Antiochene type (see Catalogue, introduction to section on Antioch), but also occurs under Hadrian on coins of Samosata, the capital of Commagene (Catalogue, Samosata nos. 9, 10, 11, 13, 15). The smaller denomination in this issue of Tiberian coinage bears corn ears arranged either side of a caduceus, which is not known as a type at all on Commagenian coins. That these coins of Tiberius were widespread in Syria has been shown by site finds and countermarks. The countermarks found on the 'Commagene dupondii' often occur on Antiochene SC bronze as well, but rarely if ever on coins of other cities. Why should Commagene be given an 'imperial' coinage all of its own, when otherwise the 'imperial' coinage of Antioch seems to have sufficed for the whole of Syria? After AD 72, and in the second century, when Commagene was a Roman province again, with mints operating there, no comparable coinage was struck by a Commagenian city. The only other possible 'Commagene' coinage occurs under Vespasian, although in this case it appears that the coins were not struck in Syria at all, but at Rome, from whence they were sent to Syria (Catalogue, 'Coinage Probably Produced at Rome', nos. 1-3). This phenomenon is certain for

⁴⁶ SC coins bearing the portrait of Germanicus probably belong to the reign of Claudius; see below.

⁴⁷ A countermark found on these coins has been interpreted as a mark of Germanicus, but this is one of several interpretations; see *GIC* no. 528.

some of Vespasian's coinage at Antioch. For Tiberius, Antioch seems just as likely a place of minting and distribution as Commagene.

The SC coinage was revived later in the reign of Tiberius, AD 31/2. It probably dates to the governorship of L. Pomponius Flaccus, who also struck a civic coinage at Antioch, AD 33/4. This SC coinage circulated widely and was countermarked with a wide variety of stamps, as were the so-called Commagene dupondii.

Elsewhere, the pattern of civic bronze coinage remained much the same. Seleucia's contribution to Tiberian coinage has been mentioned above; along with the large Antiochene style denomination were some smaller denominations with traditional types, but like Antiochene civic coinage they bear the name of the legate. Rhosus seems to have issued coins with the imperial portrait (Catalogue, Rhosus no. 9). Further to the south, Laodicea ad Mare struck a large coinage of non-portrait types.⁴⁸

Gaius (AD 37-41)

Under Gaius there was no new production of coinage at Antioch, but old coins were countermarked throughout most of his reign (Catalogue nos. 87-90).

Claudius (AD 41-54)

The SC issues of Claudius seem to have been particularly prolific, or at least, his coinage survives in a greater quantity than any other emperor of the first century. This high survival rate (and probably high output) has not been noted before, and in published references it has sometimes been obscured by misidentification (see section on volume of production). There were at least three issues, of which one, to be dated around AD 47/8, survives in huge quantities. Bellinger thought that their high frequency at Dura was unusual, but I have found that these coins are common

⁴⁸ There would appear to be no evidence from Syria to support the theory that civic coinage nearly died out in the east under Tiberius. Crawford, *CMMR* p. 271-2, discusses the matter, but the only 'eastern' evidence he cites for the near-extinction of civic coinage is Greece. Nor is there any need to assume that the appearance of Latin legends on the large 'legate bronzes' is in any way connected with a step by Claudius to revive civic bronze, after it 'nearly died in the east under Tiberius'. Claudian legate bronzes are much rarer than comparable issues under Tiberius, struck for Antioch and Seleucia, and the presence of Latin legends is merely the result of re-using obverse dies produced for SC bronzes, which at this date always have Latin legends. Claudius struck *no* smaller civic denominations at Antioch, which is inexplicable, if he were 'reviving' civic coinage.

throughout northern Syria.⁴⁹ No satisfactory explanation of this output can be offered.

Coins were also struck at Antioch in memory of Germanicus; at least, the fabric and style of coins bearing Germanicus' portrait are very close to coins which bear Claudius' portrait. It is possible that there was more than one mint for the SC coinage of Claudius, since the major issues show a continuity of style between the preceding and succeeding reigns, yet there are issues of anomalous style which do not appear to be imitations. Among the other cities of northern Syria, Rhodus issued some large pieces, similar in module to the SC coinage. An issue of coins of Antiochus IV of Commagene (Catalogue, Antiochus IV, group 4) may belong in whole or in part to the reign of Claudius. Other issues of the same ruler are probably later. In its denominations and inspiration the coinage of Antiochus IV resembles the SC coinage of Antioch, and it may have had much closer connections with Antioch than mere appearances. Its similarity to the SC coinage of Nero, Galba and Otho may indicate that some of it was produced by the Antiochene mint, or perhaps the dies were engraved by Antiochene craftsmen. Antiochus certainly gave military assistance to Vespasian, and may have helped during the Jewish war, although the dating of Antiochus' issues is too obscure to construe any connection between military aid and his regal coinage.

Nero (AD 54-68)

The reign of Nero was notable for a considerable amount of diplomatic and military activity on the eastern frontier, centred around the kingdom of Armenia. Rome disputed the appointment of a Parthian nominee, Tiridates, the brother of the Parthian king Vologaeses, to the Armenian throne, and Tiridates was forced to withdraw from Armenia when the kingdom was invaded by troops under Cn. Domitius Corbulo, governor of Galatia and Cappadocia. The Romans set up their own nominee, Tigranes, as king, in AD 60, and Corbulo was appointed governor of Syria. In 61 Tigranes provoked trouble in Adiabene and the Parthians invaded Armenia. The new governor of Galatia and Cappadocia, Caesennius Paetus, responded by taking an army into Armenia. A crisis was precipitated when Paetus was defeated; it seemed that Rome would be forced to rely on the eastern *limes* as her frontier without buffer states against Parthia. Syria itself seemed under threat of a Parthian invasion, and Corbulo responded

⁴⁹ *Dura*, p. 203.

by building a chain of fortresses along the Euphrates and the north of the province. A diplomatic end to the conflict was sought, and the fortresses were demolished the following year in response to a Parthian withdrawal from Armenia. The serious threat of a Parthian attack on Syria only diminished with a diplomatic settlement, where Tiridates became king of Armenia, but received his diadem from Nero. Although this was a peaceful settlement, it compromised the Roman position more so than the Parthian, and Rome could no longer regard Armenia as a safe buffer. This state of affairs probably accounts for the changes which were subsequently made to the eastern provinces under Vespasian.

In AD 66 there was also a serious internal rebellion in Judaea, in which the inexperienced governor of Syria, C. Cestius Gallus, and his forces, were defeated. The future emperor Vespasian was appointed to a special command in Judaea and the governorship of Syria was given to C. Licinius Mucianus. The Judaeian rebellion was quickly contained, and the general peaceful state of affairs along the eastern frontier must have been relatively well assured for Vespasian and Mucianus to make the successful bid for supreme power in the civil wars following the collapse of Nero's regime.

There were several issues of SC bronze under Nero, many of which are now extremely rare. The number of dies involved seems to suggest that their present infrequency may not reflect the original size of these issues. The earliest group of SC issues is associated with civic coins with the name of the legate C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus; it is followed by one or perhaps two more issues, again probably under Quadratus, using a later form of Nero's titulature and a slightly later portrait, comparable to Nero's silver coinage dated Caesarean year 105, AD 56/7. Later groups of SC coins have likewise been dated according to style, portrait, and comparison with the styles of dated civic issues. Quadratus died in Syria in AD 60. Although no coins bear the name of Cn. Domitius Corbulo, there was an issue of civic bronze for Caesarean year 108 at Antioch (AD 59/60), and a contemporary issue of SC bronze, which may possibly be connected with Corbulo taking up office, and thus it may just possibly be connected with preparations for defence against the Parthians, but the argument is tenuous, since the major threat did not come about until 61-2. Of course, since the SC coins are undated, they may have been issued later than the dated civic coins, but using the present evidence it is not possible to say whether this issue has anything to do with Corbulo or not. It seems to have been quite a large

issue, since the numerous examples in museum collections display few die identities. In the archaeological record, however, it seems to be quite rare, which suggests that the survival rate for the coins is not high and the issue was presumably converted into a later issue, perhaps the coinages of Galba, Otho and Vespasian or Domitian.⁵⁰ The portrait of Nero on these coins is a young one. A later issue, with an older portrait (Catalogue nos. 130-131) has no associated dated bronze coinage, but is rather similar to tetradrachms dated Caesarean year 112 (AD 63/4). I know of only four surviving specimens of this issue. Much commoner is the next issue, which is stylistically similar to coins naming C. Cestius Gallus as legate, dated Caesarean year 114 (AD 65/6) - in fact, this issue seems to be the commonest surviving SC bronze issue for Nero. All known specimens of this last issue are of the smaller denomination of SC bronze. A rare issue of large denomination coins in the name of Cestius, inexplicably reverting to a young portrait, are dated to the following year, 115. For the first time since the reign of Augustus, small civic denominations were struck at Antioch, dated years 104, 105, 108, 114 and 115. The Neronian civic coinage of Antioch survives in fairly large numbers.⁵¹ The issues of 114 include a coin which is inscribed with a value: *chalcous*.⁵² Few other cities in the region struck bronze coinage under Nero. There are no bronze coins of Nero from Seleucia or Laodicea, although Laodicea issued silver (see following section on production of bronze coinage). Again a group of coins for Antiochus IV of Commagene is probably to be dated to the reign of Nero, perhaps associated with the mint at Antioch (Catalogue, Antiochus IV, group 1).

Galba and Otho (AD 68-69)

SC bronzes, large bronzes bearing the name of the legate C. Licinius Mucianus, and small civic denominations, were produced in Caesarean year 117. Whilst Galba's coinage is rare, Otho's coinage survives in moderate

⁵⁰ 'Probably some, if not all, coins from Domitian onwards contained remelted metals'. Giles F. Carter, 'Chemical Compositions of Copper-Based Roman Coins VIII. Bronze Coins minted in Antioch', *INJ* 6-7, 1982-3, pp. 23-38; this comment p. 37. No coins of Galba, Otho or Vespasian were analysed, but see my comments in the section on metrology and denominations.

⁵¹ 36 from the Antioch excavations, Waagé, p. 32. See also Appendix 4.

⁵² Catalogue no. 138; on its significance, see section on metrology and denominations

quantities. The absence of coinage in the name of Vitellius may well have a political explanation.⁵³

There may have been further issues of coinage for Antiochus IV in this period, and of all the issues, Antiochus IV groups 2 and 3 are most like the SC bronze of Galba and Otho, characterised by similar styles and bevelled flans.

Vespasian (AD 69-79)

Vespasian altered the boundaries and organisation of some eastern provinces, probably in response to the Armenian settlement of Nero's reign. Galatia and Cappadocia, which had become a military province (the intention may have been temporary) under Corbulo, was made a permanent military province. Within Syria, Antiochus of Commagene was deposed and Commagene itself was made a military district under the governor of Syria. The western possessions of Antiochus in Cilicia and Lycaonia were removed from Syria. The deposition of Antiochus was said to be because he had made overtures to the Parthians, but no doubt the uncertain position of eastern Anatolia made the kingdom of Commagene more of a liability than it had been previously. It was safer in Roman hands.

The Flavian period saw more experiments with the Syrian imperial coinage (on the silver, see below). There was a relative dearth of bronze coins produced early in Vespasian's reign. The first issue of SC bronze for Vespasian was struck at Antioch, AD 72-4. Some of the later SC bronze and related types may have been produced at Rome. This group of Rome style coinage includes coins with the reverse legend ANTIOCHIA and a bust of the Tyche of Antioch, and types which have usually been attributed to Commagene.⁵⁴ Unlike the regular Antiochene coins of this period, which have a twelve o'clock die axis, these Rome style coins have a consistent six o'clock die axis, concomitant with the practice of the mint of Rome.⁵⁵ On these coins Domitian is usually styled Consul for the second time, AD 73/4, although not all of the coins need necessarily be confined to that year. A

⁵³ The explanation given by Eckhel seems as valid now as it was when written: 'Eius numi Antiocheni non extant, cum Syria in his belli civilis Othoni adhaeserit', *Descriptio numorum Antiochiae Syriae*, Vienna, 1786, p. 29.

⁵⁴ Caduceus between crossed cornucopiae, caduceus alone; Catalogue nos. 1-3 and 10-12. On the attribution of these coins to Commagene, see the arguments presented above under Tiberius, above.

⁵⁵ I. Carradice and M. Cowell, 'The Minting of Roman Imperial Bronze Coins for Circulation in the East: Vespasian to Trajan', *NC* 147 (1987), pp. 26-50.

second group of SC coins struck at Antioch, also featuring Vespasian's sons Titus and Domitian, is associated with coins in the name of the legate M. Ulpius Traianus, and civic bronzes, dated Caesarean years 125 and 126, AD 76-78. An SC bronze of Titus is die-linked to a legate bronze, indicating that the issue was more or less contemporary with the dated coinage, although the SC bronzes may have extended over a longer period; one of these SC bronzes of Vespasian carries the title *cos. v.* (AD 74). In AD 75 there was a conflict with the Parthians.⁵⁶ However, since the SC coinage may have been issued between AD 74 and 78, this conflict would not seem to account for most of this coinage, and it would be stretching the evidence to suggest that it was produced in response to hostilities. For some reason the smaller denomination of SC bronze in the name of Domitian seems to survive in far greater quantities than any coins in the name of his father or elder brother.

Otherwise, under Vespasian, there is no activity at any other mint in the region.⁵⁷

Titus (AD 79-81)

At Seleucia there was an issue dated year 188 of the era of the city, under the legate L. Ceionius Commodus. Otherwise there is no known coinage in the region during the short reign of Titus.

Domitian (AD 81-96)

Under Domitian a copious coinage was struck at Antioch. It consists only of SC bronzes, mostly of the larger denomination. There is no clear division between potentially different issues, but at some point in the reign the reverse system of dots, employed from the time of Augustus, was replaced by a new system, using numeral letters placed under the letters SC. The bronze coinage, having no comparable dated coinage with which to compare it, is extremely difficult to date.⁵⁸ An early date in the reign seems likely, since the portrait type is like Domitian's portrait at Rome under Vespasian and Titus, and the tetradrachms and dated coinage of Laodicea shows that Domitian's later *imago* from his own reign was current in Syria by about AD 88. Carradice has suggested that the SC bronze is no later than AD 82/3, before Domitian adopted the title 'Germanicus', and that the

⁵⁶ Pliny, *Pan.* 14; 16; Victor, *de Caesaribus* 9.10; *Epitome de Caesaribus* 9.12.

⁵⁷ A coin of Seleucia without an imperial portrait, dated year 180, is doubtful; see Catalogue.

⁵⁸ The style of many dated Syrian tetradrachms seems not to be the work of Antiochene die-engravers, see below, section on production of silver, B.xii.

subsequent Athena/Minerva countermark 'was employed in Antioch as a form of re-striking in order to maintain the SC bronze coinage's relationship with Domitian's bronze coinage [of Rome]'.⁵⁹

Nerva (AD 96-98)

The only active mint during the brief reign of Nerva was Antioch, which struck SC bronzes with numeral letters, following the pattern set under Domitian. The coins survive in large quantities. There was also an issue of small denomination civic bronzes. Their date, Caesarean year 145 (AD 96/7), may be contemporary with the SC bronzes. Unlike the later civic coins of Antioch, these do not carry numeral letters.

Trajan (AD 98-117)

Trajan's Syrian bronze coinage is very complex. As under Vespasian, it is characterised by issues which were probably produced both at Rome and at Antioch. The first of these, struck in orichalcum, with six o'clock die axes (and therefore probably from Rome), seems to be the earliest of Trajan's Syrian coinage, and belongs to the beginning of his reign, to AD 98/9. The language used is Greek, a notable change from the previous adherence to Latin on imperial coins of Syria. It consists of a group of four denominations, all with the legend *tr.p. cos. ii* in Greek, the largest two with this legend in a wreath, and the smaller two with caduceus and club with bow and olive branch (Catalogue nos. 14-17). The caduceus seems merely to repeat the Rome style coin of Vespasian, of the same denomination.⁶⁰ A comparison of larger denominations of Trajan with the

⁵⁹ I. Carradice, 'Coinage in Judaea in the Flavian Period, AD 70-96', *INJ* 6-7 (1982-3), pp. 14-21, here pp. 17; 19-20 and note 11. He also suggests that the Antioch mint either went over to producing Domitian's 'Judaea capta' coinage, or that Antioch mint personnel were transferred to Judaea. He draws a stylistic parallel between the SC bronze and his group 2 of Domitian's 'Judaea capta' issues. Interesting though the idea is, I am not wholly convinced; if a stylistic parallel is to be sought, then the 'Judaea capta' coinage seems closer to Domitian's second issue at Laodicea ad Mare. Laodicea struck two issues of coin under Domitian. The first, with a crude style, younger portrait, is dated by the Caesarean era of Laodicea, year 132 (AD 84/5), and the second, with a later portrait, year 141 (AD 93/4). The style of the bronze produced for Domitian at Balanea-Leucas, dated year 43 of an uncertain Claudian era, indicates a close connection between the these and the later issues of the same emperor at Laodicea. A similar style likewise occurs at Aradus, dated year 352 of Aradus, AD 93/4, and for Marathus, with the same date. Comparison with most of the Syrian tetradrachms causes some difficulties, since it is not clear which tetradrachms, if any, were struck at Antioch under Domitian; see chapter 2.1, section B. xii.

⁶⁰ Mean weight for this denomination under Vespasian 3.08g; under Trajan, 3.10g.

Rome style coins of Vespasian indicates that they are compatible.⁶¹ More or less contemporary with these coins was an issue of bronze in the name of the Koinon of Syria. Like the above pieces they were probably struck at Rome. The entire group seems to belong to the period of Trajan's second consulship, AD 98/9.

Much of the coinage of Syria has been seen against the background of Trajan's Parthian war, AD 114-117⁶², and there is good ground for assuming that various cities did issue bronze in connection with these campaigns. The emperor arrived at Seleucia Pieria in the winter of 113/4, to conduct the war in person. In 114 Trajan campaigned in Armenia, and was given the title 'Optimus' (= Aristos) in the same year.⁶³ 115 was probably the year in which he conquered and consolidated northern Mesopotamia. In 116 he succeeded in gaining control of southern Mesopotamia, but there was a major revolt in these territories in 116 or 117, and after Trajan's death in 117 Mesopotamia was given up. The title 'Parthicus' appears on Trajan's coins of 115/6.⁶⁴

The first issue of SC coins from the mint of Antioch is difficult to date. There may in fact be several issues among the coins which have been grouped under the 'first issue' in the catalogue, since there are a number of styles apparent, but this may simply indicate more than one engraver at work. The language of the SC coins was now Greek, and remained so until the type was abandoned in the third century. On this first issue the title 'Aristos' is absent, providing a *terminus ante quem* of about AD 114 for this issue. Comparison with the dated tetradrachms which I attribute to Antioch shows that some of the SC coins of the first issue bear a similarity to silver of about AD 112/3. A second issue of bronze, of different style and generally copying a later imago, always carries the title 'Aristos', and usually 'Parthicus' as well, and must be in or after AD 115/6. Unlike 'Aristos', the presence or absence of 'Parthicus' has no chronological significance, it would seem, for on dated coins of Laodicea 'Parthicus' is sometimes included

⁶¹ Largest denomination, for Vespasian 11.86g, for Trajan 12.74g.

⁶² Eg. J. P. Rey-Coquais, 'Syrie Romaine, de Pompée à Dioclétien', *JRS* LXVIII (1978), p. 54.

⁶³ The title 'Aristos' appears on Syrian tetradrachms issued during Trajan's 18th tribunician power, AD 113/4; Wruck, no. 170; others of the same date are without the title; Wruck, nos. 167-9. The fact that more tetradrachms of this date without the title 'Aristos' survive suggests that it was not adopted at the very beginning of the year at least.

⁶⁴ The chronology is based on F.A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, Oxford, 1948, pp. 95-96.

among his titles, and sometimes omitted, although the coins were issued over two years, AD 114/5-115/6.⁶⁵

Another group of Rome style bronzes were produced for Syria, c. AD 115. They have generally been recognised as orichalcum asses and semisses.⁶⁶ Unlike the previous issue of Rome style bronzes under Trajan, the language of these is Latin. Their connection with the military has been implied by the movement of the asses from Syria to northern Europe, perhaps with troops returning from the Parthian wars.⁶⁷ Less well recognised is an issue of very small denomination pieces, again in the Rome style (Catalogue no. 24). There is an unusually high occurrence in Syria of quadrantes of the type with a head of Heracles on the obverse and a standing boar on the reverse.⁶⁸

The civic coinage of the region, belonging to the earlier part of Trajan's reign, is confined to Rhodus, which struck two issues, the first in AD 98, and the second in AD 106/7. Both are very rare, and struck from very few dies.

At the end of Trajan's reign, during the period of the Parthian wars, a copious coinage was produced at most of the cities in northern Syria. This included four of the inland cities on the west side of the Euphrates; Chalcis, Beroea, Hierapolis and Cyrrhus, which had not struck coins before during the Roman period. The coinage at Hierapolis was directly inspired by the SC bronze of Antioch, and one type carries the letters SC as well as the normal legend found on coins of Hierapolis. The use of SC here on one coin may not be significant and may be the result of copying the coinage of Antioch, but there are other factors which seem to indicate that these coins of Hierapolis were the first of the voluminous 'legend in wreath' series that was struck throughout northern Syria in the second century AD, and that Antiochene SC bronze served as the model.⁶⁹ Firstly, there seem to be two issues, the earlier of which does not carry the title 'aristos', but was later countermarked API, and secondly, these coins are produced on slightly larger flans to their counterparts at Beroea, Chalcis and Cyrrhus, but flans which compare well with the issues of Antioch. The coinages of the other

⁶⁵ *BMC* 40-53.

⁶⁶ W.E. Metcalf, 'A Note on Trajan's Latin *Aes* from Antioch', *ANSMN* 22 (1977), pp. 67-70.

⁶⁷ See below, chapter 3.4.

⁶⁸ J.M.C. Bowsher, 'Trajanic Quadrantes from Arabia', *NC* 147 (1987), pp. 166-8. Both Heracles and the boar are appropriate types for Laodicea, but such an attribution seems bizarre to say the least.

⁶⁹ See section on denominations and metrology.

three cities are very much alike in the alternate use of two reverse types: the 'legend in wreath'; and a representation of the most important deity at the city. Trajan's title 'Aristos' is always used on the issues of these three cities. On the coast, a coinage of similar appearance to those of Beroea, Chalcis and Cyrrhus was struck at Seleucia Pieria. All of the coinages in this group carry 'numeral letters' (see appendix 2). Further south Laodicea issued a large number of coins dated years 162-3, AD 113/4-114/5, and a similar coinage was struck in the same years at Aradus.⁷⁰ The temptation to connect these ubiquitous issues with Trajan's Parthian war is irresistible, and, in this case, not inconceivable. Certainly the cities of inland Syria which struck for Trajan were likely places from which to launch the attack on Mesopotamia, and one can envisage a fair amount of activity at the major ports in connection with the war. But were these issues wholly commercial or did they relate to military pay, as is presumed for the SC bronze of this period? The use of ethnics would seem to indicate that they are 'civic' and not 'imperial', that is, they are not the special coinage of the emperor, but it is always possible that either the presence of a campaigning army encouraged the production of coins, or the part of the burden of providing coinage for the army was placed on the cities, if the imperial treasury did not assist financially. All of the cities struck predominantly the largest denomination being issued in Syria at the time. Was their function military, or civic? Worn SC bronzes and other imperial issues were countermarked by legions in the east, suggesting that these coins had a special military function.⁷¹ The lack of legionary countermarks on the city coinages of Trajan does not necessarily set them apart; most of the known legionary countermarks found on SC bronzes were applied to coins struck before the reign of Trajan, coins which were presumably already worn by the time of Trajan's campaign (if they were not worn when countermarked, then they must have circulated for some while after countermarking). If the countermarks were intended to be applied to old or worn coins we should not expect to find them on newly struck issues of the cities. If wear and denomination were the criteria by which the legions selected coins for countermarking, then it would not be surprising to find an absence of legionary countermarks on civic coins of northern Syria. Earlier civic issues would not have been countermarked

⁷⁰ Coinages of similar module and appearance may also be noted at Phoenician cities, even as far south as Akko Ptolemais, *eg.* *BMC* 19.

⁷¹ *GIC* pp. 17-20; see also below, section on circulation, evidence from countermarks.

because they were of the wrong denominations, being generally smaller than the SC coinage. The inland cities, in any case, had not issued any coins before Trajan.

Most of the civic mints ceased striking before the accession of Hadrian, which further suggests that these coinages had a connection with the Parthian War, as Hadrian quickly concluded peace with Parthia.

Hadrian (AD 117-138)

The reign of Hadrian saw a general slump in production throughout northern Syria. Perhaps it is better viewed as a return to the normal pattern of minting after the extraordinary production of Trajan's reign, but set against the coinage of other emperors of the second century it does seem rather minor. The large denomination SC bronzes were struck at Antioch only at the beginning of the reign; otherwise a series of smaller denominations were produced. These include some very small SC pieces, rather like the tiny Rome style coins produced under Trajan, and a series of civic coins of Antioch dated Caesarean year 177, AD 128/9. Elsewhere the pattern is similar; Beroea and Hierapolis are known to have issued only tiny denominations, whilst most of the other cities now struck no coinage at all. Only Chalcis produced large denomination pieces, probably right at the beginning of his reign. The only notable addition to the pattern of active mints was Samosata, which issued the first coinage in its own name in the imperial period under Hadrian. Again it was characterised by the production of small denominations.

In spite of this depressed activity in northern Syria under Hadrian, there was a final issue of orichalcum asses and semisses in the Rome style, some bearing types specific to Antioch. Apart from their unusual denominations, they are otherwise perfectly regular Roman coins, with Latin legends, and have generally been catalogued as such without much regard to their distribution. A study of site finds where these coins have occurred confirms their concentration in the Levant.⁷²

Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161)

The pattern which had been evident under Trajan was revived under Antoninus Pius. SC bronzes were struck in quantity once again, and at Samosata, Zeugma, Hierapolis, Cyrrhus, Beroea, Chalcis, Seleucia, Laodicea and Emisa similar large denominations were produced. Exactly when in the

⁷² J. van Heesch, *Studie over de Semis en de Quadrans van Domitianus tot en met Antoninus Pius*, doctoral dissertation, Gent, 1979, pp. 136-138.

reign of Antoninus these issues occurred is impossible to determine in many cases, but some of the coins associate him with Marcus Aurelius, whose titulature may at first seem to narrow the dating. The titulature may, however, be misleading. On one Antiochene SC group Aurelius is styled *consul designatus*, and on another he is consul. This would suggest an issue in 139, and another *circa* 140-144, but there are other considerations which suggest that the first issue may refer to Aurelius being *cos. des. ii*, AD 144. The organisation of this coinage is discussed in detail in the Catalogue, and in the section on metrology. This helps to provide an admittedly unstable *terminus post quem* for dating some of the other coinages on which Aurelius appears, at Seleucia and Cyrrhus, but his portrait is otherwise absent from the coinages of the cities in the region during the reign of Antoninus. Unfortunately most of the cities issued coins without dates: Rhodus, Chalcis, Beroea, Hierapolis (perhaps more than one issue), Zeugma (three issues), and Samosata. All of the above coinages, except for Rhodus and Samosata, bear numeral letters. The coins of Chalcis, Beroea and Cyrrhus are markedly similar, and it is tempting to suggest that they are all of roughly the same date, as perhaps is the coinage of the city of Emisa, further south, which first began striking in the reign of Antoninus, and the coinage of which also carries numeral letters in this reign. Another new mint was Zeugma, at an important crossing on the Euphrates. Its coinage is similar to that of Hierapolis, being struck on smaller flans than those of Chalcis, Beroea or Cyrrhus, and again, the two are perhaps contemporary. Hierapolis and Zeugma also produced small denominations imitating the civic bronze of Antioch. Those of Hierapolis bear the Seleucid date 457, AD 145/6, corresponding to one of the issues of civic bronze at Antioch, and it is likely that at least some of the larger undated denominations of Hierapolis were issued at the same time.

Is this pattern of inland cities minting significant? Under Trajan it coincides with a major war (and, admittedly, a major earthquake). There were even more active mints than under Trajan. There is no evidence for any serious military activity under Antoninus Pius, but given a precedent under Trajan and a similar case during Lucius Verus' Parthian wars, one might be able to argue that something was going on. Bellinger, when examining the Dura material, came to a similar conclusion, and suggested a 'troop concentration in the district by the bend of the Euphrates'.⁷³

⁷³ *Dura*, p. 205; his figures for the quantity of SC coinage of Antoninus Pius at Dura are probably wrong - see chapter 2.3.

Unfortunately, given the dearth of historical records for Antoninus' reign, it is impossible to do more than hint at a Roman/Parthian conflict.

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (AD 161-169)

Lucius Verus spent much of his reign in Syria, particularly at Antioch and Laodicea, whilst a series of campaigns were waged on his behalf in Armenia and Mesopotamia. He arrived in Syria in the middle of AD 162. The following year saw the conquest of Armenia, which was consolidated in 164. A series of Parthian campaigns were occurred between 165 and 166, with an expedition into Media in the latter year. Lucius Verus then departed to join Marcus Aurelius in Germany, and a Parthian attack on Armenia in 168 was concluded with a settlement between the two powers.⁷⁴

An extensive SC coinage in at least five issues was struck at Antioch, but there was only one issue of civic coinage, dated Caesarean year 212 (AD 163/4). As a whole the coinage is very poorly represented in western museum collections, and, although some of the issues are very rare, others are extremely common as site finds in northern Syria. Unfortunately, their frequency does not make them any easier to date, and the coinage contains no obvious clues to assist in building up a chronology. One issue bears the letters *kappa-alpha* and a palm branch on the reverse. Waagé suggests that the palm branch refers to victories in the Parthian Wars of Lucius Verus.⁷⁵ It could also refer to a civic festival. The letters *kappa-alpha* appear again on SC bronzes of Elagabalus, without the palm branch. For the first and only time, the SC bronzes adopt a figurative reverse type; a rare group of coins shows Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus clasping hands, a type common to many civic mints during the joint reigns of these emperors. It is, however, unique among the coins of Antioch, and perhaps anticipates the introduction of new types that was to come in the third century.

The activity at Antioch was coupled with widespread, though often small, issues of bronze from cities inland. Chalcis struck its final issue of bronze coins. The coins of Hierapolis, Cyrrhus, Zeugma, Antioch on the Euphrates and Samosata are stylistically all very similar. Antioch on the Euphrates appears to have struck only in this period, and no other coins of this city are known. Samosata's coins are dated by what is certainly either a city era or an era of the province of Commagene, probably beginning in

⁷⁴ C.H. Dodd, 'Chronology of the Eastern Campaigns of the Emperor Lucius Verus', *NC* (1911), pp. 209-267.

⁷⁵ Waagé, p. 49, no. 535.

AD 72 with the abolition of the Commagenian dynasty. They bear the dates 90 to 94 (AD 162/3-165/6), and are coherent in style, demonstrating the pitfalls of assuming that coinage in the same style belongs to a short period of issue. These dates coincide perfectly with the period of campaigning in the east. Two other cities in Commagene, Doliche and Germanicia Caesarea, began issuing coins under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. On the analogy of the minting activity at the end of Trajan's reign, it seems likely that many of these coinages were encouraged by the Parthian campaigns of Lucius. Compare the activity in this period with the subsequent one under Marcus and Commodus, in which very little activity occurred.

On the coast, issues of earlier reigns were countermarked at Seleucia for both rulers, although no coins were struck there. There seem to be no coins struck in northern Syria during the sole reign of Marcus, between the death of Lucius and the elevation of Commodus, AD 169-177. The revolt of Avidius Cassius in AD 175, based around Antioch and Cyrrhus, seems to have left no trace in the numismatic record.

Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (AD 177-180)

Most of the issues seem to be in the name of Commodus only. He is usually portrayed youthful and unbearded. At Antioch, a small issue of SC coins was produced, for Commodus but not his father. There was a small issue at Rhodus (dated *circa* AD 177/8), again unaccompanied by any portrait of Marcus. The same seems to be the case for Doliche. The only notable combination of father and son is at Cyrrhus, historically the home town of Avidius Cassius and, with Antioch, one of the main centres of the rebellion.

Apart from the rare SC bronzes, there was also an issue of civic bronzes at Antioch, dated Caesarean year 226 (AD 177/8). This is die-linked to an issue in the name of Lucilla, which was probably struck at the same time.⁷⁶ These are the last issues of civic bronze before the colonial coinage of Elagabalus.⁷⁷ One notable addition to the coinage of Antioch was the introduction of the letters *delta-epsilon* to the civic issues (Catalogue nos.

⁷⁶ Coinage in the name of Lucilla continued after the death of Lucius Verus, *eg.* bronzes of Augusta in Cilicia, dated AD 170/1, *SNG Von Aulock* 5536; or of Pella in the Syrian Decapolis, dated year 176/7 (Spijkerman, *Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia*, p. 212, no. 5), or Nysa-Scythopolis, AD 175/6 (Spijkerman, *op. cit.*, p. 192, no. 15).

⁷⁷ Coins attributed to the reign of Septimius Severus by MacDonald, *NC* 4 (1904), p. 134, are misreadings of coins of Hierapolis, which imitate Antiochene civic bronzes, and date to the reign of Antoninus Pius, AD 145/6.

447-449).⁷⁸ Although this is not yet found on the SC bronzes, it becomes a standard mark on the third century coinage of Antioch. It may relate to the letters *kappa-alpha* which occur on the SC bronzes of one issue under Marcus Aurelius with Lucius Verus. This mark is also found on one issue of SC bronze under Elagabalus, the only issue under that emperor not to bear the *delta-epsilon* mark.

⁷⁸ On the use and significance of *delta-epsilon*, see appendix 2.

ii) from Commodus to Valerian

Commodus, sole reign (AD 180-192)

There were a number of cities which struck coins with an older portrait of Commodus with a long beard, but the reign of Commodus is more notable for a lack of major coinages in northern Syria. Antioch seems to have ceased producing coins altogether, both silver and bronze. Seleucia struck only a single small denomination, and the first issues of Nicopolis Seleucidis belong to this reign. Further inland there were issues at Hierapolis and Germanicia Caesarea. No issue seems to have been particularly large. The picture is therefore one of relatively low output in northern Syria, with coinage confined to a few small issues of civic bronzes, for well over a decade. The total absence of coinage at Antioch, either civic or imperial, is striking; if anything it demonstrates the sporadic nature of even this major coinage. There may have been plans to abandon the SC coinage altogether, since it was not revived until the sole reign of Caracalla, over thirty years later. If so, no attempt seems to have been made to replace it with anything, and its revival under Caracalla would argue against this view.

Pescennius Niger (AD 193-194)

Pescennius seems to have produced no bronze coinage at all in Syria, although Antioch was an important centre for the production of silver (see below, section on production of silver).

Septimius Severus (AD 193-211)

We have already seen how the presence of campaigning armies in northern Syria under Trajan and Lucius Verus coincided with a proliferation of civic mints in the region. Septimius Severus conducted two campaigns in Parthia after the defeat of Pescennius Niger. We would expect, on the analogy of the earlier examples, a further proliferation of civic coinage under Septimius.

As Antioch had supported Pescennius and Laodicea had defected to Septimius, the victor reputedly made Laodicea the capital of Syria and demoted Antioch to a *kome* - a village - of Laodicea.⁷⁹ There is no numismatic evidence for the punishment of Antioch by Septimius, and any

⁷⁹ Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, pp. 6, 9; *BMCRE* 5, introduction, p. 16; *RIC* 4.1, p. 58, Downey, *op. cit.*, p. 241; *Paulus Dig.* 50.15.1.3; *S.H.A. Severus*, 9.4; Herodian 3.6.9.

that has been cited is based on a misinterpretation of the material. It has often been stated that Septimius withdrew Antioch's permission to strike coinage. This statement is based on the observation that no SC bronze was issued for Severus, but bronze was produced at Laodicea, and a prolific series of Severan tetradrachms and denarii have been attributed to Laodicea. There are a number of faults in the hypothesis. As under Commodus, no bronze coinage was produced at Antioch. The fact that this is *continued* inactivity suggests that it was not a deliberate suppression of Antioch's coinage by Septimius. Even if the extended inactivity were the result of deliberate suppression, there is now no way of demonstrating it. Furthermore, if the SC bronze were the emperor's own coin, Septimius could easily have produced it somewhere else if he had so wished. He made no attempt to produce an imperial bronze coinage elsewhere in Syria. The bronze of Laodicea, whilst impressive, was still a civic coinage and does not appear to be a replacement for the Antiochene imperial bronze. It seems to have been struck from a relatively small number of dies. Although this is not the correct place to discuss the significance of the silver, it seems that Septimius used the mint at Antioch in the early years of his reign to produce denarii, and later on, a series of tetradrachms was also struck at Antioch (see relevant sections under silver below). As, therefore, silver is known for Antioch, it would be difficult indeed to argue the case for any suppression of coinage by Septimius, and the negative evidence on which it is founded can be discarded.

There is, however, positive evidence for Laodicea's elevation, first to metropolis, then colony, and various other benefactions, such as a supply of corn, and the staging of Capitoline games. Septimius clearly granted Laodicea favours. Antioch may have been punished by withdrawal of its status as metropolis for a few years, but the coinage cannot be used as evidence of its loss of status.

After consolidating his position in Syria following the overthrow of Pescennius, Septimius began campaigning against the Parthians in Mesopotamia. T.B. Jones used maps and issues of coins at various mints in the Levant to show how the emperor's presence in the east could have affected the issue of coinage.⁸⁰ Severus was present in the east on two occasions, the first in 194-6, and the second in 197-202.⁸¹ Northern Syria

⁸⁰ T.B. Jones, *A Numismatic Riddle*, p. 326 and 333-4.

⁸¹ Z. Rubin, 'Dio, Herodian, and Severus' Second Parthian War', *Chiron* 5 (1975), pp. 419-441.

was certainly the base for Severus' operations, but compared with similar, earlier situations, mint activity was low. For the first campaign there is no certain evidence of mint activity inland, with the possible exception of Samosata which struck an issue bearing Severus' portrait only, which could suggest that it was produced before Caracalla was made Caesar in 196 - but negative evidence of this sort is not very reliable. The exact dating of bronze coinage struck in Mesopotamia itself has yet to be determined, and this is not the place for such a discussion. Activity among the inland mints, at places such as Hierapolis or Cyrrhus, based on the earlier analogies, would be expected for a campaign of this sort, but no coins are known. More coins can be dated to Severus' second campaign (the evidence of silver will be dealt with in the following section). Laodicea struck at least two issues, one in 198 while the war was going on and another no earlier than 202, just before or after Severus returned to Rome.⁸² Other coastal city coinages are difficult to assign any date: Alexandria ad Issum (Severus only, therefore perhaps before 198); Seleucia Pieria (dynastic types, with Geta as Caesar, after 198 and before 209). It is clearly unsafe to assign all periods of production to periods of military activity, and there is still the possibility of production later in Severus' reign, AD 202-211, to account for.

Severus' provincial reforms, creating new provinces, probably separated the southern cities from direct control of the legate at Antioch (see preceding section). There is a distinct lack of homogeneity among the few issues of northern Seleucis and Commagene. For bronze coinage, the reign of Septimius seems to be a continuation of the reign of Commodus, with a few disparate civic issues and no imperial bronze. Contrast this with other parts of the eastern empire, where civic coinage proliferated under Septimius.⁸³

⁸² Jones, *Cities*, p. 333, suggests that these later coinages were connected with Severus' decennalia, AD 203/4, but this can be nothing more than a guess, since there is little evidence to support the idea of anniversary issues in Syria

⁸³ One should exercise caution before suggesting that a peak in the number of mints striking coins resulted in a peak in the number of coins being produced. It is true that the reign of Septimius seems to be the heyday of civic coinage, but it was also one of the 'troughs' in the production of eastern imperial coinage. T.B. Jones, *A Numismatic Riddle*, connects the growth in the number of mints with the growth of urbanisation, pp. 310-311. K.W. Harl, *Civic Coins*, p. 10, connects the number of mints active under Septimius with a peak in production. Note also the debate between A. Johnston, 'Greek Imperial Statistics: A Commentary', *RN* 26 (1984), pp. 240-257, and W. Leschhorn, 'Die kaiserzeitlichen Münzen kleinasiens: Zu den möglichkeiten und schwerigkeiten ihrer statistischen erfassung', *RN* 27 (1985), pp. 200-216. A proliferation of mints does not necessarily mean a

Caracalla, sole reign (AD 212-217)

After the hiatus of the late second century, something like a restoration of the earlier patterns of production was established in Caracalla's sole reign. Again it may have much in connection with military activity. The SC coinage of Antioch was revived, although it is evident that there were only a small number of dies involved, so the issues cannot have been very large. Initially these coins seem to be of a better weight than the pieces struck under Commodus and Marcus Aurelius, some forty years earlier, although they may have been of completely different denominations (see chapter on metrology). This revival of SC coinage may be connected with the restoration of Antioch as a metropolis, but the issues cannot be dated, although there seem to be two of them, between which there was a reduction in the size and weight of the denominations. Inland, Hierapolis began striking a fairly large coinage, but no other mints apart from Nicopolis Seleucidis were working there. On the coast, Rhodus and Seleucia struck similar denominations to those of Hierapolis and Nicopolis.

In AD 215 Caracalla came east, and spent the remainder of his life campaigning and travelling in the eastern provinces. Some cities seem to have produced coins with types explicitly referring to the emperor's visit.⁸⁴ Caracalla's route through Asia Minor has been discussed numerous times, recently and most successfully by Ann Johnston, who demonstrated that the Emperor cannot possibly have visited all of the cities which others have suggested on the basis of coin types.⁸⁵ However, once Caracalla reached Syria, discussions have usually left him there. The maps produced by T. B. Jones⁸⁶ are misleading; not only do they include mints which did not date their coins (and hence cannot be dated to the campaign), they also include mints which in reality only issued coins for Elagabalus and whose coins have occasionally been misattributed to Caracalla. Furthermore, continued activity of many Syrian and Phoenician mints into the reigns of Macrinus and Elagabalus suggests that there was more to these coinages than the mere commemoration of imperial visits.

proliferation of coins. This would certainly hold true for the bronze coinage of the region studied here.

⁸⁴ Eg. at Pergamum, K.W. Harl, *Civic Coins*, pl. 23, nos. 4-6.

⁸⁵ 'Caracalla's Path: The Numismatic Evidence', *Historia* 32 (1983), pp. 58-76. The reference to an 'Antiochene' tetradrachm of Caracalla on p. 74, cited as evidence of his presence at Antioch, is in error; BMC 372 has long since been reattributed to Aelia Capitolina in Palestine; Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, no. 346

⁸⁶ *A Numismatic Riddle*, p. 326.

Macrinus (AD 217-218)

Caracalla was assassinated during his Parthian campaign near Carrhae in 217 and replaced by his equestrian Praetorian commander, M. Opellius Macrinus. Once emperor, Macrinus sought to bring the campaigns to a conclusion. However, in the following year he was challenged by the adherents of the Severans, led by the surviving members of the household, who put up a nephew of Caracalla as emperor. Like his uncle, he took the throne name M. Aurelius Antoninus (Elagabalus). After just over a year, having spent his entire reign in Syria and Mesopotamia, Macrinus was overthrown.

The reign of Macrinus marked a considerable increase in output of SC bronzes at Antioch. These represent a further reduction in the size and weight of the larger denomination, whilst the smaller denomination was not issued at all. Mattingly suggested that Macrinus had produced Roman sestertii, dupondii and asses at Antioch, but his reasons for attributing them to the city have been discredited, and there is no reason to assume that any bronze coins other than SC bronzes were produced there during his reign.⁸⁷

Elsewhere in the region, there was no coinage for Macrinus at all. Some coinage was produced in his name in Mesopotamia, and at the cities to the south of Antioch, at Laodicea, Gabala, Leucas, and Emisa. For a short while, under Macrinus, the mints of Phoenicia adopted a homogenous style which indicates that the same engraver was cutting dies of a standardised type for various cities.⁸⁸ Further studies of the Phoenician material may help to define which cities were in the new province and which were not.

Elagabalus (AD 218-222)

The reign of Elagabalus saw some important changes in the coinage of northern Syria. A new colonial coinage was struck at Antioch, a parallel to the coinage of Laodicea, which like the issues of that city bore the titles of Antioch as *Metropolis* and *Colonia*. It is not clear exactly when Antioch recovered its status, assuming that it had indeed been downgraded by Septimius. The date of AD 215/6 for its restoration to full status is conjectural. Even less certain is the date of Antioch's elevation to colonial status. No coins of Caracalla bear the title, and it first appears under

⁸⁷ The original attribution to Antioch occurs in *BMCRE* 5, introduction, pp. 213-214, but see also the corrections in the second edition of the same volume, introduction, p. 213, n. 1.

⁸⁸ Kraft, *Das System*, p. 101.

Elagabalus, who introduced an entirely new 'colonial' coinage at Antioch. The only source to refer to Antioch's acquisition of the title *colonia* is ambiguous: 'Divus Antoninus Antiochenses colonos fecit salvis tributis.' The 'divus Antoninus' responsible may be Elagabalus rather than Caracalla.⁸⁹ The colonial coinage was issued in two large denominations, both apparently multiples of the SC coinage. The SC coinage was not abandoned, but it was not issued in large quantities after Elagabalus. The exact chronology of the SC coinage in relation to the new colonial bronzes is not certain, but I would suggest that the commonest issues of SC bronze, which follow on directly in size and types from the coinage of Macrinus, are not contemporary with the colonial coinage, but were earlier, and that the SC coinage which includes a ram on the reverse is contemporary with the colonial issues. The reasons for this are based on the analogy of the subsequent issues struck under Severus Alexander (for details, see Catalogue). The new colonial coinage is extraordinary in the way in which it breaks almost entirely from the old tradition of Antiochene imperial coinage. A hint of continuity is provided by the letters SC and *delta-epsilon* which occur on the colonial bronzes as well as the old SC coinage. The most notable development of all was the production of coinage at Antioch for Samosata, Zeugma and Seleucia. A large number of coins of these cities share obverse dies. The general similarity of all of them, both in style and size and shape of flans, points to Antioch being the centre of production. There are other indications of some sort of centralisation; at Laodicea the *delta-epsilon* mark was also introduced. Antioch appears to have been the only centre for this phenomenon in Syria. It does not occur among other cities, even the Phoenician mints of Macrinus mentioned above. Seleucia and Samosata seem to have maintained some independent minting, and they struck coins of quite different appearances and module to those that were produced at Antioch for these cities.⁹⁰ Inland, Cyrrhus struck a small issue of coins, apparently independent of any other mint (Catalogue, Cyrrhus no. 20).

⁸⁹ *Paulus Dig.* 50,15,8,5. Confusion between the coin portraits of Caracalla and Elagabalus seems to have been responsible for the assumption that Antioch became a colony under Caracalla. E.S. Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch*, p. 116, suggested that it became a colony under Caracalla, as did Downey, *op. cit.*, p. 245 and n. 51. Downey, referring to Paulus, quoted Mommsen, who stated that 'divus Antoninus' had to mean Caracalla, since his coins were the first to bear the title of colony. These coins must all be misidentified coins of Elagabalus.

⁹⁰ Butcher, *INJ* 1986-7, and Catalogue, Seleucia nos. 87-91; Samosata, nos. 26-28.

Severus Alexander (AD 222-235)

Antioch continued to produce large quantities of colonial coinage under Elagabalus' successor. There were four issues, two with a young portrait of the emperor, and two with an older portrait. The coinage was issued in three denominations, two colonial types, and a small SC bronze. The pair of issues with younger portraits are undoubtedly the earlier of Alexander's coinages; they compare closely with the coinage of Elagabalus. The second pair of issues also include portraits of Julia Mamaea who, aside from Lucilla, was the first female member of an imperial house to be portrayed on the bronze coinage of Antioch.

Seleucia Pieria issued its final coinage, although this too was probably struck at Antioch, during the period when Antioch was issuing coins with a young portrait of Alexander. It seems likely, therefore, that this was issued in the earlier part of his reign.

In AD 232 the Emperor came east to campaign against the Sassanian kingdom, which had newly established itself in the Parthian realm. If any of the Antiochene issues correspond to the emperor's presence, it is likely to be the pair with the older portraits. It is again noteworthy that the campaign did not spark off a large output of civic coinage, although, as under Caracalla, Hierapolis struck an issue, independent of minting at Antioch, which portrays both Alexander and his mother. The portraits of Alexander suggest a later rather than an earlier date in the reign for the issue at Hierapolis, but a connection between the campaigns and the coinages of Antioch and Hierapolis can only be a presumption.

Maximinus (AD 235-238)

The absence of coins for Maximinus at Antioch or any other northern city seems to reflect a general lack of coinages for this emperor throughout Syria. Although he effectively reigned only three years, such an omission compared to the issues of neighbouring Cilicia seems strange. Whilst cities such as Tarsus, Anazarbus, Epiphaneia and Flaviopolis produced coins for Maximinus, only Ascalon seems to have coined for him in Syria.⁹¹ The absence of coins of the ephemeral emperors of AD 238 is not too surprising, given the brevity of their reigns.⁹²

⁹¹ Samples of Cilician and Syrian of Maximinus are listed by D.R. Sear, *Greek Imperial Coins and Their Values*, London, 1982, pp. 338-9.

⁹² A coin of Balbinus in Paris is false; see Butcher, *Colonial Coinage*, p. 66, n. 13.

Gordian III (AD 238-244)

Antioch struck no bronze for Gordian III, and the main centres of bronze production seems to have shifted to Mesopotamia, where mints such as Carrhae, Edessa, Nisibis and Singara were active, producing coins of similar denominations and fabric to one another (no die links, however). This activity presumably bears some relation to Gordian's Persian campaigns. The lack of issues at Antioch is somewhat surprising, especially as the city produced issues of tetradrachms and radiates during his reign. The situation seems somewhat analogous to that under Septimius Severus, where a long-standing lacuna in the production of silver was filled, although bronze coinage, which had ceased somewhat later than the silver, was not revived. A failure to produce bronze may be the result of a lack of finances, or finances moving to Mesopotamia, or it may simply reflect the fact that the amount of bronze coin in Syria was sufficient not to warrant further issues.

The general lack of bronze coin within the region is unexpected. However, the subsequent issues of Philip suggest that there was a further tightening of control over minting in northern Syria, again centred on Antioch. Non-production at Antioch might explain the lack of issues at other cities; the 'official' mint was not available, and hence no coins were produced.

Philip (AD 244-249)

Bronze coinage was resumed at Antioch under Philip. Its pattern was similar to the issues of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, with two large colonial denominations, and a small SC bronze. There were at least two issues, one before the emperor's son was elevated to Augustus, and one after. The second issue was marked by a second spate of die-sharing with coins of other cities, and it seems likely that coins of Samosata, Zeugma, Cyrrhus, Hierapolis, and Philippopolis in Arabia, were produced at Antioch. All of these cities share obverse dies with one another and with Antioch. More surprisingly, perhaps, is the likelihood that the coins of Antioch's rival city, Laodicea ad Mare, were also struck at Antioch. Whilst the coins of Laodicea do not share dies with Antiochene bronzes, because their module is wrong for Antiochene coinage, it is possible that dies employed for Antiochene tetradrachms were used to produce this issue for Laodicea. Tetradrachm dies are of the correct size, and comparison of Laodicean bronzes with tetradrachms suggests that this is a distinct possibility,

although no die links have yet been noted.⁹³ That Philippopolis, the emperor's birthplace, which was technically in a different province, Arabia, should be involved in the die-sharing, seems to indicate that it was an agent above that of the governor of Syria who organised the centralisation of production at Antioch. There were numerous other cities much nearer to Philippopolis than Antioch which were producing coinage at this time, including mints in Arabia. Given Philippopolis' intimate connection with the imperial family, the issue of coinage at Philippopolis was perhaps the initiative of the Emperor, or his brother Julius Priscus, who held a special command in Syria.

Samosata also struck a coinage independent of Antioch under Philip. Nicopolis Seleucidis issued its final bronzes. Otherwise the northern coinages were all probably struck at Antioch, and in every case these issues mark the final issue of coinage among cities of the region, other than at Antioch itself.

The government of Julius Priscus in Syria was supposedly challenged by the pretender Jotapianus, who struck coinage of a Roman type (on this see the section B. xxvi).

Trajan Decius (AD 249-251)

Trajan Decius' coinage for this region was all struck at Antioch. It can be given a relative dating according to changes in the emperor's titulature. These correspond to the second and third of three issues of tetradrachms, which demonstrate three changes in the emperor's titles during his reign, all of which have a chronological significance, although none can be given specific dates (see following section on silver). The first issue of bronze continued the types of Philip. The second issue introduced a new type for the large bronzes, which continued until Greek coinage ceased at Antioch. It also included a smaller colonial type, a denomination also issued under Philip, but no SC bronzes are known. Both issues were much smaller than those of Philip. No other cities in the region issued coins for Trajan Decius.

Trebonianus Gallus (AD 251-253)

The reign of Gallus marks the final phase of provincial coinage in northern Syria. Antioch struck at least two issues of bronze, one circa AD 251/2 and the other 252/3, again datable by comparison with tetradrachms.

⁹³ For an obverse die of a bronze coin shared with a tetradrachm under Trajan, see following section B.xiv.

The later issue survives in far greater quantities than the first, although it seems to have comprised a single denomination, whereas two denominations are known for the previous issue. There were no SC bronzes. A coinage was also struck at Antioch for Laodicea, circa 252/3. The connection with Antioch is proved this time by an obverse die link.⁹⁴ Otherwise there were no other bronze coinages in the region for Gallus.

The fall of Antioch

One of the latest known historical events which can be considered contemporary with the coinages of this study is the second campaign of Shapur I in Syria and the fall of Antioch to the Persians. A great deal has been written on this subject, and numismatic evidence is often invoked.⁹⁵ It has attracted the interest of numismatists⁹⁶, historians⁹⁷ and archaeologists.⁹⁸ Production or non-production of coinage has often been used in the arguments concerning the fall of Antioch; therefore it seems appropriate to consider the matter in this historical survey of production. The discussions centre largely on establishing the exact date of the city's capture by the Persians, since its effects are largely unknown. The effects of the Persian campaigns in general are important, since the weakening of central Roman control in Syria led to the opportunistic growth of autonomous Syrian kingdoms, Emisa under Uranius Antoninus and Palmyra under Odenathus, a situation analogous to that which had occurred with the collapse of the Seleucid empire. However, the simple question 'when did Antioch fall?' is rather uninteresting, and I suspect that in the absence of any firm textual evidence it will remain a question that is impossible to answer. That the Persians ravaged northern Syria extensively in the second quarter of the third century is beyond doubt, and the Naksh i Rustem inscription of Shapur I gives an account of the expeditions and cities destroyed.⁹⁹ If Malalas' description of a Sampsigeramus who defeated

⁹⁴ Butcher, *NC* 1988, pl. 22, nos. 31-32

⁹⁵ Much of it is summarised by K. Harl, *Civic Coins*, pp. 109-112.

⁹⁶ Metcalf, 'The Antioch Hoard of Antoniniani and the Eastern Coinages of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian', *ANSMN* 22 (1977), pp. 71-94.

⁹⁷ E. Kettenhofen, *Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3 Jahrhunderts n. Chr. nach der Inschrift Sahpuhrs I*, Weisbaden 1982.

⁹⁸ S. James, 'Dura Europos and the Chronology of Syria in the 250's AD', *Chiron* 15 (1985), pp. 111-124.

⁹⁹ The trilingual inscription covers three walls of the Kaabah of Zoroaster at Naksh i Rustem, near Persepolis. Much of the literature on this is cited by Kettenhofen, *op. cit.*, and Downey, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-259, and Excursus 5, pp. 587-594.

the Persians near Emisa is indeed Uranius Antoninus¹⁰⁰, then it would appear that there was an invasion circa 253/4, unless Uranius controlled Emisa for longer than is suggested by the single date found on his rare bronze coinage.¹⁰¹ Metcalf postulated that the sudden rise in the output of radiate coinage from the mint of Antioch circa 252/3 suggests an 'invasion of Syria ... as early as 253'.¹⁰² Alternative explanations for this phenomenon, unconnected with invasions, can be suggested (see chapter 5.5). Some vague numismatic evidence for the loss of Mesopotamia and the regions west of the Euphrates is provided by the cessation of civic issues in Mesopotamia by the reign of Trajan Decius (only Rhesaena and Edessa struck as late as Decius), and no further supply of coins produced at Antioch for other cities west of the Euphrates after Philip. Whilst bronze coins of Antioch of Trebonianus Gallus are common at Antioch, they are rare at Dura. This sort of evidence, however, is not particularly good or useful, and does not tell us anything about the Persian invasions that was not already implied or known. The western sources and traditions for a fall of Antioch are poor or unreliable. The numismatic evidence which has been invoked is all negative, *i.e.* there was no production at Antioch at this or that date, therefore the Persians may have occupied Antioch. This sort of negative evidence is not evidence at all, since the mint at Antioch was frequently inactive.¹⁰³ Harl draws attention to the lack of coinages for Aemilian, who reigned for a brief period in 253, in eastern Asia Minor, but this is not true, and Aegeae in Cilicia struck for Aemilian. One fall of Antioch, perhaps two, have been suggested; AD 253 is the favoured date for the first, and another has been postulated in 256. Whatever happened, the Romans quickly regained the city, and no permanent damage was done to the status of Antioch. If it fell in 253, the mint was active again by the end of the year, or perhaps the following year. There is no obvious or serious break in the minting activity of Antioch which can be cited as evidence for the city's fall in 253. Historically the event seems about as important as the destruction of the city under Demetrius II in 145 BC, or its capture by Pacorus and Labienus in 40/39 BC.¹⁰⁴ It would be reassuring to know the

¹⁰⁰ Baldus, *Uranius Antoninus*, pp. 246-50.

¹⁰¹ This is quite possible; Uranius' bronze coinage could have been struck at the end of Seleucid year 565, in the early autumn of 254, and his undated coinage may have continued even later.

¹⁰² Antioch hoard, *loc.cit.*, p. 91.

¹⁰³ It is far less convincing than a hypothetical capture of Antioch by the Parthians under Commodus, based on the lack of coinage.

exact date of Antioch's fall, if it occurred, and whether it was captured more than once, but the coinage cannot provide the answer. But even should the exact date become known through the discovery of a reliable document, the history of Roman Syria would not have to be rewritten.

The debate on the Sassanian invasion of Syria and the fall of Antioch has overshadowed and obscured an important numismatic point in the history of coinage in Roman Syria; the abandonment of the tetradrachm and the switch to full-scale production of radiate coinage. This will be explored in the following section on silver coinage.

Valerian (AD 253-260)

There was one issue of bronze coinage at Antioch, early in Valerian's reign, probably 253 or 254. It is identical to the second issue of bronze coinage under Trebonianus Gallus which had preceded it. This was the last issue of provincial style coinage in the northern Syria. At a later point in the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus Antioch struck an issue of Roman style asses, distinguishable from the mint of Rome by their style and lack of the letters S C (a strange omission for Antioch), but this coinage and the silver issues that accompanied it are beyond the scope of this study.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ In the latter case there does seem to be some positive numismatic evidence: Antioch reverted from the Caesarean era back to the (Parthian) Seleucid era, and marked an issue of coins with a Seleucid date; Catalogue no. 21.

¹⁰⁵ For the asses, see Waagé, no. 1179; *RIC* 13; Münz Zentrum Auction 47, nos. 508-509.

B. Silver Coinage

This section, on the production of silver coinage, deals mostly with the coinage of Antioch, which was the imperial mint in Syria. A number of coinages of uncertain origin are also discussed. Although outside the area covered by the catalogue of bronze coinage, the silver issues of Laodicea ad Mare are included here, since after the first century BC the issues are so insignificant that they would hardly warrant study elsewhere, and they provide useful comparanda, especially when dealing with some of the 'uncertain' coinages.

The section is composed of a running commentary on the silver issues, with historical notes where appropriate. There is no accompanying catalogue, as for the bronze, but brief details of important variations, and tables of issues, are included in the commentary. The Syrian silver coinage has received much more attention than the bronze, and as a result, publications dealing with it are many, and most of the important variants have been published at some point, something which cannot be said for the bronze coinage. As a result, references are much fuller, and illustrations more selective. This section draws together various studies of Syrian silver. I do not propose to reiterate all that others have said in their studies, and I have devoted the most space to those points where I think that misattributions and misunderstandings have clouded our understanding of the various issues.

The increasing autonomy of the cities under the Seleucids in the late second century BC was marked by the appearance of issues of autonomous silver tetradrachms. The earliest examples in Syria proper belong to Aradus, which began in 138/7 (see below). Tyre followed in 126/5, and Sidon in 112/1, Seleucia in 109/8, and Tripolis in the last years of the second century, *circa* 105-95 BC.¹⁰⁶ Laodicea only began coining under Tigranes, 78/7 BC (see below). The weight standards adopted by these cities varied; Aradus' standard was used by Seleucia, Laodicea and Tripolis; Tyre's Ptolemaic standard (14.25g) was copied by Sidon. The royal Seleucid mint at Antioch continued on its Attic standard, which by the end of the second century BC stood at about 16.3g¹⁰⁷, but by the reign of Tigranes stood at

¹⁰⁶ O. Mørkholm, *ANSMN* 28 (1983), p. 99.

¹⁰⁷ O. Mørkholm, *loc. cit.*, p. 99.

about 15.5g. Seleucia ceased issuing under Tigranes, 84/3; it has been suggested that the mint of Laodicea opened up in response to this.¹⁰⁸

On annexing Syria in 64 BC, the Romans inherited this relatively complex system of silver tetradrachm coinages. They did not introduce the denarius to Syria¹⁰⁹, and for the first few years of the new province there was no 'Roman' coinage in either silver or bronze. When a Roman silver coinage was created for the province, it derived its type and weight standard from the old royal Seleucid tetradrachm coinage of Antioch. Some changes to the other silver coinages of northern Syria may be connected with reforms associated with Caesar's visit in 47, or Cassius' presence a few years later, such as the cessation of production at Aradus and the spread of the 'Ptolemaic' (Tyrian) tetradrachm standard to Laodicea and Aegeae.¹¹⁰

i) Posthumous tetradrachms in the name of Philip Philadelphus

In circa 57/6-56/5 BC Aulus Gabinius, appointed to a special command in Syria, struck a tetradrachm type bearing his own monogram on the reverse.¹¹¹ This is the first identifiable Roman issue to be struck in the region. It is surely a Roman issue and not a civic one, since it does not bear an ethnic and appears as the direct successor of the Seleucid state silver coinage. This has been seen in the context of a Roman monetary policy wider than that of Syria, and comparison has been drawn with the 'proconsular cistophori' of Asia, issued at roughly the same time, 58-49 BC.¹¹² Gabinius' choice of types for the new coinage was probably

¹⁰⁸ O. Mørkholm, *loc. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁰⁹ H.R. Baldus, 'Syria', in A.M. Burnett and M. Crawford (eds.), *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic*, BAR International Series 326, 1987, pp. 121-151.

¹¹⁰ At this time Aegeae was probably in the province of Syria; on its coinage see A. Houghton and S. Bendall, 'A Hoard of Aegean Tetradrachms and the Autonomous Tetradrachms of Elaëusa Sebaste', *ANSMN* 33 (1988), pp. 71-89.

¹¹¹ Baldus, *loc. cit.*, pp. 127-8; A. R. Bellinger, 'Coins from Antioch in Syria', *ANSMN* 5 (1951), pp. 55-7.

¹¹² Crawford, *CMRR*, overstates the decision to continue striking Seleucid-type tetradrachms as a major reform, pp. 203-6, '... Gabinius had attempted to reform the fiscal system of Syria on a long-term basis'. He links these coins with the proconsular cistophori, the bronze coinage of Roman type issued in Macedonia, and political moves such as the annexation of Cyprus, to suggest a concerted programme of reform in the east by 'a group of men in Rome prepared to undertake measures of reform', pp. 206-9. The proconsular cistophori and Gabinian tetradrachms were relatively shortlived phenomena, and one should not press the idea of permanent reform too hard. What is interesting about these coinages is that they were not denarii, and remained essentially a continuation of Hellenistic coinages.

significant, and a 'Seleucid' coin was probably issued for the very reason that the Roman state posed as the direct successor to the Seleucid state in Syria. The coinage was modelled on the issues of Philip Philadelphus, who controlled Antioch 88-83 BC, just before the Seleucid realm fell to Tigranes. Philip was probably the last Seleucid ruler whom the Roman government regarded as legitimate. What was therefore revived at Antioch was a coinage which preserved the status quo; as in late Seleucid times, the city issued its own civic bronze coinage (see Catalogue) and the state produced a silver coinage for state purposes. The Romans did not recognise the Seleucid monarchy by the issue of this coin, it was simply a recognised policy to continue the pre-Roman types of state silver. Seleucid silver had almost invariably borne the head of the monarch, and as a result, the earliest Roman coinage bore the same types, in this case, the head of Philip on the obverse, and the seated figure of Zeus Nicephorus on the reverse.

The Gabinian issue was a large one, and it was followed by two apparently much smaller issues under Crassus (circa 55/4-54/3) and his deputy Cassius (circa 52/1).¹¹³

A gap in production followed, but in 47/6 BC the type was revived, coinciding more or less with the new issue of Caesarean bronze at Antioch. This tetradrachm group does not bear governors' monograms. Instead, it is dated according to the Caesarean era of Antioch, with the date placed in the exergue on the reverse, and the monogram $\text{X}\overline{\text{T}}$ to the left of the seated figure of Zeus.¹¹⁴ The posthumous Philips of Caesarean date appear to have been struck intermittently down to about 38/7 BC. In Caesarean year nineteen (after Actium, 31/0 BC) these posthumous Philips began again and were struck continuously down to 17/6 BC, ending in the same year as the civic silver of Laodicea, the only other pre-Roman silver type still being produced at this date.

Figure 2. Production of Antiochene silver and bronze, 64-16 BC

<u>Date BC</u>	<u>Pompeian era</u>	<u>tetradrachms</u>	<u>bronzes</u>
64/3	3		X
63/2	4		X
62/1	5		
61/0	6		

¹¹³ A. R. Bellinger, 'Crassus and Cassius at Antioch', *NC* 4 (1944), pp. 58-61.

¹¹⁴ The monogram probably stands for ANTIOX., 'Antioch', as Dieudonné suggested, but I accept that it could mean AYT, 'autonomous' or 'autokratoros'; Wruck, pp. 21-2. Compare the TAP monogram at Tarsus (In exactly the same position on the reverses of Tarsiot tetradrachms, *eg. BMC* 144) or the TYP monogram at Tyre (*eg. BMC* 248).

<u>Date BC</u>	<u>Pompeian era</u>	<u>Tetradrachms</u>	<u>Bronzes</u>
60/59	7		
59/8	8		
58/7	9		X
57/6	10	Gabinus	X
56/5	11	Gabinus	X
55/4	12	Gabinus	X
54/3	13	Crassus	X
53/2	14	Cassius	X
52/1	15	Cassius	
51/0	16	Cassius	X
50/49	17		
49/8	18		
48/7	19		X
	<u>Caesarean era</u>		
47/6	3	X	X
46/5	4	X	X
45/4	5	X	X
44/3	6	X	
43/2	7		
42/1	8	X	X
41/0	9	X	X/Seleucid era
272			
40/39	10	X	
39/8	11		X
38/7	12	X	X
37/6	13		X
36/5	14		X
35/4	15		X (?)
34/3	16		X
33/2	17		X
32/1	18		
31/0	19	X	X
30/29	20	X	X
29/8	21	X	X
28/7	22	X	
27/6	23	X	
26/5	24	X	
25/4	25	X	X (?)
24/3	26		X
23/2	27	X	X
22/1	28	X	
21/0	29	X	X (?)
20/19	30	X	
19/8	31	X	X
18/7	32	X	
17/6	33	X	

Tetradrachms struck from Caesarean year 19 can be distinguished from the earlier issues by the shape of the legs of the throne on which the figure of Zeus is seated (Compare pl. 42, 2, with 6).¹¹⁵ The coins dated Caesarean year 27 have a prominent dot or pellet in the left hand field of

¹¹⁵ Newell, *NC* 1919, p. 69.

the reverse, a mark which seems to anticipate the coinage of Gaius (see below).

ii) **Laodicean silver, 65/4-17/6 BC**

Laodicea struck tetradrachms on the Aradian standard down to 46/5 BC, but shortly after it was renamed Julia Laodicea it struck on the 'Ptolemaic' (Tyrian) standard, from 44/3. This date coincides with the last known issue at Aradus, and the inception of 'Ptolemaic' standard tetradrachms at Aegeae. Production was very sporadic, and it is clear that these later issues were not very large (Mørkholm cites twenty coins from seven obverse dies), but they continued with the Antiochene tetradrachms down to 17/6 BC. The list below is based on Mørkholm's study.¹¹⁶ It departs from his scheme at one point, however. I have placed those tetradrachms with the reverse legend 'Laodikeion to pros thalasse' alongside the issues of bronze, dated year seven, which bear the same title. Since the tetradrachms carry the date year one, Mørkholm placed them in the first year of the Caesarean era, but it is possible that a 'Cassian' era was initiated in Caesarean year seven, but was subsequently abandoned.

Figure 3. Tetradrachms of Laodicea ad Mare, 64-16 BC

<u>Date BC</u>	<u>Era of Autonomy</u>	<u>Tetradrachm issue</u>
65/4	17	X
64/3	18	X
63/2	19	
62/1	20	X
61/0	21	
60/59	22	
59/8	23	X
58/7	24	X
57/6	25	X
56/5	26	X
55/4	27	X
54/3	28	
53/2	29	
52/1	30	X
51/0	31	X
50/49	32	
49/8	33	X
	<u>Caesarean era</u>	
48/7	1	X
47/6	2	X
46/5	3	X
45/4	4	
44/3	5	X

¹¹⁶ O. Mørkholm, 'The Autonomous Tetradrachms of Laodicea ad Mare', *ANSMN* 28 (1983), pp. 89-107.

43/2	6	
42/1	7, 1 (?)	X (?)
41/0	8	
40/39	9	X
39/8	10	
38/7	11	
37/6	12	
36/5	13	
35/4	14	
34/3	15	
33/2	16	
32/1	17	
31/0	18	X
30/29	19	X
29/8	20	
28/7	21	
27/6	22	
26/5	23	
25/4	24	
24/3	25	
23/2	26	
22/1	27	
21/0	28	
20/19	29	X
19/8	30	X
18/7	31	X
17/6	32	X

iii) Cleopatra and M. Antonius, uncertain mint

A group of tetradrachms, produced in large quantities, portray Cleopatra of Egypt on one side and the triumvir M. Antonius on the other (Plate 42, 3). The legend on the side portraying Cleopatra has been variously interpreted. Usually it is translated as 'Queen Cleopatra, the New Goddess' (Basilissa Kleopatra Thea Neotera), but Buttrey interpreted the legend in an altogether different manner: 'The New Queen Cleopatra Thea', arguing that Cleopatra posed as the successor to the daughter of Ptolemy VI Philometor who had married three Seleucid monarchs in succession and who had been an important figure in Syrian political history in the second half of the previous century. Antonius is styled 'Antonius, Imperator III, Triumvir' (Antonios Autokrator Triton Trion Andron). The attribution of this coinage to Antioch has been accepted by some (*eg.* Baldus) and questioned by others.¹¹⁷ There is certainly a lacuna in the production of the posthumous Philip tetradrachms into which these coins would neatly

¹¹⁷ T.V. Buttrey, 'Thea Neotera on Coins of Antony and Cleopatra', *ANSMN* 1954, pp. 95-109.

fit.¹¹⁸ Associated with this coinage is a unique drachm of Antonius with the Antiochene ethnic on the reverse, in the British Museum (Plate 42, 4).

Burnett has noted that Cleopatra's portrait occupies the obverse of these coins, or at least, the dies used to produce the portrait of Antonius wore out more frequently than those for Cleopatra, which implies that the dies used for Cleopatra's image were in the position normally reserved for the ruler's head, i.e. the side representing the political image of authority.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the use of a horse's head or letter R (presumably some kind of control mark) behind the head of Antonius suggests that this side of the coin is intended as the reverse. A simple objection to this interpretation may be raised: as this is a double-headed coin, how can it have an obverse and reverse? Maybe it should be seen as a 'double-obverse' coin, and Antonius just happened to be consistently engraved on the 'reverse' punch. The problem in itself, reduced to these basics, is not very important, but it highlights an important problem in interpreting this coinage: Whose coinage is it? Does it belong to both Antonius and Cleopatra? Does the fact that they are separated from each other by the individual sides of the coin and that there is no mention of Antonius on the Cleopatra side, nor Cleopatra on the Antonius side, reflect a purely political and non-conjugal relationship?

Buttrey objected to the Antioch attribution on the grounds that this city was not ruled by Cleopatra. However, since the Antiochene posthumous Philip tetradrachms were not a civic coinage for Antioch anyway, the question of political control is less relevant; at any rate, Antonius himself certainly controlled Antioch. And the drachm of Antonius, if genuine, certainly indicates that a portrait coinage at Antioch was issued for him. But why was Cleopatra's portrait placed on the 'obverse'? An examination of the denarii with the joint portraits (*RRC* 543) shows that they too were produced in the same fashion, Cleopatra's portrait occupying the 'obverse' and Antonius' the 'reverse'. In other words, it seems that the two main groups of eastern silver for Antonius and Cleopatra, if they do not actually give Cleopatra some sort of precedence, at least display similar methods of production.¹²⁰ The denarii also sometimes bear symbols; a ship's prow

¹¹⁸ Baldus, *loc. cit.*, p. 129-30, see also figure 2 above. Burnett, *RPC*, forthcoming, draws attention to the apparent difference in production methods between these tetradrachms and the posthumous Philip coins.

¹¹⁹ *RPC*, forthcoming.

¹²⁰ The same pattern may be noted on the bronze coinage of the Ituraean kingdom of Chalcis, where Cleopatra's portrait occupies the obverse

beneath the bust of Cleopatra and an Armenian tiara behind the head of Antonius. The tiara might be easily explained by Antonius' disastrous campaign there in 36 BC and the legend ARMENIA DEVICTA. Both these tetradrachms and denarii are present in the Sarnakouk hoard, from Soviet Armenia.¹²¹

Even if the coins were not actually struck there, the gap at Antioch might still provide an explanation: Antonius took staff from the mint with him on campaign, after wintering in the city 37-36 BC. This would account for the presence of his portrait at Antioch, and then coins with a similar portrait style, but lettering and production methods of a different type, at another centre, possibly a mint travelling with Antonius. Some of the tetradrachms had certainly been produced by 33 BC when one was overstruck by a Parthian tetradrachm of Phraates IV.¹²² It is difficult to draw a conclusion about the possibility of denarii being produced on the same campaign. Crawford dates them to 34 BC, and placing denarii in Syria at this date produces problems, although they could fit into the context of an Armenian campaign. Buttrey dated the tetradrachms to 34/3 BC because of the presence of Octavia's portrait on Antonius' coinage at least down to 35 BC. However, it might be possible to present Cleopatra on the Syrian coinage, not as Antonius' wife, but as a queen in her own right. Whilst Octavia and Antonius are sometimes jugate on the coinage, Cleopatra and Antonius are never presented in this way. One side shows the Queen, the other the Roman Triumvir; two images of direct authority in Syria to which Octavia has no relevance. One might draw a parallel with other regal coinages on which the heads of the Roman state also appear - eg. Rhoemetalces of Thrace under Augustus. So whose coinage is it, Antonius' or Cleopatra's? The easiest solution is to opt for the notion of a joint coinage, issued by two rulers who were steadily welding their fortunes together.

presumably because the kingdom was her territory. In every instance of this 'double-headed' coinage, tetradrachms, denarii, and bronzes, Cleopatra occupies the 'obverse'.

¹²¹ *IGCH* 1746, which also included Republican denarii, Asian cistophori, Seleucid tetradrachms and posthumous Philips, Tyrian and other Phoenician tetradrachms, Parthian drachms, and silver coins of other Hellenistic kingdoms.

¹²² *RPC*, forthcoming.

iv) **Augustus (27 BC - AD 14)**

In 5 BC the portrait of Augustus first appears on Syrian tetradrachms. The earliest issues coincide with the governorship of P. Quinctilius Varus, and his involvement in a 'reform' of Syrian coinage has been suggested.¹²³ I am uncertain as to what extent the issue of Seleucid-type tetradrachms which happen to bear the imperial portrait can be construed as a reform, and suspect that it derives from a desire by some numismatists to view the reign of Augustus as the watershed between coinage of a Greek and Roman type in Syria. It may be looked upon as a political 'reform', bringing the image of Augustus onto the coinage, but it was not necessarily a monetary one. The importance of the Augustan coinage of Syria is discussed in later sections. The possibility of Varus' involvement in the issue of tetradrachms is an interesting one; like Gabinius, who has also been credited with the 'reform' which ensured the continued issue of the posthumous Philip coinage, Varus supposedly had a reputation for his skill in financial matters.¹²⁴ That the issue of tetradrachms bearing Augustus' portrait commences under Varus there can be no doubt. Varus may well have been appointed to deal with organisation or re-organisation of taxes, which in turn may have necessitated new issues of silver coinage. However, more evidence is needed before we can talk of a monetary reform by Varus. By 5 BC the imperial portrait would have been a natural enough obverse type for an imperial silver coinage, and its appearance is not necessarily connected with monetary reform; it simply updated the Syrian silver, replacing the defunct portrait of Philip Philadelphus with that of the new ruling individual.¹²⁵ Nor is the break in type content, with the appearance of the 'Tyche' tetradrachms, quite as significant as it might appear, and the Tyche type too derives from an antecedent of Seleucid date. The change in silver content between the old posthumous Philip coinage and the new Tyche coinage of Augustus is not as pronounced as Walker suggests, and the new standard is not a permanent one.¹²⁶

¹²³ See C.J. Howgego, 'Coinage and Military Finance in the Augustan East', *NC* 142 (1982), pp. 1-20.

¹²⁴ Howgego, *loc. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

¹²⁵ What is much more remarkable is the continued use of the portrait of Philip after Actium.

¹²⁶ *MRSC* I, p. 68; see below, section on metrology.

Zeus coinage of Antioch

The first issue for Augustus provides a direct typological link with the posthumous Philips. The reverse type is that of the Zeus Nicephorus of Daphne, the sole reverse type of the posthumous Philip coinage (Wruck 1). Stylistically the obverse compares closely with the later issues of Augustus. The reverses bear initials and monograms which may be magistrates' names. All known specimens are dated by Augustus' twelfth consulship (5-3 BC). Since they are followed by the Tyche coinage, which begins in 5 BC and continues down to the end of the reign of Augustus and beyond, it seems likely that these Zeus issues are confined to 5 BC, and mark the beginning of the Augustan portrait issues in silver.

Tyche coinage of Antioch

Immediately following the Zeus coinage, and also beginning in 5 BC, are a series of tetradrachms bearing the reverse type of the Tyche of Antioch. This type was originally used for the coinage of Tigranes; I wonder whether there is any significance in this, for the 'Zeus' coinage of Philip Philadelphus was succeeded by a 'Tyche' coinage of Tigranes, just as the Augustan Zeus coinage was succeeded by a new Tyche coinage. The type had not been used previously except under Tigranes. The use of an ethnic on those coins which bear dates in Caesarean years is a little unusual, but the appearance of the ethnic does not warrant their exclusion from the catalogue of 'imperial' issues.¹²⁷

The Tyche issues were struck for a number of years. The dates, expressed in Actian years, consulships, and Caesarean years, are as follows:

Action year 26, cos 12	(5 BC)	Wruck 2
Action year 27, cos 12	(5/4 BC)	Wruck 3
Action year 28, cos 12	(4/3 BC)	Wruck 4
Action year 29, cos 12	(3 BC)	Wruck 5
Action year 29, cos 13	(2 BC)	Wruck 6
Action year 30, cos 13	(2/1 BC)	Wruck 7
Action year 31, cos 13	(1 BC/AD 1)	Wruck 8
Action year 36, Caesarean year 54	(AD 6)	<i>BMC</i> 148
Action year 42, Caesarean year 60	(AD 12)	<i>BMC</i> 149
Action year 44, Caesarean year 63	(AD 14)	Sternberg xi (1981), lot 389

¹²⁷ Wruck omitted them, even though they are otherwise identical to the other Tyche tetradrachms.

'Zeus' tetradrachms: Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius

Tetradrachms with a seated Zeus holding a figure of Nike on the reverse are here regarded as part of a separate mint from that of Antioch (apart from the early coinage at Antioch under Augustus - see above). They were produced in small numbers for the first four Julio-Claudian emperors (Wruck 14; 18-23). At present only a single example is known for both Augustus and Gaius.¹²⁸ Obverse die links among the coins of Tiberius and Claudius are common, suggesting that the output was not very great. At least two coins of Claudius are overstruck on coins of Philip Philadelphus or the posthumous issues. Although the reverse type, Zeus Nicephorus, had particular associations with Antiochene coinage, and the type does occur on Augustus' first issue of tetradrachms at Antioch, these Zeus coins are quite different in style from the known Antiochene silver of Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius. The coins are not dated and bear no ethnic, but carry control marks or magistrates' initials. The use of such marks is not normally a feature of Antiochene coinage of the Roman imperial period, excepting the Zeus coinage of Augustus at Antioch (see above). The three other cities of the Syrian tetrapolis, Laodicea, Seleucia and Apamea, whose coinage is often initialled, do not seem to be likely candidates either, as all three struck tetradrachms for at least one of the emperors from Augustus to Claudius, of quite different style and fabric to the Zeus coinage. The use of magistrates' initials on coinage is also common in Cilicia, which at the time was still part of the province of Syria. Zeus Nicephorus occurs on the Julio-Claudian coinage of several Cilician cities. Further studies may reveal a likely candidate for a mint. In the meantime, a Cilician city seems just as likely a mint as one in northern Syria. No Syrian hoards containing these coins have yet been found, although their absence could well be due to a general lack of Syrian hoards containing Julio-Claudian tetradrachms struck before Nero.¹²⁹

Seleucia Pieria: Augustus

Seleucia struck two small issues of silver tetradrachms, in years 114 and 116 of the era of Seleucia (AD 5/6 and 7/8). Walker has suggested that they were worth four denarii, since although their fineness appears to be only about 74%, they are quite heavy (mean for eight coins, 14.95g). There are no issues of bronze coinage associated. A number of plated examples of coins of year 114 exist. They do not appear to die-link with any full silver

¹²⁸ For these coins, see relevant entries in *RPC*.

¹²⁹ See chapter 7.

specimens, but nor were the plated coins all produced from the same obverse dies.

Laodicea: Augustus

A few very rare tetradrachms of Augustus are known, with a silver content of perhaps 93%¹³⁰ and weight of about 13.6g, with 12.63g of silver. Their date is uncertain, but a date after 5 BC seems likely (see *RPC*). For coins of Divus Augustus, see below, under Gaius.

v) Tiberius (AD 14-37)

The Antiochene coinage of Tiberius is very rare. The first issue cannot with certainty be ascribed to Antioch, and the style is not as close to that of Antiochene bronze coinage as one might wish. It is undated, and bears a portrait of Tiberius on the obverse and Divus Augustus on the reverse (*SNG (Cop.)* 144). Another issue, with the Tyche reverse type used by Augustus, bears the Caesarean date year 84, AD 35/6 (specimens in Paris and Berlin).

vi) Gaius (AD 37-41)

Antioch: Gaius

Some of the Antiochene tetradrachms of Gaius bear the legend ANTIO MHTPO, firmly linking them to a mint at Antioch. This is fortunate, since the types are quite different from previous ones and there are no bronzes of Gaius from Antioch with which to compare styles, although the style of the tetradrachms compares favourably with the early issues of SC bronze under Claudius. As with much of Gaius' coinage struck elsewhere, his mother and father are honoured on the coinage.¹³¹ Gaius always appears on the obverse. Those with a reverse portrait of Germanicus are undated, do not bear the legend ANTIO MHTPO, and have legends in the nominative case. Those of Agrippina bear dates in regnal years and both obverse and reverse legends are in the genitive. The Agrippina reverses sometimes carry a dot or pellet in the reverse field. These marks may be related to those found on the reverses of SC bronzes, and may have some temporal significance (see appendix 1). The dated coins are as follows:

Gaius/Agrippina, year 1 + dot (AD 37) BMC 163

¹³⁰ Walker *MRSC* I, no. 697 and p. 69.

¹³¹ Trillmich, *Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula und Claudius*, Berlin, 1978.

Gaius/Agrippina, year 2	(AD 37/8)	BMC 164
Gaius/Agrippina, year 2 + dot	(AD 37/8)	BMC 165
Gaius/Agrippina, year 3	(AD 38/9)	Trillmich, pl. 13, 17
Gaius/Agrippina, year 3 + dot	(AD 38/9)	Trillmich, pl. 13, 18

Laodicea: Divus Augustus: under Gaius ?

A small group of posthumous tetradrachms in the name of Augustus were struck at Laodicea. A parallel between these coins and those of Nero at Laodicea has been drawn, but stylistically the argument is not convincing.¹³² I find that the head of Tyche on the reverse is not dissimilar to that found on Laodicean bronzes of Gaius, so perhaps these coins belong to roughly the same period as the bronze issues of Gaius. There are numerous other issues in the name of Divus Augustus struck under Gaius throughout the Roman empire, so such an issue in this period would not be inappropriate for this emperor.

vii) **Claudius** (AD 41-54)

Antioch: Claudius

Aside from the Zeus tetradrachms, one group of Claudian silver coins can be securely attributed to Antioch on the basis of its style and comparison with the subsequent early coinage of Nero. The distinctive style of the portraits compares well with the first issues of SC bronze under Nero, and is less like the SC bronze of Claudius' own reign, which would suggest that these silver issues all belong to the very end of Claudius' reign. The dynastic theme, Claudius/Nero, Agrippina/Nero, was continued on the early Neronian silver of Antioch. The issue of a didrachm is notable; the mint was perhaps constrained to place the value in full on the coin - ΔΙΔΡΑΧΜΟΝ - because it was an unfamiliar denomination in Syria at the time. Agrippina seems to have occupied the obverse of the rare group of didrachms, since there appear to be more dies used for Nero than Agrippina. The other reverse for the didrachms is a common theme, found in this arrangement on drachms of Gaius from Caesarea in Cappadocia, though usually connected with the emperor as Pontifex rather than his heir.

The portraits of Nero and Agrippina provide a *terminus post quem* of AD 50 for the issues. Like the tetradrachms of Gaius and Agrippina Senior,

¹³² Walker, *MRSC* I, p. 81 n. 43.

the obverse and reverse legends of the Claudian tetradrachms are in the genitive case.

tetradrachms
Claudius / Nero

didrachms
Agrippina / Nero
Nero / simpulum + lituus

Apamea: Claudius

Apamea initiated a new era during the reign of Claudius. A single tetradrachm, of year two, is known.¹³³

viii) Nero (AD 54-68)

Coins dated '105-3' and associated issues

The early coinage of Nero continued the types of Claudius. The only dated coins all bear double dates; Nero's regnal year three and Caesarean year 105 (= AD 56/7). The style of the undated pieces indicates that they too were issued at about the same time. One unique coin in the British Museum (rev. eagle on thunderbolt) has a lituus before the bust of Nero on the obverse.

The types for three denominations, tetradrachm, didrachm, and drachm, are tabulated below. The names and titles of the Emperor and his family are all in the genitive case. An asterisk indicates that the coin bears no date.

<u>tetradrachms</u>	<u>didrachms</u>	<u>drachms</u>
Nero/Agrippina	Nero/simpulum+lituus	
	Nero/Agrippina*	
Nero/Divus Claudius	Nero/eagle stg. on thunderbolt	Nero/tripod
	Nero/eagle between vexilla*	

Coins dated years six to ten: the 'eagle' tetradrachms

In the sixth year of Nero's reign a completely new tetradrachm coinage was introduced. It bore as its reverse type an eagle with wings spread, standing on either a club or a thunderbolt, with a palm branch in the field. This reverse type had previously been used by the Phoenician mints of the Seleucid empire, and in the late first century BC and Julio-Claudian period it had characterised the coinage of Tyre. The fineness of these tetradrachms stabilised the Antiochene coinage on a standard of four Attic drachms, a standard which continued into the reign of Trajan. The coinage of Tyre had always been on a standard of four Attic drachms. The adoption of the eagle motif as a reverse type at Antioch seems to be

¹³³ The coinage of Apamea will be dealt with in a forthcoming study.

connected with the cessation of the Tyrian tetradrachm. It has been suggested that the new Antiochene 'eagle' tetradrachms were produced as some kind of replacement of the Tyrian tetradrachm, or at least, that Antioch took over the production of this coinage.¹³⁴ The significance of the switch of types from Tyre to Antioch, and the importance of the silver standard used will be explored more fully in later sections.

The Neronian 'eagle' tetradrachms divide into two basic groups, those with young portraits, and those with older, fatter portraits, where Nero's hair is usually arranged in characteristic 'steps'. The arrangement of the leaves in the laurel wreath which Nero wears changes with the dates on the coins, as does the obverse legend, which switches from genitive to nominative case in Caesarean year 111. These features make it possible to date some of the badly struck or worn coins which have dates missing from the flan. They also enable us to date the drachms of Nero and Poppaea, which are themselves undated, but which must belong to year 111 because of their young portrait and the use of the obverse legend in the nominative. Aside from this one issue of drachms, no other denominations apart from tetradrachms were struck.

Like the coins of Gaius, some of these tetradrachms carry a dot or pellet in the reverse field. The issues are dated by both regnal years of the emperor and Caesarean years of Antioch, as before.

First group

Young portraits.

a) with the obverse legend in the genitive. Arrangement of leaves in the laurel wreath, from the back of the head forwards, is 2-2-2-2-2-1, or 2-2-2-2-2-1.

Reverses: eagle standing on thunderbolt, palm branch before. Dates (regnal year + Caesarean year) as follows:

S-HP (6-108) Wruck 37

Z-ΘP (7-109) Wruck 38

H-IP (8-110) Wruck 39

ET AIP.Θ (+ dot) (111-9) Wruck 40

b) with obverse legend in the genitive. Arrangement of leaves in the laurel wreath forwards is in pairs: 2-2-2-2-2 or 2-2-2-2-2-2.

ETOYC AIP. Θ (+ dot) Wruck 40

¹³⁴ The connection between Tyre and Antioch was first suggested by Dieudonné, *RN* 1909, p. 463, and later by Walker, *MRSC* I, p. 71.

c) with obverse legend in the nominative (but at least two dies end 'Sebastou' rather than 'Sebastos'). Wreaths as previous.

ETOYC AIP. Θ (+ dot) (111-9) Wruck 41-2

ETOYC AIP. I (+ dot) (111-10) Wruck 44

Drachms with Nero on the obverse and Poppaea on the reverse (Wruck 49) belong to this year.

Second group

Older portrait, wreaths with beads between leaves, 2-2-2-2 or 2-2-2-2-2.

Some of the portraits do not have the hair arranged in 'steps'.

ETOYC BIP. I (+ dot) (112-10) Wruck 47

ETOYC BIP. I Wruck 46

Coins dated years 114 to 116

The remaining tetradrachm issues of Nero's reign were dated by the Antiochene Caesarean era only. The obverse and reverse styles are markedly different than those on the earlier tetradrachms, but the mint was still undoubtedly Antioch, and bronzes dated Caesarean year 114 with the ethnic ANTIOXEWN bear exactly the same style portraits. The attribution of these coins, and those of Galba, Otho and Vespasian, was greatly complicated by Colin Kraay, who argued the case for a number of different mints, mostly on the grounds of letter forms used on different issues. Wruck had suggested that some Neronian coins, with the eagle standing on a club, were struck at Tyre. Kraay suggested that those with the eagle on a laurel wreath belonged to Tripolis in Phoenicia. In Kraay's scheme, there were three mints striking for Nero: Antioch, issuing coins for Caesarean years 108 to 112; Tyre, issuing coins for Caesarean year 114 (both Kraay and Wruck misread the date as 111); and Tripolis, striking for Caesarean year 116. As far as I can see, there is no evidence for this multiplicity of mints. Stylistically Nero's tetradrachms are not far removed from the SC bronzes and the civic coins of Antioch, which bear the same dates as some of the tetradrachms. The mint is clearly Antioch in every case; as pointed out by Dieudonné, the coins bear the Antiochene Caesarean era, and continued to do so into the reign of Galba.¹³⁵ They could not have borne these dates if they had belonged to the other mints proposed by Wruck and Kraay. The Caesarean era of Antioch was a city era, not a provincial era. City eras were highly territorial, and Tyre and Tripolis had their own, Tyre beginning in

¹³⁵ C. Kraay, 'Notes on the Early Imperial Tetradrachms of Syria', *RN* 7 (1965), pp. 58-68. For the Antiochene era on these coins, A. Dieudonné, *RN* 1909, p. 467.

126 BC, and Tripolis in 312 BC (*i.e.* the Seleucid era).¹³⁶ Laodicea also used a Caesarean era, with only a year's difference between it and the Caesarean era of Antioch, but Laodicea is an unlikely mint for any of these coins. First of all, it struck its own tetradrachms (which bear an ethnic) under Nero. Secondly, as the era of Laodicea began in 48 BC, the date 116 would fall too late for Nero. As the tetradrachms form a chronological sequence with dates expressed in Antiochene civic years, and compare closely with contemporary bronzes of Antioch, there would seem to be no reason for regarding these coins as the products of any other mints.

The dates and types of the final phase of Neronian tetradrachms are as follows:

Eagle on club

ETOYCAIP (114) Wruck 44 (misread as AIP)

Eagle on laurel wreath

ETOYCSIP (116) Wruck 48

Nero and Divus Claudius tetradrachms

These coins, with Latin legends, are quite unlike the known coinage of Antioch. Sydenham attributed them to Caesarea in Cappadocia, where they are considered anomalous not only in style but in their denomination.¹³⁷ I am not convinced that there is a wide stylistic divergence between these coins and those of Caesarea as others have suggested (*e.g.* Burnett and Amandry, *RPC*). Although they are apparently fairly common in museums and collections, there are very few provenances. They are not found in hoards of Caesarean coins. One was found in a hoard of Antiochene, Laodicean, Cypriot and Roman silver of about the time of Hadrian, found at Lattakia (Laodicea).¹³⁸ A hoard containing these coins has been reported at Antioch¹³⁹, and there is a specimen in the Antakya Museum, but with no comparanda their mint must, for the moment, remain uncertain. One possible solution is that these tetradrachms were produced at Caesarea for use in Syria. This is essentially a modification of a suggestion made about ten years ago by Gilmore, who put forward the suggestion that Caesarean mint workers produced them in

¹³⁶ On the use of the Caesarean era to delineate the territory of Antioch, see H. Seyrig, 'Inscriptions grecques', in G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord, III*, pp. 12-14.

¹³⁷ A tetradrachm, of three denarii. See chapter 4.1, section A.iv.

¹³⁸ See Appendix 3.

¹³⁹ A. Spaer, Jerusalem; personal communication.

Syria.¹⁴⁰ Such a possibility, of Caesarea producing Syrian coinage, is not as unlikely as it might seem, for under Vespasian and Trajan there is good evidence for mints outside Syria being involved in the production of Syrian tetradrachms.

Laodicea: Nero

Laodicea struck a small issue of tetradrachms under Nero, dated year 111 (AD 63/4). They bear the Laodicean ethnic. Undated tetradrachms bearing a portrait of Divus Augustus may also belong to this reign, but note the reservations expressed above: 'Laodicea: Divus Augustus; under Gaius?'

¹⁴⁰ P. Gilmore, 'The Latin Legend Tetradrachms of Nero', *NCirc.* 1980, p. 210.

ix) Galba (AD 68-69)

Under Galba the method of dating by Caesarean era was abandoned in favour of one using the regnal year of the emperor. There are three groups of coins, all distinguished by differences in style and dates. One of these, probably the first, is dated year 116 of the Caesarean era, exactly as Nero's last issue. The second is dated by his first regnal year, presumably June-November 68. These coins include the formula ETOYC NEOY IEPOY, *i.e.* 'of the new sacred year', a formula which occurs on Syrian and Cypriot silver from Vespasian to Trajan. The change in the method of dating does not signify an attempt to abandon the Caesarean era at Antioch, since bronzes of Galba at Antioch bear Caesarean dates. It may, however, signify a desire on the part of the issuing authorities to disassociate the silver coinage from its issuing city. There is a star before the bust of Galba on the second group of tetradrachms, which seems to be absent on the few worn examples of year 116. Its significance, however, is probably not related to a mint.

Although the portraits are slightly different there is nothing to suggest that these coins come from two different mints. The first must be Antioch because of the date, and the style of the eagle found on the reverses of the second is a direct continuation from the year 116 coins of both Galba and Nero.

The third group of tetradrachms for Galba are of a noticeably finer style, dated year two (November (?) 68-January 69). Kraay attributed them to 'mint B', Tripolis. In many respects they are quite different than the tetradrachms of the previous two groups, and are dated by regnal year only, without the formula NEOY IEPOY. Again, however, they are exactly the same style as the SC and civic bronzes of Antioch, so that city must be the mint for this tetradrachm coinage.

The groups of tetradrachms of Galba are as follows:

Group 1	ETOYC SIP	AD 68	RPC 4193
Group 2	ETOYC NEOY IEPOY A (+ star on obv.)	AD 68	Wruck 55-58
	ETOYC NEOY IEPOY B (+ star on obv.)	AD 68/9	RPC 4196a-b
Group 3	ETOYCB	AD 68/9	Wruck 58-9

x) Otho (AD 69)

For Otho, one group of tetradrachms, perhaps the first, has exactly the same style and type for the reverse as the third group of tetradrachms of his predecessor, but dated ETOYC A; the obverse portrait of Otho has a

hooked nose which, like the SC bronzes, is possibly derived from preceding portraits of Galba. The second group has a straight-nosed Otho and the reverses carry the device of a crescent between the eagle's legs. The portraits of both groups are found on the Antiochene bronzes.

Group 1 ETOYCA AD 69 Wruck 62
Group 2 ETOYC A (+ crescent) Wruck 63

xi) Vespasian (AD 69-79)

Flavian tetradrachms exhibit a number of different styles, making their study rather more complicated than for preceding periods. Most are dated using the formula ETOYC NEOY IEPOY. The eagles generally, though not invariably, stand on a club. None of the Syrian tetradrachm issues was struck later than year five, AD 72/3, the date at which the bronze coinage of Antioch recommences. The fact that there is no contemporary bronze coinage of Antioch with which to compare most of the tetradrachm styles causes some problems. Kraay's groupings for the Flavian coinage are more sound than those for Nero to Otho, although his attributions to mints are, I think, quite incorrect. The structure of Syrian silver in the Flavian period is important, as it sheds light on the organisation of production of silver in the eastern Roman empire as a whole and enables us to understand the structure of an equally confused period of minting under Trajan (on whom, see below). In turn, some concrete evidence in the reign of Trajan confirms what can only be inferred under the Flavians: that some Syrian silver was struck outside Syria, and that one group of issues, Kraay's mint A, can be attributed to Alexandria in Egypt. Another group, Kraay's mint D (Wruck 83, 100), only known for year three, bears a remarkable similarity to an eastern issue of aurei and the series of 'Judaea Capta' bronzes of Vespasian and Titus.¹⁴¹ If the 'Judaea Capta' series of bronzes was struck at Caesarea in Samaria, then it is likely that this was the mint for the tetradrachms also. Their southern origin did not prevent their circulation in northern Syria, and the coins have turned up at Antioch and Dura. Since they were probably struck some distance from the region covered by this study, they are omitted from the discussion below.

The remaining tetradrachm styles can be divided into three main groups:

¹⁴¹ For the aurei, see *BMCRE* 2, 'Mint of Tyre (?)', pp. 109-110; for the 'Judaea Capta' coinage, *BMC Palestine*, pp. 276-283. Compare *BMC Palestine*, p. 279, 24, with *BMCRE* 2, pl. 19, 12.

Kraay's Mint B: Antioch

One group of tetradrachms seems to be a direct continuation from the coinage of Otho. Some of the coins are particularly redolent of the tetradrachm coinage of Otho, the reverses being characterised by an eagle with large, rounded wings. One type, dated year one, bears the reverse legend ETOYC A, without the NEOY IEPOY formula, and has a crescent between the eagles' legs, and the eagle standing on a laurel wreath, a type which provides a link with the coinage of Galba and Otho. Other eagles stand on a club, with or without a crescent between the legs. The presence of the club has sometimes been taken to indicate that Tyre was the mint, but the club has already appeared on tetradrachms of Nero bearing the Caesarean era of Antioch, which would seem to suggest that the club was not a mint mark. Most, but not all, of these coins have lunate *sigmas*, but the Σ form also occurs. Sometimes both forms are found on the same coin (pl. 44, 31).

This group is chiefly characterised by large heads of Vespasian on the obverse, and eagles with large, rounded wings on the reverse. All of the reverses have a palm branch in the field before the eagle. They were issued over regnal years 1 and 2, AD 69 and 69/70. The last of the types listed below would seem to have been the largest issue.

Vespasian, Antioch: Group 1

ETOYCA	Eagle on laurel wreath, crescent between legs.	BM (pl. 44, 29)
ETOYCA	Eagle on laurel wreath, no crescent.	Wruck 70
ETOYC NEOY IEPOY B	Eagle on club, crescent between legs.	(pl. 29, 31)
ETOYC NEOY IEPOY B	Eagle on club.	(pl. 29, 30)

A slight variant of the group 1 style may be noted on some other tetradrachms of the same type, although it is unlikely that they represent the products of a different mint. The heads of Vespasian tend to be smaller than those of the previous group. The eagle's wings are somewhat straighter and narrower, rather like the eagles found on the later coins of Nero, or the first two groups of Galba. This stylistic difference probably represents nothing more than the style of a different engraver, and some pieces with the smaller portrait of Vespasian have eagles with more rounded wings, suggesting that groups 1 and 2 for Vespasian were produced at the same mint. Again, a palm branch occurs in the field before the eagle.

Vespasian, Antioch: Group 2

ETOYK NEOY IEPOY A (pl. 44, 32)	Eagle on club	Wruck 73
ETOYK NEOY IEPOY B	Eagle on club	Wruck 78

Kraay's mints A and C: Alexandria

Another tetradrachm style is identical to that found on the coinage of Alexandria in Egypt. A comparison with the regular products of the Alexandria mint should be sufficient to convince the reader that the styles are the same (pl. 45, 40-41 and 44-45). This 'Alexandria' style is also found on some eastern denarii and aurei (pl 45, 42-43 and 46).¹⁴² The style is apparent on coins issued over several years, and is quite unlike 'Kraay's Mint B: Antioch' in style. Kraay divided this coinage between two mints, 'A' and 'C'. I find no stylistic differences between the two and the coinage of Alexandria. Unlike the Antiochene coinage from Nero to Vespasian, which tends not to abbreviate the imperial titles on the obverse, the 'Alexandria' coins carry abbreviated legends, in the genitive case. This is not the only time Alexandria has been postulated as a mint for Syrian tetradrachms; Newell pointed out a similar case under Trajan.¹⁴³ The implications of Alexandria's involvement are considered below. This 'Alexandria' mint struck tetradrachms over a longer period than the Antioch mint, although, as we shall see presently, Antioch recommenced production in year 4. The eagles on the reverses of 'Alexandria' tetradrachms stand right or left, with a palm branch in the field before them.

Vespasian, Alexandria

ETOYΣ NEOY IEPOY A	AD 69	Eagle on thunderbolt	Wruck 71
ETOYΣ NEOY IEPOY B	AD 69/70	Bust of Titus	Wruck 80-2
ETOYΣ NEOY IEPOY B	AD 69/70	Eagle on thunderbolt	Wruck 75a-b
ETOYΣ Ϝ IEPOY	AD 69/70	Eagle on club	Wruck 79
ETOYΣ ϝ IEPOY	AD 70/1	Eagle on club	Wruck 86
ETOYΣ Δ IEPOY	AD 71/2	Eagle on club	Wruck 87
ETOYΣ Ε IEPOY	AD 72/3	Eagle on club	Wruck 90

Kraay's Mint B (?): 'Eagle on altar', Antioch

Another group of tetradrachms are dated years 4 and 5, and have as their reverse type an eagle standing on a large altar, holding a caduceus in its beak. The palm branch appears, held in the eagle's talons. This style is also quite distinct from 'Alexandria', and group 1 of the Antiochene

¹⁴² W.E. Metcalf, 'The Flavians in the East', *Actes du 9ème Congrès International de Numismatique*, Bern 1977, pp. 321-339.

¹⁴³ 'Miscellanea Numismatica: Cyrene to India', *NNM* 82, New York, 1938, pp. 75-82; see also below, under Trajan.

coinage. It does, however, share a number of characteristics with Antiochene group 2 (Kraay's Mint B). Kraay noted this and suggested that they either belonged with that group, or to another mint heavily influenced by his Mint B. The styles of portrait and the treatment of the eagles are very alike. In particular, the tail feathers of the eagle curl round at the end, a feature frequently found on Antiochene group 2, but absent on both group 1 and 'Alexandria', whose eagles have straight tail feathers. The *omegas* are rendered Ω on both group 2 and the 'eagle on altar' issues. The style of portraiture for Vespasian also occurs on the contemporary SC bronze coinage of Antioch, which may be the work of the same engraver. The leaves in the laurel wreath worn by the emperor are large, and both wreath ties trail over the shoulder instead of falling behind, an unusual feature also encountered on the SC bronzes. Remarkably similar in style, and undoubtedly the work of the same engraver, are a group of aurei and denarii (pl. 44, 34-35; dated cos iiii, AD 72/3).

Vespasian, 'eagle on altar', Antioch

ETOYC NEOY IEPOYΔ AD 71/2

Wruck 88

ETOYC NEOY IEPOY E AD 72/3

Wruck 89

The scheme I propose above presents a reattribution of Kraay's mints for Vespasian in Syria:

<u>Kraay's Mint</u>	<u>Kraay Attribution</u>	<u>New Attribution</u>
A	Antioch	Alexandria
B	Tripolis	Antioch
C	'North Syria'	Alexandria
B (?)	Tripolis or Heliopolis	Antioch

Note that Tyre, for a long time a contender for one of the mints, is excluded from the reattributions.¹⁴⁴ This is simply because I can find no reason to include it. All of the tetradrachms of Kraay's mints A - D fit nicely into a scheme which involves only the mints of Antioch and Alexandria. This leaves only the coins of Mint D, which seem, in the light of the 'Judaea Capta' issues and their stylistic similarity to these coins, to have been produced further south than Tyre. At any rate, it is possible to reduce Kraay's five mints to three mints.

¹⁴⁴ A. Dieudonné, 'L'aigle d'Antioche', *RN* 1909, pp. 458-480; *ibid.*, 'Tyre ou Antioche', *RN* 1909, pp. 165-181.

Recognition of the 'Alexandria' mint prompts the question as to where the coins were actually made. The following possibilities present themselves:

- a) The coins were produced in Egypt and sent to Syria.
- b) The dies were produced in Egypt and sent to Syria.
- c) Egyptian engravers were sent to Syria.

The first seems the most likely solution. Sending dies or mint workers to Syria from Alexandria seems no more or less hazardous, costly or difficult than sending the finished products in coin to Syria. Walker's analyses show a slight difference in metrology between the Antiochene tetradrachms and the 'Alexandria' tetradrachms (the Antiochene ones tend to contain slightly more silver). If the coins had been produced in Syria, using dies or personnel sent from Egypt, and were made in the same centre as the other tetradrachms, we might expect them to have adhered to the standard being used there. Also, the idea of transferring mint workers to Syria suffers in the light of the observation that Alexandria was producing coins for Egypt during the same period. Finally, the above-mentioned die-link under Trajan between a Syrian tetradrachm and an Alexandrian coin would suggest that the same practice occurred in the Flavian period, and that the coins were made at Alexandria.

Some preliminary work has been done on the stylistic links between coinages of different parts of the Roman empire. The influence of the mint of Rome and even the possibility that some bronze coins were struck there has already been discussed. Other studies have pointed to the likelihood of at least one silver coinage, that of Caesarea Cappadociae under Trajan, being produced at Rome.¹⁴⁵ The possibility of other major mints for imperial silver sharing production in one way or another is therefore open to discussion. Although this is not the place to discuss the phenomenon in any detail except where it relates to Syria, a connection between the main silver coinages of the eastern provinces, those of Caesarea, Antioch, and Alexandria, with each other and Rome, has been implied by the occurrence of a style particular to one of the mints at one or several of the other mints, and sometimes for other lesser silver issues for other eastern provinces. Vespasian's coinage at Caesarea in Cappadocia divides quite neatly into coins of very Roman style (pl. 45, 50), and coins of quite different style (pl. 45, 51), which are presumably 'local' products. The

¹⁴⁵ M. Amandry, 'Rome et Césarée: didrachme et drachme de Trajan a légende de droit latine', *BSFN* April 1985, pp. 36-39.

Rome style coins have a six o'clock die axis, a hallmark of the mint of Rome, and the 'local' style coins a twelve o'clock die axis, normal for eastern coinages at this date. The evidence of the tetradrachms of Syria suggests that Alexandria was also involved in the provision of coinage for elsewhere.

What we are looking at is a scheme whereby the four major silver mints of the Roman empire, Rome, Caesarea in Cappadocia, Antioch in Syria, and Alexandria in Egypt, are all involved in an interconnected system for the provision of silver coinage, for their own needs, and for each other, and probably supplying small issues to other regions in the eastern empire. This idea will be explored in more detail in the following sections.

Was Antioch the mint for Flavian silver of Cyprus?

It has elsewhere been suggested that Flavian bronze coinage for the koinon of the Cypriots was struck at Rome.¹⁴⁶ The Cypriot silver of the Flavians is quite different in appearance to the bronze, although it bears the same two reverse types, the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos and Zeus Salaminios.¹⁴⁷ Tetradrachms were struck for Vespasian, years 8 to 10 (AD 75/6-77/8), and for Titus as Augustus, years 1 and 2 (AD 79 and 79/80), and didrachms were issued in the names of Titus and Domitian under Vespasian, in year 9 (pl. 45, 37-39).¹⁴⁸ The Cypriot coinage bears the typical Syrian formula of reverse legend, ETOYC NEOY IEPOY, and like the coinage of Antioch, spells out the name and titles of Vespasian in full on the obverse, with no abbreviations. Although its metrology is different to that of the Syrian tetradrachms, it contains a similar amount of silver per coin.¹⁴⁹ Stylistic comparisons between Cyprus and Antioch have been made before, suggesting that the Antiochene mint was transferred to Cyprus.¹⁵⁰ Comparisons have usually referred to the 'eagle on altar' group of

¹⁴⁶ Carradice and Cowell, *NC* 1987, pp. 26-50.

¹⁴⁷ For an interpretation of the former type see K. Butcher, 'The Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos', *SCMB* 835 (1988), pp. 264-6.

¹⁴⁸ G.F. Hill, *BMC Cyprus*, dates the coinage of Vespasian AD 76/7-78/9, but if the dates correspond to regnal years, with a new year commencing in the autumn, as seems to have been the case in Syria and Egypt, this must be wrong. Year 1 of Vespasian ended in AD 69, and year two ran from 69 to 70. Year eight would therefore correspond to AD 75/6.

¹⁴⁹ The Cypriot coins are lighter than the Syrian ones, and are correspondingly purer to make up for their lower weight; Walker, *MRSC I*, pp. 131-2.

¹⁵⁰ Hill, *BMC Cyprus*, introduction, p. 123, and catalogue, p. 234.

Antiochene tetradrachms, which were issued several years before the first Cypriot pieces. The same forms of *omega*, Ω, occur on these coins as on Antiochene ones, and the wreath ties trail over the shoulder of Vespasian in the same manner. Obverse and reverse legends often follow scored lines cut onto the dies to guide the engravers. Even so, there is a sufficient variance of style between the 'eagle on altar' tetradrachms and the Cypriot coins to discredit Hill's suggestion. Much closer in style are the SC bronzes of Antioch, issued in the names of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, coins which are contemporary with the Cypriot tetradrachms (Catalogue, nos. 163-166). The idea of Antioch producing silver coins for Cyprus is not so objectionable in the light of the evidence for the apparent concentration of silver production at Rome, Antioch and Alexandria under Vespasian.

xii) Domitian (AD 81-96)

Tetradrachms of Domitian were struck for his regnal years two, seven, eight, nine, eleven, and thirteen. The styles vary widely from one year to another, but from years two to nine they parallel the contemporary styles of Alexandria (pl. 46, 52-57). The remaining issues (pl. 46, 53) are more puzzling. Alexandrian coinage of Domitian's later years becomes very fine in style, whereas the Syrian tetradrachms of years 11-13 look rather different, and are perhaps products of the Antioch mint rather than the Alexandria mint. The style is not found on any SC bronzes, but this may be because the SC coinage dates to earlier in the reign. A similar style appears on the tetradrachm coinage of Tarsus, struck for Domitian, perhaps even later than the Syrian tetradrachms (pl. 46, 54).

'Alexandria'

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ Β	AD 81/2	Wruck 106
ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ Ζ	AD 86/7	Wruck 107
ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ Η	AD 87/8	Wruck 108
ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΕΝΑΤΟΥ	AD 88/9	Wruck 109

Antioch (?)

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ	AD 90/1	Wruck 110
ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΤΡΙΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ	AD 92/3	Wruck 111

xiii) Nerva (AD 96-98)

All of the tetradrachms produced for Nerva are in the 'Alexandria' style. The obverse legend ΑΥΤΝΕΡΟΥΑ Σ ΚΑΙ Σ Σ ΕΒ, also used for billon tetradrachms at Alexandria, appears on coins of year one, but the Syrian coins also bear the variant ΑΥΤ.ΝΕΡΟΥΑ Σ .ΚΑΙ Σ . Σ ΕΒ. Γ Ε Ρ Μ. All other stylistic

aspects of the Syrian tetradrachms are virtually the same as the Egyptian (compare pl. 46, 60, with 61). The dates are as follows:

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ Α ΑΔ 96 Wruck 124

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ Β ΑΔ 96/7 Wruck 125

xiv) Trajan (AD 98-117)

The Syrian silver coinage of Trajan is as complex as that of the Flavian or Neronian periods. However, the different groups can be isolated rather more confidently, and as a result, the peculiar pattern of production of eastern silver during the period from Vespasian to Trajan can be fully understood. The results are interesting indeed; combined with a study of the metrology of Syrian silver (see below), the organisation of minting of Syrian silver becomes crucial, not only to our comprehension of the importance of eastern silver and the ways in which the imperial authorities looked to its supply, but also to our understanding of why imperial silver for the provinces maintained 'archaic' denominations, and why the authorities may have even undervalued them against the denarius. This in turn has a bearing on the degree to which the denarius itself was overvalued against silver bullion, and seriously undermines the notion that the denarius was a universally 'preferred currency' in the Roman empire. As it is such an important period, the relation of Syrian coinage to other coinages of Trajan will be described at length in this section.

The coins listed below have been variously attributed to different mints in the past. *BMC* gave some to Caesarea Cappadociae, some to Antioch and others to Tyre, mostly according to reverse types. Coins given to Caesarea by both *BMC* and Sydenham were reattributed to Syria by Wruck and Walker. However, within Syria the attributions to mints are still confused, with some coins being given to Tyre and some to Antioch (*eg.* Wruck p. 160; Walker, *MRSC* II, p. 92 and 101). The confusion arises from the use of three rather specific types on the tetradrachms, the Tyche of Antioch (usually attributed to Antioch), the head of Melkart (usually attributed to Tyre) and the eagle (standing on various objects, usually attributed to different mints on the basis of the objects). The different styles encountered are also misleading, especially as some coins show a marked similarity to the issues of Caesarea Cappadociae, which is why they were misattributed to Caesarea in the first place. The reasons for these similarities will be outlined below. Bellinger demonstrated that some of the tetradrachms with the Tyche of Antioch and Melkart reverses were probably produced at one mint by publishing an obverse die link between them.¹⁵¹ Walker has since noted that such die links are quite common.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ *ANSMN* V, 1952, p. 57 and pl. XIII 1-2

The use of specifically 'Tyrian' types like Melkart need occasion no surprise. The eagle has already been discussed as a Tyrian type; its presence on tetradrachms struck at Antioch under Nero merely emphasised that the coins were on a 'Tyrian' silver standard (a standard which was actually interpreted very liberally under Nero; see section on metrology).

The groupings given below are based on hoard evidence, silver content and engravers' styles. As under earlier emperors the terms 'Alexandria', 'Rome' and 'Antioch' need not suggest that the coins were actually struck in all of these places, but a die-link for 'Alexandria' strongly suggests that the 'Alexandria' coins were actually struck there. Similar reasons to assume that the 'Rome' coins were struck at Rome will be given below.

'Alexandria'

A direct link with the previous reign is provided by a rare group of tetradrachms which cover the first and second years of Trajan's reign. These are undoubtedly official coins of the 'Alexandria' style and not a blundered 'emergency' issue, using altered dies of Nerva, as Bellinger postulated.¹⁵³ Certain idiosyncracies of the die engravers at the Egyptian mint can once again be seen on these Syrian tetradrachms. Compare the Syrian tetradrachm on Plate 46, 62 with the Alexandrian bronze (Plate 46, 63). Both are of year two. They are actually struck from the same obverse die. This would seem to suggest that the 'Alexandria' tetradrachms were struck in Egypt. It may be no coincidence that Alexandria struck no Egyptian 'billon' tetradrachms until year five, and for part of the time the silver was used to strike tetradrachms for Syria instead.

After this brief issue the series of 'Alexandria' coins comes to an end. Only one further issue is known, of year twelve, again very rare, but its style being rather more obviously Egyptian it was noted by Wruck as a possible Alexandrian coin (Plate 48, 78). Newell took the argument even further by suggesting that these coins of year twelve were an attempt to halt the production of Alexandrian base silver tetradrachms and bring the coinage into line with the Syrian tetradrachms.¹⁵⁴ However, since it appears that the mint of Alexandria had been involved in the production of

¹⁵² *MRSC* II, p. 119 n. 20

¹⁵³ A.R. Bellinger, 'Greek Coins from the Yale Numismatic Collection', *Yale Classical Studies*, XII, p. 253; A.R. Bellinger, 'The Boston College Hoard', *ANSMN* 10, p. 43; see also Walker, *MRSC* II, pp. 118-9, n. 14.

¹⁵⁴ E.T. Newell, 'Miscellanea Numismatica', *NNM* 82 (1938).

Syrian tetradrachms since the reign of Vespasian, either directly or indirectly, this view, coupled with the fact that none of the year twelve tetradrachms have turned up in Egypt, can be disregarded. They do, however, occur in Syria.¹⁵⁵

There can be little doubt, on the strength of the die link of regnal year two, that these coins were produced at Alexandria and sent to Syria. Where they were finally distributed is, of course, uncertain, although their metrology does not separate them from the coins struck at Antioch, or, indeed, the next group to be examined, the products of the 'Rome' mint (on the metrology of the 'Rome' coins, see relevant section below).

'Rome' and 'Antioch'

In Trajan's second year the ETOYC NEOY IEPOY series was abandoned in favour of a new system of dating by consulship and tribunician power, which was copied by all subsequent tetradrachm issues until the disappearance of the denomination in AD 253/4.

With the exception of the anomalous 'Alexandria' coins of year twelve, two styles prevail throughout the reign of Trajan. These two styles, as will be shown below, are divided according to chronology, style, and silver content. The stylistic affinities are with the coinage of the mint of Rome for the first group, and the SC coinage of Antioch for the second group. Of the two, the Roman style is the earlier, occurring for Trajan's second, third and fourth consulships.

'Rome'

A feature of Trajan's provincial coinage is the appearance of a style very close to contemporary issues at Rome, which is found on a number of coinages throughout the eastern Roman empire, both silver and bronze. Some of the bronze issues listed below have been convincingly attributed to the mint of Rome itself, since they were made of orichalcum and their composition is tolerably close to the coins of the mint of Rome to support the hypothesis.¹⁵⁶ If bronze coins could be produced at Rome for the east, it does not seem impossible that silver could likewise be struck at Rome and sent to the provinces. The connections already mentioned, between Syria and Egypt, and between Syria and Cyprus, indicate organisation of production on a wide geographical scale, outside the boundaries of single provinces. If any authority were able to organise this most easily it would

¹⁵⁵ There was one in Eleutheropolis hoard, *JIAN* 10 (1907); see appendix 3.

¹⁵⁶ Carradice and Cowell, 'The Minting of Imperial Bronze Coins for Circulation in the East, Vespasian-Trajan', *NC* 1987, pp. 26-50.

be the emperor, and thus we should not be too surprised to find the mint of Rome involved in striking silver coins as well as bronze for the east. The use of denarius dies for the production of Caesarean silver (see below) supports this theory. All of the coins below have a six o'clock die axis, a feature not common among eastern provincial issues at this date, but the regular practice of the mint of Rome. Furthermore the geographical distribution of these issues and stylistic identity makes a single centre of production much more likely than a transfer of Roman mint workers or Roman techniques to every location.

COINS OF ROME STYLE

I. Coins with an early bust type, cos. ii-iii

(1) Syrian tetradrachms, tridrachms and didrachms (discussed below).

(2) Caesarea Cappadociae, didrachms and drachms (Sydenham nos. 163-172). Most of the coins of Caesarea from the reign of Trajan are in the 'Rome' style. Furthermore specimens exist where an obverse die of a Roman denarius was accidentally coupled with the reverse of a Caesarean type, proving that denarii and Caesarean coins were being produced in the same place.¹⁵⁷ A group inscribed $\Upsilon\Upsilon\text{IAT. } \Delta\text{EUT.}$ are markedly different (Sydenham 157-161); perhaps these alone should be regarded as native products of the mint of Caesarea.

(3) Cistophori of Asia with Latin legends.

From the reign of Claudius to the early years of Trajan, most of the cistophori of Asia display a markedly Roman style. Although Walker suggests that a few of these are slightly overvalued against the denarius¹⁵⁸, there is other evidence to suggest that what appears to be slight overvaluation was not considered important by the issuing authorities (below, section on metrology), and the sample of analyses published by Walker may be slightly distorted by worn coins.

(4) Tarsus tetradrachms dated by Trajan's third consulship (*SNG Levante* 990).

There are two types of tetradrachm for Tarsus, one apparently of local style and the other of 'Rome' style. The two are distinguished furthermore by differences in reverse legend, the 'Rome' coins without an ethnic and the local coins with an ethnic (compare *Levante* 990 with 991).

¹⁵⁷ I am grateful to M. Amandry for permitting me to examine a specimen in the BN.

¹⁵⁸ *MRSC* I, pp. 31-5; p. 122; *MRSC* II, pp. 61-3.

(5) Cyrenaican silver (M.J. Price, 'Crete, Cyrene, and Dio lli.30.9', *INJ* 6-7, 1982-3, pp. 118-27)

Tentatively attributed to Rome by Walker.¹⁵⁹ The style and forms of lettering on the silver, struck during the third consulship, parallel the next group (6) very closely.

(6) Syrian ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞ ΥΠΑΤ Β bronzes (see Catalogue; 'Coinage Probably Produced at Rome for Circulation in Syria').

(7) Koinon of Syria bronzes (see Catalogue, as last entry).

(8) Lycian drachms (*BMC Lycia* etc., 11).

The Lycian silver coins also show a Roman style under Domitian and Nerva.

II. Coins with a later bust type, cos. vi-vi

(1) Tetrachms and smaller units of Syria (see below)

(2) Didrachms and drachms of Caesarea Cappadociae (Sydenham 203, 207 - 218, 221 - 223)

(3) Tridrachms, and drachms (rev. standing camel), of Arabia (*BMC Galatia* etc., p. 54, nos. 65-6, originally attributed to Caesarea Cappadociae).

Tentatively attributed by Walker to Rome.¹⁶⁰ He considered the style of these to be 'distinct from that of any other of the eastern silver coinages of the second half of the reign of Trajan', although the coinage of Caesarea is in exactly the same style.

(4) Drachms and bronzes of Cyrenaica (*BMC Galatia* etc., p. 56, no. 76; p. 59, nos. 112-6, originally attributed to Caesarea Cappadociae).

Tentatively attributed by Walker to Rome.¹⁶¹

(5) Cypriot bronzes (Carradice & Cowell, 'The Minting of Imperial Bronze Coins for Circulation in the East, Vespasian - Trajan', *NC* 1987, pp. 26-50)

These coins have been shown to have been made of orichalcum. Apart from their Greek legends they are indistinguishable from sestertii, dupondii and asses of the mint of Rome.

The Syrian tetrachm series therefore falls into both groups. The issues include tridrachms and didrachms. These denominations *appear* (and I emphasise 'appear') to have been abandoned when tetrachm production recommenced in the 'Antioch' style. The details of this coinage are outlined below in figure 4. It will be noted that the eagle didrachm is a

¹⁵⁹ *MRSC* III, Appendix 4, p. 159.

¹⁶⁰ *MRSC* III, Appendix 4, p. 159.

¹⁶¹ *MRSC* III, Appendix 4, p. 159.

direct copy of the reverse types of earlier tetradrachms and didrachms of Tyre, indicating that the 'Tyrian stamp' was not confined to tetradrachms. We should therefore exercise caution when assuming that the phrases '*argyriou Tyriou*' or '*argyriou kalou Tyriou kommatos*' always refer to tetradrachms whenever they appear; they could indicate tridrachms or didrachms as well. This, as we shall see later, is important for understanding the value of some coins which appear to be tetradrachms (below, section on metrology and denominations). The didrachm reverse type of Claudius and Nero was not revived, presumably because the new coins were on a different silver standard.

Figure 4. Syrian silver in the 'Rome' style. The attribution to Syria of the various types is discussed by Walker, *MRSC* II, pp 99-101. Hoard evidence and metrology would support his suggestions.

Cos. ii

Tetradrachm	rev. eagle on thunderbolt or palm branch (<i>BMC</i> Antioch 288, Wruck 139-141)
	rev. bust of Melkart (<i>BMC</i> Tyre 9)
Tridrachm	rev. bust of Zeus/Hadad (<i>BMC</i> Caesarea 46, <i>MRSC</i> II, p. 92)
	rev. bust of Melkart (<i>ANSMN</i> 5, p. 58)
Didrachm	rev. bust of Hera/Atergatis (<i>BMC</i> Caesarea 47, <i>MRSC</i> II, p. 93)

Cos. iii

Tetradrachm	rev. bust of Melkart (BM 1946, <i>MRSC</i> II, p. 92)
Tridrachm	rev. bust of Melkart (<i>BMC</i> Tyre 10, <i>MRSC</i> II, p. 92)
	rev. Roma seated left (<i>MRSC</i> II, p. 92)
Didrachm	rev. eagle standing left (<i>MRSC</i> II, p. 93)

Cos. v

Tetradrachm	rev. bust of Melkart (<i>BMC</i> Tyre 11)
Didrachm	rev. eagle standing left (<i>BMC</i> Caesarea 79)

A comparison with the contemporary bronzes of other mints in Syria should be enough to convince the reader that the style of these tetradrachms is quite exceptional and much closer to the products of the mint at Rome than any contemporary native issues. Although the style of the tetradrachms is variable, so are the coins of the mint of Rome, and in each case parallels for the styles of Syrian coins can be found at Rome. A clear break in style, type and die axis occurs between the 'Alexandria' tetradrachms of regnal years one and two and these coins; a second break occurs in Trajan's fifth consulship, where again the style and type (but not the die axis) changes. There is also a change in the fineness. This I believe

signifies the end of the products of the 'Rome' mint and a switch to production at the 'Antioch' mint. Initially there are no changes in the legends, but the above 'Rome' style tetradrachms of *cos. v* are distinguishable from their 'Antioch' successors not only by their style but by a change in the position of the club on the obverse. On 'Rome' tetradrachms it appears before the bust of Trajan, and on 'Antioch' coins it appears underneath the emperor's bust. It is also suggested (below, chapter 4.1), that this may represent a change of denomination.

'Antioch'

The 'Antioch' style has been so named because of its similarity to the first group of SC bronzes which come from that mint (see pl. 11, 197a and pl. 48, 81). Coins of this group are most frequently attributed to Tyre.¹⁶² The only support for the Tyre attribution is the use of 'Tyrian' reverse types like Melkart. However, if any of the 'Alexandria' or 'Rome' coins which bear 'Tyrian' types are accepted as being from mints other than Tyre, the main foundation of the Tyre attribution is undermined. As an attribution it is otherwise insupportable. The Tyrian tetradrachms of the first century AD all bear ethnics, that is, they appear to be a 'civic' silver coinage. This 'tetradrachm' coinage of Trajan is an imperial silver coinage, with which an imperial bronze coinage is associated. So far, all imperial silver coinage actually struck in Syria since the closure of the Tyrian mint was struck at Antioch, with one small exception (struck in Judaea?) under Vespasian. To argue in support of Tyre, one has to explain the similarities between the silver and the SC coinage. And whilst SC bronzes of the period exhibit both six and twelve o'clock die axes, no parallel can be found among the bronzes of Tyre (which at this period are always twelve o'clock) for the six o'clock die axis of the tetradrachms. It is unlikely that SC bronzes were produced at Tyre. The only contemporary coinage definitely associated with Tyre is in bronze, with ethnics and without any imperial portraits (until the reign of Hadrian).¹⁶³ Furthermore, the Syrian silver of Trajan continues into the reign of Hadrian, and stylistic similarities between

¹⁶² Wruck, p. 160-164. Walker does not actually state that they are from Tyre, but as he has suggested that most of the earlier Syrian silver coins of Trajan were struck at Tyre, this is inferred as the mint, *MRSC* II, pp. 98-105.

¹⁶³ An analogy might be drawn between Tyre as a mint for silver and Tarsus, which also produced no bronzes with imperial portraits until the reign of Hadrian, but struck silver coins with imperial portraits; but with the exception of some Tarsus tetradrachms probably produced under Trajan at Rome, Tarsus silver bears ethnics and is therefore unlike this imperial Syrian coinage.

tetradrachms, SC bronzes and bronze coins with Antiochene ethnics makes an attribution to Tarsus highly unlikely. Antioch is therefore most likely to be the mint for these coins.

The appearance of 'tetradrachms' in the 'Antioch' style corresponds with a marked drop in the silver fineness of this coinage. In its early stages the coinage was struck in appreciable quantities, but thereafter it declines until, during the period of the Parthian war, it seems to have been barely issued at all. No smaller denominations were produced, which may well be significant; the argument that these coins were actually 'tridrachms' on a Tyrian standard is explored below, in the section on metrology.

As a series, these 'Antioch' coins can be closely dated, since the coins quickly adopt the habit of recording the emperor's tribunician powers as well as his consulships. They run in succession from TRP XV to TRP XXI, the reverse types being an eagle, head of Melkart or Tyche of Antioch. The rarer tetradrachms of TRP XVII onwards are very similar in style to the first group of SC bronzes. This and the continued parallel of styles between tetradrachms and SC bronzes into the reign of Hadrian provides a firm basis for the attribution of the entire series of tetradrachms of this group to Antioch. None of Trajan's issues can therefore be attributed to Tyre, or any other Syrian mint apart from Antioch.

Apart from the Syrian tetradrachms, a number of other coinages share the 'Antioch' style. If Antioch is accepted as the mint, then it is possible that these other coinages were struck there in addition to the tetradrachms, rather like the Cypriot tetradrachms and didrachms of Vespasian (see above).

COINS OF 'ANTIOCH' STYLE

- (1) Syrian tetradrachms.
- (2) Arabian drachms (rev Arabia standing, *BMC Galatia etc.*, p. 54, nos. 62-4).
- (3) Drachms of Crete (*BMC Crete etc.*, 15)
- (4) Cistophori with Greek legends (Sydenham 186 - 189, *MRSC* II, p. 69 - 70)

The Arabian drachms are often overstruck on Nabataean drachms.¹⁶⁴ Metcalf has postulated that Bostra in Arabia was the mint, and Kindler has followed suit in his work on the coinage of that city. However,

¹⁶⁴ A. Spijkerman, *JNG* 21 (1971), pp. 115-120, and *The Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia*, pp. 32-35 and Plates 1-4. Spijkerman attributed them to a mint at Antioch, *Coins of Decapolis*, p. 35 n.

Walker noted that the engraver(s) produced coins for a wider circuit than Arabia itself. The mint at Antioch may have sent some of its workers to Arabia to supervise the production of coinage there, but this seems difficult to envisage in the case of Crete. The other alternative is that all of these 'foreign' coins were produced at Antioch, and that consignments of Nabataean drachms were sent there for recoinage (which would, of course, be a simple means of ensuring that weight standards and purity remained the same, if this were a consideration). There are no provenances for the cistophori to suggest where they were intended to circulate, although Asia Minor seems reasonable.

Figure 5. Syrian tetradrachms of 'Rome' and 'Antioch' style.

	<u>Eagle</u>	<u>Melkart</u>	<u>Tyche</u>
<u>'Rome'</u>			
Cos ii	Wruck 139-41	Wruck 142-3	-
Cos iii	Wruck 146-7	-	-
Cos v	-	Wruck 150	-
<u>'Antioch'</u>			
Cos v	Wruck 151	Wruck 153	-
Trp xiii cos v	Wruck 155	Wruck 156	Wruck 157
Trp xv cos v	Wruck 158	Wruck 159	Wruck 160
Trp xvi cos vi	Wruck 161	Wruck 162	Wruck 163
Trp xvii cos vi	Wruck 164	Wruck 165	Wruck 166
Trp xviii cos vi	Wruck 167	Wruck 168/170	Wruck 169
Trp xviii cos vi	Wruck 171-2	Wruck 173	-
Trp xx cos vi	Wruck 175	Wruck 176	-
Trp xxi cos vi	Wruck 177	Wruck 178	-

Why was so much minting activity shared between Rome and Antioch under Trajan? The mint at Rome, if indeed that is where the mint was, struck coinage for the east on a number of occasions from early in his reign, and Antioch from the end of the first decade of the second century. In the latter part of Trajan's reign Rome and Antioch were striking coins for use in the east simultaneously. The behaviour of the two mints is curious. It is difficult to comprehend why Antioch should strike coins for Crete when Rome was supplying coins to Cyprus. The availability of one mint or another at a specific moment may have been the decisive factor, or the whims of the imperial bureaucracy another. It may relate to the way in which imperial expenditure on silver and bronze coinage was divided between mints. The rise of the 'Alexandria' mint seems to correspond to a decline in the output at Antioch. The mint of Antioch seems to have been closed altogether during the first few years of Trajan's reign; there is no evidence of any activity at Antioch after the death of Nerva until the first

issue of these 'Antioch' tetradrachms. There is nothing too unusual about this; few tetradrachms, if any, were struck in Syria for circulation in Syria, from the middle of Vespasian's reign, and Alexandria supplied most of the Syrian coinage, although during this period Antioch seems to have produced a large issue of silver for Cyprus. The complexity of the arrangements for minting silver can only be described here. A tentative explanation for the phenomenon will be presented later, although much more work needs to be done on the eastern silver coinages to establish a firm chronology and estimates of output.

The Syrian issues of Trajan may be summarised as follows. The 'Alexandria' coins, on a high silver standard and continuing the coinage of Vespasian, Domitian and Nerva, came to an end in AD 98/99 and were supplanted by a new silver coinage ('Rome'), in several denominations. This was issued for Trajan's second, third and fifth consulships (AD 98-111), probably ceasing by about 107 or 109 when the 'Antioch' coinage began. In about 107/109 the 'Antioch' coins commenced at a different silver standard, probably with a final issue of Alexandrian style at the old silver standard just before in 107/108. The appearance of this dated coin may indicate that the 'Rome' coinage had already ceased. Shortly after its introduction, the 'Antioch' coinage began dating by tribunician power and continued as the only mint for Syrian tetradrachms for the rest of the reign.

A possible framework for Trajan's issues would therefore run as follows:

AD 98/99	'Alexandria' issues of years 1-2
AD 98/99	'Rome' issues of cos. ii
AD 100	'Rome' issues of cos. iii
AD 103-107/8	'Rome' issues of cos. v
AD 107/108	'Alexandria' issue of year 12
AD 107-109	'Antioch' issues of cos. v
AD 109-117	'Antioch' issues of tr.p. xiiii-xxi

Output under Trajan was variable. The 'Rome' coins may have been removed from circulation with the issue of the 'Antioch' tetradrachms. Using the evidence from hoards, a rough picture of survival can be attained.

Cos iii

Eagle standing on animal thigh, wreath in beak. Eagle's tail to left of right leg (pl. 48, 88).

Walker thought that production ceased early in Hadrian's third consulship, and he is probably right.¹⁶⁵ The retention of the longwinded obverse legend would agree with this view. Denarii appear also to have been produced at Antioch. They too date to early in Hadrian's reign, and compare closely with tetradrachms and SC bronzes (On the Antiochene denarii, see below).

Laodicea ad Mare

Laodicea ad Mare also struck tetradrachms for Hadrian. They are rare, and were struck in such small numbers that not only were obverse dies used for more than one year, but reverse dies were re-used with the old date erased and a new date engraved over the erasure.¹⁶⁶ They bear ethnics and are presumably civic issues; at any rate their numbers are too small to make up for the absence of regular imperial silver during this period, although they may have proved useful for exchange at Laodicea itself. A comparison might be made with the silver coinages of various Cilician cities issued during this period.

xvi) Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (AD 177-180)

A small group of tetradrachms was issued in AD 178/9, presumably at Antioch. They may, however, have been struck at Rome, since their style is very like that of contemporary Roman coins. Their reverses bear an eagle or a seated Tyche, accompanied by apparently interchangeable groups of symbols, with different groups linked by common obverse dies. A few examples of this variability will suffice:

Marcus: Eagle standing facing, on animal thigh, wreath in eagle's beak, star in exergue, palm-branch and ram's head to right. *BMC* 343.

Commodus: Eagle standing facing, on animal thigh, star between legs, ram's head in exergue. *MMAG* 61, 1982, lot 172 (14.00g).

¹⁶⁵ *MRSC* II, p. 105.

¹⁶⁶ Known dates: 168, AD 120/1, BM; 169, AD 121/2, Berlin; 170, AD 122/3, *BMC* 54; 171, AD 123/4; Spink stock, 1984. An obverse die used over three years is noted in *MRSC* II, p. 105. I noticed that the reverse die of a Berlin specimen, of year 169, was reused with the date re-engraved to year 170, on another Berlin coin.

Eagle standing facing, on thunderbolt, ram's head in upper field left and star in upper field right. *BMC* 345.

Eagle standing left, on animal thigh, wreath in beak, palm branch in field to left. Glendining's, 9 Oct. 1989, lot 228.

Tyche seated right on rock, river god before, in field to right, star and ram's head. J. Babelon, *Arethuse* 7, (1930), pl. xx, 2.

The obverse die links between coins with different reverse symbols serves as a warning against taking different symbols to be indicative of different mints. These coins, produced about thirty-five years before the proliferation of mints (and symbols) under Caracalla, illustrates the use of several symbols combined for one coinage. If we compare the symbols found on these coins with their attributions proposed by Bellinger for Caracalla's coins, we can see how varied the attributions are:

Eagle on animal thigh	Antioch
Eagle on thunderbolt	Seleucia Pieria; Cyrrhus
Star between eagle's legs	Laodicea
Star in field	Not known by itself, nor in conjunction with any of the symbols found on coins of Marcus Aurelius
Palm branch	Ascalon (used with other symbols)
Ram's head	Damascus

All these symbols, except the ram's head, have occurred on earlier Syrian tetradrachms, produced at either Antioch, Alexandria or Rome. The ram's head anticipates the colonial coinage of Antioch from Elagabalus onwards, and the second group of tetradrachms of Gordian III, all of which have the figure of a leaping ram (common on bronze civic issues of Antioch, see Catalogue).

xvii) Pescennius Niger (AD 193-194)

Tetradrachms of Pescennius are rare. The surviving specimens are described by Bland, Burnett and Bendall.¹⁶⁷ Originally they may have been struck in large quantities, as all six surviving coins come from different pairs of dies. Like the earlier coins of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, the eagles on the reverses of the tetradrachms stand in different positions and are accompanied by different symbols, albeit limited to one symbol per

¹⁶⁷ *NC* 1987, pp. 76-7; the article mistakenly describes all the eagles as standing on a palm branch, but see nos. 1, 3 and 4.

coin. They stand on either an animal thigh or a palm branch. The reverse legend 'pronoia theon' found on these coins is unparalleled on Syrian tetradrachms.

After the issues of Pescennius, there is a further gap in tetradrachm production until circa AD 204. However, it would appear that the mint at Antioch continued producing silver coinage, in the form of Roman style denarii with Latin legends, until about AD 198. This would seem an appropriate point at which to pause in the survey of tetradrachm coinage and turn to the evidence for denarii in Syria.

xviii) Denarii produced in Syria

The problem of the date of the introduction of the denarius in Syria will be dealt with elsewhere. No denarii can be firmly attributed to a Syrian mint until the reign of Vespasian. There remain, however, a few earlier coinages which may or may not be Syrian in origin; although the case in favour of their Syrian origin has yet to be proved. The rare denarii and aurei of Q. Labienus were presumably struck during his abortive attempt to overrun the east. Even so, there is no evidence that they were struck in Syria. Since Labienus was able to gain control of a large part of Asia Minor, as far west as Caria, and part of central Anatolia, there are a number of possible mints beyond the bounds of Syria.¹⁵¹ Denarii of M. Antonius with Cleopatra (pl. 42, 5) were undoubtedly produced somewhere in the east, and occur in the Sarnakouk hoard, which contained Republican denarii, Syrian tetradrachms (including those of Antonius and Cleopatra), Parthian and Cappadocian silver, and cistophori of Asia, with a few other Hellenistic coins. The hoard, from Soviet Armenia, may have been deposited during Antonius' disastrous eastern campaign. Its location is therefore beyond Syria. The similarity of types to the tetradrachm issue of M. Antonius and Cleopatra may be coincidental, and the Sarnakouk hoard is composed of material too disparate to point to any region in particular. The denarii could have come from any of the regions of the east from which the Sarnakouk hoard drew its coins.

Vespasian (AD 69-79)

The Flavian denarii and aurei struck in the east have been studied in some detail by Metcalf.¹⁵² One mint, almost certainly based at Ephesus in Asia, seems well-defined, and will not be discussed here. Four other groups seem to me to remain, only one of which would appear to be Antioch.

As Metcalf points out, some coins show a very Alexandrian style. Given what I have said about tetradrachms in preceding sections, this is to

¹⁵¹ On the extent of the Parthian conquests, summary by R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, p. 223 and 259. The suggestion by Bellinger, 'Coins from Antioch in Syria', *ANSMN* 5 (1952), pp. 60-3, that Labienus' coins were struck in Cilicia, to the west of the Amanus, is irrelevant, and does not overcome the problem of attributing denarii to a Syrian mint, since eastern Cilicia was probably part of Syria at that date, which would still place the issue in Syria.

¹⁵² W.E. Metcalf, 'The Flavians in the East', *Actes du 9ème Congrès International de Numismatique*, Berne, 1979, pp. 321-339, and plates 37-8.

be expected. However, some of the coins which Metcalf attributes to Syria/Phoenicia and Antioch (the latter on the basis of Kraay's attribution of tetradrachms of identical style to Antioch, his Mint C) are also Alexandrian in style. They consist of aurei only (pl. 45, 42-43 and 46). The obverses all portray Vespasian, with the obverse legends IMP CAESAR VESPASIA AVG; IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS; IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG, and reverses T FLAVI VESPASIANVS CAESAR (bust of Titus); LIBERTAS AVGVSTA (Libertas), COS ITER TR POT (2 types: Pax; Aequitas). Alexandria may therefore be considered as the place of origin of the first of the four groups. With these coins Metcalf includes a group of denarii which seem neither homogenous nor connected with any of the above aurei of Alexandria style (pl. 44, 36). Some of them are die-linked and can be isolated as a single group. This, the second group, bears the obverse IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG and the reverses AVG in a wreath, and VIRTVS AVG (Virtus). Where they were struck is not at all clear. Another denarius type, included with the above denarii, is of quite different style and not die-linked to the others. It bears the obverse legend IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG and the reverse VICTORIA AVG (Victory on globe). The style is similar to that of Antiochene tetradrachms, and I think that this particular coin should be placed in the third of my groups, which covers the extensive issues of Antioch itself.

The third group bears portraits of Vespasian which are identical in style to the 'eagle on altar' tetradrachms of Antioch, struck AD 71/2-72/3 (pl. 44, 33-35). They consist of both aurei and denarii. The obverses are IMP VESPAS AVG PM TRI (*sic*) PPP COS IIII and IMP CAES VESP AVG PM COS IIII, probably also IMP CAES VESP AVG PM, and for Titus, T CAES IMP VESP PON TR POT. The reverses are as follows: IMP CAES VESPAS AVG P TRI P (II) (bust of Titus); PACI ORB TERR AVG (bust of city-goddess); IMP VESPAS CAE DVM ET TI CAES (busts of Vespasian and Titus facing each other); PAX AVGVSTI (Vespasian raising kneeling province); VICTORIA AVGVSTI (2 types: Victory and trophy; Victory advancing right); VIRTVS AVGVSTI (Virtus); CONCORDIA AVGVSTI (Concordia); NEP RED (Neptune); No legend, Jewess; No legend, Triumphator. Metcalf dates most of these issues to AD 72. Some of the coins of Titus, with TR P rather than TR P II, may be earlier in date, but may be in error. The series may run a little later than 72, but at any rate would seem to coincide with the issue of 'eagle-on-altar' tetradrachms.

The fourth group consists of aurei only, in a style identical to the tetradrachms of the 'Judaea' mint (pl. 45, 47-49). *BMC RE* tentatively

attributed them to Tyre.¹⁵³ The obverses are IMP VESPA CAESAR AVGVS and IMP T CAESAR VESPASIANVS, with reverses ROMA (Roma); CONCORDIA AVG (Concordia); IMP T CAESAR on shield; JUDAEA DEVICTA (Victory inscribing IMP T CAES on shield).

	<u>Mint</u>	<u>Coinage</u>
Group 1	Alexandria	aurei
Group 2	?	denarii
Group 3	Antioch	aurei, denarii
Group 4	'Judaea'	aurei

The denarii of Antioch provide the first evidence of this denomination being produced in Syria. That they also circulated there at this date can be inferred, but is not certain. Coins were not always struck to supply the immediate area around the mint, as I have shown. Syrian tetradrachms of Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva and Trajan may have been struck at Alexandria, but they did not circulate in Egypt. The denarii of group 3 do, however, illustrate the versatility of the mint of Antioch in this period, which struck tetradrachms, denarii, aurei, SC bronzes and, possibly, tetradrachms and didrachms for Cyprus.

Hadrian (AD 117-138)

Some early denarii of Hadrian have long been recognised as being stylistically separate from the main group of Roman imperial denarii (pl. 48, 89-90; pl. 49, 91).¹⁵⁴ Their similarity to the portrait styles found on Antiochene tetradrachms, and their unusual metrology (see section on metrology and denominations) confirms their attribution to that mint. Their issue may have been connected with demobilisation of troops and bounties at the conclusion of Trajan's Parthian campaigns and Hadrian's decision to abandon Mesopotamia, but their date of issue, during Hadrian's third consulship (beginning in AD 119), is not close enough to the end of the campaign to secure this interpretation. Their metrology, at a quarter of an Antiochene tetradrachm, suggests that they originally issued to be used in conjunction with the tetradrachms, which were issued over a slightly longer period (see above).

¹⁵³ *BMCRE* 2, pp. 109-110.

¹⁵⁴ Reverses: Trajan and Hadrian, ADOPTIO; Virtus standing; Tyche standing; Tyche seated. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur Römischen Reichsprägung des Zweiten Jahrhunderts, Teil II, Hadrian*, Stuttgart 1933, pp. 195-6, nos. 1-11 and pl. 20, 1-11.

Pescennius Niger (AD 193-194)

The reign of Pescennius in the eastern provinces represents a change of minting policy, no doubt a matter of expediency because Pescennius held only the eastern provinces, in opposition to Septimius Severus. He utilised all three of the imperial mints in the east, Caesarea, Antioch and Alexandria. All three struck regular provincial issues in silver (Alexandria also struck some bronze), but more importantly, Pescennius seems to have used all three of these mints to issue precious metal coinage of Roman type, *i.e.* denarii and aurei.¹⁵⁵ That he did so strongly suggests that he needed denarii in the territory he ruled, and since his major denarius mint was Antioch, denarii were presumably current in Syria by 193. His denarii were very variable in quality, with a mean of 60.71% silver according to Walker's analyses.¹⁵⁶ The standard seems to be not dissimilar to the last issues of Caesarea, under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, and Commodus' sole reign.¹⁵⁷ It is much lower than the last tetradrachm issue under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, which appears to have been intimately connected with the denarius standard. Pescennius was perhaps pressed for silver, although this did not prevent him issuing Greek and Latin legend coinage at all of his imperial mints. I do not wish to describe Pescennius' issues in any detail here. *RIC* and *BMCRE* provide adequate lists of his denarius types, and the arrangement of mints has likewise been covered.¹⁵⁸ What is important about Pescennius' coinage is that his successor in the east, Septimius Severus, continued to issue denarii in Syria in the same manner as Pescennius, and having defeated his rival in late 194, reformed the entire denarius coinage of the Roman empire to the 'low' silver standard. Septimius then seems to have experimented with the issue of a Syrian silver currency composed only of denarii.

¹⁵⁵ Bland, Burnett, Bendall, 'The Mints of Pescennius Niger', *NC* 147 (1987), point to the stylistic similarities of certain aurei to the issues of Alexandria, and attribute denarii and aurei to Caesarea.

¹⁵⁶ On seven pieces (*MRSC* III, p. 13). The standard is rather poor when compared to the last issues of Commodus at Rome in 192 (*MRSC* II, p. 44-5; about 72% silver). Pertinax in early 193 reformed the denarius to about 87%, but it declined in 193/4 to 78% (*MRSC* III, pp. 3-4.) This compares favourably with the sole Antiochene tetradrachm analysed (58%; *MRSC* III, p. 83).

¹⁵⁷ *MRSC* II, pp. 80-1; all have about 1.80g. of silver to the drachm/denarius.

¹⁵⁸ Bland, Burnett, Bendall, *NC* 147 (1987), pp. 65-83

Septimius Severus (AD 193-211)

Few eastern denarius coinages have proved as puzzling as these. Mattingly and Sydenham, writing *RIC* 4, attributed them to three main mints, Alexandria, active between about 193-4; Emisa, active between 193-4, and Laodicea, active from 193 to 202/3.¹⁵⁹ Antioch was not accepted as a major mint for Septimius, because of its presumed punishment for having supported Pescennius Niger, and because all of Severus' denarius mints seemed to have commenced in 193, when Antioch was supposed to be in the hands of Pescennius, as were the other Pescennian mints, Caesarea and Alexandria.¹⁶⁰ When Mattingly came to write the appropriate sections for *BMCRE* 5, he refined the attributions a little more, but basically retained the format of *RIC* 4. The eastern denarii were attributed to five mints (the dates given below are those of Mattingly; I will show presently that these should be modified):

I. Antioch, striking for Pescennius Niger, AD 193-4

II. Very rare issue, tentatively attributed to Antioch immediately following the defeat of Pescennius Niger in 194. *BMCRE* 5, p. 82, no. 318.

III. Alexandria. The style of these secures this coinage to the mint of Alexandria, providing a direct link with the Alexandrian coinage of Pescennius. Dated 193-4. Obverse legend: IMPCAELSEPSEVPERTAVG. *RIC* 4, p. 135 ff; Bland, Burnett, Bendall, *op. cit.* n. 155, pp. 75-6; Walker, *MRSC* III, nos. 3790-3.¹⁶¹

IV. 'Emisa'. The attribution of a very large group of denarii to Emisa is highly questionable. This, and the following group, are very confused, with the only distinction being the difference in obverse legends. Principal obverse legends for this group are: a) IMPCAELSEPSEVPERTAVG, attributed to 193; *RIC* 4, pp. 137-8; b) IMPCAELSEPSEVPERTAVGCOSI, attributed to 193; *RIC* 4, p. 138-9; *BMCRE* 5, p. 89, no. 339. c) IMPCAELSEPSEVPERTAVGCOSII, attributed to 194/5; Walker, *MRSC* III, nos.

¹⁵⁹ See also H. Mattingly, 'The Coinage of Septimius Severus and his Times. Mints and Chronology', *NC* 12 (1932), pp. 177-198.

¹⁶⁰ Walker, *MRSC* III, p. 60: 'The main problem with the eastern mints of Severus is that they start production too early to be based at the places to which they are traditionally attributed'.

¹⁶¹ It is curious that Crawford, *ANRW* II (1975), p. 564 n. 14, does not believe in the existence of an Alexandrian mint for denarii and aurei. Roger Bland points out to me that Alexandria may also have struck denarii for Pertinax and Clodius Albinus.

3800-28. This last category makes up by far the majority of coins of this issue.

V. 'Laodicea'. Stylistically much of this coinage seems to be muddled with the products of mint IV. They are attributed to a different mint because of the obverse legends L SEP SEV PERT AVG IMP, through IMP XI. In 196 (IMP VIII) there was a distinct change of style, although the obverse legends remained the same. This change is dramatically illustrated in *BMCRE* 5, pl. 19, where nos. 1-20 correspond to the earlier style, and those from 20 onwards to the new style. The new style which takes over in 196 continues until at least 202 (when portraits of Plautilla occur). Dated 193-202/3. *BMCRE* 5 pp. 107-113 ('old style'); pp. 113-4; 280-303 ('new style'); Walker, *MRSC* III, nos. 3832-3904.

Mattingly himself did not find these attributions wholly satisfactory. In discussing the most confusing mint, IV, he wrote: 'The general selection [of types] bears a remarkable similarity both to Antioch under Pescennius and Laodicea under Septimius.'¹⁶² In other words, he suspected a link between Antioch (striking for Pescennius), mint IV ('Emisa') and mint V ('Laodicea'). When it came to identifying the issues of Julia Domna, which did not bear the neat categories of obverse legend, mints IV and V proved inseparable. However, according to Mattingly's scheme, mint IV could not be Antioch, since it was apparently striking denarii in 193, when Antioch was in the hands of Pescennius, nor could it be mint V, 'Laodicea', since that mint was already striking coins in 193/4, when mint IV produced all of its coinage. They had to have been produced at a mint closer to Dura than Laodicea, he argued, because the denarii of mint IV were present at Dura in larger numbers than mint V.¹⁶³ Emisa was therefore suggested, although Zeugma was another possibility.¹⁶⁴ Emisa is otherwise a relatively insignificant civic mint; the attribution is presumably based on nothing more than the fact that Severus' wife was a native of the city, and its subsequent importance in third century history. Neither Emisa nor Zeugma produced any civic coinage under Septimius.¹⁶⁵ Walker likewise found the

¹⁶² *BMCRE* 5, introduction, p. 119.

¹⁶³ Note Mattingly's correspondance with Bellinger, *Dura*, pp. 127-8.

¹⁶⁴ *BMCRE* 5, introduction, p. 118.

¹⁶⁵ The coinage of Emisa will be covered by a forthcoming study; Zeugma's coinage is catalogued in this volume.

silver standards of Pescennius' Antioch, and Septimius' mints IV and V to be very similar.¹⁶⁶

The attributions according to *RIC* or *BMCRE* remain unsatisfactory. I do believe, however, that the organisation of production of eastern denarii can be sorted out, provided that a few assumptions can be shown to be wrong:

i) *The early date of 193 for mints IV and V is wrong.*

Mint IV, 'Emisa', as Mattingly surmised, shows a great affinity with the main denarius coinage of Pescennius Niger, which, as we have seen, was produced at Antioch. This includes otherwise unique idiosyncracies such as the frequent use of the letter forms \mathcal{F} for F, and \mathcal{C} for G. Most of the Severan types of mint IV derive from the same coinage of Pescennius. I believe that the main mint of Pescennius and mint IV of Septimius are one and the same, and that the mint in question is Antioch.¹⁶⁷

The only objection to Antioch on the grounds of numismatic evidence is that mint IV produced denarii in 193, before the defeat of Pescennius. When examined closely, however, this evidence gives way. Most of the coins of mint IV can be dated to 194, on the strength of the obverse legend IMP CAE L SEP SEV PERT AVG COS II, which seems to me simply to imitate an obverse legend of Pescennius, IMP CAES C PESC NIGER IVS AVG COS II. The two groups dated by Mattingly and Sydenham to 193 lack COS II on the obverse. By itself, the obverse legend IMP CAE L SEP SEV PERT AVG cannot be dated exactly. It seems to imitate another Antiochene obverse of Pescennius. The same obverse legend for Septimius occurs at Alexandria, where again the only secure date is 194. The dating of coins with this obverse legend to 193 seems to rest on a reverse type, LEG XIII GEM M V (legionary standards), with TRP COS in the exergue.¹⁶⁸ This would seem to argue unequivocally for a date in 193, with Severus' first consulship. But no; we discover that the same reverse type with TRP COS is used with the obverse legend ending COS II.¹⁶⁹ Logically, therefore, the argument that the coins with an undated obverse legend belong to 193

¹⁶⁶ *MRSC* III, pp. 60-1: It is also clear that ... the earliest coins in the east ... follow the coins of Pescennius in their choice of standard ... This applies to the 'Alexandria' group ... to the earliest 'Emesa' coins ... and to the 'Laodicea' coins of IMP, IMP I and IMP II'.

¹⁶⁷ Note that K. Pink had attributed all of Septimius' eastern denarii of 'Emisa' and 'Laodicea' to Antioch: 'Der Aufbau der römischen Münzprägung im der kaiserzeit', *NZ* 1933, at pp. 48-50.

¹⁶⁸ *BMCRE* 5, p. 88 nos. 336-7.

¹⁶⁹ *BMCRE* 5, p. 94, no. 371 n., here: pl. 50, 123.

carries no weight, since this same legend is found at Alexandria in 194; nor does TRP COS on the reverse have to refer to Severus' first consulship. All of the reverse types of this 'early' group, except for the TRP COS type (which is specifically Severan, used also at Rome), are copied from the coinage of Pescennius.¹⁷⁰

Another very rare group of coins of mint IV is dated to 193 with the obverse legend ending COS I. This is a most peculiar form which is epigraphically abnormal, but so are other aspects of the legends on coins of mint IV. However, this reading, as Mattingly recognised, must remain very doubtful. Clear specimens do exist, but should we take them at face value?¹⁷¹ On the legible specimens I have seen, the letters are crammed in just before the point of the bust, with little or no space for a second I. On one specimen (*Dura* 964) the engraver overcame the lack of space by putting the second I under the bust. I suggest that COS I is a mistake for COS II, and that the engraver simply ran out of space. There are plenty of other blundered legends: COS FI; COS ΓI; COS ΓI ¹⁷²; on one coin, the imperial acclamation IMP V is accidentally reduced to IMP.¹⁷³

Therefore mint IV of Septimius can be attributed to the same mint as that which produced most of Pescennius' denarii, without causing any chronological problems. Stylistically and typologically the coinage of Septimius is identical to that of Pescennius. There is abundant evidence for dating this coinage to Septimius' second consulship; the evidence for issues in 193 is highly suspect. This eliminates any strong objection on chronological grounds to attributing mint IV to Antioch.

¹⁷⁰ This includes some very unusual reverses: INVICTO IMP TROPAEA, trophy (for Pescennius, *RIC* 4, nos. 37-8, with and without the obverse ending COS II; for Septimius, *RIC* 4, no. 356); SAEC(VLI) FELICIT(AS), crescent and seven stars (for Pescennius, *RIC* 4, nos. 73-4; for Septimius, *RIC* 4, no. 360. The coinage seems to be rare. For an obverse die link between two types, *Dura* 941, rev. MONETAE AVG = *BMCRE* 5, plate 15, 6, rev. INVICTO IMP TROPAEA.

¹⁷¹ In *BMCRE* pp. 89-90 Mattingly lists the references for this type. Most are from Cohen or Reka Devnia - Mouchnov, *Le trésor de Réka Devnia (Marcianopolis)*, Sofia, 1934 - and one must doubt some of the readings. A few examples will suffice. MARTI VICT, Mouchnov p. 98, is said to be coupled with the obverse legend ending COS, but this may be a mistake for the same type ending COS II. MINER VICT (ibid., p. 98) is also only known otherwise for COS II, and Mouchnov does not actually state what the obverse legend of this coin is, in spite of Mattingly's interpretation, *BMCRE* p. 90. MONET(AE) AVG, Mouchnov p. 99, appears to be blundered. All three types are also known for Pescennius, *BMCRE* 5, pp. 73 and 78-9.

¹⁷² *BMCRE* 5, p. 100.

¹⁷³ *BMCRE* 405; compare with 406.

Mint V is dated to 193 because of the obverse legends ending IMP, IMP I, IMP II. As Walker pointed out, all of these imperial acclamations have to predate Severus' occupation of Syria: 'The battle of Issus cannot be earlier than the second half of 194, followed rapidly by the occupation of Syria; it may represent either IMP III or IMP V'¹⁷⁴ He then hints at the possibility of a mint on Septimius' 'front line', presumably meaning Asia Minor (or even further west?). This too, causes all sorts of difficulties, for there are many stylistic peculiarities common to both mints IV and V, which would suggest common die engravers. But with such an early date for the coinage, how can it possibly have been struck in Syria? Mattingly proposed in a letter to Bellinger that these were the products of Laodicea when the city rebelled against Pescennius, and that these issues were produced in the brief period before the city was recaptured. For what possible purpose would Septimius strike denarii in enemy territory? I think that all of these early imperial acclamations are wrong, and the commonest, IMP II, arises from a mechanical imitation of COS II on the mint V coins. As far as I can tell, a summary of the evidence for mint V's imperial acclamations, up to the change of style in 197/8, is as follows:

IMP or IMP I: Walker, *MRSC* III, nos. 3832-4. Mattingly *BMCRE* 5, pp. 105-6 cited IMP but doubted IMP I.

IMP II: *BMCRE* 5, pp. 107-9. Many specimens, but legends often blundered, e.g. PERET and PRTE for PERT; FORT RDEVC for FORT REDVC.

IMP III: *BMCRE* 5, p. 109 n: 'The reverse of this coin seems to be read TRP V IMP COS II PP.'

IMP V: *BMCRE* 5, p. 110 n. Walker, *MRSC* III, no. 3844. I am prepared to accept this reading, for reasons which will be outlined below.

IMP VI: *BMCRE* 5, p. 110 n. Only authority is Cohen.

IMP VII: *BMCRE* 5, pp. 110-111, nos. 437-9. Many specimens.

IMP VIII ('old style'): *BMCRE* 5, pp. 110-113, nos. 440-450. Many specimens.

The bulk of the specimens are therefore of IMP II, IMP VII and IMP VIII. This is not to deny that a few specimens with any other number of acclamations exist, it is just that this coinage of mints IV and V contains so many blunders in titlature and numerals that small numbers of IMP or IMP I are unreliable as evidence for minting in that period. Furthermore, I propose that the style and types of mint V coins of IMP II are identical to

¹⁷⁴ *MRSC* III, p. 70 n. 6. The dating of Septimius' imperial acclamations is unclear; *BMCRE* 5, introduction, p. 80.

those of mint IV coins of COS II because the two are from the same mint, the only difference being the use of IMP or COS at the end of the obverse legends.

ii) The assumption that different obverse legends mean different mints is wrong.

Since Alexandria and mint IV both use the obverse legend IMP CAE L SEP SEV PERT AVG, there can be no objection to the idea of other eastern mints using the same obverse legends simultaneously. Since mint IV can be shown to have changed its obverse legend from the undated type to that ending in COS II, there can be little objection to the possibility of mint IV changing its obverse legends again, or even using two obverse legends simultaneously.

Stylistically, and on the basis of types used, many coins of Mattingly's mints IV and V are very similar. Bellinger could not have put it better when he stated that 'it still seems to me very doubtful whether single pieces could be assigned with confidence to one mint or the other without the assistance of the legend'.¹⁷⁵ Mattingly himself recognised this when he drew the parallel between the denarii of Pescennius and the products of mints IV and V. The letter forms \mathcal{F} and \mathcal{C} of Pescennius and mint IV occur on the coinage of mint V up to the sharp stylistic change of 196, and the reverse types continue to imitate those of Pescennius and Septimius' mint IV. The obverse legends are different, L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP II (running to IMP VIII), but this difference need not indicate the involvement of another mint. However, from 196/7 mint V's products look very different. I consider the denarii of different style to be the product of another (completely new) mint, and that the denarii of 'Mint V' prior to the change of 196/7 are actually the product of mint IV. Mint IV is Antioch, therefore mint V prior to 196/7 is also Antioch. The products of 'mint V' are rarer at Dura than those of 'mint IV' simply because the coins are rarer.

A comparison of the types used by Pescennius, and Septimius' mint IV and V is eloquent evidence of their all being from the same mint. The table below lists the principal types, and some of the more unusual ones. Most of Pescennius' types are taken up by Septimius.

¹⁷⁵ A.R. Bellinger, 'The Sixth, Seventh and Tenth Dura Hoards', *NNM* 69, New York, 1935, p. 7.

<u>Pescennius</u>	<u>Mint IV</u>	<u>Mint V, IMP II</u>	<u>Mint V, IMP VII-VIII</u>
BONAE SPEI	BONAE SPEI	BONA SPEI	BONA SPES
BONI EVENTVS	BONI EVENT	BONI EVENTVS	BONI EVENTVS
CERER FRVG	CERERI FRVG	-	CERER FRVGIF
FELICIT TEMPOR	FELICIT TEMPOR	-	-
FORTVNAE REDVC	FORT REDVC	FORT REDVC	FORT REDVC
INVICTO IMP	INVICTO IMP	-	-
IOVI PRAE ORBIS	IOVI PRAE ORBIS	-	-
-	LIBER AVG	LIBER AVG	LIBER AVG
MARTI VICTORI	MARTI VICT	MART VICT	-
MINER VICT	MINER VICT	MINER AVG	MINER VICTRIC
MONET AVG	MONET AVG	MONET AVG	MONET AVG
ROMAE AETERNAE	ROMAE AETERNAE	-	-
SAECVLI FELICITAS	SAECVL FELICIT	-	-
VICTORIAE AVG	VICTOR AVG	VICTOR AVG	VICTOR AVG

The eastern coinage of Julia Domna is impossible to sort according to 'mints' IV and V. There is no way of distinguishing which mint issued them, since they are stylistically identical anyway. Mattingly came across similar problems when he tried to divide the coinage of Macrinus into two mints in *BMC RE*; having made the division according to nothing other than the length of Macrinus' beard (short at Rome, long at 'Antioch'), he was unable to make a distinction for coinage in the name of Macrinus' nine year old son Diadumenian. This attribution to Antioch is entirely spurious; the two mints are in fact one: Rome.¹⁷⁶ I suspect that unnecessary division of one mint into two is the root of the problem here also.

Julia Domna, Mints IV/V

BONA SPEI
 BONI EVENTVS
 CERER FRVG
 FELICIT TEMPOR
 FORT REDVC
 -
 -
 -
 LIBERAL AVG
 -
 -
 MONETA AVG
 -
 SAECVL FELICIT
 -
 -

¹⁷⁶ On Macrinus, the comments by Clay, 'The Roman Coinage of Macrinus and Diadumenian', *NZ* 93 (1979), pp. 21-40, seem sufficient proof.

What I would suggest is that the differences between 'mint IV' and 'mint V' are nothing more than predilections of engravers and/or two different officinae of the mint of Antioch.

iii) The assumption that Antioch was demoted by Septimius in 194 and its imperial mint removed is wrong.

The evidence I have presented indicates that Antioch was minting imperial silver until AD 196/7, three years after the defeat of Pescennius. In 196/7 there is a dramatic change of style, and, I think, a change of mint. The style after 196/7, running down to the last issues of the 'New Mint' in 202/3, is distinct and homogenous.¹⁷⁷ There is a complete break in the choice of types as well. None of the old types are used, and the New Mint begins with HERCVLI DEFENS, PROVIDENTIA AVG, SECVRITAS PERPETVA; PROFECTIO AVG; PM TRP V COS II PP (Sol; Pax; Fortuna). The identification of this New Mint with Laodicea rests on its supposed continuation of the earlier coinage of 'mint V'. 'Mint V' was attributed to Laodicea on the strength of the titles IMP, IMP I and IMP II, which had to be struck in 193, and therefore could be placed at Laodicea during its abortive rebellion under Pescennius. As I have demonstrated, the dating of Septimius' eastern denarii to 193 is suspect, and historically and numismatically highly improbable. 'Mint IV' and 'V' are the same, and are very likely to be Antioch. Where, then, was 'mint V' after the change of style? One possibility is that it is Antioch, and that new engravers began working there. However, there seems to be some continuity of style between the old style denarii and the first tetradrachms of Septimius at Antioch (compare pl. 50, 110-118 and 120-130 with pl. 51, 133-134), so perhaps we should look elsewhere. The New Mint denarii do not really look much like the tetradrachms of Laodicea (compare pl. 50, 131-132 with pl. 51, 135). Although some of the New Mint denarii are very distinct in style, particularly for the young Caracalla or Plautilla, with a characteristic heavily-lidded eye, others are less distinct. The fact that they share almost all of their reverse types with the mint of Rome only adds to the confusion. The treatment of detail on the reverses both at Rome and the New Mint is identical. Products of the New Mint are rare at Dura, but quite common in hoards from western provinces such as Britain. Can it be that the New Mint is not a mint at all, but merely an individual engraver working at Rome

¹⁷⁷ *BMCRE* 5, pp. 113-4, nos. 451-7 with IMP VIII; with IMP XI; *RIC* 4 pp. 158-164; *BMCRE* pp. 280-303. Evidence for issues in 198, 199, 200, 201, and 202.

between *circa* 197 and 202/3, when the style appears to cease? At the very least, a mint outside Syria would seem likely.

Having eliminated what I believe to be 'non-evidence', that is, arguments which obfuscate a simple arrangement for this coinage, we can abandon the terms 'mint IV' and 'V' and talk in terms of a single mint at Antioch, producing denarii from 194/5 to 196/7. Can we refine these dates any further? The bulk of the coinage seems to be of the COS II type. There are a few of these coins which have the reverse legend TRP III IMP V COS II¹⁷⁸ This would produce a date of early 195. It is possible that the COS II coinage belongs mostly or entirely to that year, rather than mostly to 194. A possible chronology for the issues of Septimius at Antioch with obverse legends ending in IMP and COS is as follows:

193/4: Pescennius.

194/5: Septimius. COS II (?); IMP II (?)

195: Septimius. COS II (rev. IMP V); IMP II

195/6: Septimius. COS II (?); IMP VII

196/7: Septimius. COS II (?); IMP VIII

This explains the uniformity of silver content, of types and of styles on the coinage until 197, and makes much more sense than attempting to find mints in Asia Minor or construing 'islands of minting' - for what reason? - within Pescennius' territory, whilst ignoring the obvious connections between the coinage of Pescennius and Septimius.¹⁷⁹

By 197, denarii had ceased to be issued in Syria. Provincial tetradrachms in Syria, and silver coinage at Caesarea in Cappadocia, begin only after 200. The mints striking tetradrachms in Syria were Antioch and Laodicea, joined by Tyre in about 208. These coinages will be discussed below.

Let us consider a few historical implications of this numismatic evidence. Pescennius Niger issued provincial silver, and aurei and denarii, primarily at Antioch, with some subsidiary production at Caesarea and Alexandria. His Antiochene tetradrachms and denarii were all issued on the

¹⁷⁸ There is also a coin, *BMCRE* 5, no. 411, which is dated 196, but this has a blundered reverse legend, IMP VI RIB (sic) POT IIII CO. Septimius was IMP VI and VII in 195, and was IMP VIII by the time of his fourth tribunician power.

¹⁷⁹ Even the argument that Laodicea, when rebelling against Pescennius, struck these coins, falls down; for according to Herodian, Pescennius soon recaptured the city (Herodian III, 3, 3.).

same standard, at 60% silver or lower.¹⁸⁰ He was defeated in 194, and Septimius continued the striking of aurei and denarii at Antioch and Alexandria during that year, or early the following year, using the same standard, which was much lower than that of Rome.¹⁸¹ Caesarea did not issue denarii, apparently, but it did strike provincial silver in 194, and in 197. The silver standard of the Caesarean coinage appears to be the same as for the denarii. Output of denarii at Antioch in 194 and 195 was high; the minting of denarii at Alexandria was shortlived. In about 196 minting of denarii at Antioch came to an end. No coins were apparently struck at Antioch between 196/7 and 204/5.

The numismatic evidence implies that for about five years, a mint at Antioch, striking denarii only, was the sole mint in Syria producing a silver coinage of any quantity. The production of denarii in Syria on such a scale had never occurred before. It was perhaps a prelude to the establishment of an imperial mint at Antioch under Gordian, but it appears to be too isolated a phenomenon to stress such an interpretation strongly. The period of production falls between Severus' two eastern campaigns. There is no numismatic evidence for a 'demotion' of Antioch in favour of Laodicea, and it would be special pleading to argue that the end of minting in 196, two years after Antioch's fall to Septimius, represents the beginning of the city's fall from grace.

The Antioch mint struck for Septimius and Julia Domna only, and not for Caracalla or Geta, no doubt because Clodius Albinus was still technically recognised as Caesar (no known coins for him, however).

It is possible that Caesarea in Cappadocia and Alexandria produced small issues of denarii at a later date; I have not searched systematically for these.

¹⁸⁰ *MRSC* pp. 13 and 83.

¹⁸¹ Rome's great denarius debasement occurred in late 194/early 195; *MRSC* III, pp. 60-1. Walker considered that Septimius was striking debased eastern denarii before the Rome debasement, but, given the new chronology which I have proposed above, the debasement at Rome is probably simultaneous with the striking of denarii for Septimius at Antioch.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Ruler(s)</u>	<u>Mint according to RIC; BMCRE</u>	<u>Mint</u>
193	Pescennius Niger	Antioch	Antioch
194	Pescennius Niger	Antioch	Antioch
	Septimius Severus IMPLSEPSEVPERTAVG	Mint IV, 'Emisa'	Antioch
		Mint III, Alexandria	Alexandria
	IMPLSEPSEVPERTAVGCOSII	Mint IV, 'Emisa'	Antioch
	IMP-IMP II	Mint V, 'Laodicea'	Antioch
195	Septimius Severus IMP V	Mint V, 'Laodicea'	Antioch
196	Septimius Severus IMP VIII	Mint V, 'Laodicea'	Antioch
	Same legend; change of style	Mint V, 'Laodicea'	Rome?
197	Septimius Severus IMP XI	Mint V, 'Laodicea'	Rome?

Figure 7a: Main issues of eastern denarii under Pescennius Niger and Septimius Severus. Concordance between attributions proposed in this work (= 'Mint') and mints proposed in *RIC* and *BMCRE*.

Macrinus (AD 217-218)

Denarii and Roman *aes* attributed by Mattingly to Antioch are all coins of Rome. See Clay, *NZ* 93 (1979), pp. 21-40.

Elagabalus (AD 218-222)

I have elsewhere suggested that the eastern denarii of Elagabalus should be attributed to mints in the Balkans.¹⁸² Their styles of portraiture compare favourably with bronzes of Thessalonica or coins of Thrace and Lower Moesia. There seem to be three main groups. Two usually have the obverse legend ANTONINVS PIVS FEL AVG; the first is of much finer style than the other, and seems to be associated with Elagabalus' eastern aurei.¹⁸³ Its principal reverse types are SANCT DEO SOLI ELAGABAL and FELICITAS TEMP (Galley). The second group is much cruder in style, and the main reverse seems to be CONCORDIA MILIT, although SANCT DEO SOLI ELAGABAL is known. The third group has the obverse legend IMP

¹⁸² Butcher, *NC* 1988, p. 68.

¹⁸³ Aurei have obverse legend IMP C M AVR ANTONINVS P F AVG.

ANTONINVS AVG.¹⁸⁴ The distinctive styles of portraiture compare very well with coins of Thrace and Moesia (pl. 52, 145-147). The first group continued into the reign of Severus Alexander. The coins have usually been attributed to either Antioch or Nicomedia, or both, since Elagabalus stopped for some time at both places on his journey to Rome. Nicomedia, being in proximity to the Balkans, is just possibly a mint, perhaps for the second group, but Antioch can be discounted.¹⁸⁵ The coins appear to be rare in Syria, but more common in European hoards.

The denarii of Septimius, then, were probably the last to be struck in Syria. When Latin legend silver coinage recommenced under Gordian III (AD 238-244), no denarii were issued, and the silver coinage consisted of tetrachms and radiates. The radiate coinage will be discussed later, but we must now return to the reign of Septimius Severus to continue the study of the Syrian tetrachms.

¹⁸⁴ Coins with this obverse legend and the reverse P M TR P II COS II PP seem very different, and are perhaps an issue of Rome or yet another mint.

¹⁸⁵ I intend to enlarge upon the attribution of Elagabalus' eastern denarii in a forthcoming article.

xix) Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Macrinus (AD 193-218)

The Syrian silver of the Severan period is very complex. It can be divided into two main periods. The first covers the period AD 204-212, prior to Caracalla's fourth consulship. The coinage of this period is presumed to have come from three different mints, Antioch, Laodicea, and Tyre. The second group dates from Caracalla's fourth consulship to the reign of Macrinus, AD 213-218. This phase is marked by a proliferation in styles which are assigned to numerous different mints throughout the Levant. It is also marked by a significant lowering of the silver content of these coins.

The classification of these tetradrachms rests mainly on the work of Seyrig and Bellinger in the 1930's and 40's.¹⁸⁶ Bellinger's work on the coins from Dura Europos led to the publication of *The Syrian Tetradrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus*, a volume which has become the standard reference for tetradrachms of the early third century. In it Bellinger classified various tetradrachms to a number of Syrian and Mesopotamian cities according to different symbols found on their reverses, and also on stylistic similarities or dissimilarities of the groups of coins concerned. Almost all of these tetradrachms have for their reverse type an eagle, which is accompanied by the various symbols, usually found between the eagle's legs. He also compared the tetradrachms with the rather sparser bronze coinage for this period but found few similarities in style where bronzes were known for the various cities.

Interest in the Severan tetradrachms has continued since Bellinger's publication, although no recent study has emerged to challenge or supersede his work. Some attempts have been made to reassign more ambiguous symbols to different city mints, but these generally involve discussions of the significance of the symbols, and where they occur on the civic coinages of the region; stars, crescents, lions, bulls and indeterminate objects (often called 'altars'), which could signify almost anywhere or anything.¹⁸⁷ Other studies have sought to cut down the number of mints by

¹⁸⁶ A survey of research before this date is given by Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, p. 7. Important contributions were by A. Dieudonné, particularly 'Emèse', *RN* 1906, pp. 135-155, and 'L'aigle d'Antioche', *RN* 1909, pp. 458-480, and by Imhoof-Blumer, 'Reichsmünzen der syrischen Provinzen', *Revue Suisse de Numismatique*, 8, pp. 134-6.

¹⁸⁷ The star at Bellinger's 'Heliopolis' mint is connected with the star Regulus: K.J. Rigsby, 'The Imperial Tetradrachms of Heliopolis', *ANSMN* 25

suggesting that they were all produced at a few centres.¹⁸⁸ A few rare pieces of Caracalla's sole reign have an obverse style pertinent to one mint coupled with the reverse of another, a possible Antiochene obverse with a Tyrian reverse, Bellinger no. 310; and an obverse of 'Tyre' with the reverse of 'Carrhae' (BM 1986 4-34-27), which suggests that at the very least, a few dies travelled between mints. However, there are a large number of styles, and some of the symbols are specifically associated with particular cities. I think that even if Bellinger's attributions are in some cases questionable, the basic concept of many more cities than normal striking tetradrachms is sound. This basic concept will not be challenged here.

1. Coins issued between 204 and 212

In this period, only three mints have been identified: Antioch, Laodicea, and Tyre. The attribution of the coinages of this period to these mints is not questioned here. Those of Tyre bear the reverse symbol of a murex shell, a symbol which seems to have been specific to Tyre throughout the Roman period, although it does not occur on every bronze coin of Tyre. Aside from the symbol, the style of portraiture found on tetradrachms attributed to Tyre compares very well with the known bronzes of the city. That Tyre was a mint for tetradrachms from *circa* AD

(1980), pp. 59-61; at Laodicea, with the beacon from the city's lighthouse: R.G. McAlee, 'The Severan Tetradrachms of Laodicea' *ANSMN* 29 (1984), pp. 43-59, at pp. 44-5. Stars occur on many civic coinages, and it does not seem likely that they were often used as mint marks. Crescents appear on coins from dozens of different mints in the Levant, often in association with stars. The obvious solar and lunar associations of the star and crescent symbol with Apollo/Artemis, Helios/Selene, Hadad/Astarte, renders it almost impossible to assign a mint to coins with these symbols, solely on the basis of the symbols. The lion, attributed by Bellinger to Hierapolis and Heliopolis, is also found on bronzes of Samosata and Aradus. As an animal consort of Atergatis/Astarte the lion symbol is not very specific. The bull, associated with Hadad, could signify any one of a number of places with this cult, and occurs on bronze coins of Rhodus, Cyrrhus, Hierapolis, Doliche, Aradus, and Raphanea, although Bellinger attributes tetradrachms with bull symbols to Aradus and Carrhae only. (For most of these cities, see Catalogue. Examples at Aradus include *BMC Phoenicia*, p. 45, no. 358, and Raphanea, *BMC Galatia*, p. 267.) A whole variety of types with Dionysiac themes are given to Aelia Capitolina, and yet why not Apamea, Laodicea, or Heliopolis, to name some other cities with Dionysiac associations?

¹⁸⁸ A theme developed by P.M. Gilmore, 'The Third Century Tetradrachms of Syria and Syrian Antioch', *NCirc.* 1977, pp. 198-9; *ibid.*, 'The Formula of Antioch and Tyre', *NCirc.* 1978, pp. 76-7; *ibid.*, 'Caracalla's Silver Mints in Syria', *NCirc.* 1980, pp. 88-90; *ibid.*, 'A Fresh Look at Caracalla's Syrian Silver', *NCirc.* 1984, pp. 41-2; *ibid.*, 'Caracalla's Silver Mints in Syria and Mesopotamia', *NCirc.* 1987, pp. 109-10.

208 seems certain.¹⁸⁹ The tetradrachms of Laodicea have been discussed in two recent works, and their attribution to Laodicea was secured by the publication of a reverse type of the Tyche of Laodicea (a type quite unlike the Tyche of Antioch and known from Severan civic bronzes of Laodicea) which occurs on some Severan tetradrachms.¹⁹⁰ The involvement of Laodicea and Tyre in the production of tetradrachms is notable. These were not small emissions like those produced at Laodicea for Nero or Hadrian. It was the first occasion on which any mint in Syria other than Antioch had issued large quantities of silver coinage for more one and a half centuries, a trend which, when coupled with the appearance of an ethnic on coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia, the production of denarii in the east, and the slump in production of silver at Alexandria, suggests that there were experiments which were moving away from the system of silver production seen from the Flavian period onwards. Instead of an interrelated system of production, utilising Rome, Caesarea, Antioch and Alexandria, there was a movement towards 'local' production at the main centres, with other mints joining in.

I do not intend to discuss the products of Tyre or Laodicea in any detail. Tyre, the least productive of the three, is far beyond the geographical limits of this study, and the products of Laodicea have received comprehensive treatment, to which I have nothing to add regarding chronology or structure.¹⁹¹ The coins which Bellinger attributed to Antioch deserve brief comments.

Bellinger ascribed a limited series of tetradrachm symbols to Antioch. The first group, dated circa 202-207, has two reverse types; an eagle on an animal thigh, and the Tyche of Antioch, the latter type being quite different from the Tyche of Laodicea (pl. 51, 134). The animal thigh is actually not a very specific 'mintmark' and could refer to Antioch, Seleucia, or Laodicea.¹⁹² However, this type is linked by an obverse die to coins with

¹⁸⁹ On the date, Bellinger, *Syrian Tetrachms*, pp. 86-7.

¹⁹⁰ The Tyche type was first published by G. Missere, 'Su di una moneta per Laodicea di Siria', *RIN* 68 (1965), pp. 83-87, and the Laodicean tetradrachms have been discussed fairly exhaustively by R.G. McAlee, 'The Severan Tetradrachms of Laodicea' *ANSMN* 29 (1984), pp. 43-59, and M. Prieur and M. Amandry, 'Nouvel apport à l'étude des tétradrachmes Sévériens de Laodicée', *Revue belge de Numismatique* 133 (1987), pp. 67-86.

¹⁹¹ Laodicea struck tetradrachms intermittently from circa AD 205 (Prieur and Amandry, *loc. cit.*, p. 70), with a change of style circa AD 208; Prieur and Amandry, *ibid.*, pp. 72-3, 'groupe iii'.

¹⁹² The foundation legends of all four cities of the tetrapolis apparently involved an eagle snatching up part of a sacrificial animal; Malalas 199 -

the much more specific Tyche type.¹⁹³ There is also a stylistic connection between the aurei and denarii which I attribute to Antioch, and these coins. Since none of these were attributed to Antioch in Bellinger's time, this aid to their attribution was not realised, and indeed, Bellinger connected the issue of tetradrachms with the restoration of Antioch's 'coining rights' which had been presumed removed after the defeat of Pescennius Niger. At any rate, the attribution to Antioch thus seems secure.

The reverse with the eagle on an animal thigh continues in the period 209-212, when tetradrachms are dated by Caracalla's third consulship, and by Geta's second. Geta is also styled Augustus. Another type occurs, an eagle without the animal thigh, with a star either side of its head. This type is linked stylistically to the Antioch mint.¹⁹⁴

2. Coins issued between 213 and 218

This period is far too complex to discuss in much detail in the present study. There are more than fifty symbols on the reverses of coins of Caracalla, which Bellinger attributed to 28 mints. Many of the coins were probably struck at, or issued for, cities beyond the geographical limits of this work. Most of the tetradrachm issues of this period have been dated 215-217, the period of Caracalla's Parthian campaign. I have deliberately chosen the broadest possible dates for the issues, since at the moment there is no other way of determining their date of issue, and the dates 215-217 imply that their purpose was military pay, which is why they have been attributed to 215-217 in the first instance - effectively dating them by an argument which comes close to being circular. Those of Caracalla are dated by his fourth consulship, AD 213-217. Those of Macrinus cannot be dated any more closely than his reign, AD 217-218. The coins should therefore be dated as a group to AD 213-218, until evidence for more precise dating or groupings becomes available. Given a wider chronological framework, it is possible to consider these coinages being produced sporadically, often in large quantities, and perhaps with changes of style and/or symbols occurring between issues, at the same mint. Some mints may have produced coinage for other cities.

200; 203 (Bonn edition). At Apamea the eagle carried away the heads of a bull and a goat; at the other three cities, what the eagle snatched up is not specified.

¹⁹³ Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, p. 21 and pl. 1, 1-2.

¹⁹⁴ Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, p. 24.

Some of the reverses are specific to particular cities. A wheeled portable shrine, a common reverse type on the coinage of Sidon, is found on some tetradrachms, and as it is found on no other city's coinages, it seems likely that the tetradrachms with this type were issued there. The image of Mount Gerizim at Neapolis in Samaria is unique to that city. The swastika-like 'Marnas symbol' is found only on coins of Gaza, so tetradrachms with this symbol have been attributed there. Stylistic similarities of tetradrachms with other symbols to those with the city-specific symbols help to define groups. A figure of Europa on a bull occurs on tetradrachms with the same style as those bearing the wheeled shrine of Sidon. Those with an ear of wheat are attributed by Bellinger, on very insubstantial grounds, to Cyprus, although they are of very similar style to the Sidon coins. Some of the several altar symbols share stylistic affinities with the Gerizim type of Neapolis. The possibility that some mints, which produced tetradrachms with symbols specific to their own cities, also issued coins for other cities with symbols specific to those cities, or issued coins with unspecific symbols which were not intended to be associated with any particular city, would greatly confound the attributions, but must be considered in the light of die-sharing bronze coinages found in northern Syria from Elagabalus onwards.

In the region covered by the present study, Bellinger attributed coins to six cities: Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, Beroea, Hierapolis, Cyrrhus, and Zeugma. Of these, only Antioch, Seleucia and Hierapolis produced a civic bronze coinage under Caracalla, and Antioch was the only mint striking bronze for Macrinus.¹⁹⁵ No tetradrachms were attributed to Rhosus, Nicopolis, Chalcis, Antioch on the Euphrates, Samosata, Germanicia or Doliche, although Rhosus and Nicopolis struck bronze coins during the sole reign of Caracalla.

This is not the place to discuss in detail either the attributions or the sequence of issues of the Bellinger groupings. The issues attributed to Antioch are worth considering briefly, however, since they highlight some of the problems incurred in the study of these tetradrachms.

Bellinger gave the following groups of symbols to Antioch, between 213 and 218:

1. Eagle on animal thigh

¹⁹⁵ This is not the picture given by Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, pp. 12-14, where Samosata and Zeugma are both described as having struck for Caracalla. These must be misidentified coins of Elagabalus.

2. Eagle on animal thigh, delta-epsilon either side of eagle's head (pl. 51, 136)
3. Eagle on club, star between legs
4. Eagle, crescent and star between legs
5. Eagle, cornucopiae and star between legs (pl. 51, 137)
6. Eagle, cornucopiae, star and dot between legs
7. Eagle, cornucopiae, star and dot between legs, palm branch in field to right.

The stylistic diversity of the groups is rather surprising. Bellinger noted that there seemed to be stylistic connections between some of these coins and groups which he assigned to other cities.¹⁹⁶

Type 1 in my view can be subdivided by style and slight variations in the obverse and reverse types, which for sake of argument, can be called Types 1a and 1b respectively. Type 1a follows directly on from the Antiochene tetradrachms of the previous period. A good specimen is illustrated by Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, pl. II, no. 6. Caracalla's wreath has leaves arranged from the back of the head forwards in the following bunches: 2-1-2-3. This arrangement of the wreath carries directly on from the previous period. The obverse legend is AYT. KAI. ANTQNEINOC CEB, again a feature of earlier tetradrachms.¹⁹⁷ On the reverse, the eagle stands on an animal thigh, the hoof of which points to the left. This too can be seen to be a constant feature of the earlier tetradrachms. Type 1b is slightly different in style. Good specimens are illustrated by Bellinger, pl. II, nos. 7-8, 10, 13-14. The wreaths are arranged 2-1-2-1-3. This is actually a very unusual arrangement of the wreath, found only on two other of Bellinger's groups, 'Seleucia' and 'Zeugma'.¹⁹⁸ The obverse legend is AYT. K. M. A. ANTQNEINOC CEB. On the reverses, the eagle stands on an animal thigh, the hoof of which is always pointing right. Two possibilities present themselves. Either 1a and 1b are the work of two different engravers, or they are the products of two different mints.

Type 2 is a direct continuation of Type 1b (pl. 51, 136). It continues for Macrinus (pl. 51, 139), although Macrinus' wreath is arranged 2-1-2-3,

¹⁹⁶ *Syrian Tetradrachms*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁹⁷ This legend, perversely enough, is Bellinger's so-called 'Formula of Tyre', as opposed to the 'Formula of Antioch'; *Syrian Tetradrachms*, pp. 16-20. Could it be that the difference in obverse legends is chronological and not geographical?

¹⁹⁸ Also on the unique hybrid of 'Antioch' and 'Tyre', Bellinger 310 - see above.

and is the style found on most of the tetradrachms of Elagabalus (on which, see below).

Types 3-7 present a wide variety of styles, even between coins with the same symbols. Coins with different symbols also share styles. For example, Bellinger pl. III, 17, (Type 5), shares the obverse style of Type 1b. Bellinger pl. III, 10 (Type 4), shares the style of Bellinger pl. III, 18 (Type 5), which also appears to be the main style for Bellinger's 'Emisa' mint (Bellinger pl. XIV, 5-12; compare the illustrations here, pl. 51, 137-138), and appears on at least one 'Heliopolis' obverse (Bellinger pl. XV, 8). Further specimens of Type 5 share a style with the last products of Bellinger's 'Laodicea' mint (Compare Bellinger, pl. IV, 1 and 3, with pl. VI, 9-16). It would seem that Type 5 (cornucopiae and star) was the product of several different mints or engravers, apparently acting as a common point for at least two of Bellinger's mints besides Antioch, *i.e.* 'Emisa' and 'Laodicea'.

Of the other Bellinger 'mints' for this region, the attribution on the basis of various symbols are fairly convincing. They are as follows:

- Seleucia: Large thunderbolt with a handle
Beroea: Animal (Bird?) flanked by B - E
Hierapolis: Atergatis on lion
Triad of Hierapolis supported by eagle
Lion
Cyrrhus: Zeus Katabaites supported by eagle
Thunderbolt
Zeugma: ZEY in field

The attribution of the first group of tetradrachms to Seleucia is the least convincing from the point of view of style, since they are quite unlike Seleucia's bronze coinage of roughly the same date, but a dissimilarity is no proof that the tetradrachms were not produced at Seleucia. The strange 'animal' symbol found on tetradrachms of Beroea is perhaps to be identified with the 'animals' flanking the statue of Hadad on the unique bronze coin of Trajan from Beroea.¹⁹⁹ Hierapolis and Cyrrhus are identified by the use of distinctive types for some rare tetradrachms, Atergatis on a lion, or the unique 'triad' (see Catalogue, nos. 60-61) at Hierapolis, and Zeus Kataibates at Cyrrhus.²⁰⁰ The letters ZEY arranged

¹⁹⁹ Catalogue no. 11; but note my reservations in the Catalogue introduction to the section on Beroea.

²⁰⁰ Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, nos. 93 and 109 respectively

around the eagle on the reverses of one group of tetrachms would seem to agree with Bellinger's attribution of the group to Zeugma.²⁰¹

This large and complex group of tetrachms, with its unusual language of symbols, deserves further study. This is not the place for a general reappraisal of the Syrian tetrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus, and a general overview such as this cannot take into account the varied products of mints which were probably outside the area covered by this study.

xx) Elagabalus (AD 218-222)

Elagabalus' tetrachms seem to come from two mints. One of these, the so-called 'Edessa' mint, also issued aurei and gold 'quinarii'. Its products are fairly rare.²⁰² Far commoner are the coins attributed to Antioch. Their reverses bear an eagle with a star between its legs, and the letters *delta-epsilon* either side of its head. They can be dated to Elagabalus' second consulship, AD 219, and therefore make up the last phase of the Severan tetrachms.²⁰³

The size of the issue may be clouded by a large number of imitations, some of which are illustrated, pl. 51, 143-144. They differ in style and sometimes in weight or size; they may also be more debased than 'official' coins. Some may be the products of other cities, imitating the mainstream types.²⁰⁴ However, others, of crude style and often retrograde lettering and

²⁰¹ The letters ZEY occur on a countermark at the same city: Catalogue no. 11.

²⁰² Tetrachms, misattributed to Severus Alexander, Bellinger, *Syrian tetrachms*, nos. 155-7, of Elagabalus, nos. 152-4; gold coins, if genuine, Bank Leu AG., Auction 36, May 1985, lot 310 (gold quinarius) and Auction 42, May 1987, lot 373 (aureus).

²⁰³ Bellinger was unhappy about ascribing all of the tetrachms of Elagabalus to a single year, since they were so numerous, and postulated that they could have been issued throughout the reign, and that the second consulship was simply copied on all issues, even when it had become obsolete (*Syrian Tetrachms*, p. 29). However, there is no reason to assume that the size of the emissions precludes their all being struck in one year. In any case, it matters little at the present moment whether they were struck in one year or over four years, since they cannot be related to any dated historical events.

²⁰⁴ For example, a tetrachm published by M. Prieur, 'La question des ateliers d'émission des tétrachmes syro-phéniciens sous Elagabal au travers de quatre monnaies rares ou inédites', *BSFN* October 1985, pp. 690-694, illustrated on p. 693, no. 5. This coin displays a fine but somewhat unusual style, with an obverse which does not derive from any known tetrachm obverse, with a radiate, draped and cuirassed bust of Elagabalus facing left, with a raised right hand. This type seems to anticipate the tetrachms of Uranus Antoninus, as Prieur notes.

types, are probably nothing more than 'barbarous copies'. If this is the case, the tetrachms of Elagabalus seem to have been imitated more frequently than any other group of Syrian tetrachms.

One style is fairly clear and predominant, and that provides a continuation of the coinage of Caracalla and Macrinus (Above, Type 1b). Since bronze civic coins of Antioch are so common, and the tetrachms equally common, one might expect the tetrachm style to be found on the bronze coinage. But this is not the case. Not one of the styles for the bronze matches those of the tetrachms. However, bronze coins of Elagabalus from Laodicea match very closely the style of the tetrachms. Their reverses also bear the symbols of a star and *delta-epsilon*. Antiochene bronze sometimes bears a star, sometimes a crescent, sometimes nothing. It always bears the *delta-epsilon* mark, but always accompanied by the letters S-C. Stylistically and typologically, Elagabalus' tetrachms fit better at Laodicea than at Antioch.

Elagabalus' tetrachms were more debased than those of Caracalla and Macrinus, according to Walker, although very debased imitations may have obscured the actual level of debasement of the 'official' coins in his sample. Walker argued that the high degree of debasement may have led to a collapse in public confidence in the tetrachm, which led to no further issues until the reign of Gordian III, who issued tetrachms at twice the silver content of the coins of Elagabalus.²⁰⁵ Tetrachms of Elagabalus certainly occur as site finds more frequently than any tetrachms of earlier rulers, perhaps suggesting a high level of 'abandonment' rather than loss, but they continue to appear in hoards in the third century, often in large numbers, so this suggestion is not supported by any hard evidence. Tetrachms issued under Trajan Decius and Trebonianus Gallus were even more debased. The gap in production between Elagabalus and Gordian III may be an indication that the issuing authorities considered that enough tetrachms had been produced to supply demand for them. The gap, of about nineteen years, is considerably less than the *circa* fifty years without significant tetrachm production between Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, when hoards show that the earlier tetrachms did not disappear from circulation, with denarii and tetrachms being hoarded throughout the same period (see below, section on hoards).

²⁰⁵ *MRSC* III, p. 100-101.

xxi) Gordian III (AD 238-244)

The final phase of the tetradrachm coinage at Antioch, from Gordian III to Trebonianus Gallus, is the most important in terms of developments in favour of the Roman radiate or antoninianus.²⁰⁶ The first issue of radiates occurred under Gordian, and Bland dates these to around AD 238-9, followed by an issue of tetradrachms, perhaps in 240. There is no bronze coinage at Antioch for Gordian's reign. A break in the Antiochene issues is apparent in 241. Gordian arrived in the east in person in 242, and production of tetradrachms and radiates was resumed, with a mint divided into two officinae.

ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΥΚΙΑC AD 240

ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΥΚΙΑC ΥΠΑΤΟ Β AD 241

Δ ΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞ Υ ΠΑΤΟ Β (ram between eagle's feet) AD 242-244

One group of coins which show a remarkable stylistic similarity to the issues of Antioch are the bronze and silver coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Silver had not been issued at this mint since the reign of Macrinus. Given the frequent links between major silver mints during the first and second centuries this sudden alliance between Antioch and Caesarea is not too surprising. Although it may be wholly fortuitous, these coins are dated by Gordian's regnal years three and four, 240/1-241/2. In other words, they fall rather neatly into the gap in silver production at Antioch. Perhaps, as appears to have been the case in earlier periods, Antioch was responsible for the production of silver coinages other than its own Syrian tetradrachms, or that engravers or dies were transferred to Caesarea. Given what is implied by the apparent minting of bronze coins of other cities at Antioch under Elagabalus and Philip, the former explanation is just as plausible as the second.

The tetradrachms of Gordian III were the first to be issued in the Levant since the reign of Elagabalus.²⁰⁷ They were initially struck at a fineness somewhat higher than the tetradrachms of Elagabalus, although the silver content declined for the later issues.

²⁰⁶ The radiates are dealt with in a later section.

²⁰⁷ The issues attributed to Edessa under Severus Alexander (Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, nos. 155-7) can now all be ascribed to Elagabalus; see above.

xxii) Philip I (AD 244-249)

The policy of striking radiates and tetrachms at Antioch was continued by Philip. The sequence of tetrachms seems relatively straightforward, with the reverse legends moving from $\Delta\text{HMAPX E}\Xi\text{OYCIAC}$ to $\Delta\text{HMAPX E}\Xi\text{OYCIAC Y}\Pi\text{ATO } \Delta$, with a gap for his second consulship.²⁰⁸ The tetrachms seem to have been issued in very large quantities, and Antiochene radiates appear to be much rarer than the tetrachms. The same wide variety of bust types can be seen on radiates, tetrachms and bronzes, and it is clear that the same engravers worked on all three types of coin (except for the MON VRB tetrachms; see below). The mint was by now firmly divided into officinae; by the fourth consulship these were being marked by the use of a series of dots or letters beneath the obverse portrait, corresponding to the number of officinae. Tetrachms were also issued in the names of Otacilia and Philip II, the latter both as Caesar and Augustus. In both cases the reverses refer to the elder Philip's consulates, rather than to any titles held by Otacilia or Philip II.

The origin of tetrachms of Philip with the inscription MON VRB on the reverse has been discussed in a number of other works.²⁰⁹ These were issued in the name of Philip I only. Their style seems to be that of the mint of Rome, and given the weight of earlier analogies this is not altogether so surprising. They have been variously dated to different periods of Philip's reign. A parallel has been drawn between these coins and other tetrachms of Philip which have the inscription ANTIOXIA in the same position on the reverse. ANTIOXIA seems to be a mintmark of Antioch, rather than an ethnic. ANTIOXIA seems to compliment MON VRB, which would seem to confirm the reading Mon(eta) Urb(is) as the mintmark of Rome. It also prompts the suggestion that the MON VRB coins are to be dated to a period either contemporary with the ANTIOXIA coins, or in the gap provided by the absence of *cos ii* tetrachms of Antioch.²¹⁰ Either seems more likely than the proposition to place them at the beginning of the sequence, before the first Antiochene tetrachms, even though the coins bear no reference to a consulship, which one might expect at the beginning of a series (but note the succeeding tetrachms

²⁰⁸ Apart from these tetrachms, there is no other evidence to indicate that Philip took a fourth consulship.

²⁰⁹ The most important of these is H.R. Baldus, *MON(eta) URB(is) - ANTIOXIA: Rom und Antiochia als Prägstätten syrischer Tetrachmen des Philippus Arabs*, Frankfurt/Main, 1969.

²¹⁰ The latter suggestion is proposed by Baldus, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29.

of Decius). The MON VRB coins bear Greek numerals, presumably officina marks, from 1 to 6. At Antioch, Baldus proposed that the mint was organised into three officinae from 244 to 246, and seven officinae from 247-249.²¹¹

A possible arrangement of tetradrachms under Philip is as follows:

ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑC AD 244
ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑC ΥΠΑΤΟ Α AD 245
ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑC / ΜΟΝ VRB AD 246?
ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞ ΥΠΑΤ Γ / ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑ AD 247
ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞ ΥΠΑΤ Δ / ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑ AD 248/9

xxiii) Trajan Decius (AD 249-251)

The Syrian silver coinage of Trajan Decius, like his coinage at Rome, lacks any reference to specific consulships or tribunician powers. It is therefore impossible to date precisely. There were large issues of tetradrachms, in the name of Decius and his wife and two sons, and small issues of radiates. The number of officinae ranges from one to seven, expressed in dots from 1 to 5, and numerals for 6 and 7.²¹²

The tetradrachms with the portrait of Decius divide into three groups, on the basis of the obverse legend.²¹³ Those with the obverse legend lacking the name 'Traianus' are presumably the earliest, since there is a record of his being awarded that name by the Senate after reaching Rome in 249, which would allow a lapse of time between his elevation and the adoption of the name 'Traianus'.²¹⁴ These coins are not uncommon and were presumably issued in large quantities. The next two obverse legends parallel the two issues of bronze coinage of Antioch, the second with the obverse legend 'Decius Traianus', and the third issue with the obverse legend 'Traianus Decius'. The dated coinage of Alexandria in Egypt shows that the same change in the position of the name 'Traianus' took place between Decius' regnal years one and two, suggesting that the third issue could have begun in 249. It is possible that the tetradrachms were all struck in the first year of Decius' reign, perhaps even during the first consulship announced on the tetradrachms.²¹⁵ It is less clear to

²¹¹ Baldus, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

²¹² *BMC* 220-226.

²¹³ The following arrangement was proposed by Bellinger, *NNM* 49, p. 40.

²¹⁴ Coins of Decius from Viminacium on the Danube, dated year 11 (AD 249-250), have the obverse legends IMP CAES MES Q DECIVS P F AVG and IMP TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG, but only the latter legend in the following year.

²¹⁵ Inscriptions show that Decius took more than one consulship: *ILS* 514, 517.

which of the three groups tetradrachms portraying other members of the family belong. The bronze coins may provide a clue; Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian appear only on the second issue of bronze, corresponding to the third issue of tetradrachms, and the same may be the case for the tetradrachms. Herennia Etruscilla's tetradrachm coinage may belong to more than one issue, as she appears on both issues of bronze.

xxiv) Trebonianus Gallus (AD 251-253)

The basic structure of Trebonianus' silver coinage at Antioch has been studied by Metcalf.²¹⁶ There are two principal groups, divided chronologically and by a change in style. The first group, Metcalf's 'fine style', continues into Trebonianus' second consulship. It includes radiates and tetradrachms in the names of Trebonianus and Volusian, and perhaps the radiates in the name of Trajan Decius' son Hostilian, as Augustus, may belong to the early part of Gallus' reign. An issue of bronze coinage for Trebonianus and Volusian corresponds to this group (Catalogue, nos. 504-506).

The second group, Metcalf's 'gross style', includes a very large issue of radiates, larger, it would appear, than any previous issue of Antiochene radiates, and some rather rarer tetradrachms, all dated to Trebonianus' second consulship. The radiates are in the names of Trebonianus and Volusian, the tetradrachms are in the name of Trebonianus only. A contemporary issue of Antiochene bronze in the 'gross style' seems to have been quite large, and portrays both emperors (Catalogue, no. 507). The officina marks on the tetradrachms are all Greek numerals, from 1 to 7, the same number as under Philip and Trajan Decius.²¹⁷

The tetradrachm issues of Trebonianus Gallus are as follows:

'fine style'

ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΟΥΥΙΑΚ AD 251
ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΟΥΥΙΑΚ Υ ΑΤΟ Β AD 251/2?

'gross style'

ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΟΥΥΙΑΚ ΥΠΑΤΟ Β AD 251/2?

The issues of Trebonianus Gallus mark the end of tetradrachm issues at Antioch. The implications of this cessation will be dealt with elsewhere.

²¹⁶ 'The Antioch hoard of Antoniniani and the Eastern Coinage of Trebonianus Gallus' *ANSMN* 22 (1977), pp. 71-94.

²¹⁷ *BMC* pp. 226-229.

There was only one further issue of tetrachms, at Emisa, by the usurper Uranus Antoninus.

xxv) Uranus Antoninus (circa AD 253-254)

Uranus' rare silver coinage has been studied in detail by Baldus.²¹⁸ It includes perhaps two series of base silver tetrachms of comparable quality to those of Trebonianus, some 'denarii' whose silver content is not known, and a group of 'reformed' tetrachms, over 90% pure, containing four or five times as much silver as the base silver tetrachms.²¹⁹ These last coins are very unlike tetrachms in their general appearance, being much lighter and struck on thinner flans than any Syrian tetrachm issued at any time in the previous six hundred years or so, and with types redolent of an imperial radiate or denarius coinage. None of the traditional tetrachm types were employed on the reformed coinage, being replaced by an unusual array of types; Roma, a standing Tyche, Aequitas, a saddled camel, a bust of Helios.²²⁰ In addition, Uranus struck a group of aurei, some with similar types. The extraordinary nature of this coinage is difficult to interpret, since it is so unlike any other third century usurper's coinage. It is tempting to suggest that Uranus abandoned the base metal tetrachm at roughly the same time as Trebonianus Gallus, perhaps replacing this with a coinage in gold and good quality silver. The 'reformed' tetrachms were perhaps not intended to be Syrian tetrachms at all; at least, they do not give the appearance of being Syrian tetrachms. They might have been a quite different denomination, worth considerably more than the base silver tetrachms. Since Uranus' 'reformed' coinage did not outlive his usurpation, the coinage remains an isolated and rather incomparable phenomenon.

Uranus Antoninus' tetrachms seem to have been the last silver coins of Greek type issued in Syria, and his are the latest to be included in this study. After this point all Syrian silver consisted of radiates. However, the radiate had been produced at Antioch for over a decade before Uranus, and it is to these coins that we now turn to complete the study of the silver coinage up to AD 253.

²¹⁸ *Uranus Antoninus: Münzprägung und Geschichte*, Bonn, 1971, and 'Die "reformierten" Tetrachmen des Uranus Antoninus im Lichte eines neuen Fundes', *Chiron* 5 (1975), pp. 443-484.

²¹⁹ See Walker, *MRSC* III, p. 96.

²²⁰ The types are described and illustrated by Baldus, *Chiron* 5 (1975).

xxvi) Radiate coinage, AD 238-253

Gordian III - Trebonianus Gallus

This period marks the permanent establishment of an imperial mint for radiates at Antioch. Production, however, was by no means continuous. The coinage of Gordian is the subject of a detailed study by Bland. The basic structure of the issues is of no great concern for this study, since I believe that the coinage can be attributed in its entirety to Antioch and there is therefore no need to analyse its structure in detail.²²¹ Its frequency in Syria (or at least, at Dura, where the number of silver coins retrieved was sufficient enough to provide data) is of considerable interest. Unfortunately the number of silver coins retrieved from other excavations in the region is too insignificant to be of much use.

	<u>Rome</u>	<u>Antioch</u>	
	<u>radiates</u>	<u>radiates</u>	<u>tetradrachms</u>
Gordian	240	88	92
Philip	8	12	424
Decius	5	2	618
Gallus, issue 1	0	10	227
Gallus, issue 2	0	119	70
Valerian	5	306	0

Figure 8. Frequency of silver coins of Rome and Antioch in hoards and among site finds from Dura, Gordian III - Valerian, AD 238 - c. 256.

The pattern seems to indicate that the radiate issues of Antioch did not make up the bulk of the coinage in use until the second issue of Trebonianus Gallus. Even under Gordian, radiates from Rome were more numerous than those of Antioch. The Antioch mint would appear to have been a supplementary mint for radiates until the reign of Gallus, when it took over as the major supplier for Syria. By the reign of Valerian the mint seems to have become almost the sole supplier of radiates for Syria, with only a few stray contributions from Rome. This sudden surge in radiate output seems to correspond to a decline and cessation in tetradrachm production. Metcalf took this sudden rise in radiate production at Antioch under Trebonianus to indicate that the province of Syria was under threat of invasion from Persia, and argued that this in turn helped to confirm an invasion of Syria in 253, and that the fall of Antioch may have occurred in this year, but it seems to me that it merely represents a switch in supply of

²²¹ Its metrology, however, is dealt with in a later section.

radiate coinage from Rome to Antioch, and a decision to abandon the tetradrachm. Note also that the periods with few radiates from either Rome or Antioch have large numbers of tetradrachms.

Jotapianus (*circa* AD 248)

One small issue of radiate coinage struck in the reign of Philip deserves mention. A certain M. Fulvius Rufus Iotapianus is mentioned by several sources as rebelling against M. Iulius Priscus, the emperor's brother who had been appointed to a special command in the east.²²² He struck some crude radiate coins (reverses VICTORIA AVG; pl. 53, 161), at an uncertain mint, presumably in either Syria or Cappadocia, as these provinces were supposedly the centres of disaffection.²²³ His name, Iotapianus, is perhaps related to the name Iotape, which was borne by the queens of Commagene some two centuries earlier, although whether Iotapianus was a Commagenian Syrian, or even a scion of the royal family of Commagene, can hardly be determined from the surviving evidence. Various cities have been proposed as the mint, but since so little is known about the usurper every instance is purely conjecture. Antioch cannot be the mint, since the continuity of style between Philip and Decius shows that there was no break there.²²⁴ Emisa is another suggestion, but presumably only on the strength of the belief that Severan denarii had been struck there, a view not held in the present work (see above). Emisa is in any case otherwise an unimportant civic mint, except for the coinage of Uranius Antoninus. For the revolt to affect both Syria and Cappadocia (assuming both sources to be correct), it may have been the case that Jotapianus held the northern hinterland of Syria and Commagene. This would give him control of major military bases and Euphrates crossings, as well as the routes between Syria and central Anatolia. But there is no independent coining in the region, with the exception of Samosata, the remaining mints having their coinage produced at Antioch. The radiates of Jotapianus do not resemble the 'native' coinage of Samosata to any degree. Caesarea in Cappadocia had ceased issuing coins in the reign of Gordian. So there are no other near contemporary coinages in the region with which to compare Jotapianus' coins, but if he was denied access to Antioch, which

²²² Zosimus 1.20-21; Aurelius Victor, *Caes.*, 29.2; Polem. Silv., *Chronica Minora*, 1.521.

²²³ Zosimus does not specify the region; Victor says it was Syria, Polem. Silv., Cappadocia.

²²⁴ *RIC* 4.3, p. 66.

by this period controlled the coinage of most cities in northern Syria, he would have been forced to use other engravers whose styles would not appear on other city coins. Without some evidence independent of the surviving radiates, Jotapianus' mint will probably remain unknown.

2.2 Physical characteristics of the coinage

Methods of production varied among the coinages covered by this study. All of the coins were struck rather than cast, although the methods of producing flans differed, even within a single issue. It is worth examining some of the physical aspects of the surviving coins for indications of the way in which they were produced, and other details which suggest the ways in which the dies were prepared.

Liebeschuetz suggests, on the basis of a passage in Sozomen, that the imperial mint of Cyzicus in the fourth century effectively functioned as a cottage industry, workers being given tools and paid according to the completion of set quotas of production.²²⁵ This would seem to be a rather hazardous method of producing coins, open to all kinds of abuses, but if it could occur at an imperial mint in the fourth century, it could presumably be used for civic coinages of earlier periods. Such a method would negate the use of a building set aside as a mint. It might also explain some of the inconsistencies of production, such as why the flans for some bronze issues seem to have been produced by more than one method.

Dies

No dies used for the production of the Syrian coins are known to have survived. It is therefore not possible to state what metals were used for dies, although there is no reason to assume that there was any consistent use of a single metal. Obverse dies seem to have lasted longer than reverse dies; reverse dies tended to be slightly convex, producing a concave surface on the reverse of the struck coin, whereas the surfaces of obverse dies tended to be quite flat. It is possible that obverse and reverse dies were sometimes made of different metals. Most of these observations pertain to ancient coinage in general, but there are a few remarkable features about the dies of certain Syrian issues which are worthy of note.

A few very well-preserved tetradrachms of the Flavian period bear certain marks which show how the dies were prepared. It suggests strongly that they were engraved by hand, and that if hubs existed, they could only have been used for producing simple features. Fine striations in the field suggest that the surface of the die was filed smooth before the image was

²²⁵ J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch, City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 57-8; Soz. 5, 15.

engraved, or afterwards to remove irregularities in the surface produced by engraving, but that this was not polished, leaving the file marks clear. This suggests that entire die images were not being produced by hubbing, since the hub would have been likely to flatten the file marks. The engraving of lettering and the engraving of the images may well have been the work of two different craftsmen, as others have suggested. Sometimes portraits of very similar style are accompanied by very different forms of lettering.²²⁶ Finely engraved concentric circles on the reverse dies of some Antiochene tetrachms and denarii of the Flavians (and Cypriot silver) were evidently used as guidelines for engraving the legend.

The lettering of most of the northern Syrian coinage up to the Flavian period shows the use of a round-ended repoussé punch to form letter points, continuing in the Hellenistic tradition.²²⁷ On western Roman Imperial coinage this practice had died out under Augustus, although provincial coinage struck elsewhere shows the same technique continuing into the second century AD. Afterwards the letter points seem to have been created by a punch with a triangular point.

A few of Trajan's tetrachms, of the type which I attribute to Antioch, are struck sufficiently far off-centre to show the edge of the dies. The dies were apparently not much wider than the image itself (diameter of dotted border 24mm; die width 26mm). Other dies, however, were rather wider than the image they bore. Some of Caracalla's tetrachms were struck from dies at least 27mm. across, with an image of 22mm. diameter.²²⁸ Again, no consistency need be implied by these figures. Obverse dies may often have been wider than reverse dies, and I doubt very much that there was any standard size of die used for particular denominations.


Erasures or alterations to the dies of Syrian coins are rare. Some are easily explained. Tetrachms of Hadrian, struck at Laodicea, bear dates in the reverse field; these were erased and re-engraved when a new year began.²²⁹ The reverses of a few coins of Hadrian from Chalcis appear to

²²⁶ Compare, for example, the bronze coins of Tiberius of Antioch, Catalogue nos. 62-63.

²²⁷ D. Sellwood, 'Minting', in D. Strong, D. Brown (eds.), *Roman Crafts*, London, 1976, pp. 62-73, suggests that these points were formed by a tiny bow drill, but to me a punch seems much simpler and quicker to use.

²²⁸ For example, Bellinger, *Syrian Tetrachms*, plate IX, no. 8.

²²⁹ Two specimens in Berlin demonstrate this. One coin has a reverse die dated year 169. The same reverse die is found on another coin, re-engraved

show erasures where a numeral letter was altered.²³⁰ There is also evidence for the re-engraving of dies which had cracked or flaked. An obverse die for coins of Elagabalus from Gabala, south of Laodicea, apparently developed a crack across the emperor's portrait, causing a piece of the die to flake off the emperor's cheek. The die was subsequently but clumsily re-engraved to remove the damage, and continued to be used.²³¹ Some repairs seem to have been even more drastic. On one Trajanic tetradrachm of Antioch the obverse legend ends in a raised rectangular block, apparently cut on the die to erase part of the legend.²³² This may have been done to prevent a die flaw developing further. It cannot have been an attempt to alter the legend, since nothing was engraved in its place, and the legend ends abruptly **CEBΓ** . It seems that dies, although probably produced in large quantities for some issues, were repaired rather than discarded when minor flaws developed, or when a feature of the die needed updating or altering.

Some reverse dies of Philip's bronze coinage at Antioch have retrograde types. Occasionally certain elements, such as SC, are reversed.²³³ These are probably simple errors, but some dies of Philip's large bronzes have an entirely retrograde type, including the legends.²³⁴ Sometimes only the type is reversed, and other elements are presented the correct way round (*BMC* 577). Philip's bronze coinage is otherwise very uniform in its presentation of types. This must have been a deliberate act by the die engraver(s), although it is hard to see a reason for it.

Production of flans

There seem to have been two principal methods of producing the flans of the bronze coins studied; casting, in either an open or closed mould; or sawing slices off a cylindrical metal rod. In the first century BC and first century AD all the flans appear to have been cast. Some clearly

to read 170. Reducing **ΘΞΠ** to OP, and losing a letter, does not seem to have unduly worried the issuers of the tetradrachms.

²³⁰ See notes in Catalogue, nos. 12-16.

²³¹ I intend to publish these coins elsewhere.

²³² Private collection, Cambridge; to be published along with the coins of Gabala.

²³³ On the SC coinage of Macrinus and Elagabalus the S of SC is sometimes retrograde, and this phenomenon is occasionally encountered on earlier issues.

²³⁴ B. Marthaler, *Two Studies in the Greek Imperial Coinage of Asia Minor*, pp. 32-47, nos. 40 and 59, have different obverses, one of Philip I and another of Philip II, coupled with the same retrograde reverse die; several retrograde dies are known to me.

show casting jets, or the fracture where these have been broken off, usually at opposite points on the flan, indicating that the moulds had channels running between them. Flans cast in open moulds, with bevelled edges, most frequently exhibit this feature. From at least the reign of Trajan some mints seem to have started using the second method, sawing or chiselling slices off a metal rod, and by the third century the second method appears to have been commonplace, and was used for all the colonial coinage of Antioch from Elagabalus onwards. Several traces of this method of production may be noted. First, the coins often exhibit parallel lines of striations across the obverses and/or reverses, which were present on the flans before they were struck, and are still present after striking. These would appear to be saw- or chisel-marks.²³⁵ Secondly, the edges of the flans show that the flans were not cast, and often bear marks or light grooves, always running parallel in the same direction, along the length of the original bar. Thirdly, these edges sometimes have light cuts parallel to the flat surfaces of the flan, as if the bars had been marked out for cutting beforehand. At least one Antiochene coin, of Trebonianus Gallus, bears a fairly deep and obvious saw- or chisel-mark in its edge, parallel to the surfaces, which was then crushed under the pressure of striking.²³⁶ This method of producing flans may seem immensely laborious, but presumably the authorities in second and third century AD Antioch had no shortage of labour. It may have had certain important advantages over casting. Casting required a furnace which could reach the necessary temperatures to melt the metals used for blanks, but the method of slicing pieces off a metal bar negated the use of high temperatures and furnaces. Otherwise it would seem to have no obvious advantages over casting, except perhaps no metal was wasted in casting jets, and it may have been easier to produce larger and thinner flans by this means (although many examples are as thick as cast coins, and some metal would have been lost in sawing). There are no 'centering marks' known on these coinages.²³⁷ Throughout this period the flans for tetradrachms would appear to have been cast.

²³⁵ Some bronze coins of the Jewish revolts seem to have been overstruck on other coins, and the flans were apparently filed prior to striking, but this was presumably to remove the undertype and was probably not a normal method of producing blanks. A flat surface is not necessarily a desirable feature of a blank.

²³⁶ Private collection, Cambridge; I have since noted other specimens with these marks.

²³⁷ Sellwood, *op. cit.*, p. 66-67.

Overstrikes

An expedient means of obtaining blanks was to overstrike other coins. The best example of this is the coinage of the Bar-Kochba rebellion in Palestine under Hadrian, but this was a 'coinage of necessity' which may have needed to cut corners. In northern Syria a few issues were overstrikes in whole or in part. These seem to be overstruck on specific issues of one city or region. Presumably this was desirable, since it maintained some sort of standard. The coins of Samosata of the first century BC may have been overstruck on Antiochene coins because they were the most readily available. Availability might also account for the overstriking of the so-called 'Zeus tetradrachms' of Augustus to Claudius on posthumous Philips.²³⁸ Antioch was probably the centre for restriking Nabataean drachms under Trajan (see above, section on silver production, under Trajan). That Nabataean drachms were circulating in northern Syria is highly improbable. It seems more likely that they were deliberately sent to Antioch as a consignment for restriking. Restriking silver coins in this way had the advantage of maintaining an earlier silver standard, if this was required. Other overstrikes are identifiable, and may be the product of more random withdrawal from circulation. One coin of Trajan from Chalcis is overstruck on a coin of Herod Agrippa II, probably not a coin that circulated regularly in Chalcidice, perhaps chosen because it was sufficiently similar to the standard. An imitation of an SC bronze of Augustus is overstruck on an Antiochene denomination which was a sub-unit of the SC bronze.²³⁹ This would appear to be an attempt to make a 'profit' by using coins of lower value and overstriking them with types appropriate to a higher denomination. A coin of Cyrrhus, issued under Philip I and probably struck at Antioch, appears to be overstruck on another coin of the same issue, but this may be an accident or the result of a fault in the first product.²⁴⁰

Die axes

The normal die axes for Syrian coins of the first and second centuries BC is twelve o'clock. Antiochene bronze from the first century BC

²³⁸ On these coins, see section on silver production.

²³⁹ Private collection, Cambridge; the reverse clearly shows a head of Zeus as the undertype, and the style would appear to be that of the type issued under Augustus in the names of the legates P. Quinctilius Varus and L. Volusius Saturninus, Catalogue nos. 48c, 49c, 50c and 54c.

²⁴⁰ The coin is illustrated in Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coins*, plate 6, no. 63.

to Nerva is almost consistently twelve o'clock, as are tetradrachms. Under Trajan onwards six o'clock is the normal position for Antiochene tetradrachms, possibly influenced by the earlier input of tetradrachms from the mint at Rome (see section on silver production), which at this period struck coins at an axis of six o'clock. The SC bronzes from Trajan onwards are variously twelve and six o'clock. The third century colonial coinage of Antioch is also arranged at either twelve or six, with these variations noted even for coins struck from the same pairs of dies. There are few deviations from six or twelve o'clock die axes among the issues of northern Syria.²⁴¹ I doubt if any dies used for these coinages were hinged.

Use of dies

Obverse dies and reverse dies appear to have been shared at random, producing a wide variety of couplings. This is most vividly apparent on the third century issues, and supports the theory of a 'die box' in which dies lay randomly mixed between periods of production. The coinage of Philip, struck at Antioch for issue at Hierapolis in Syria (Figure 9) is illustrative of the apparently random nature of couplings. The ratio of obverse dies to reverses may in this case be abnormal, since several of the obverse dies used for Hierapolis were also used to produce issues for other cities for which Antioch also struck coins. However, Burnett has observed that for Syria in general, the ratio of reverse to obverse dies is higher than elsewhere in the Roman world.²⁴²

Countermarking as a means of re-issue

Sometimes coins were countermarked rather than restruck. The mechanisms for withdrawing coins from circulation for countermarking are unclear, but since most of them were particular to the issues of a single city, it was presumably easy to withdraw money through the moneychangers. The selectivity of the countermarks suggests that the agents who selected them for countermarking discriminated against 'foreign' issues, or that the coins were taken from a source which did not contain 'foreign' coins, perhaps moneychangers.²⁴³ The meaning of most of the civic countermarks is not at all clear, although all sorts of

²⁴¹ For a list of die axes of individual issues, see introduction to the Catalogue.

²⁴² A.M. Burnett, personal communication.

²⁴³ It is possible that moneychangers commissioned by civic authorities sometimes would have to accept only the coinage of that city - see below, circulation.

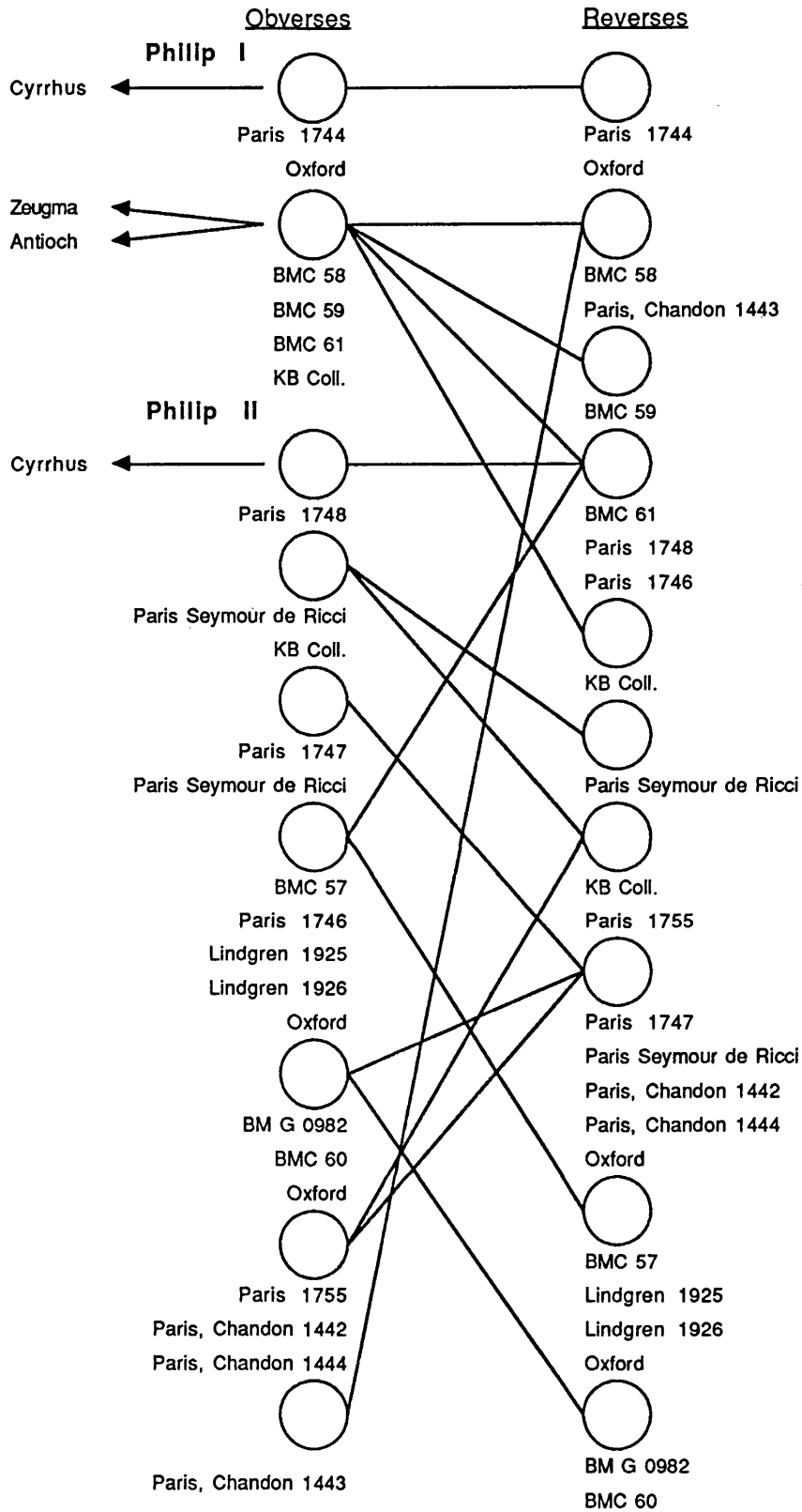


Figure 9. Die couplings of coins of Hierapolis in Syria under Philip I.

possibilities present themselves, such as distributions of money by wealthy citizens, or handouts at civic festivals, or simply to re-issue the coins for the purpose for which the coins had been issued in the first place. The fact that explicitly civic countermarks usually occur only on a city's own coins suggests that the civic authorities were responsible for many countermarks, and that they were probably seen as a means of re-issuing coins. The imperial SC coinage of Antioch received a variety of countermarks, particularly in the first and early second centuries AD, although not all of them were applied in the region being studied here. Many of these countermarks are those of Roman legions (see section on circulation). These are discussed at length in *GIC*, and in the section on coinage and military finance (below). Those countermarks that obviously belong to other places or cities are not included in the catalogue, but most of those whose origins are uncertain, but are probably from northern Syria, are included. The fact that the SC coinage received a wide variety of countermarks from different places (although few might be construed as civic) suggests that it had a broader part to play in circulation than most other coinages in northern Syria.

Imitations and 'counterfeits'

The status of imitations of official coinage is unclear, as it is throughout the Roman empire. The most frequently imitated coins are those which were issued in the largest quantities, such as the SC coinage of Antioch. As the style of each official issue of SC coinage is usually very distinct, imitations stand out when placed amongst them as being of very different and usually much cruder style. They seem to occur in all periods; I know of imitations of SC coins of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Otho, Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus. Imitations of Lucius Verus may have been produced in the long break in production of SC bronze, between the small issue of Commodus and the next issue, about thirty years later, under Caracalla. Sometimes they are smaller than the pieces which they imitate, such as the copy of an SC bronze of Augustus overstruck on a civic bronze of Antioch issued by either Quinctilius Varus or Volusius Saturninus under Augustus (see above). Imitations of coins of Lucius Verus are usually quite small. Others, however, appear to be of regular size and weight. These imitations have not been systematically gathered here. It will be necessary to collect a great many more specimens than at present exist in museum collections before much can be said about them.

Outside the Roman *limes*, in Mesopotamia proper, the SC series was imitated, particularly at Hatra. These coinages have been studied by others, and it is beyond the scope of this work to discuss them in detail.²⁴⁴ A Hatran coin in Berlin is visibly overstruck on a coin of Zeugma struck under Antoninus Pius (Catalogue, issue 3, as nos. 14-21), and overstrikes on other Syrian coins of Antoninus suggest a mid-second century date for much of the Hatran coinage.

Plated forgeries of Syrian silver coins are known, ranging from Philip Philadelphus to Trajan Decius (See below, section on circulation). A number of tetradrachms of Augustus from Seleucia Pieria appear to be plated on bronze cores. Similar plated coins of Antioch are known; Nero and Agrippina (Antakya Museum); Nero didrachm (Princeton, Antioch excavations). Plated coins could have been produced by hammering a genuine coin into a soft metal, such as copper, and using the resulting 'dies' to strike a base metal blank covered in silver foil.²⁴⁵ This could produce a plated coin which would appear to be from genuine dies, and could also explain why so many plated coins seem to come from completely different pairs of dies (the forger having access to plenty of genuine specimens).²⁴⁶ The silver coins most frequently imitated are those of Elagabalus. These are not plated, but appear to be of even lower silver content than the official coins which they imitate. Imitation tetradrachms of Elagabalus are generally of irregular and crude style, sometimes much smaller than their prototypes, often with blundered or retrograde legends.²⁴⁷ They may have been produced during the period between AD 219 and 238, when no Syrian tetradrachms were issued.

²⁴⁴ J.J. Slocum, 'Another Look at the Coins of Hatra', *ANSMN* 22 (1977), pp. 37-47; it is ironic that the Hatran coinage seems to have attracted more interest than many of the SC issues of Antioch which it appears to imitate.

²⁴⁵ I owe this thought to a discussion with Robert Kenyon.

²⁴⁶ Houghton suggested that some base metal cores of tetradrachms of Philip Philadelphus were 'official' issues in bronze, because they were from different dies and therefore it was unlikely that a forger would have cut so many dies; Houghton *CSE*, nos. 395-396; but using the method described above, a forger would not have to engrave any dies at all. Plated tetradrachms of Augustus from Seleucia Pieria exist in various states, from almost complete silverings to hardly any silver at all; presumably all were once completely silvered. They too appear to come from several different pairs of dies, although I noted no die links between plated specimens and genuine pieces, but the coinage is rare.

²⁴⁷ Walker, *MRSC* III, pp. 90-1, did not recognise these imitations amongst the coins he analysed, and consequently his figure for the weight of silver in Elagabalus' tetradrachm coinage may be artificially low.

2.3 Volume of production

How much coin, and in particular, how much money, did a mint like Antioch produce? The question of size and volume of particular emissions is fundamental to our understanding of the importance and function of these issues. Did periods of high production coincide with known historical events? The question will be considered in later sections; here I will discuss some of the problems associated with trying to determine volume of output from various forms of evidence. Particular attention is paid to the bronze coinage. Evidence for silver output is discussed in sections 2.1 B; 3.7 A; 5.3 A, and 5.4.

Since the catalogue includes only selective die studies, it is impossible to estimate the size of particular issues by means of a die count. Even a rough study of the issues of Antioch would be an immense undertaking, far beyond the scope of this work, and the number of coins in museums would be insufficient for such a study. One need only cite the example of the SC coinage of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The Antakya Museum collection, and the material from the Antioch excavations (now at Princeton) both contain hundreds of these coins, all but a few in very poor condition. They account for a large proportion of the coinage found in the Antioch region, and this coinage was probably one of the larger Antiochene issues. The number in museums in Europe and America is tiny; the largest concentration of them in one museum is in Paris, where 13 legible specimens are gathered together. The British Museum has 10, the American Numismatic Society has 10, and the Berlin cabinet has 5. That the issues were large and complex can be seen from the Catalogue, yet it would be impossible to do a die study on this important series until more well preserved examples have been collected. The smaller mints, which used only a few dies, can be studied relatively easily, but the insignificance of their issues makes such estimates of little importance when compared to the larger mints, which contributed most to the circulating medium. We can, however, attempt to gain some idea of the relative size of particular issues by examining their proportions in hoards and amongst site finds. The use of hoard evidence presents particular problems; first, there are so few hoards of bronze coins recorded from Syria that it is impossible to use this data for any comparative studies of output; second, although there are rather more published hoards of silver, the circumstances of their

discovery often make it by no means certain that most were complete and intact when recorded, although several apparently were. Thirdly, it would appear that certain issues circulated for a short time only, after which they seem to have been completely removed from circulation (see below, section 3.7). The wide variation in the composition of hoards of silver from Syria makes comparison of surviving numbers of coins from different reigns difficult indeed. A few hoards conform to patterns, but there are many variations (compare, for example, the contents of hoard 50 with hoard 51 in Appendix 3, both ending with Valerian, and both from Dura). As a result, hoard evidence will not be used in this section. Some specific points about output in particular reigns have been discussed in the previous section on silver coins, and more general points about the rate of survival will be examined in the section on hoards.

Site finds present their own problems. It is not always easy to decide what pattern is a normal or average pattern. For example, at Antioch, the SC bronzes of Nero would appear to be quite rare. We would expect the proportions of SC bronzes found at Antioch to be a good representation of the proportions in use and therefore the proportions produced, since these coins were struck at Antioch. However, they seem - and I emphasise 'seem', since the observation is drawn mainly from coins seen in the 'junk boxes' of Syrian coin dealers - to be commoner further south in Syria than they are at Antioch. This sort of evidence is difficult to quantify, since too few coin reports exist for the rest of Syria against which to compare the Antioch data. The possibility of an issue or group of issues being struck for a particular purpose and being distributed some distance away makes a reliance on the proportions of coins among site finds or in hoards hazardous. Site finds, like hoards, may be affected by withdrawals of coin, or demonetisation. Some of these problems are discussed further under the section on site finds, in the chapter on circulation. For the moment, however, these uncertain data, the site finds, are the only source of information about frequency of bronze issues available. They should still be used with care.

Initially I approached this problem using the data collected by myself from the Antakya Museum, since this seemed to represent a reliable sample of 'casual' finds from the region. The policy of the museum is to accept or purchase all ancient coins brought to the attention of the museum authorities. These represent surface finds from Antioch and its environs. There has been no attempt to form a 'collection' as we are

accustomed to do in European museums. Figure 10 shows the proportion of SC bronzes per reign or per issue, from Augustus to Commodus, from the Antakya Museum sample. The larger SC denomination has a value of one unit, and the smaller denomination a half unit - in this way the histogram gives a sample of the amount of money surviving for each ruler rather than the number of individual coins. There are distinct peaks, under Claudius, Trajan, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The sample contains 459.5 units, although the small numbers of first century coins have less statistical validity. The peak for Claudius is rather unexpected. Claudius' coins were also common among the site finds at Dura, and are frequently encountered in smaller samples of coin from Syria. Bellinger sought a military explanation for the peak, which is not altogether convincing, because it fails to take account of their distribution away from the sites along the Euphrates:

'The peak of the early Roman coins is under Claudius ... Of course, they may have been brought to the city at any time after their issue ... but a special occasion ... may have been the expedition of the governor of Syria in 49 AD, which brought the Parthian pretender Meherdates as far as Zeugma on his ill-fated attempt to gain the throne.'²⁴⁸

They must represent an original population that was very large, and fairly well distributed in Syria. Thereafter the issues of Trajan, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius with Lucius Verus predominate. To test the accuracy of the sample, I examined the SC bronzes from the Antioch excavations at Princeton myself (figure 11). This sample contains 329.25 units (halved coins of medium denominations were included as quarter units). These were not all the coins published by Waagé, but a number of her uncertain coins could be identified. A very similar pattern emerges. The only noticeable difference is an even more pronounced peak for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. A similar comparison can be drawn for the Antiochene colonial coinage, issued between the reigns of Elagabalus and Valerian (figures 12a and 12b). The peaks are sufficiently similar to suggest that the two samples were drawn from the same original population, and that these are a good representation of the proportions of coinage per emperor or issue surviving at Antioch.

Having determined the validity of the Antioch excavation and Antakya Museum samples as representative of site finds from the region, do they have any bearing on output? For the period Philip - Trebonianus

²⁴⁸ *Dura*, p. 203.

Figure 10. Percentage of SC bronzes of Antioch, by reign, recorded in a sample from the Antakya Museum. SC bronzes of Vespasian, probably struck at Rome, are not included in the sample. Large denomination SC bronzes in this table are considered to have double the value of medium denomination bronzes.

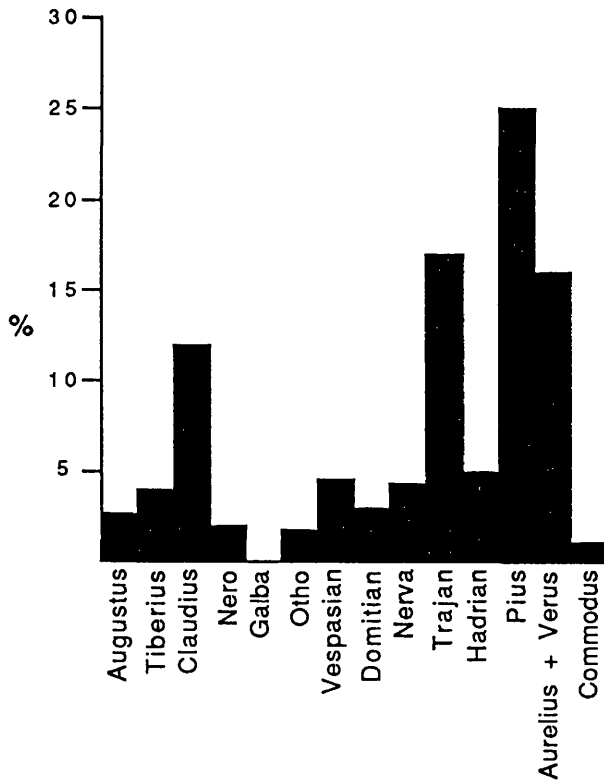
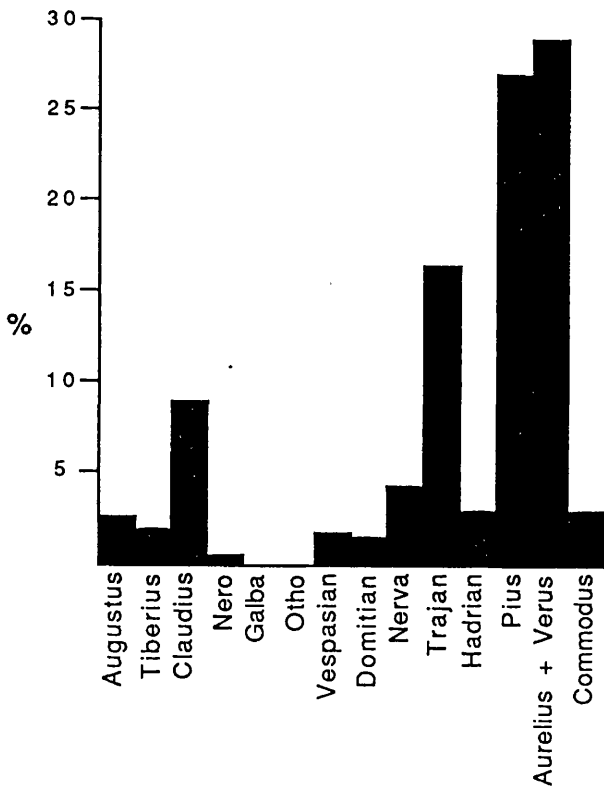


Figure 11. Percentage of SC bronzes of Antioch, by reign, recorded in a sample from the Antioch excavations, examined by me. SC bronzes of Vespasian, probably struck at Rome, are not included in the sample. Large denomination SC bronzes in this table are considered to have double the value of medium denomination bronzes.



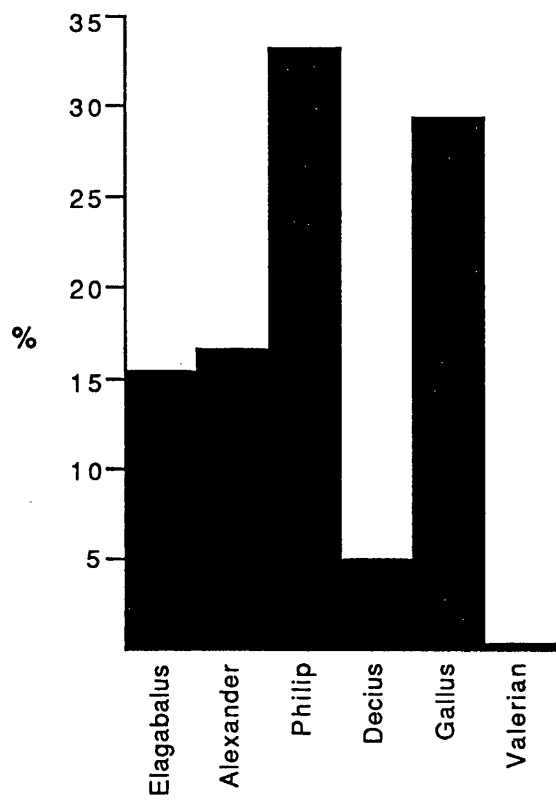


Figure 12a: Relative proportions of Antiochene colonial issues, Elagabalus - Valerian, in the sample from the Antakya Museum.

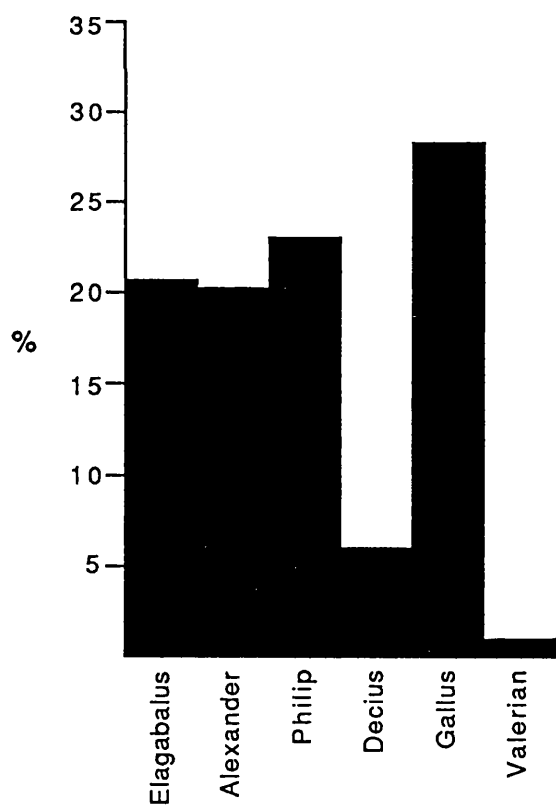


Figure 12b: Relative proportions of Antiochene colonial issues, Elagabalus - Valerian, found in the Antioch excavations, according to Waagé.

Gallus, some very rough die estimates are available for the bronze coinage, using a sample of 157 coins. This can be compared to the site finds for the same period.

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Large denomination, no. of obverse dies</u>	
Philip I, issue 1:	10	12.65%
Philip I, issue 2:	37	46.83%
Trajan Decius, issue 1:	3	3.79%
Trajan Decius, issue 2:	7	8.86%
Trebonianus Gallus, issue 1:	7	8.86%
Trebonianus Gallus, issue 2:	13	16.45%
Valerian:	2	2.53%

Figure 13a. Number and percentage of obverse dies for the larger denomination of Antiochene colonial coins observed in museum collections.

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Large denomination, no. of coins</u>	
Philip I, issue 1:	25	8.8%
Philip I, issue 2:	108	38.02%
Trajan Decius, issue 1:	3	1.05%
Trajan Decius, issue 2:	17	5.99%
Trebonianus Gallus, issue 1:	28	9.85%
Trebonianus Gallus, issue 2:	102	35.91%
Valerian:	1	0.35%

Figure 13b. Number and percentage of larger denomination coins of Antioch in the Antakya Museum.

The proportions of dies for Philip, issue 2, and Trebonianus Gallus, issue 2, may be rather low, since their repetitive obverse and reverse types do not endear them to collectors and museums. A number of dies may have been missed because the sample in museums is too small. However, there are quite a few die identities for Trebonianus, suggesting that this figure may be more accurate than for Philip, where frequently a die is represented by only one or two coins. For the smaller issues, there are quite a few die identities, suggesting that the museums contain a fairly accurate sample of the rarer issues. The general level of correlation between site finds and dies is not as good as one might wish; whilst the largest number of dies produced an issue which survives in the largest quantities, and small numbers of dies produced much smaller samples among the site finds, the second largest number of dies produced an issue which survives in surprisingly large quantities. The second issue of

Figure 14. Percentage of SC bronzes of Antioch, by reign, recorded in a sample from museum collections. SC bronzes of Vespasian, probably struck at Rome, are not included in the sample. Large denomination SC bronzes in this table are considered to have double the value of medium denomination bronzes. The profile is completely different from those of Figures 10 or 11.

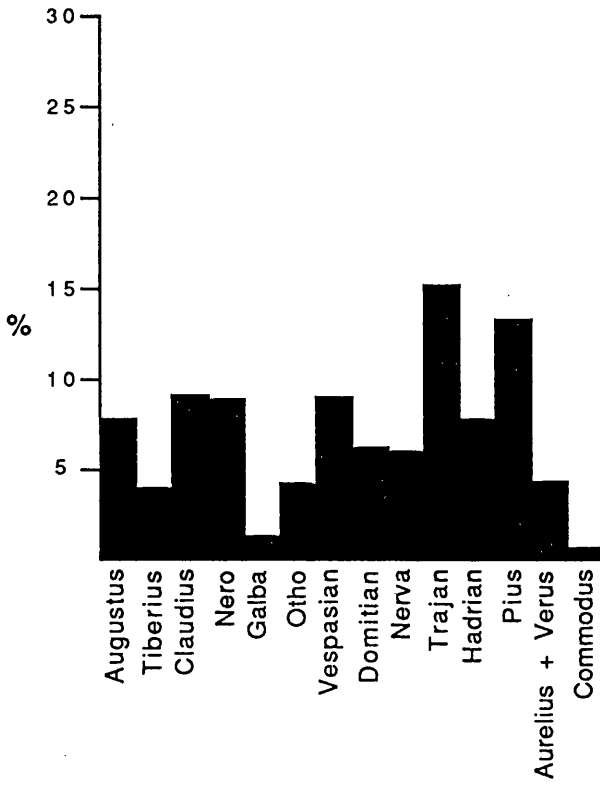
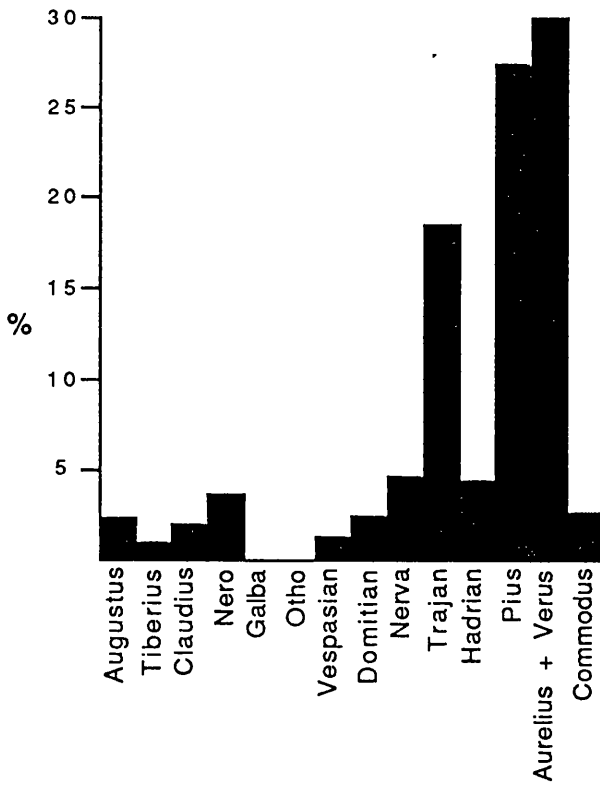


Figure 15. Percentage of SC bronzes of Antioch, by reign, recorded by D.B. Waagé in the publication of the Antioch excavation coins. SC bronzes of Vespasian, probably struck at Rome, are not included in the sample. Large denomination SC bronzes in this table are considered to have double the value of medium denomination bronzes. In general, the profile resembles Figure 11, although Claudius is less well represented in this table.



Trebonianus Gallus survives in quantities almost as great as those of the second issue of Philip, and yet the issue of Trebonianus seems to have been produced from about one third as many dies as that of Philip. It may be that the issue of Trebonianus, being the last large issue of this coinage at Antioch, was not re-used for any later issues (the output for Valerian was very small), and consequently it survived rather better than the earlier issue of Philip. It may represent variable or different output per die between the two reigns. The coinage of Trebonianus may also have circulated over a more restricted area than that of Philip. Philip's coinage is well attested all over Syria, but coins of Trebonianus are rather rarer, except at Antioch. More positively, it can be said that apart from Trebonianus Gallus, the correlation between dies and finds for other issues is sufficient to justify looking at the surviving quantities of coins in an estimation of output.

This indicates that site finds cannot be used with a great deal of confidence to determine a precise profile of output, but it is not necessarily a wholly inaccurate means of determining the relative quantities of issues. However, there are always the possibilities of remelting, or demonetisation, or *damnatio memoriae*, or other factors which might account for an unusually low proportion surviving, or other factors which left an unusually high proportion. Site find evidence is best used with other 'controls' such as die studies, so that discrepancies can be taken into account.

In the absence of complete die studies one such 'control' is to examine the numbers present in museum collections, and to note the frequency of obverse die identities. Collections are sometimes cited as a not very reliable means of estimating output; I believe that they are very unreliable indeed, and reflect the preferences of collectors more sharply than frequency or infrequency of issues.²⁴⁹ A sample of 533 SC units taken from 3 museums (Paris, Berlin and the ANS) presents a histogram with completely different peaks to the samples in figures 10 and 11 (figure 14). Coins of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus appear to be very rare. They are so poorly represented in the museums sample that one would conclude using this sample alone that they were rare, whereas they are in fact one of the commonest surviving issues. Those of Augustus and Nero, which are not so common as site finds at Antioch, show much higher peaks in the

²⁴⁹ Walker, *MRSC* III, p. 64, uses samples in museums to suggest the original volume of issues.

museums. There are few obverse die identities among the specimens of Augustus in museums, suggesting that the survival rate at Antioch does not necessarily represent a relative sample of the original number produced. In this case the museums sample would favour a higher output. Claudius, a major peak in the site find material, does not predominate in the museums sample. But the museums sample does not provide any information on the relative sizes of SC issues of Augustus, Claudius and Nero, since there are insufficient specimens to provide a die study. When we come to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, there are so few specimens in the museums sample that it would be impossible to suggest the number of dies originally used for these issues. The predilections of collectors are most likely to be responsible for the irregular museums sample.²⁵⁰ The coins from the Antioch excavations present a more 'localised' sample than the coins from the Antakya Museum, although they come from a variety of sites in and around Antioch, and also from Seleucia. The sample from the Antakya Museum represents surface finds from the modern Turkish province of Hatay, and is therefore a sample of 'lower resolution' than the excavation coins, but still based mainly around Antioch. Using the second century data, which contains the largest number of members in each sample, and is therefore more reliable than the first century, comparison shows only one notable variation - the Antioch excavation sample has a higher proportion of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus than the Antakya Museum sample. This might be evidence of a larger concentration of these issues at Antioch, but more evidence is needed from other parts of Syria. None the less, site finds would seem to provide more reliable data than museums, but a word of caution must be sounded about using the principal catalogues for this area (Waagé's catalogue for Antioch, and Bellinger's *Dura*). When initially approaching the problem of output of SC bronze I started to use Bellinger's catalogue of the *Dura* coins. One striking feature is the high incidence of SC coins of Hadrian in his catalogue, against those of Antoninus Pius. This is rather surprising. The anomalous pattern in the proportions of SC bronzes of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius seems to be the result of misidentified coins. Few specimens are illustrated. *Dura* no. 1651 is catalogued as a coin of

²⁵⁰ This would explain the high incidence of 'rare' emperors like Galba and Otho, and the large attractive bronzes of Augustus and Nero, against the smaller and often badly struck coins of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The types and issues of SC coins of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus are more varied and interesting than those of either Augustus or Nero, but the coins are smaller and less attractive.

Hadrian, but the illustration clearly shows that it is a coin of Antoninus Pius. The possibility that other coins listed under Hadrian are actually coins of Antoninus Pius makes the use of these figures for either emperor unreliable, which is unfortunate as Antoninus Pius should represent a large portion of the data. Unfortunately I have not been able to examine the coins from Dura, and therefore the figures from that site have not been used. Identification of worn or corroded SC bronzes is not easy, and the difficulty or uncertainty of being able to identify pieces fully has tended to distort the samples published in the site reports from the Antioch excavations and Dura, in favour of the more recognisable or distinct issues. Waagé's sample (figure 15) shows a distinct lack of a peak for Claudius, which was curious, given the prominence of Claudian in the sample from the Antakya Museum, and among the earlier SC bronzes at Dura. An examination of the coins in Princeton showed that most of the unidentified first century SC bronzes were in fact Claudius, and as a result, the revised pattern of Antioch finds, given in figure 11, falls into line with the sample from the Antakya Museum.

The evidence from site finds for volume of production is not very satisfactory, but some patterns emerge. Output of SC coinage under Augustus and Tiberius is difficult to determine, but the issues of Claudius seem to have been large, especially when set against the subsequent coinage of Nero. The issues for Galba seem to have been very small, smaller even than those for Otho. Most coins surviving from the reign of Vespasian are actually coins of Domitian Caesar, and one wonders whether some withdrawal of coins of Vespasian and Titus might not affect the sample at this point. The coinages of Domitian Augustus and Nerva survive in large quantities. In the second century, the SC coinages of Trajan, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius survive in large quantities, and were probably produced in correspondingly large numbers. Those of Hadrian are much less common, and those of Commodus are very few. Output under Caracalla does not appear to have been very large, with about 10 obverse dies in use (this is one of the few SC coinages where sufficient numbers can be collected for a die study), and Caracalla's coinage contrasts poorly with apparently large issues of Macrinus and Elagabalus. The later SC bronzes of Severus Alexander and Philip survive in very small quantities (2 known obverse dies for Philip, and only a single specimen among all the site finds I have examined, which comes from the Antakya Museum sample). Of the colonial coins of Antioch, those of Elagabalus, Severus Alexander, Philip I,

and Trebonianus Gallus were apparently produced in the largest quantities, whilst those of Trajan Decius and Valerian are rather rarer.

At Seleucia, the only significant coinage in terms of quantity surviving is that of Trajan. The coinages of Rhosus and Nicopolis Seleucidis are so rare that their contribution to the coinage in use must have been small indeed. Inland, the first century AD coinage of Antiochus IV may have had an important part to play in circulation; it appears to have been produced in several issues, although it does not survive in large quantities. For the other cities in northern Syria, the general impression is that the reigns of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Elagabalus, and Philip saw the greatest periods of output. This coincides very closely with important periods of output at Antioch, and under Elagabalus and Philip much of the coinage for the cities was probably struck at Antioch. Whatever the reason for high output at Antioch during certain reigns, we may surmise that there was a similar reason for high output among the other cities of the region. These reasons will be discussed in a later chapter. Before that, however, we turn from the production of coins, to the circulation of coins, and the site find evidence from northern Syria.

3.1 Models for circulation and coin use

The basic model for circulation of civic coinage has been discussed in other works²⁵¹ and needs only a brief description here. Coins were put into circulation by the authorities who issued them. In the case of provincial coins, these are presumed to have been either imperial or civic authorities. Coins were paid to persons in exchange for services rendered to the authorities, *eg.* the Roman state would pay its soldiers. The issuing authorities then capitalised on the conversion of silver denominations to bronze denominations, and vice versa, by charging for the conversion. This conversion was done by moneychangers, who were licenced by the authorities (either civic or imperial) to buy and sell silver and bronze in the marketplace. In some cases the moneychangers may have bought coin direct from the issuing authorities. Moneychangers also must have been the medium through which coins were withdrawn from circulation. Occasionally civic coins may have been distributed at public festivals, or as gifts, such as the dedication to young men of his city by a 'doctor' at Heraclea-Salbace in Caria²⁵², or another dedication to the elders of Aezanis in Phrygia by M. Ulpius Eurycles²⁵³, but their continued circulation was ensured by the moneychangers. Transactions were tarified in either silver or bronze coin, and payments could only be made in the appropriate coin. Prices in the marketplace could also be regulated by the authorities.²⁵⁴ Legislation could be introduced to ensure that moneychangers had a monopoly on the buying and selling of bronze and silver. The coin-using population was thus faced with frequent transactions with a moneychanger, converting silver into bronze and vice versa, in order to acquire goods or pay taxes. The charge levied on these transactions, the *agio* or *kollybos*, went in part to the moneychangers and in part to the authorities that issued the coin. As we have seen, there was a financial

²⁵¹ Howgego, *GIC*; Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coins*, pp. 25-6.

²⁵² *BMC Caria etc.* p. 120, nos. 25-6.

²⁵³ *BMC Phrygia*, p. 39, no. 112.

²⁵⁴ Note that the Palmyra tax law requires that traders sell goods in the marketplace, and sellers of salt should sell it in the marketplace at a price deemed fair by the provincial legate: J.F. Matthews, 'The Tax Law of Palmyra', *JRS* 74 (1984), p. 180.

benefit to the issuers of coins, as long as the coin-using population could be persuaded (or forced) to keep using them.²⁵⁵

Provincial coins, being mostly of small value, were more suitable as a medium of exchange rather than a store of wealth. Indeed, if the authorities were to gain any financial benefit, then their circulation was to be encouraged. Now if the basic model given above is true for all city coinages, the civic authority needed both bronze and silver to maintain circulation and bring profit to the city. Few cities struck their own silver coinage, so they must have used imperial coinage instead. The imperial authorities certainly had a vested interest in maintaining the circulation of silver, since this encouraged the flow of taxes on which the principal institutions of the Roman empire functioned.²⁵⁶ It may have been in the interests of the government to ensure a supply of silver to the cities, the recovery of which could be guaranteed through taxes. Similarly a mechanism must have existed amongst those towns which did not issue any coins for the importation of both bronze and silver from elsewhere. Dura-Europus, for example, struck no coins under Roman control (as far as we know). Most of the coins represented came from surrounding cities. Trade may have been sufficient to bring the coins to Dura, but once there, how did they circulate, and to whom did any profits on exchanges go? There must have been exchange, in order for the government to recover silver for taxes. It may be that moneychangers or civic authorities bought coinage from elsewhere, either from individuals or direct from coin issuing authorities. The latter might explain the prevalence of certain issues of coin which would otherwise appear anomalous.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ The Edict of Gratianus of 85 BC has been interpreted as legislation enforcing public acceptance of coinage; E. Lo Cascio, 'State and Coinage in the Late Republic and Early Empire', *JRS* 71 (1981), p. 77; Papyrus with edict of the Macriani, B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt *et al.*, *The Oxyrynchus Papyri*, Part XII, London, 1916, no. 1411, pp. 23-35.

²⁵⁶ So Hopkins, 'Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire (200 BC - AD 400)', *JRS* 70 (1980), pp. 101-125, who believes that taxation and silver coinage were closely related. The evidence for payment of taxes in silver rests on only a few sources, particularly the famous New Testament 'tribute penny' anecdote (Mark 12.15). In Syria itself, the Palmyran tax laws talk in terms of denarii, and only mention bronze coins when sums to be collected fall below the sum of one denarius; otherwise all taxes are reckoned in silver; see J.F. Matthews, 'The Tax Law of Palmyra: Evidence for Economic History in a City of the Roman East', *JRS* 74 (1984), pp. 157-180.

²⁵⁷ Such as the *delta-epsilon* coinage of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander from Laodicea ad Mare, present in much larger quantities at Dura than any other issue of Laodicea.

Who were the main coin users? It is generally supposed that the rich did not hold their wealth in coin, but in land. They certainly sold things for cash; crops and property, but this was done through an agent, and the notion of building up capital does not seem to have been a driving force, nor does it imply that the wealthy actually used coins themselves for everyday transactions. There may well have been legislation attempting to prevent the accumulation of capital by hoarding coinage, which could result in a loss of liquidity.²⁵⁸ To the wealthy, investment lay in property, and although a man's wealth might be expressed in terms of monetary units (the property qualification of senators in the first century AD being one million sestertii, for example), this does not mean that such capital existed for immediate disposal. Coin-users seem to have occupied the lower rungs of society.²⁵⁹ These texts give us a lively and immediate picture of coin use. They should, however, be used with caution.

In literary sources, moneychangers' stalls were located in the marketplace, or in places where taxes were to be paid. Both places imply a need for exchange of bronze and silver. If the cities functioned as centres for the distribution of coins, how far did they circulate within the town and country? Specialised industries did exist within cities, and these sold goods for cash. This does not, however, imply that all exchanges were monetary within a city. Even at Rome, a system of clients and patrons could sometimes exist without payments in coin.²⁶⁰ Gifts of food in exchange for obligations formed the basis of exchange under these conditions. Food in exchange for political support was the origin of the corn dole at Rome; similar institutions in the provinces may have been inspired by the same motives. Subsistence, therefore, did not always depend upon acquiring and using cash. However, opinions vary as to the degree of 'monetisation' of the Roman world. Some see ancient coinage in general playing only a minor rôle in economic exchanges outside those places where the state could regulate it (Christiansen's 'primitivists').²⁶¹ Others see it having an important economic and monetary function (Christiansen's 'modernists').

²⁵⁸ Lo Cascio, *loc. cit.*, p. 85.

²⁵⁹ Note, for example, the use of coins in the *Satyricon* or the Golden Ass. R. Reece, 'Roman Military Impact on the Celtic World - Thoughts and Problems', in B.W. Cunliffe (ed.), *Coinage and Society in Britain and Gaul*, London: Council for British Archaeology, 1981; F.G.B. Millar, 'The World of the Golden Ass', *JRS* 71 (1981), pp. 63-75.

²⁶⁰ Martial *Epigr.* 3, 7.

²⁶¹ E. Christiansen, *The Roman Coins of Alexandria*, Aarhus, 1988, vol. i, p. 310.

The arguments on both sides are a little shaky, since they rely mainly on models to explain circulation. The 'primitivist' view sees state payments to the military as the principal agent for putting coin into circulation. The state had no interest in the circulation of coinage except in meeting its debts to the army, and being able to recover precious metal coinage in taxes.²⁶² The model of circulation proposed by Reece for the western provinces in the fourth century supposes that the state's interest in paying its armies was the main impetus for production and circulation of imperial coinage; R. Reece, *My Roman Britain*, Cirencester, 1988. This view suggests that before the Roman conquest, most of the population in certain areas of north-western Europe did not use coin as an important medium of exchange, and even after its introduction through the presence of armies, the adoption of coin use by civilians was sluggish. Now this model for the west may not be correct, and it cannot be used for eastern provinces during the period under discussion, since there was already a well-established tradition of coin use before the Roman conquest, and much of the bronze coin was produced locally by city authorities. However, a variation of this view has been proposed: agrarian peasants only used coins to pay taxes, or in exchange when selling surplus goods or indulging in specialised production, so that the countryside was not 'monetised', but coins did reach the peasants.²⁶³ Circulation of coinage was thus limited to covering the state's debts to the army and recovering the public's debts to the state.

The 'modernist' view seems to have lost ground in recent years. This model sees trade as the principal agent for ensuring the circulation of coinage, and coinage has a full economic function, rather as it has done since post-mediaeval times. Critics of the modernist approach have pointed out that the modernist model lacks a method by which the issuing authorities could put coins into circulation.

Neither of these models is very helpful for the study of provincial coinages, probably because both are too extreme. The relationship of coinage to military finance, the axiom of the primitivist model, will be explored more fully in another section. It is very difficult to explain the hundreds of issues of civic coinage throughout the empire in military

²⁶² 'Military stations in the ancient world were places from which an injection of coinage into the regional economies took place'. P.J. Casey, *Understanding Ancient Coins*, London, 1986, p. 82.

²⁶³ The model proposed by Hopkins sees coinage playing a minor rôle among a subsistence economy of peasant farmers, Hopkins, *loc. cit.* p. 104; N.S. Ryan, *Fourth Century Coin Finds from Roman Britain: A Computer Analysis*, BAR British Series 183, 1988, p. 21.

terms. The regulation of markets and moneychangers in eastern cities suggests that there was an economic motive involved in the production and circulation of coinage. Once in the marketplace, however, the circulation of provincial coinage, especially the civic coinage, appears to have been restricted, and it does not diffuse over a wide area, such as we might expect if we accepted the modernist view of coins playing a major economic rôle. The model I would propose for circulation of coinage in Roman Syria during the period examined here falls somewhere between the primitivist and modernist views. The circulation of coinage brought profit to the authorities that issued them. Market economies were encouraged by both the Roman state and civic authorities, since they assisted the circulation of coinage. Accumulation of coin as savings was discouraged, but liquidity encouraged. In order for there to be frequent exchanges of coinage, through which the issuing authorities made a profit, exchange rates were established between silver and bronze coins, and the public was forced to use both. Silver tetradrachms were issued for the most part by the Roman state, and were under imperial control. The imperial authorities did not wish to lose this silver and therefore sought to reclaim it in taxes. Whilst in the west, the imperial authorities produced an imperial bronze coinage with which to exchange silver paid by the public as tax, in the east the civic authorities in cities also produced erratic issues of bronze coinage, either because they were expected to assist the state by producing bronze, or because they were able to profit independently on market exchanges of silver and bronze. The question of imperial control or influence on civic coin production will be examined in later sections.

The question of the degree of monetisation of the countryside is still left open. It is fairly clear from Egyptian papyri that Egyptian coinage played an economic rôle, and coinage was used for all manner of small transactions. Millar's picture of coin-use among country-dwellers seen through Apuleius' *Golden Ass*²⁶⁴ suggests that coins were used for exchange and accumulation of small amounts of capital. Coins could certainly be used at even the lowest levels of society in the country, as Millar suggests, but these examples of specialist industries working for cash does not deny the existence of frequent non-monetary exchanges.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ Millar, *loc. cit.*, pp. 72-3.

²⁶⁵ It is perhaps worth noting that in the *Golden Ass*, the *Satyricon* and the New Testament, our main literary sources for coin use, the central characters are itinerant and have no opportunity to barter, since they

3.2 Site finds

How justified are we in taking site finds as relevant to circulation patterns? What does the evidence of the site finds represent? The problem has been discussed numerous times, particularly by Reece, Casey, and more recently by Ryan.²⁶⁶ I have argued in the section on production that the frequency of site finds might not be an indicator of the total number of coins originally produced; so do site finds reflect the number in use at a certain place at a given time? Casey's argument, that site finds represent a random sample of what was in circulation, with a bias in favour of the smaller denominations which when dropped were harder to recover or not worth much effort recovering, is generally accepted by numismatists. The coins can therefore be used to put together a picture of economic activity, and clusters of coins are likely at places where they were exchanged or used for transactions. So engrained is the idea that the bronze coins found on sites represent a random sample of what was in circulation that the presence of a single coin at a site is sometimes cited as positive evidence that the coin was current there. We should, however, be careful before accepting site finds as a random sample of what was in circulation. Were coins more easily deposited ('abandoned' might be a more cautious term than 'loss') because they had become difficult or impossible to use? Do withdrawals of certain issues of coin from circulation affect the numbers of coins surviving? Would demonetisation without withdrawing the coin affect the sample by artificially raising the numbers recovered from a site? The possibility of issues being removed or demonetised supposes that the authorities were capable of discriminating for or against certain issues when they were in circulation. The apparent withdrawal of Republican denarii under Trajan, and the gradual removal of Domitian's finer denarii from the pool of circulation suggests that even small variations in type were recognisable, and that it was sometimes in the interest of the government or hoarders to reclaim these particular coins which had a

have no goods to exchange. Coins therefore form the basis for their exchanges.

²⁶⁶ R. Reece, 'Economic History from Roman Site-Finds', in T. Hackens, N Weiller (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Numismatics*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982, pp. 495-502; J. Casey, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-113; Ryan, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-23.

higher silver content than contemporary issues.²⁶⁷ That there was a significant removal of earlier silver in Syria during the second half of the first century AD will be argued below. But what about bronze? There must have been a mechanism to remove coins from circulation for countermarking. That it was obviously capable of discriminating between different issues is proved by the selectivity of some countermarks, which are only applied to the coins of certain cities or rulers. There are other factors which seem to indicate that a withdrawal from circulation may have affected the archaeological record, for instance, the prevalence of SC coins of Domitian Caesar, against those of his father Vespasian and brother Titus. In this case the number surviving in proportion to those of Vespasian and Titus might not be representative of number issued. I have suggested that those of Vespasian and Titus might have been removed from circulation, perhaps for recycling of metal, in Domitian's reign, whereas the coins of Domitian himself were perhaps left untouched. In this case the site finds would only be representative of the number in circulation after most of the contemporary coins of Vespasian and Titus were removed from circulation. The accumulated site finds therefore tell us about circulation after their removal, but not before. Since many civic issues do not seem to have circulated widely, and were often, it seems, specific to particular cities, it might have been a simple matter for the city authorities to remove most of an issue from circulation by withdrawing it through the moneychangers. Some of what survives as site finds could represent deposits which are irrelevant to patterns of exchange, material which was discarded because it was no longer easily exchanged. The bias in favour of base metal, low value coins on archaeological sites is in itself instructive - it seems very likely that there were far larger numbers of tetradrachms produced under Philip than were Antiochene bronzes, yet this could not be deduced from the site find information. According to the evidence from the Antioch excavations, bronzes of Philip outnumber silver tetradrachms by at least 37/1. Such proportions are generally regarded as normal because the owners of silver coins which were dropped accidentally would spend much more time attempting to recover them than they would lower value bronze coins. If both silver and bronze coins were used for everyday exchange in the marketplace, the number of dies involved suggests that they were using a high proportion of tetradrachms of Philip to every

²⁶⁷ I. Carradice, *Coinage and Finances*, pp. 68-74.

bronze.²⁶⁸ Although we cannot be certain what value the large bronzes of Philip had to the tetradrachm, I suspect it was not a relative value that would produce a rate of loss of 37 bronzes to every tetradrachm, even if people spent a disproportionately long period of time trying to recover tetradrachms against bronzes. Another factor, I suspect, is encouraging the loss of bronze, and mitigating against the loss of tetradrachms. It might be that fewer tetradrachms were used in everyday transactions, but if so, the only other place they could go is into hoards (the only place where silver coins commonly occur). This would be detrimental to the issuing authority, since the purpose of silver coin was to circulate and recover taxes, and cannot have been their intended purpose.²⁶⁹ The only place where silver coins survive is precisely when they were in hoards and not circulating. Contrast this with the few 'silver' coins found in excavations; they are mostly plated forgeries.²⁷⁰ In other words, the silver coins most likely to be lost on sites are those that were probably 'rubbish', and which might not have been easy to use once their fraudulent nature was apparent. Is this the reason for their deposition rather than casual loss? If the loss of silver coin is determined in this way, what should we make of bronze coins? The real watershed for loss is probably whether a coin, once dropped, is worth picking up again. It might be better to talk of site finds representing a high degree of abandonment as much as loss. Immediately the site finds become distorted in favour of issues which became of either low or no value at some point, which means that they bear little relation to the proportions of coins in use. Evidently coins made of silver were not so easily lost. So rare are silver coins as the products of 'casual loss' in Syria

²⁶⁸ Philip's tetradrachm coinage still awaits a die study; there must be several hundred obverse dies involved; the bronze is produced from a much smaller number, perhaps 50. Perhaps the dies for bronze lasted longer than the dies for silver.

²⁶⁹ That the Roman authorities could take measures to discourage hoarding and increase liquidity has been suggested: Lo Cascio, *loc. cit.*, pp. 85-6.

²⁷⁰ At Antioch: 4 Philip Philadelphus tetradrachms, all plated; 3 plated republican denarii; Augustus, 1 base metal core of plated denarius; Nero under Claudius, 1 base metal core of plated didrachm, bent and almost cut in two; Titus, 1 plated (?) tetradrachm; Diadumenian, 1 tetradrachm of Hierapolis; Elagabalus, 1 tetradrachm, 2 base metal cores of plated tetradrachms; Philip, 2 tetradrachms, one perhaps plated; Trajan Decius, 7 tetradrachms, two of which may be plated. Hama: Severus Alexander, 1 denarius; Trebonianus Gallus, 1 radiate.

that nothing could be deduced about their circulation from this category of evidence.²⁷¹

This is not to argue that the bronze coins found on sites were originally worthless, but particular issues might have been more frequently deposited at a time when they were invalid rather than when they were current. In other words, the high incidence of SC coins of Claudius might represent a demonetisation of these coins rather than simply exceedingly high output. A combination of both factors might assist in their being very highly represented as site finds.

So are site finds of any assistance when considering patterns of circulation? Obviously the pattern of loss represents what was available for loss, even if there was a bias in favour of certain issues. The general pattern of what was lost or abandoned at Antioch conforms to the following:

- a) The commonest coins at Antioch are Antiochene coins (about 75%).
- b) The next commonest are coins of Seleucia Pieria, the nearest mint city to Antioch (about 5%).
- c) The next commonest are those of the area around Antioch, Cilicia (about 11%, but no individual city more than 3%), Cappadocia (about 1.5%), the other mints of northern Syria and Commagene covered by this study (about 1.6%), Mesopotamia (about 0.9%), and the rest of Syria, Palestine and Arabia (about 1.8%).
- d) Almost all of the few remaining coins come from within a 500 mile radius, except for those from the imperial mint of Rome (about 2.6%).

Therefore there is a rule of locality to the site finds. Coins from cities other than Antioch tend to come from those places which were nearby, or from distant mints which were very prolific, such as Rome. The presence of a single coin at Antioch would indicate that there is a greater chance of it being issued in the vicinity of Antioch, or coming from one of the major imperial mints, than for it coming from a minor mint more than 500 miles away. Its presence does not necessarily indicate that it was currency at Antioch when it was lost.

As with many parts of the Roman empire, detailed information about site finds in Roman Syria is restricted because of poor data. Information is for the most part confined to the few sites which have been partially

²⁷¹ 'Hoards usually consist of valuable coins, site finds made up largely of worthless coins'. R. Reece, 'Coin Finds and Coin Production' in G. Depeyrot, T. Hackens, & G. Moucharte (eds.), *Rythmes de la production monétaire, de l'antiquité à nos jours*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1987.

excavated and which have produced relevant coins. Antioch and Dura are the sources most frequently used by numismatists requiring information about the region. As I have pointed out, the inaccuracy of these catalogues renders them less useful for detailed information about the prevalence of certain issues. Other shorter works are also difficult to use, usually because the descriptions or references are insufficient to identify them properly. All of these can, however, provide general information about circulation and/or deposition of coins in the area. To what extent did geography limit circulation of coinage? What anomalies are there in the site find record, and are these anomalies consistent throughout the region covered by this study? The following section examines some of the evidence from site finds.

3.3 Site finds: the evidence

Most of the discussions about circulation using site finds concern bronze coinage. Silver, as can be seen from the contents of hoards as far apart as Dura and Mampsis, circulated for a long time, and all over the province, and a study of its distribution (which could only be drawn from hoards, rarely from site finds) would probably be of little use. Some information to be gleaned from hoards is given in a later section. Bronze circulation, however, seems to have been very much affected by geographical and topological constraints.

The body of site find evidence, like that of published hoard material, is not very large. Two excavation reports predominate; Antioch and Dura. Since there are so few other large scale excavations which contain coin reports this subject will be treated on a regional rather than a site specific basis. The survey makes no claim to completeness. It may be considered a preliminary study of a topic which requires much more data from a wider variety of sites than those presented here in order to draw any firm conclusions. The extent and importance of the circulation of various issues in Syria, Antiochene, Pontic, Cilician, Caesarean and Peloponnesian coin, can be hinted at, but its geographical limits and intensity cannot be determined.

Since published coin reports vary in detail and accuracy, I have been constrained to keeping the information to a minimum. Coins are treated as equal individual units rather than as denominations of different value; the purpose of this section is to discover how many coins of each city or region were circulating, not how much money. The lists are not detailed, except where the material has not previously been published, or has been published but needs revision. The material is grouped by regions, and this section extends somewhat beyond the boundaries of the section covered by production, to deal with site find material from northern Syria in general, including the region around Laodicea and Apamea, and the eastern desert and Euphrates (*eg.* Palmyra, Dura). This is because this wider area is dominated by coins issued at Antioch. Whereas the section on production covers Antioch and those cities which lay close to Antioch, and/or whose coins were very much influenced by Antiochene prototypes, this section on circulation examines the wider area where Antiochene issues made up a large proportion of the circulating medium.

A. Commagene, north eastern Syria and the upper Euphrates valley

i) Arsamea ad Nymphaios

Published in F.K. Dörner, T. Goell, *Arsameia ad Nymphaios*, Berlin, 1963. This site, in northern Commagene, provided only fifteen coins. The bias, small as it is, is towards the prolific issues of Commagene, both royal and civic, and the issues of Antioch. The presence of coins of Edessa, Laodicea, Sidon, Caesarea and Rome is not surprising, although in larger samples from other sites they are not common when compared to the issues of Antioch. The four coins from western Asia Minor are distinctly unusual for northern Syria. Perhaps Arsamea's position in the far north of Syria, and hence its proximity to a circulation pool in central Anatolia, led to these pieces being deposited on the site.

Mesopotamia	Edessa	1
northern Syria	Antioch	2
	Samosata	2
	Antiochus IV	2
	Laodicea	1
rest of Syria	Sidon	1
Bithynia		3
Phrygia (?)		1
Cappadocia	Caesarea	1
Roman Imperial		1

ii) Material from Adiyaman in the Antakya museum

The following coins, from the Antakya Museum, were acquired at Adiyaman, the modern Turkish provincial capital north of Samosata. They probably came from the province of Adiyaman, but were not necessarily found in Adiyaman itself. Antioch is predominant, and the high proportion of Cilician coins compares well with the material from the Antakya Museum, found in the province of Hatay (Antakya).

Silver. Faustina I, denarius; Severus Alexander, denarius, Rome, SPES PVBLICA; Philip II, tetradrachm, Antioch, cos. iv.

Bronze.

Antioch: Caesarean era, as Catalogue no. 31.1-4; Augustus, rev. AVGVSTVS in wreath; Augustus, SC bronze, large denomination, group 2; Augustus, SC bronze, group 3; Claudius, SC bronze, large denomination, uncertain group (2); Nero, civic bronze, Tyche/Altar, ET.HP; Nerva, SC bronze, Catalogue no. 183a; Philip I, Catalogue no. 494a.

Chalcis: Hadrian, Catalogue no. 16a.

Commagene: Antiochus IV, medium denomination.

Laodicea: Trajan, BMC 46.

Cilicia, Adana: autonomous, Demeter/Horse, SNG Levante 1209.

Anazarbus: Elagabalus or Severus Alexander, rev. Temple with 9 columns.

Eirenopolis: Valerian. BMC 12 (same dies).

Hierapolis-Castabala (?): Septimius Severus, Æ 28mm. Rev. Nike advancing r., with wreath and palm.

Mesopotamia, Edessa: Severus & Abgar, as *BMC* 15; Gordian III, *BMC* 124.

iii) A Gaziantep Collection

The following coins belong to an unpublished collection, now dispersed, comprising site finds from the environs of Gaziantep, the capital of the modern Turkish province of that name. Most of the 163 coins were found at Dülük (Doliche), but others apparently came from Belkis (Zeugma), and other sites in the region. They were collected without discriminating type or condition. There are fewer Cilician coins, and more Mesopotamian coins, a phenomenon we might expect from a site inland in Syria. Antiochene coinage still predominates. One slightly strange feature of this collection is the almost complete absence of coins later than Gordian III. All the coins are of bronze. Numbers in brackets indicate number of specimens.

Antioch (62 coins)

Zeus/Jupiter seated, Seleucid era (2); Seleucid or Pompeian (2); Caesarean era, reformed module (1); Caesarean era, reduced module (2); Augustus, SC bronze, Catalogue no. 42 (1); civic, Catalogue no. 48d (1); 'archieratic', Catalogue no. 50 b) (1); Tiberius, SC bronze, Catalogue no. 65 ii) (1); large SC denomination, details unclear (1); Claudius, Group 2, medium denomination, halved (1); uncertain group, large denomination (2); Nero, medium SC denomination, as Catalogue no. 114 (1); Otho, SC bronze, large denomination, group 2 (1); Trajan, first issue, illegible SC bronze (1); second issue, Catalogue no. 229 a) (1); Hadrian, tiny SC bronze, Catalogue no. 244 (1); as previous, numeral letter absent? (1); civic bronze, Tyche/Ram, year 177 (1); Antoninus Pius, Group 2, Catalogue no. 300 i) (1); for Marcus Aurelius Caesar, numeral letter illegible (1); Group 4, Catalogue no. 316 i) a) (1); for Marcus Aurelius Caesar, Catalogue 322 ii) a) (1); medium denomination, numeral letter illegible (1); Group 5, Catalogue no. 328 (1); numeral letter illegible (1); uncertain issue, SC bronze (1); Aurelius or Verus, SC bronze (5); Lucius Verus, SC bronze, group 4 (1); Macrinus, SC bronze, Catalogue no. 463 a) (1); type unclear (3); Diadumenian, SC bronze, type unclear (3); Elagabalus, SC bronze, as Catalogue nos. 467-468 (2); as Catalogue nos. 469-470 (15); Catalogue no. 471 (2).

Small Coins with Antiochene Types (1 coin)

Head/caduceus + crossed cornucopiae, as Catalogue no. 10 (1).

Coinage struck at Rome for Syria (5 coins)

Trajan, Catalogue no. 17 (1); as Catalogue nos. 19-20 (1); as Catalogue nos. 21-22 (1); Hadrian, Catalogue no. 33 (2).

Chalcis (1 coin)

Marcus Aurelius, as Catalogue no. 20 a) (1).

Cyrrhus (4 coins)

Marcus Aurelius, under Antoninus Pius (1); Lucius Verus, Catalogue no. 13 b) (3).

Hierapolis (7 coins)

Antoninus Pius, Catalogue no. 14 (1); Catalogue no. 28 (1); large denomination, details illegible (1); Lucius Verus, details illegible (1); Aurelius or Verus, large denomination, details illegible (1); Caracalla, medium denomination, rev. illegible (1); Philip II, Catalogue no. 64 c) (1).

Zeugma (9 coins)

Antoninus Pius, Issue 1 (2; 1 with cmk., Catalogue no. 10); Issue 2, Catalogue no. 13 (1); Issue 3, Catalogue no. 16 (1); Marcus Aurelius, Catalogue no. 23 a (1); Lucius Verus, Catalogue no. 22 b) (1); Aurelius or Verus (1); 'Autonomous', Catalogue no. 27 (2).

Samosata (7 coins)

Hadrian, large denomination, Catalogue no. 8 (1); Marcus Aurelius, large denomination, date illegible (1); Lucius Verus, large denomination, date illegible (1); Elagabalus, 'local' issue, Catalogue no. 26 (3); Catalogue no. 27 (1).

Caesarea Germanicia (2 coins)

Marcus Aurelius, Catalogue no. 1a (1); Aurelius or Verus, rev Tyche (1).

Laodicea (8 coins)

Antoninus Pius, as *BMC* 55-74 (8; 3 with Laodicean cmks).

Gabala (3 coins)

Macrinus, as *BMC* 19 (1); as *BMC* 20 (1); rev. illegible (1).

Emisa (1 coin)

Julia Domna, as *BMC* 9 (1).

Edessa (29 coins)

Commodus and Abgar, *BMC Arabia* 10 (1); Severus and Abgar, as *BMC Arabia* 31 (4); Caracalla, as *BMC Arabia* 39 (2); Macrinus, as *BMC Arabia* 48 (1); Elagabalus, as *BMC Arabia* 55 (6); *BMC Arabia* 73 (11); Severus Alexander, as *BMC Arabia* 87 (1); Gordian and Abgar, as *BMC Arabia* 144 (1); *BMC Arabia* 159 (1); Uncertain emperor (1).

Carrhae (5 coins)

Elagabalus, as *BMC Arabia* 10 (2); *BMC Arabia* 14 (1); Gordian III, *BMC Arabia* 54 (1); Uncertain emperor, small Æ, rev. crescent (1).

Rhesaena (1 coin)

Trajan Decius, as *BMC Arabia* 22 (1).

Jewish (8 coins)

Procuratorial, 'M. Ambibulus', as Meshorer 216 (1); 'Pontius Pilate', Meshorer 230 (1); Agrippa I, Meshorer 88 (1); 'Antonius Felix', Meshorer 233 (2); First Revolt, as Meshorer 153 (3).

Nabataean (1 coin)

Rabbel II and Gamilath, *BMC Arabia* 3-7 (1).

Aegeae (1 coin)

Commodus, Æ 30, rev. bust of Dionysus (1).

Flaviopolis (1 coin)

Antoninus Pius, *SNG Levante* 1537 (1).

Cyprus (1 coin)

Septimius Severus, as *BMC Cyprus* 54 (1).

Uncertain (6 coins)

Mesopotamia, uncertain emperor (1); Judaea (?), Domitian (1); Cilicia, Marcus Aurelius (1); Asia Minor, Hadrian (1); Salonina (1); uncertain region, Septimius Severus and Caracalla? (1).

iv) **Zeugma**

These coins were shown to me by my host at Belkis (Zeugma), in 1990.

Antioch: Zeus/Zeus seated, large module (2; one Pompeian year 19); Tiberius, SC bronze, medium denomination, Catalogue no. 65 iv (1); Claudius, SC bronze, large denomination, uncertain group (1); Nero, civic, Tyche/Altar, ET. HP (1); Uncertain emperor (Antoninus Pius?), SC bronze (1).

Jewish: Procuratorial: 'M. Ambibulus', corn ear/palm tree, year 39, *BMC Palestine* 9 (1).

v) **Tell Abou Danné and Cumont material**

Comprehensively published by J.-M. Doyen, *Les Monnaies Antiques du Tell Abou Danné et D'Oumm el-Marra (Aspects de la circulation monétaire en Syrie du nord sous les Seleucids)*, Brussels, 1987, with illustrations. The relevant coins come from Abou Danné, and five sites on the limestone massif and along the Euphrates in northern Syria, collected by F. Cumont at the turn of the century. Doyen's catalogue contains detailed references, which need not be repeated here. All of the coins are bronze.

Abou Danné: ANTIOCH: Seleucid era, Zeus/Zeus seated (2???; no. 58??); Zeus/Tripod (1, year 231); Pompeian era, Zeus/Zeus seated, large module (2, one year 19); Caesarean era, Zeus/Zeus seated, large module (3); small module (3; two of year 20, one probably year 21); Actian era, Tyche/Tripod (2 + 2 halves, one coin year 25); Zeus/Ram, naming Silanus, year 43 (2); uncertain date (1); uncertain, no governor named; Zeus/Ram (1); AVGSTVS as (3); Archieratic bronze, year 27, medium denomination (1).
El Terib (site on the small plain between the Gebel Sema'an and the Gebel Barîsa, north west of Chalcis): Caesarea in Cappadocia, Severus Alexander (1); Antioch, Domitian Augustus, SC bronze, large denomination (1).
Membidj (Hierapolis): Antioch, Vespasian, SC bronze, large denomination (1); Philip II as Caesar, issue 1, large denomination (1); Philip I, issue 2, large denomination (1); Cyrrhus, Marcus Aurelius under Antoninus Pius (1); Hierapolis, Caracalla, large denomination, rev. Atergatis on lion right (1).
Djerablous (Carchemish): Hierapolis, Caracalla, medium denomination, rev. legend in wreath (1); Zeugma, Antoninus Pius, issue 3 (1).
Belkis (Zeugma): Antioch, Elagabalus, large colonial denomination (2); Alexander, large colonial denomination, issue 3 (1); Zeugma, Antoninus Pius, issue 3 (2); Philip I, medium denomination (1); Edessa, Caracalla (1); Severus Alexander (1); Carrhae, Caracalla (1); Berytus, Gordian III (1).
Enesh (identified with Arulis or Araris, near Zeugma): Antioch, Philip I, issue 2, large colonial denomination (2); Seleucia Pieria, Trajan (1); Hierapolis, Antoninus Pius, large denomination (1); Antiochus IV, large denomination, group 1 (1); Zeugma, Antoninus Pius (1); Marcus Aurelius (1); Elagabalus, large denomination (1); Philip I, large denomination (1); Edessa, Gordian III and Abgar X (1).

Once again, Antiochene coins are the prevalent pieces in the region, followed by civic coins of the locality. Cilician coins are absent from the collection. Mesopotamian coins, particularly those of Edessa, are present.

vi) **'Seyrig' collection**

1404 coins collected at Aleppo, published by Seyrig in his reviews of the Dura and Antioch coin reports, *RN* 1958, p. 171-181. Since it is a collection, and not a random sample of site finds, it is less valid than the excavation coins, and very rare mints, such as Antioch ad Euphratem (a mint not present at Antioch or Dura), are represented here. None the less, the general pattern is what we might expect, with Antioch and Edessa being heavily represented. Pontic coins are much less common than at

Dura, although commoner than at Antioch. Note also the complete absence among the Phoenician coins of the issues of Tyre.

Antioch	506
Seleucia	108
Nicopolis	1
Chalcis	12
Beroea	19
Cyrrhus	26
Hierapolis	30
Zeugma	47
Antioch ad Euphratem	1
Samosata	44
Germanicia	1
Edessa	142
Carrhae	14
Nisibis	18
Rhesaena	18
Singara	1
Paltus	1
Balanea	12
Aradus	44
Marathus	7
Orthosia	1
Tripolis	4
Berytus	4
Sidon	14
Ptolemais	1
Coele-Syria	5
Nabataeans	11
Judaea	69
Cilicia	26
Cappadocia	46
Pontus	20
Anatolia & Asia	20
Europe	10
Greece	10

vii) Tell Rifa'at

A site 35 km. north of Aleppo. The coins were originally published by P. Clayton, 'The Coins from Tell Rifa'at', *Iraq* (1967), pp. 143-154. Most of the coins are well-preserved, enabling a complete identification. There are a high proportion of silver coins among the finds. It would appear that these represent a 'collection' rather than stray finds. None come from stratified contexts. The following is a revised list of the coins of the relevant period, based on an examination of the coins in the British Museum. Antiochene coins are still predominant, but note also the presence of a Pontic coin of Amasia.

Antioch:

1. Posthumous Philip tetradrachm, Caesarean year 30.

2. Antioch, bronze, Zeus/Jupiter seated, small module, Seleucid or Pompeian eras.
3. Another similar.
4. Another, Seleucid year 272, Catalogue no. 21.
5. Another, Caesarean era, small module, caduceus in field to left.
6. Nerva, SC bronze, large denomination, Catalogue no. 184a.
7. Caracalla, tetradrachm, eagle on animal thigh, delta-epsilon in field, Bellinger, *Tetradrachms* no. 19.
8. Elagabalus, large denomination, 'elegant' style, Catalogue no. 479b.
9. Philip I, issue 2, large denomination, Catalogue no. 498a.

Rome:

1. Trajan, denarius. *BMCRE* 328.
2. Caracalla as Caesar, denarius. *BMCRE* 190.
3. Severus Alexander, denarius. Rev. Sol advancing left.

Other mints:

1. *Cilicia, Adana*: bronze, first century BC. As *SNG Levante* 1207, but letters AP on reverse.
2. *Syria, Laodicea*: Antoninus Pius. As *BMC* 70, but Tyche head right.
3. *Syria, Cyrrhus*: Marcus Aurelius. Second issue, with Commodus, numeral letter illegible, as Catalogue no. 16a.
4. *Pontus, Amasia*: Caracalla. Obverse die = *BMC* 29, reverse type *SNG Von Aulock* 38.

This region, from the Taurus mountains in the north, to the Amanus on the west and the Euphrates on the east, was dominated by the products of the Antioch mint in all periods, from 64 BC to AD 253. The material from Abou Danné represents a sample of what was circulating up to the reign of Augustus, which would indicate that Antioch was perhaps the only provider of bronze coinage for much of this region. Apart from the first century BC coinage of Samosata, and the issues of the kings of Commagene, no other city in this region struck coins until the second century AD. There is some mingling of coinages from beyond Syria in this region, from Cilicia in the west, Cappadocia in the north, and Mesopotamia in the east. There are hints that these 'foreign' coins may be commoner close to the borders of their respective provinces, so that the proximity of the prolific mint of Edessa may account for the large numbers of coins of that mint in the region.

B. Antioch region, and lower Orontes valley.

i) Antioch excavations

Published by D.B. Waagé, *Antioch on the Orontes, IV.2. Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins*, Princeton, 1952. Considering the fact that Antioch was a major mint for imperial and provincial silver, it is surprising that the excavations provided so few specimens. Most seem to be plated, suggesting that they were abandoned rather than lost. The small number of silver pieces contrasts strongly with the huge number of

bronze coins found there. Of the 1,818 bronze coins from the mints covered in the Catalogue, 1,781 of these are of Antioch, plus 2 'Commagene dupondii'. 27 are of Seleucia Pieria, the nearest civic mint to Antioch. For the coins struck at Rome for Syria it is impossible to tell from some descriptions of the Flavian coinage whether the pieces are Rome style or Antioch style, and therefore these figures are tentative. The remainder are of Cyrrhus (4) Hierapolis (1), Zeugma (2) Samosata (3). For the rest of Syria, Laodicea predominates, with 26 coins, and the remainder are Apamea (1), Emisa (2), 'Palmyra' (12), Heliopolis (1), Canata (1). Waagé lists a coin of Raphanea, no. 888, but this is not a coin of that city. Cilician coins are not particularly numerous; nor are coins of Mesopotamia or Phoenicia. The small Nabataean and Jewish issues are also found in other samples from northern Syria. Only 6 coins are from Caesarea in Cappadocia (with 1 of Tyana). Apart from the issues of Rome, coins from mints in Asia and Europe would seem to be anomalous. Note that Pontic coin does not make up an important part of the coinage at Antioch, as it does at Dura.

Tetradrachms etc.: Philip Philadelphus or Posthumous Philip, 4 (plated); Nero, under Claudius, didrachm, 1 (plated); Titus, 1 (plated?); Diadumenian, Hierapolis, 1; Elagabalus, 3 (2 plated); Philip, 2; Trajan Decius, 7.

Radiates: Gordian III 11; Philip 8; Trajan Decius 10; Trebonianus Gallus 15; Valerian & Gallienus, joint reign, 94.

Denarii: Republican denarii, 3 (plated); Augustus, rev. Gaius and Lucius 1 (base metal core of plated denarius); Vespasian 3 (including 2 plated); Trajan 1 (plated); Marcus Aurelius 4 (3 base metal?, 1 base metal core of plated denarius); Commodus 2 (base metal cores of plated denarii); Septimius 10 (including 2 base metal?, 3 plated, 3 base metal cores of plated denarii); Caracalla sole reign 1; Elagabalus 1; Severus Alexander 6 (including 1 plated, 4 base metal cores of plated denarii); Maximinus 1; uncertain base metal core of plated denarius 1.

Summary of bronze coins by region, in descending order of frequency:

Mints covered by this study	1,820
Rome (excluding coins struck for Syria)	61
Rest of Syria	43
Coins struck at Rome for Syria	24?
Nabataeans	21
Phoenicia	19?
Cilicia	19
Mesopotamia	14
Palestine/Judaea	12
Alexandria	11
Cappadocia	7
Pamphylia	2
Cyprus	1
Pontus	1
Rhodes	1
Mysia	1
Troas	1
Ionia	1?

Cos	1
Thrace	1
Moesia	1

ii) **Antakya museum collection.** (Full list, Appendix 4)

The Antakya museum collection is drawn from the whole province of Hatay (Antakya), which now includes the Plain of Issus, and the western edge of Cilicia Pedias. As a result, it is not too surprising to find a large number of Cilician coins (275), from various mints, present in the sample, a feature which makes the sample differ from the Antioch excavation material, where Cilician coins are not particularly prevalent. Note that the Cilician coins come almost exclusively from Cilicia Pedias, and not from beyond; the Taurus range seems to have formed an effective barrier preventing the intrusion of coins from Cilicia Tracheia and central Anatolia. Antioch is by far the most dominant provider of coinage in the sample, followed, far behind, by Seleucia Pieria. In this respect the sample is very much like the Antioch excavations. One notable feature is the low incidence of coinage south of Antioch itself. Coins of Laodicea, Gabala, Paltos, Leucas, Aradus (?), Apamea, Emisa etc. are all represented, but in very small quantities. The upper Orontes valley appears to have been a relatively self contained area, with the coinage of its two principal cities, Antioch and Seleucia Pieria, dominating the site find record. If they mixed with 'foreign' coins, then it was with those of eastern Cilicia rather than other coinages of northern Syria, but the Antioch excavation coins suggest that Cilician coinage was not common at Antioch. Pontic coin, so prevalent at Dura, is much less common at Antioch. Jewish and Nabataean coins are present, and a few issues of the cities of inland northern Syria, Commagene and Mesopotamia.

iii) **Al Mina excavations**

The following coins are on deposit in the British Museum:

Antioch: Elagabalus, SC bronze, Catalogue no. 470; Severus Alexander, group 2, large denomination.

Seleucia Pieria: Septimius Severus, catalogue no. 80a; Seleucia Pieria, Elagabalus, Catalogue no. 89.

Phoenicia, Tripolis: Hadrian (*BMC* 47, same obv. die).

Apart from the coin of Tripolis, the remaining coins come from the two nearest mints, Seleucia and Antioch.

It would appear that Antioch and its hinterland formed part of a circulation area that included the plain of Issus and at least a part of the plain of Cilicia (see below, Syrian coinage outside Seleucis and

Commagene). This area had as its southern boundary the southern continuation of the Amanus and Nusariyeh mountains, through which coins from Laodicea and Apamea hardly ever penetrated. The constraints may have been geographical, although it is hard to see why the coast (for Laodicea) and the Orontes (for Apamea) did not induce increased circulation of the coinages of these cities. Coinage from north eastern Syria is likewise poorly represented in comparison to the coinage of eastern Cilicia. From the north, only small numbers of coins from Caesarea in Cappadocia reached the region. On the western side, coinage from beyond Tarsus reached the Antioch region only in small numbers.

C. Middle Euphrates valley and the Syrian desert

i) Dura Europos

Dura Europos produced a very large number of coins, and its coin report is frequently used by numismatists who wish to study the volume and frequency of coinage in the east. The composition of the coin finds is quite unlike that of Antioch. The finds included several hoards. The following list gives the numbers of site finds only; all hoard coins are excluded from the first list of figures. The figure for Antioch includes a CA coin of Augustus (*Dura* 1354). Identifications rest on the authority of Bellinger.

Silver coins

Tetradrachms: Posthumous Philips 16 (including 1 plated); Nero, eagle rev. 4 (including 1 plated); Vespasian 2 (including 1 plated); Trajan 1; Septimius Severus 4; Caracalla 23 (including 2 plated); Macrinus 17 (including 1 plated); Elagabalus 116 (including 5 plated, and 3 imitations); Gordian III 15; Philip & family 101; Trajan Decius & family 65 (including 1 plated); Trebonianus Gallus & family 21.

I suspect that the tetradrachm coinage of Elagabalus includes more than 3 imitations.

Radiates: Caracalla 5 (including 3 plated); Gordian III 99 (including 1 plated); Philip 4 (including 2 plated); Trebonianus Gallus 20; Valerian & Gallienus 35.

Denarii: M. Antonius 3; Nero 2; Galba 1; Vespasian 16; reign of Titus 1; Domitian 1; Trajan 16; Hadrian 13; Antoninus Pius 16; Marcus Aurelius, to 179, 16; Commodus 9; Pertinax 2; Didius Julianus 1; Pescennius Niger 1; Septimius 182 (including 6 plated, 2 'barbarous'); sole reign of Caracalla 12; Macrinus 2 (including 1 plated); Elagabalus 41 (including 3 plated); Severus Alexander 101 (including 9 plated, 1 'barbarous'); Balbinus 1; Gordian III 8 (including 1 plated).

Bronze coinage

Mesopotamia

Edessa	1828
Carrhae	514
Nisibis	1124

Singara	176
Rhesaena	36
Anthemusia	2
Hatra	7
<i>Parthia</i>	
Seleucia ad Tigrim (civic)	145
Seleucia ad Tigrim (royal, from c. 70 BC)	34
Edessa (royal)	1
Uncertain mint (royal)	1
<i>Sassanian</i>	4
<i>Characene</i>	2
<i>Northern Syria</i>	
Antioch	1014
Commagene dupondii of Tiberius	7
Rome, for Syria	7
Seleucia	11
Beroea	10
Hierapolis	71
Cyrrhus	7
Antiochus IV	1
Zeugma	32
Samosata	9
Germanicia	1
<i>Southern Syria and Phoenicia</i>	
Laodicea	114
Gabala	2
Leucas	2
Aradus	22
Apamea	2
Emisa	3
Tripolis	20
Tyre	15
Sidon	4
Other Phoenician mints	2
Coele-Syria	2
'Palmyra'	11
Arabia	4
Nabataean	9
Palestine, civic mints	20
Jewish (after c. 70 BC)	9
<i>Egypt (Alexandria)</i>	3
<i>Pontus</i>	
Amasia	415
Neocaesarea	89
Zela	14
Other cities	12
<i>Paphlagonia</i>	2
<i>Eastern Cilicia</i>	9
<i>Cyprus</i>	6
<i>Cappadocia</i>	
Caesarea	66
Tyana	3
<i>Asia</i>	6
<i>Bithynia</i>	4
<i>Balkans</i>	4
<i>Greece</i>	5
<i>Peloponnese</i>	114
<i>Roman imperial bronze</i>	23

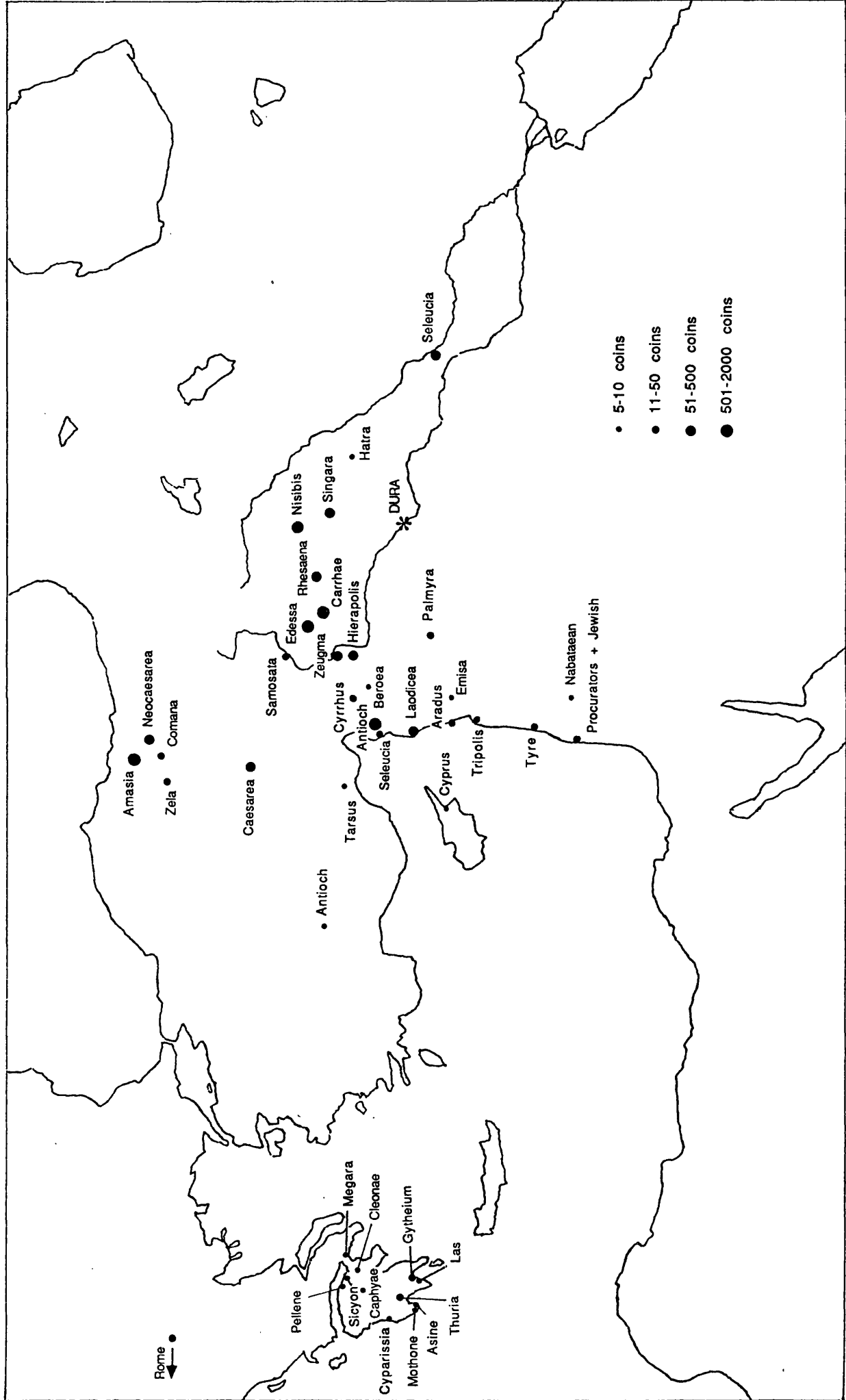


Figure 16: Provenances of bronze coins found in hoards and site finds at Dura.

Dura did not strike its own coins during the Roman period, as far as we know. At any rate, all of the identifiable coins used at Dura came from elsewhere, and a much greater variety of coins is present here than at Antioch. For much of the period 64 BC - AD 253 Dura was under Parthian control. Most of the Roman coins seem to have been found in association with features of the late second century and third century AD. The catalogue of finds shows a distinct bias in favour of third century coinages, perhaps on account of the sudden destruction of Dura by the Sassanians in the middle of that century. It would probably be a mistake to assume that the Dura catalogue represents a good sample of the coinage in circulation during the first century BC or first century AD.²⁷²

This site provides the largest amount of information about circulation and coin loss in northern Syria, and most conclusions about coinage in northern Syria as a whole have been drawn using this evidence and that of the Antioch excavations²⁷³ Coinage of the republican period is fairly poorly represented, with a few coins of the Syrian tetrapolis and Phoenicia competing with the issues of Seleucia ad Tigrim, no doubt reflecting the dominance of Parthia at this period over this part of the Euphrates. Royal Parthian coins also make an appearance, again mostly from the mint at Seleucia ad Tigrim. The coinage of the first and second centuries AD is dominated by the Roman coinage of Antioch, with the nearest mints to Dura, Hieropolis and Zeugma, accounting for a large portion of the remainder. Laodicea (*pace* Waagé, p. 57) also contributes a number of coins, including some of its issues of the third century. One is tempted to suggest that many of the first and second century coins were actually lost in the third century. The pattern of silver coins found on the site is very similar to that of the third century hoards recovered from Dura (see list of hoards, Appendix 3). In the third century the coinages of Edessa and Nisibis predominate, surpassing even Antioch among the site finds. It may be the case that during this period, Dura was supplied more frequently with coin from the north than from the west. This might help to account for the presence of the Pontic coinages, particularly that of Amasia. Dura

²⁷² This is not always appreciated; C. Rodewald, *Money in the Age of Tiberius*, p. 45-6.

²⁷³ *Eg.* Hopkins, *JRS* 1980, pp. 112-116

drew most of its coins from Edessa, Nisibis, Antioch and Amasia.²⁷⁴ Coinage from the south, from Aradus, Tripolis and Tyre, is present, but not in very great amounts. Coins from Coele-Syria, Arabia and Palestine are about as infrequent as at Antioch, and Alexandrian coins even less common. Jewish and Nabataean coins are present in equally small quantities. The discrepancy between the number of Jewish and Nabataean coins here and in other regions, where they are sometimes commoner, may be temporal; their presence on sites may reflect coin loss in the first century AD. Dura's third century bias may explain their small numbers. Apart from the coinage of Pontus, issues from cities in Asia Minor are relatively sparse, with bronze from Caesarea in Cappadocia commoner than any other, although the number of Caesarean coins is small compared to the numbers from Edessa, Nisibis, Antioch or Amasia. Caesarean silver is represented by two silver drachms of Trajan, out of all of the silver coins from both hoards and site finds.²⁷⁵ From Europe, there are an extraordinarily large number of Peloponnesian coins of the early third century; more will be said about their presence in a later section. The SC bronzes and Antiochene colonial coinage of the second and third centuries are present in large numbers. The small SC issues of Macrinus and Elagabalus are not as plentiful as they are at Antioch, perhaps because the Mesopotamian mints could supply enough small denomination coins. The only major difference between the proportions of Antiochene coinage around Antioch, and Antiochene coinage found at Dura, is for the reign of Trebonianus Gallus. At Dura his coinage is very poorly represented; at Antioch it represents a major part of the total coinage for the period. Imperial Roman bronze is no more important here than at Antioch.

ii) Palmyra

Coin finds from Palmyra, in the Syrian desert, have been published in various works. Sometimes, in some of the publications, every description amounts to no more than 'bronze coin, very corroded', with a record of its diameter. Such coin reports are impossible to use. The following is a list compiled from several publications, from different excavations in Palmyra. The publications are: K. Michalowski, *Palmyra, Fouilles Polonaises, 1960*, Paris, 1962, pp. 118-143; *1963-1964*, Warsaw 1966, pp. 103-108; A. Saderska,

²⁷⁴ Bronze coins of Mesopotamia, northern Syria and Pontus form over 94% of the total number of coins found there, 8,537 out of 9,020 coins (including hoard material) of the relevant period.

²⁷⁵ *Dura*, p. 100.

Palmyra VII, Warsaw 1977, pp. 206-208; R. Fellman, C. Dunant, *Le Sanctuaire de Baalshamin a Palmyre*, vol. vi, Rome, 1975, pp. 103-110. Antioch provided most of the coins. No Pontic coins are present, although this may be simply the result of a small sample. All the coins are of bronze. Numbers in brackets in the following list refer to number of specimens.

Antioch: Civic, Tyche/Ram, second century style (1); Domitian Caesar, large SC bronze (1); Hadrian, large SC bronze (1); Antoninus Pius, SC bronze, uncertain group (1), Lucius Verus, Catalogue no. 400 ii) a) (1); Otacilia Severa, Catalogue no. 494 c) (1); Philip II Caesar, Catalogue no. 494 d) (1); Philip I or II, as Catalogue no. 498 d) (2).

Rome, for Syria: Hadrian, as Catalogue no. 31 (1).

Zeugma: Philip II, Catalogue no. 31 c) (1).

Samosata: Hadrian, large denomination, rev. legend in wreath (2).

Palmyra: Small Æ (5).

Laodicea: Antoninus Pius, as *BMC* 55-74 (1).

Laodicea ad Libanum: Elagabalus (1).

Phoenicia, Tripolis: Elagabalus (1).

Decapolis, Antioch ad Hippum: Domitian (1).

Uncertain of Syria: Hadrian? (1).

Nabataean: (2).

Sassanian: Æ (1).

Galatia, Tavium: Titus (1).

Bithynia: Hadrian, issue for the Koinon of Bithynia (1).

Antioch was a major supplier of coins to this region during the first and second centuries. Some peculiar features are noted for the third century. Anomalies here include the Peloponnesian mint coins, apparently absent from Antioch, and the coins from Pontus (on these, see below). Pontic coins are common at Dura, but less common, it would seem, further west. The same can be said of the prolific coinages of Mesopotamia, which appeared in the third century.

D. The south; the coast, the upper Orontes valley

i) Apamea

Published by J.P. Callu, 'Monnaies Antiques (1966-71), 2; *Les Monnaies Romaines, Fouilles d'Apamée de Syrie, VIII, I*, Brussels, 1979. Antiochene coinage far outnumbers issues of other cities.

Antioch:

Augustus, AVGVSTVS 'as'. Catalogue no. 43.

Augustus, civic bronze, Zeus/Ram, as Catalogue nos. 55a.

Tiberius, 'Commagene' dupondius. As Catalogue nos. 68-69.

Nero, civic bronze, Tyche/Ram, Caesarean year 104. Catalogue no. 118.

Civic bronze of uncertain date Z[IP] or Z[OP], Artemis/Laurel.

Trajan, SC bronze, large denomination, numeral letter uncertain

Antoninus Pius, rev. Marcus Aurelius, as Catalogue nos. 304-313.

27 Illegible SC coins.

5 Illegible SC coins, described as 'third century'.

Elagabalus, SC bronze, Catalogue no. 469.

Illegible large colonial denomination of Elagabalus, or Severus Alexander (group 1).

Elagabalus, medium colonial denomination.

Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, large denomination, as Catalogue no. 507b.

Other mints:

Rome, for Syria: Trajan, Koinon of Syria, catalogue no. 13.

Laodicea: Elagabalus, *delta-epsilon* in wreath.

Judaea: procurators, *BMC* p. 266.

Peloponnese, Megalopolis: Septimius Severus, *BMC* 17.

Illegible Severan coin.

ii) Hama

Published by R. Thomsen, 'The Graeco-Roman Coins', in A.P. Christensen, R. Thomsen, M. Ploug, *Hama; Fouilles et Recherches, 1931-1938, III, 3*, Copenhagen, 1986. Many of the references cited in the publication make it impossible to determine the date, denomination, or type. The following list does not include hoards. Antioch still dominates, although Laodicea and Apamea contribute the next largest proportions of coins in the sample. Coins from Phoenician mints are present, but not in any great quantity. Tyrian coins are absent; evidently the products of this important mint, which seem to have supplied Judaea and southern Syria with coins, did not circulate to any significant degree in northern Syria.

Silver coins: Severus Alexander, denarius, Rome, *BMCRE* 101 ff.;

Trebonianus Gallus, radiate, Rome, *RIC* no. 30 n.

Bronze coins:

Antioch:

5 bronzes, Zeus/Zeus seated, Seleucid or Pompeian eras.

3 Augustus, AVGVSTVS asses, one halved, Catalogue no. 43.

2 Augustus, large SC bronzes, uncertain groups.

Augustus, Zeus/Ram, uncertain date, as Catalogue no. 55a.

2 Claudius, large SC bronzes, uncertain groups.

Civic, Tyche/Altar, uncertain date.

Nero, SC bronze, uncertain denomination.

Otho, bronze coin, presumably SC (reference cited is a tetradrachm).

Vespasian, SC bronze?

Domitian Augustus, SC bronze, large denomination, head right, as Catalogue no. 169i-iv.

Domitian Augustus, SC bronze, large denomination, head left, as Catalogue no. 169i-iv.

Trajan, large SC bronze, first issue (?), numeral letter *delta*.

Antoninus Pius, large SC bronze (?).

Antoninus Pius, SC bronze, uncertain group, numeral letter *eta*.

Antoninus Pius, SC bronze, eagle below, uncertain denomination.

Macrinus, SC bronze, Catalogue no. 465a.

Diadumenian, SC bronze, Catalogue no. 464b.

2 Elagabalus, SC bronzes, as Catalogue nos. 467-8.

5 Elagabalus, SC bronzes, as Catalogue nos. 469-470.

Elagabalus, colonial bronze, large denomination (?).

Severus Alexander, colonial bronze (reference is to coins of Elagabalus).

2 Severus Alexander, colonial bronze, large denomination, group 2, as Catalogue no. 488a-c.

Philip I, issue 2, large bronze, as Catalogue no. 498a.

Trebonianus Gallus, issue 2, Catalogue no. 507a.

22 unidentified bronzes.

Seleucia:

2 bronzes, Catalogue nos. 43-44.

Hierapolis:

Caracalla, bronze, uncertain (reference cited is a tetradrachm).

Laodicea:

3 bronzes, Tyche/Nike, as *SNG (Cop.)* 321, etc.

Domitian, bronze, *SNG (Cop.)* 341.

Macrinus, bronze, *BMC* 97.

Elagabalus, bronze, *SNG (Cop.)* 373.

2 Elagabalus, bronze, *SNG (Cop.)* 374.

Bronze, third century AD, *SNG (Cop.)* 338.

Apamea:

Bronze, Zeus/Elephant, Seleucid era, *BMC* 5.

Bronze, Zeus/Elephant, Pompeian era, *BMC* 14.

11 bronzes, Athena/Nike, as *SNG (Cop.)* 298.

2 bronzes, Dionysus/Cornucopiae, as *SNG (Cop.)* 300.

4 bronzes, Dionysus/Thyrus, as *SNG (Cop.)* 301.

2 bronzes, Dionysus/Dionysus standing, as *SNG (Cop.)* 302.

Emisa:

Caracalla, bronze, *BMC* 14.

Elagabalus, bronze, *BMC* 21.

Unidentified bronze.

Rome:

Gordian III, as, halved. *RIC* 263.

Other mints:

13 bronzes, unidentified 'Syrian area' and elsewhere: unidentified (6), M.

Antonius and 'woman' (= fleet bronze?) (1), emperor uncertain (4),

Antonine (1), Caracalla (1).

Heliopolis: Septimius Severus, Cohen 916.

Aradus: 3 bronzes, as *SNG (Cop.)* 71 ff.

Dora: Trajan, *BMC* 33.

Tripolis: time of Augustus, *SNG (Cop.)* 274.

Cyprus: Caracalla, *SNG (Cop.)* 92.

Judaea: Herod Agrippa, as *SNG Cop.* 72.

Judaea: 'Neronian', *SNG (Cop.)* 95 f.

Arabia, Philippopolis: Philip I, large denomination, Butcher, *INJ* 1986-7, p.

78 (catalogued by Thomsen as a coin of Antioch).

iii) Material from Syria in the Antakya museum

A small collection of coins, the only provenance being the modern state of Syria. The presence of coins of Apamea, Damascus and Caesarea in Samaria makes the sample unlike that of the region immediately around Antioch. All of the coins are bronze.

Antioch:

Zeus/Zeus seated, Pompeian year 19, Catalogue no. 13.1.

Tiberius, SC bronze, medium denomination, Catalogue no. 65 i.

Nero, SC bronze, medium denomination, lituus before bust, Catalogue no. 126i.

Nero, SC bronze, medium denomination, as Catalogue no. 132.

Vespasian, civic bronze, Caesarean year 125, Tyche/Altar, Catalogue no. 167.

Elagabalus, SC bronze, Catalogue no. 469.

Seleucia:

Septimius Severus, Catalogue no. 79a.

Cyrrhus:

Marcus Aurelius, uncertain issue.

Other mints:

Rome, for Syria: Hadrian, orichalcum semis, rev. Lyre. Catalogue no. 31.

Apamea: Dionysus/Thyrus, Seleucid year 285, cmk. on obv.

Damascus: Septimius Severus. Obv. as *SNG (Cop.)* 421, rev. as *BMC* 19 (Tyche seated left; for Geta), but with ram's head facing left, in field to left.

Berytus: Hadrian. *SNG (Cop.)* 101.

Caesarea in Samaria: Severus Alexander, rev. SPQR in circle, supported by eagle.

Mesopotamia, uncertain: attributed to Rhesaena, under Caracalla; K.O.

Castelin, 'The Coinage of Rhesaena in Mesopotamia', *ANSNMM* 108, New York 1946, pp. 31-32, nos. 19-22.

Uncertain: possibly same mint as previous.

The site finds from this region still illustrate the predominance of Antiochene coinage among the cities of the Orontes valley and eastern desert. Local cities, Laodicea and Apamea, account for a larger proportion of the coinage represented than at sites further north.

3.4 Syrian coinage beyond northern Syria

The coinage of northern Syria, particularly that of Antioch, circulated over a wide area of northern Syria, and beyond. The presence of Antiochene coinage in the south can be readily explained by the fact that for most of the period concerned, the region was part of the same province. The proximity of eastern Cilicia, and the fact that it was once part of Syria, may explain the presence of northern Syrian coinage there. Although Syrian coinage does occasionally occur in places even further away from its place of origin, it is generally in very small quantities. Along with other coinages associated with the eastern *limes*, Antiochene coinage occasionally travelled northwards, although not in great quantities.²⁷⁶ As the study of Antiochene coinage *beyond* northern Syria is not really a relevant topic for this work, which is concerned with coinage *in* northern Syria, this section will only consider the regions surrounding northern Syria, and only briefly, with select examples providing illustrations.

²⁷⁶ *GIC*, p. 27.

A. Mesopotamia (including Parthia)

SC bronzes were imitated at Hatra, and possibly other sites in northern Mesopotamia.²⁷⁷ One Hatran bronze in Berlin is overstruck on a coin of Antoninus Pius from Zeugma, and another was overstruck on a coin of Trajan from Laodicea; they may therefore be all second century in date. The appearance of SC bronzes, and imitations of SC bronzes, in Mesopotamia may in part be due to Roman campaigns; it may also be due to the fact that the Parthians rarely issued bronze coinage of such a large module, and that there was sometimes a need for such coins, at least in the westernmost parts of the Parthian realm.

i) Seleucia ad Tigrim

T. B. Jones, *Numismatic Riddle*, p. 317.

'... approximately 40 large and small bronze coins of Trajan from Antioch, and a dozen denarii and sestertii ranging in time from the reign of Gaius to that of Elagabalus, ... and a tetradrachm of Elagabalus from Antioch. Of the three Greek Imperials found, one was a "semis" of Caracalla from Carrhae, another was a countermarked "dupondius" of Philip from Zeugma, and the third was a large bronze issued by the *koinon* of Bithynia during the reign of Hadrian.'

The 'Antiochene' coins of Trajan are apparently mostly the orichalcum asses and semisses, probably struck at Rome. The presence of so large a number may well be the result of these coins being used for Trajan's Parthian campaigns. Otherwise the collection of coins seems quite unlike that of northern Syria.

ii) Sippar

From excavations at Sippar in Babylonia. In the British Museum; unpublished.

Antioch:

Claudius, SC bronze, large denomination, uncertain issue.

Nero, SC bronze, large denomination, as Catalogue no. 125.

Nerva, SC bronze, large denomination, numeral letter illegible.

Trajan, SC bronze, large denomination, as Catalogue no. 202 a).

Uncertain mint(s):

2 cast copies of SC bronzes, one large denomination (6.07g), the other medium denomination (3.03g). The type, attributed by Slocum, *ANSMN* 22 (1977), to Hatra, may have been produced elsewhere in Mesopotamia.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ J.J. Slocum, 'Another Look at the Coins of Hatra', *ANSMN* 22 (1977), pp. 37-47.

²⁷⁸ Another specimen of this type was seen by me in Diyarbakir, Turkey.

B. Phoenicia, Palestine, Arabia

Some of the countermarked coins in collections show that the SC bronze of Antioch circulated in Palestine, such as the Antiochene coin which was overstruck during the Bar-Kokhba war (see following section on countermark evidence). The numerous excavations in the south, particularly in the region of Palestine, indicate the penetration of Antiochene coinage there, but locally produced coinage is far more frequent among the site finds, and the importance of the coinage of Tyre is especially notable.²⁷⁹ Coins of other cities in the north, and of Mesopotamia or Cilicia, are rare. As an example I list below the Antiochene coins found at Jerash (ancient Gerasa), in the province of Arabia, one of the few sites in this region which have provided more than a dozen Antiochene coins.

i) Jerash

Published by Bellinger, 'Coins from Jerash, 1928-1934', *ANSNM* 81. Most are local issues of Arabia and Judaea. The only coins from northern Syria are those of Antioch.

Rome, Æ: Trajan (2); Hadrian (1); Faustina I (2); M. Aurelius (1); Julia Mamaea (1).

Rome, AR: M. Aurelius (1).

Antioch, Æ: Claudius (2); Nero (2); Domitian (1); Nerva (1); Elagabalus, colonial (3); Alexander, group 3 (1); Philip, issue 2 (9).

Rome, for Syria: Trajan, quadrans (1).

Syrian tetradrachms: Macrinus, Hierapolis (1); Elagabalus (1).

Damascus (1)

Palmyra (1)

Tyre (10)

Jewish (8)

Neapolis (15)

Rest of Judaea/Palestine (5)

Nabataean (24)

Bostra (10)

Philippopolis (5)

Gerasa (11)

Other Arabian mints (2)

Alexandrian Æ (5)

Perge (1)

Peloponnesian (2)

More recent excavations at Jerash show a similar spread of coins:

<i>Antioch</i> :	Philip I, tetradrachm, cos i	1
	Philip I, large denom., 1st issue	1
	Philip II, large denom., 1st issue	1

²⁷⁹ D. Barag, 'Tyrian Currency in Galilee', *INJ* 6-7 (1982-3), pp. 7-13.

Philip I/II, large denom., 2nd issue	2
Decius, large denom., 1st issue	1

Summary of finds:

Northern Syria: 6 (all Antioch); Phoenicia: 4 (all Tyre); Arabia 30;
Palestine/Judaea: 9.²⁸⁰

C. Cilicia, Cyprus

Published data is very limited for Cilicia. Coins of Antioch may have been important in Cilicia Pedias, around the gulf of Issus, but it is difficult to assess their penetration further west. The Adana museum itself has Antiochene coins in its collection, although the provenance of these coins is not altogether clear, and the modern Turkish province of Adana extends as far as the gulf of Issus. A hoard of coins from Cilicia is described by D.H. Cox, 'A Tarsus collection in the Adana Museum', *ANSNM* 92, but its contents, which comprise mostly coins from west of Cilicia Pedias, suggest that the hoard comes from west of Tarsus. The absence of Antiochene coins in the Tarsus excavations may be indicative of the small number of coins recovered more than a complete absence of Antiochene coins in circulation, but it suggests that they did not dominate the currency in the way that they did in central Syria.²⁸¹ On Cyprus, Cypriot and Roman issues seem to predominate, but Syrian coins are represented.

i) Tarsus

Published by D.H. Cox, 'The Coins', in *Excavations at Gözülü Kule, Tarsus I*, Princeton, 1950. No Syrian coins of the relevant period.

ii) Material from Misis in the Antakya museum

The following ten coins, now in the Antakya Museum, were acquired at the site of the ancient city of Misis (Adana province). They imply that Syrian coinage penetrated the eastern edge of Cilicia Pedias.

Silver: Caesarea, Cappadocia, Nero, hemidrachm, rev., Nike stg. holding shield (1).

Bronze:

Antioch: Tiberius, SC bronze, medium denomination (1); Claudius, SC bronze, Large denomination (2); Trebonianus Gallus, issue 2, large denomination (1). *Antiochus IV of Commagene:* large denomination, Lacanatis, *BMC* 22 (1); as previous, large denomination, Commagene (1).

Samosata: Philip II, local style, medium denomination (1).

Anazarbus: Gordian III, Levante 1488 (1).

Edessa: Elagabalus, as *BM* 1909 5-4-58 (1).

²⁸⁰ I am grateful to J.M.C. Bowsher for providing this information and permitting me to see the coins.

²⁸¹ K. Butcher, *The Colonial Coinage of Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, *NC* 1988, p. 65, n. 7.

iii) Cyprus, Curium

D.H. Cox, 'Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932-1935', *ANSNMM* no. 145, 1959. Of the 293 Roman coins of the relevant period, 44 are Cypriot. The only silver coins are denarii and radiates, 9 from Hadrian to Aemilian. There are 26 SC bronzes, two of which are probably Augustan coins issued in Cyprus; 1 bronze of Seleucia, and 3 bronzes of Laodicea (excluding 56 *delta-epsilon* coins of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander). From Phoenicia are 7 coins of Berytus, 3 of Tripolis and 2 of Tyre. The ubiquitous Jewish and Nabataean bronzes are also present (22 Jewish and 3 Nabataean), as well as 3 bronzes of Alexandria in Egypt. Single coins come from Pheneus (Peloponnese), Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Pergamum, Alexandria Troas, Magnesia (Ionia), Iasus (Caria), Antioch (Pisidia), Side, Anemurium, Corycus, Gaza and Carrhae. 96 bronze coins from the mint of Rome were also found at Curium (including three 'medallions' of the Antonine period); these are mostly sestertii from Severus Alexander to Trebonianus Gallus.

In addition, the Nicosia Museum houses a collection of Cypriot finds, 201 of which I examined in 1986. The coinage found on Cyprus would appear to be rather different from most of the surrounding provinces, with a large proportion of bronze coins from Rome present (29% of this sample; compared with 33% of the Curium sample). Most of the Rome coins are third century sestertii. Only three coins in this sample are Antiochene. The two SC bronzes of Augustus are those attributed by Amandry to Cyprus.²⁸² The number of Jewish coins does not appear so unusual, since they are found throughout the Levant, as the previous listings of Syrian material have shown. The high incidence of *delta-epsilon* issues of Elagabalus on Cyprus is somewhat surprising, and has led to speculation about a possible Cypriot origin, but they are also common at Dura-Europus, and the attribution to Laodicea to my mind does not seem challenged by these finds.

Silver, tetradrachms etc.:

Nero, Antioch (2) Alexandria (1); Vespasian & family, Cyprus (22).

denarii & radiates:

Augustus (3); Trajan (3); Antoninus Pius (6); Septimius Severus to Caracalla, sole reign (12); Macrinus (1); Maximinus (2); Philip (1); Trebonianus Gallus (1).

Bronze:

Antioch: Diadumenian, SC bronze (1).

Rome, for Syria: Vespasian, 'Commagene dupondius' (1).

²⁸² 'Le Monnayage Julio-Claudian à Chypre I: Auguste', *Centre d'études Chypriotes*, Cahier 7, pp. 25-26.

Cyprus: Augustus (5); Tiberius (3); Claudius (13); Vespasian (8); Trajan (10); Antoninus Pius (20); Septimius Severus to Caracalla (4).
Probably Cyprus: Capricorn/Scorpion (2); Augustus SC, large denomination, Cypriot style (2).
Tarsus: Gordian III (1), Valerian (1).
Laodicea: Elagabalus, *delta-epsilon* issue (10).
Koinon of Phoenicia: (1).
Dora (Phoenicia): 'Autonomous', AD 64/5 (1).
Jewish: (6).
Judaea: Domitian, 'Judaea Capta' (1).
Uncertain mints: Augustus, CA (1); Hadrian, Cilicia? (1); Philip I, unidentified (1).
Rome: Reigns of Augustus (2); Claudius (1); Vespasian (1); Trajan (1); Antoninus Pius (1); Septimius Severus to Caracalla (5); Elagabalus (1); Severus Alexander (10); Maximinus (5); Gordian III (12); Philip (12); Trajan Decius (1); Trebonianus Gallus (2).

From various sites in those areas surrounding northern Syria, the coin finds indicate that although Antiochene coinage is present, it does not predominate in the way that it does in northern Syria. Most of the coinage in circulation in Mesopotamia, Phoenicia/Palestine/Arabia, and Cilicia/Cyprus, was drawn from different sources. The dominance of Antiochene coinage among site finds seems to have been limited to the boundaries of northern Syria.

Only one group of coins which can be attributed to Syria seems to have travelled long distances, and these coins are the so-called orichalcum asses and semisses probably struck at Rome, under Trajan, for Syria.²⁸³ Some of these pieces, particularly the asses, reached western provinces, such as Britain, after they had been to Syria, as some are stamped with Syrian countermarks (Catalogue, 'Coinage Probably Produced at Rome', no. 23).²⁸⁴ Their presence in some numbers at Seleucia on the Tigris suggests that they were used in connection with Trajan's Parthian campaigns. Their very Roman style, and Latin legends, may have encouraged their acceptance abroad, yet their size and shape makes them distinctly different from regular Roman asses. Perhaps, if they were issued primarily for military use, legislation could permit them to circulate elsewhere than Syria.²⁸⁵

²⁸³ See Catalogue, 'Coinage Probably Produced at Rome for Circulation in Syria', nos. 19-22.

²⁸⁴ See D.R. Walker, *Roman Coins from the Sacred Spring at Bath*, Oxford, 1988, for a discussion of their presence.

²⁸⁵ Note also the presence of Hadrianic orichalcum asses of Syria in western Europe: J. van Heesch, *Studie over de Semis en de Quadrans van Domitianus tot en met Antoninus Pius*, Ph.D. thesis, Gent, 1979, pp. 136-138.

3.5 Circulation of 'foreign' coinage in northern Syria

A. Cilician bronze

Proximity to Syria undoubtedly assisted the circulation of Cilician coinage in Syria. The Taurus formed an effective barrier; whilst coins of cities from eastern Cilicia (Cilicia Pedias) are relatively common in the region of Antioch, those of mountainous western Cilicia are not.²⁸⁶ To what extent the phenomenon was confined to the north western corner of Syria is unclear. The Antioch excavations produced only 20 Cilician coins, whereas the sample from the Antakya Museum included over 275. The discrepancy can be explained by the fact that the sample from the Antakya Museum included coins found on the western side of the Amanus mountains, effectively the eastern part of Cilicia Pedias, but now in the modern Turkish province of Hatay (Antakya). But Cilician coins occur over a fairly wide area of northern Syria, if only in small quantities. Some of the smaller sites listed above produced one or two Cilician coins, and the Seyrig collection from Aleppo included 26 Cilician pieces. Even Dura produced a few specimens. In the first century BC and Julio-Claudian period the relation between Syria and eastern Cilicia was also political, since Cilicia Pedias was included in the province of Syria.

B. Cappadocian coinage

The rôle of bronze coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia as military pay has been plausibly suggested by Howgego, *GIC*, p. 24. However, the assertion that 'the mint of Caesarea dominated a vast area including the northern half of the eastern *limes*' is less easy to reconcile with the statistics. It may have dominated central and eastern Anatolia, but Caesarean bronze coins are not all that common in northern Syria, although they are commoner than silver coins of Caesarea, the latter being extremely rare in both hoards and site finds. Caesarean bronzes make up 0.15% of the coins in Dura hoards 8-9, about 1.09% of the bronze site finds of the relevant period, and about 0.6% of the total coins from Dura. In the Antakya Museum sample they make up about 1%, but Waagé identified only 6 Caesarean coins from the Antioch excavations, and none were found at Seleucia. The Seyrig Aleppo collection included 46 Cappadocian coins, 3.28% of the collection. None were identified among the coins from Hama, and I know of no finds

²⁸⁶ K. Butcher, 'Some Cilician Coins in the Hatay Museum', *Numismatic Studies*, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, forthcoming.

further south. Like the coins from Cilicia, they are present in Syria in numbers which are probably best explained by random circulation. Coins from other Cappadocian cities such as Tyana are present in northern Syria but rare.

C. Mesopotamia

Dura drew most of its coins from Edessa, Nisibis, Amasia and Antioch. It would appear that after the firm establishment of the province of Mesopotamia in the late second century, and its consolidation in the early third, Mesopotamian coinage became very important along the Euphrates and eastern *limes*. It did not, however, cross the Syrian desert in any quantity, and appears to be absent in the published finds from Apamea and Hama (see chapter 3.3). Its presence in small collections of material from the region north and east of Antioch is difficult to quantify.²⁸⁷ It forms a small proportion of the Antioch excavation coins (14 specimens), and the sample from Antakya Museum (22 coins). Some of the specimens in the Antakya Museum come from Cilicia Pedias. The coins of Edessa always predominate.

C. Southern Syria, Palestine and Arabia

Coins struck by cities to the south of Antioch, at Laodicea, Apamea, Tyre etc., are not common in northern Syria. Tyrian coins, which seem to have dominated some areas in the south²⁸⁸, are rare in northern Syria, and the few Phoenician pieces which are present tend to come from Aradus (which was probably in 'northern' Syria or Seleucis anyway) and Tripolis (one of the most northerly of the Phoenician cities). The few coins from the far south tend to be those of the prolific Jewish and Nabataean issues, small denominations which may have filled a gap in the lowest end of the denominational systems found in some places. Finds from all over Syria show that these coins travelled everywhere. Some 21 Nabataean bronzes were found among the bronze coins in the Antioch excavations, Waagé p. 88, although I found only 1 in the sample from the Antakya Museum. Jewish coins are present in the samples from Doliche and Zeugma (see section 3.3). In view of this fact, it seems unnecessary to postulate special connections between Judaea and those places in the Near East where Jewish coins have often been found, such as Cyprus (on account of the latter's

²⁸⁷ 4 out of 29 coins collected by Cumont (13.79%), and 14.46% of the Seyrig collection from Aleppo.

²⁸⁸ D. Barag 'Tyrian Currency in Galilee', INJ 6-7 (1982-3), pp. 7-13, reviewing various site finds in Galilee.

large Jewish population); Jewish and Nabataean coins were prevalent throughout the Levant. They may have fulfilled an economic function as small change; but their presence on sites does not necessarily indicate that they were being useful - they might have been deposited because they were of little or no use as coins in northern Syria.

E. Roman *aes*

Roman sestertii, dupondii, asses, semisses and quadrantes are present in Syria in sufficient quantities to justify a brief discussion of their presence. In the case of some issues of semisses and quadrantes it is not always clear whether or not the coins were actually struck for use in the east, as seems to have been the case for certain groups of coins.²⁸⁹ Roman *aes* makes up about 2% of the Antakya Museum sample; contrast this with the 20-30% or over noted for neighbouring Cyprus, where Roman coins, especially the sestertii, seem to have become quite important in the third century. Elsewhere in Syria the numbers of Roman *aes* (excluding those issues which I think were produced for Syria) are small: 38 among the site finds at Dura (0.6%); 1 at Hama, and none at Apamea. Although Antioch issued asses briefly under Valerian, Gallienus and Quietus, these coins were struck at a time when bronze coinage was rarely issued anywhere in the empire, and consequently these coins were struck in very small quantities. In any case, it seems that Roman imperial bronze coinage of the type struck at Rome had very little part to play in the pattern of circulation in Syria.

F. Other coinages

Issues from other provinces of the Roman empire form insignificant proportions of the coinage in circulation in northern Syria, with the exception of Pontic and Peloponnesian bronze, discussed below. Issues from Pamphylia, Pisidia, Phrygia, Asia and Bithynia are apparently random stray coins, and some of the excavation publications include coins originally attributed to these provinces, which are in fact Syrian.²⁹⁰ From further away come single pieces from Viminacium (Waagé 1119), Thessalonica (Waagé 795), Hadrianopolis (Antakya Museum), Byzantium (Antakya Museum).

²⁸⁹ See Catalogue, 'Coinage Probably Produced at Rome for Circulation in Syria'.

²⁹⁰ Eg. Waagé nos. 799-800, attributed to Pergamum, actually Antioch; see Catalogue, 'Small Coins with Antiochene Types' no. 13 i-iv; and Waagé no. 804, attributed to Ephesus, actually the base metal core of a plated Antiochene didrachm.

The issues of Alexandria are slightly more prominent, most likely as a result of the volume originally issued rather than having any wider significance. They include pieces in bronze as well as billon.

There are no bronze coins from further west than Rome, Moesia, or Egypt. Coinage from Parthia is noted at Dura in some quantity, but this is readily explained by the proximity of Dura to the Parthian kingdom, and the inclusion of the city of Dura in the Roman empire only in the early principate. Only one Arsacid coin was identified by Waagé at Antioch.

Two anomalous features of circulation in Syria have yet to be considered:

i) Pontic bronze of Septimius Severus

Crawford suggested that Pontic bronze circulated in Syria because Antioch ceased producing coins under Septimius Severus, and that it was 'used by the imperial authorities to replace the issues of Antioch'.²⁹¹ The only evidence cited is from Dura. Indeed, as Figure 16 shows, Pontic coin is present at Dura in surprisingly large amounts, although it should be stressed that the issues of one city, Amasia, predominate; Neocaesarea comes in a poor second, and the remaining cities are represented by quite small numbers of coins. Almost all of the coins belong to the period *circa* 206-210. The geographical gap between Pontus and Mesopotamia, as seen on the map, appears quite striking, but it should be remembered that there were no cities that issued coins in the region between Pontus and Mesopotamia. Howgego correctly assesses the value of this evidence, and the presence of Pontic bronze at Dura can be better explained by movement of goods or troops along the eastern limes, and that the coins were probably drawn from circulation rather than minted specially for an army.²⁹² There seems in this case to be a plausible military context for the movement of Pontic issues at a specific point in time, somewhere between about 210 and 226, since the copious later issues of Amasia under Severus Alexander are

²⁹¹ M. Crawford, 'Finance, Coinage and Money from the Severans to Constantine', ANRW II, p. 572.

²⁹² *GIC* pp. 27-28. Admittedly, it would be very difficult to prove that they had been minted specially for the army. A lack of die links between those found in Syria and Mesopotamia and those found in Pontus would indicate that the Syrian and Mesopotamian specimens had probably never circulated in Pontus, but no such study has been undertaken, and it would still not prove a connection with army pay.

entirely absent from Dura.²⁹³ Caracalla's Parthian campaign is a favourable explanation.²⁹⁴ However, the simple movement of an army is not sufficient to explain the surprisingly high proportion of coins of Amasia present at Dura (accounting for 415 out of 6054 site finds of bronze coins; 6.9%, and 11.7% of the total number of bronze coins of the relevant period found at Dura). An important fact to consider is the Roman attempt to consolidate the new province of Mesopotamia. An emergency, such as the arrival of armies in Mesopotamia for Caracalla's Parthian campaign, may well have necessitated an increase in the amount of bronze money available in the province. If it was needed quickly, it would be easier to requisition or buy existing coin from the cities than to strike new coin. The Mesopotamian mints were put to work, but they only produced the smaller denominations. An army in Pontus may therefore have been ordered to draw coin from one or two of the cities and bring it with them on the campaign. Undoubtedly Pontic coin was useful if there were no other bronze coins available at Dura in the Severan period; but there may have been no lack of earlier Antiochene coinage. The lack of certain denominations, and the sudden need for large amounts of money, may have been more important than the lack of coins in general. However, the importance of Pontic bronze in northern Syria in general should not be overstressed. The presence of Pontic bronze in large quantities during the third century AD may have been a particularly Mesopotamian and Parapotamian phenomenon, connected with the eastern *limes*, and not with the western part of Syria. There is no evidence from Antioch itself that coins from elsewhere were brought in to fill the gap in production, although a few Pontic pieces are present. Waagé did not identify any in her report, but no. 1001, listed under 'Uncertain', is a coin of Sebastopolis. A single coin of Amasia was noted by me among the coins in the Antakya Museum. A modification of Crawford's idea is therefore plausible: a large amount of Pontic coin, particularly the issues of Amasia, was brought - perhaps by soldiers, probably along the eastern *limes* - to northern Syria and the newly-established province of Mesopotamia - or perhaps specifically to Dura - *circa* AD 210 or later, and filled a need for money, particularly large denominational bronzes in Mesopotamia and

²⁹³ On these coins, see W.H. Waddington, E. Babelon, Th. Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure, I. Pont et Paphlagonie*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1925, pp. 49-51. Neocaesarea struck no later coins, nor did Zela; the issues of most other Pontic cities are insignificant in Syria.

²⁹⁴ *GIC* p. 28.

Parapotamia, which were not being issued by cities in Syria or Mesopotamia in any quantity. When Antioch and the cities of northern Syria and Mesopotamia began striking large denominations from the reign of Elagabalus, there was no longer any need to bring coin from elsewhere.

ii) Peloponnesian bronze of Septimius Severus

Some early Severan coins, struck for cities in the Peloponnese, reached Syria, and some (if not all) of these arrived there during the sole reign of Caracalla. They are actually not all that common as site finds, but are frequent enough to show that they are not simply random strays.²⁹⁵ The presence of Peloponnesian coins in Syria was discussed by Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, V, pp. 160-170 and intro., p. 6, and more recently, by Howgego (*GIC* pp. 25-27). The article by S. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, 'The Severan Emissions of the Peloponnesus', *INJ* 6-7, 1982-3, pp. 39-46, does not deal with the circulation of this coinage outside its place of origin. Howgego's argument that the coins were drawn from circulation in the Peloponnese and not struck specially for the army seems likely. He found one Peloponnesian coin bearing a countermark otherwise found on coins of Tripolis in Phoenicia, probably applied *circa* 217/8, which implies a movement to Syria of Peloponnesian coin sometime between 202-5 and 217/8. The extraordinary and unparalleled phenomenon seems best explained by troop movements, probably under Caracalla, *circa* 215, but it is an exceptional case of provincial bronze moving long distances and its importance for circulation within Syria must not be overestimated. What is important about the presence of Peloponnesian coin in Syria is that it is there at all. An anomaly of this sort can only be explained in terms of movements of people over a long distance. The presence of a specimen at Curium (D.H. Cox, *Curium*, no. 149) may indicate the route taken to the east.²⁹⁶ As with the bronze coins of Pontus, the greatest concentration of Peloponnesian coins known is at Dura. Like the Pontic bronze, Peloponnesian coins may have been more frequent along the eastern

²⁹⁵ 124 specimens from Dura, out of a total of 14,017 coins, or 0.88%. This figure may be artificially large, since Bellinger identified 21 in Dura Hoards eight and nine, although only 11 were actually legible enough to identify the mint. At Jerash, Bellinger identified two. Waagé found none among the Antioch and Seleucia excavations coins. I found one specimen of Patrae of Commodus in the Antakya Museum sample. Another single specimen was found at Apamea. There were none at Hama, nor in any of the smaller samples from northern Syria. Seyrig's Aleppo collection included 10 issues from Greece.

²⁹⁶ Less reliable a provenance is provided by the specimen in the Adana Museum, published by Cox, *ANSNMM* 92, no. 45.

limes, although their numbers at sites other than Dura are generally too few to establish any firm conclusions about their distribution.

3.6 Countermarks and circulation

Countermarks specific to certain towns or regions can provide information about circulation.²⁹⁷ Civic countermarks and legionary countermarks were sometimes applied to a variety of coins of different origins. Most of the city countermarks of Syria were unfortunately specific to that city and were not applied to coins of other cities, so the information about circulation provided by them is limited. As it is not clear exactly where most of the relevant legionary countermarks were applied, their use for the study of circulation is rather more problematic than for countermarks of cities. Included below is a list of countermarks applied in the region being studied, which occur on coins of more than one city. Most of them belong to the first and second centuries AD, and are generally applied to the same few groups of coins. The predominance of Antioch among the coins countermarked may well relate to the importance of this coinage as part of the circulating medium during this period.

A. Antiochene countermarks

Excluded from this list are those countermarks found only on Antiochene coins and Tiberian dupondii. The first two countermarks are of second century date, the third probably belongs to the civil wars of AD 68-9. The issues which carry the P.R. countermark were probably the only major issues of bronze coin available in northern Syria at the time, but by the second century there would have been a wider variety of coins available. These other coinages, however, do not appear to have been stamped with either of the first two countermarks.

Laurel branch in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 378.

Antioch, 67; Caesarea in Cappadocia, 1; Jews, 2nd revolt, (before re-striking) 1.

Laurel branch in circular incuse. *GIC* 379.

Antioch, 2; Rome, for Syria, 2.

P.R. *GIC* 599.

Antioch, 20; Tiberian dupondii, 2; Antiochus IV of Commagene, 1.

Probably, but not certainly, an Antiochene countermark.

²⁹⁷ *GIC* pp. 32-50.

B. Legionary countermarks

The following were probably applied along the Syrian *limes*, in the first half of the second century AD. A number of them were found on coins in the so-called Brunk hoard (see Appendix 3, bronze hoards, no. 4). If they were not very selective, they seem to show the predominance in circulation of Antiochene coins, particularly SC bronzes, and Tiberian dupondii, with a few other coins, especially those from the region of Samaria, which might have been brought along with troops mobilising for Trajan's Parthian campaign.²⁹⁸ A similar pattern may be noted for countermarks with Syriac inscriptions, *GIC* 694-6.

Thunderbolt in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 472.
Antioch, 4.

Present in the Brunk hoard.

LIIC. *GIC* 725.
Antioch, 7.

Present in the Brunk hoard.

XF; X. *GIC* 729 (Trajan or later).
Antioch, 41; Tiberian dupondii, 10.

Present in the Brunk hoard; also at Dura. Some acquired in Palestine. If the countermark was applied only in Palestine, it demonstrates the specific nature of this legionary countermark, being applied only to Antiochene issues, and the Tiberian dupondii, the latter probably being produced at Antioch. However, it may have been applied at different centres, or simply circulated over a wide area, as suggested by Howgego, *GIC* pp. 252-3.

FVLM. *GIC* 736 (Trajan or later).
Antioch, 14; Tiberian dupondii, 2; Neapolis in Samaria, 1.

Present in the Brunk hoard. Probably applied on or near the Syrian *limes*.

L.XII; XII. *GIC* 737 (Hadrian ?).
Antioch, 14; Tiberian dupondii, 1.

Present in the Brunk hoard.

LXV. *GIC* 739 (Trajan or later).
Pontus, Nicopolis, 1; Antioch, 3; Tiberian dupondius, 1; Aradus, 1; Neapolis in Samaria, 1.

These countermarks may have been applied at more than one centre. They were not present in the hoard published by Brunk. However, the

²⁹⁸ *GIC* p. 252-3.

origins of the coins countermarked need not preclude a site away from the *limes*.²⁹⁹

C. Countermarks of Commagene

The following were mostly applied to coins of Antiochus IV. The presence of SC bronzes of Antioch suggests that these coins were also circulating in the kingdom of Commagene.

Anchor between A/N. *GIC* 373.
Antioch, 4; Antiochus IV and family, 55.

Crossed cornucopiae. *GIC* 403.
Antioch, 5; Antiochus IV of Commagene and family, 20.

Perhaps a countermark of Epiphanes and Callinicus, the sons of Antiochus IV of Commagene.

D. Countermarks of uncertain origin

Ear of corn in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 408.
Antioch, 6; Neapolis in Samaria, 1; uncertain, 5.

The provenances cited by Howgego (Dura, Iskenderun) would suggest this was applied in northern Syria.

None of the above countermarks adds much to our knowledge of circulation that could not be deduced from site finds. Antiochene coinage circulated widely in northern Syria (and, according to some countermarks, in the south) and was countermarked in Commagene along with the coinage of that kingdom. Various countermarks common to both Antiochene bronze and 'Commagene' dupondii of Tiberius indicate that the two were regarded as much the same thing by the authorities that marked them, strengthening the association of the dupondii with the mint of Antioch. The legionary marks are perhaps the most informative class, and suggest that SC coinage was frequently utilised by the army. However, countermarks can also provide some valuable information about the longevity of coins in circulation, and this evidence will be examined shortly.

²⁹⁹ Howgego, *GIC* p. 257, suggests Palestine or Phoenicia, but the provenance 'acquired in Beirut' proves little more than that the coin was probably found in the Levant. All of the above coins could have circulated along the Syrian *limes*, but Howgego is right to stress caution.

3.7 Hoards

Since so few Syrian hoards of the relevant period have been published, it is very difficult to propose anything other than some broad generalisations. No clear and detailed pattern emerges. However, since silver coins occur so rarely and in such small quantities among site finds (and when they do, they are usually plated), it is the evidence of hoards which provides most of the information about the circulation of silver coinage.³⁰⁰ Few bronze hoards from northern Syria have been recorded properly, and most of these are third century.

A. Silver

Some general patterns can be discerned. It hardly need be said that in the first century BC the issues of Laodicea, Aradus and Tyre form a significant proportion of the silver coins found in hoards, in addition to the issues of Antioch. In the south, Phoenicia and Palestine, the issues of Tyre predominate. The absence of Antiochene coinage from various southern hoards may not be indicative of scrupulous provincials only accepting the 'purer' coinage of Tyre (a sort of inverse of Gresham's law; 'good' money driving out 'bad'); it may simply mean that the patterns of circulation in the north and south were different, and that the two did not coincide geographically.

The assertion of Rodewald that 'the pseudo-Philip coins are generally much less prominent than their prototypes' is a misrepresentation, and hoards occur in which the posthumous Philips predominate.³⁰¹ *IGCH* 1578, reputedly from Aleppo, has one genuine coin of Philip and 21 posthumous issues. A hoard seen in London trade in 1984 closed with an Augustan Tyche tetradrachm of year 26 and contained at least 20 posthumous Philips.³⁰² Curiously, the posthumous Philips (and

³⁰⁰ The rarity of silver coins outside hoards does not seem to have been fully appreciated by Rodewald, who seems surprised at the paucity of silver coinage among the site finds from the Antioch excavations; *Money in the Age of Tiberius*, p. 96, n. 183. That Antioch, as a major mint for imperial silver, should have been 'peculiarly plagued with bad coins' seems highly unlikely. The contrast is clearly with Dura, where hoards yielded a large number of silver coins.

³⁰¹ Rodewald, *op. cit.*, p. 94 n. 166.

³⁰² There is the tantalising but infuriatingly incomplete record in *CH* 2, no. 131, of a hoard of over 70 unidentified tetradrachms, including 40 Antiochene issues of Augustus.

their prototypes) seem to have survived in hoards buried in or close to the Parthian kingdom, well into the third century AD. The strange makeup of the Nineveh hoard, ending with Parthian drachms of Artabanus V, circa AD 213-227, included posthumous Philips as the earliest coins (121 pieces, about one third of the coins in the hoard).³⁰³ Likewise posthumous Philips survive among the hoards at Dura.

No hoards containing Julio-Claudian issues of Antioch, and closing before issue of the Neronian 'eagle' tetrachms, have yet been published. The small number of surviving specimens of Antiochene issues of Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, and the early issues of Nero, suggest that few hoards containing these coins have been discovered. We may therefore assume that these issues were destroyed, presumably by recoinage, not long after their issue.³⁰⁴ Burnett has noted that the tetrachm issue of Gaius involved a large number of dies, disproportionate, it would seem, to the number of surviving specimens.³⁰⁵ Tyrian tetrachms were not struck in large quantities in the first century AD, but they were still being hoarded in large quantities up to the reign of Nero.³⁰⁶ Tyrian coinage seems to have been completely removed from circulation, however, during the following decades. The numerous hoards of silver coins ending with Trajan and Hadrian contain no Tyrian pieces.

Most hoards of Syrian tetrachms, up to and including the early Severan period, begin with Nero's eagle issues.³⁰⁷ Their presence, like those of subsequent tetrachm issues, appears to have been ubiquitous in Syria, taking the place of Tyrian issues in the south, which disappear from later hoards. Since none of the hoards beginning with Neronian tetrachms are clearly pre-Flavian, it is not clear whether the Neronian eagle issues coincided with a speedy withdrawal of all earlier tetrachm

³⁰³ *BGCH* 743; G.F. Hill, 'A Hoard of Coins from Nineveh', *NC* 1931, pp. 160-70.

³⁰⁴ This surely has to be the explanation for their total absence from later hoards. Rodewald, p. 46, suggests that they were not hoarded simply because they were of 'poor quality', but this was before Walker's analyses demonstrated that some of the issues were no poorer than the subsequent coinage of Nero.

³⁰⁵ *RPC*, forthcoming.

³⁰⁶ Kadman, *Israel Numismatic Bulletin* 1 (1962), pp. 9-11.

³⁰⁷ See Appendix 3. Although the Nineveh hoard begins with posthumous Philips, the next issues are three 'eagle' tetrachms of Nero. One hoard, *BGCH* 56, said to have come from Antioch, has an enormous chronological range, from Nero to Trebonianus Gallus. *BGCH* 1142, a hoard containing tetrachms from Demetrius II to Vespasian, sold at Sotheby's, March 26, 1888, pp. 24-5, and said to come from Tyre, seems to me more like a dealer's lot that was taken to be a hoard.

coinage in Syria under Nero, but the process seems to have been completed between about AD 60 and 100. A hoard from the Mount of Olives, mainly of Jewish shekels of the first revolt, contained a Tyrian tetradrachm of AD 52/3 and a Neronian eagle tetradrachm of 61/2, providing a rare example of a hoard bridging the Neronian reform, and buried not long after the reform took place (the latest coin was struck in AD 70). A similar hoard from Palestine, contains Jewish revolt shekels, a Tyrian tetradrachm and an eagle tetradrachm of Nero, and closes even earlier, in AD 67/8 (although it may have been buried later). This would suggest that by the end of Nero's reign the reform had not removed all Tyrian coins from circulation, even if the earlier Antiochene issues had already disappeared.³⁰⁸ Between Nero and Trajan, we may surmise, the surviving populations of Seleucid, posthumous Philip, and Julio-Claudian tetradrachms, and the civic tetradrachms of Laodicea, Aradus and Tyre, were all recoinced. The Nineveh hoard, with its posthumous Philips, may be anomalous because it was perhaps assembled outside the Roman empire. The same pattern occurs at Dura, where there were 32 posthumous Philips found, followed by 9 eagle tetradrachms of Nero. So few hoards are known from northern Syria that it is possible that the posthumous Philips remained in circulation after the Julio-Claudian issues had been recoinced, and they do not occur in hoards in the south (which is where most published tetradrachm hoards are recovered) since they did not circulate there in the first place. However, the large hoard *BGCH* 56 (ending with Trebonianus Gallus), reputedly from Antioch, did not apparently include any specimens, even though it contained 31 Neronian tetradrachms.³⁰⁹ An alternative explanation is that they circulated in Parthia, hence their presence at Dura and Nineveh, and that they perhaps re-entered circulation in Syria (at least, in border regions such as at Dura) between the reigns of Trajan and Septimius, when their silver content was roughly equal to contemporary tetradrachms, after a period between Nero and Trajan when they contained less silver.

The change in the silver content of the tetradrachm under Trajan does not seem to have resulted in the withdrawal of earlier issues in the

³⁰⁸ A. Spijkerman, 'Trésor de sicles juifs trouvé au Mont des Oliviers à Jérusalem', *SM* 42 (1961), pp. 25-32. See also appendix 3.

³⁰⁹ A summary of this hoard is provided by Metcalf, 'The Tell Kalak Hoard and Trajan's Arabian Mint', *ANSMN* 20 (1975), p. 92 n. 16.

same way that Nero's reform had done.³¹⁰ Hoards ending with post-reform tetradrachms of Trajan may often represent circulation in the mid second century or even later; subsequent tetradrachm issues of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius do not appear to have been large, and in mixed hoards of denarii and tetradrachms, where the denarii go on into the reign of Hadrian or later, the tetradrachms often end with Trajan.³¹¹ The hoards ending with Trajan may therefore represent a more general second century hoarding pattern. One extraordinary hoard, reputedly from Lattakia (Laodicea ad Mare), contained tetradrachms of Tarsus in Cilicia, of Trajan and Hadrian, countermarked under Caracalla. Coins of Tarsus occur in no other Syrian hoard, so that this particular hoard does not seem to reflect any pattern of circulation in Syria itself. The same might be said for another hoard from Lattakia, which contained Cypriot coins of Vespasian and Titus, coins which are not encountered in other Syrian hoards.³¹²

The debasement or reform of the tetradrachm under Caracalla and his successors seems to mark the next major watershed for the composition of hoards. Early Severan hoards still contain tetradrachms back to the Neronian eagle issues (such as the Nineveh hoard), but those ending with Caracalla, Macrinus and Elagabalus tend to contain only the more recent issues, although this often includes the pre-debasement tetradrachms of Septimius, and large hoards often contain earlier coins. The Gush Halav hoard begins with Nero, but most of the coins belong to the period from Septimius to Elagabalus. The Mampsis hoard, ending with Elagabalus, contains a few coins of Hadrianic date, but the majority belong to Septimius and Caracalla. The latest coin in the so-called 'Tell Kalak' hoard is a denarius of *circa* AD 222; this hoard does not contain any Greek legend issues later than the reign of Hadrian, and begins with Nero. The exclusion of 'debased' tetradrachms of Caracalla, Macrinus and Elagabalus may have been deliberate, as Metcalf suggests, but the absence of tetradrachms of Septimius certainly cannot be on account of their silver content, which

³¹⁰ Neronian eagle tetradrachms are still present in Murabb'at, Eleutheropolis, and Boston College hoards, and even into the third century; Tell Kalak; *BGCH* 56, and others. See Appendix 3.

³¹¹ *Eg*: Murabb'at, Eleutheropolis (latest coin is Hadrian); Acre (latest coin is Lucius Verus).

³¹² H. Seyrig, 'Contremarques des tétradrachmes impériaux de Tarse', *RN* 13 (1971), pp. 22-24; J.H. Evers, 'Syrische Muntvondst', *De Geuzen Penning* 20.3 (July 1970), pp. 29-34.

was better than that of Severan denarii, and only slightly reduced from that of Trajan's tetradrachms.³¹³

Attempts to find any patterns in the distribution of the tetradrachms of various mints struck under Caracalla and Macrinus have met with little success.³¹⁴ Coins attributed to mints in the south are found in hoards in the north (an example from every 'mint' was found at Dura), and vice versa (coins of Antioch and Laodicea under Septimius make up the larger parts of the Mampsis hoard, and *CH* IV, no. 83, from Israel).

Hoards including the tetradrachm coinages of Gordian III and his successors contain few issues earlier than Caracalla.³¹⁵ What is interesting is the possibility that some of the tetradrachm hoards ending with Trebonianus Gallus may belong to a period after Greek coinage in Syria had come to an end; the Capharnaum hoard, beginning with Nero (first coin AD 60/61), closes with radiates of Claudius II, AD 268-270, and *BGCH* 490 goes even later, from Caracalla to the radiate issues of Maximianus, *circa* 286-292. Tetradrachms may therefore have had some value even after the state had stopped producing them, although their value in the late third century may have been intrinsic rather than as currency accepted by the state. At any rate, the Capharnaum hoard demonstrates that tetradrachms survived as late as the years leading up to Diocletian's reform.

This simple pattern would seem to follow, in very general terms, the hoarding of denarii in those provinces where denarii formed the circulating silver medium. Between the reform of Nero and the reign of Trajan, the denarii issued prior to Nero's reform disappeared from hoards. Neronian and Flavian coins remained a constituent of hoards up to and including the Severan period.³¹⁶ By the mid third century, few hoards contained many pre-Severan coins. The general parallel of denarius and tetradrachm hoards would seem to indicate a parallel decline in their

³¹³ See section on metrology. For Metcalf's comments, *Tell Kalak*, pp. 89-90

³¹⁴ 'It is apparent that tetradrachms moved with great freedom...' Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, pp. 14-16; 'The coins turn up anywhere', P.M. Gilmore, 'A Fresh Look at Caracalla's Syrian Silver', *NCirc.*, March 1984, pp. 41-42.

³¹⁵ *BGCH* 1034, Caracalla-Trajan Decius; Tell Mishrifat, Gordian III-Trajan Decius (?); *BGCH* 480, Gordian-Trebonianus Gallus; The hoard from Tell Mishrifat, a site on the Euphrates east of Aleppo, is briefly described in N. Egami, S. Masuda, T. Iwasaki, *Excavations of Rumelah and Mishrifat*, Tokyo, 1979, where the coins are recorded as being of bronze. Contained in two pots, the hoard consisted of 298 coins. A few of the tetradrachms are illustrated.

³¹⁶ S. Bolin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire*, p. 234 and 351-2.

intrinsic value, as the older issues in both cases were removed from circulation and out of the pool from which hoards were constructed. In other words, Nero's debasement of the denarius may be connected with his 'reform' of the Syrian tetradrachm, and the subsequent withdrawal of earlier silver the result of a unified government policy controlling silver standards. It is remarkable that this policy may be observed in hoards of denarii, in Syrian hoards, and in Egypt, where pre-debasement Alexandrian tetradrachms also disappear from post-reform hoards. From Nero to Trajan the Roman authorities seem to have been particularly successful in removing earlier issues from circulation. The relationship of the denarius and provincial silver coinage will be explored further in later sections.

Tetradrachms, denarii and antoniniani are found hoarded together. As has been noted before, denarii do not seem to occur in Syria during the first century BC.³¹⁷ The earliest known hoard including denarii from Syria proper is probably Neronian, from Mount Carmel.³¹⁸ Its contents are somewhat unusual and are discussed in the following section on the date of the introduction of the denarius to Syria. Unfortunately there is nothing else against which this hoard can be compared. By the second century AD, denarii are often found in hoards with tetradrachms. The composition of second and third century hoards of denarii in Syria seems to conform to a more general empire-wide pattern, with no unusual or unique features.³¹⁹

Bronze, it seems, rarely occurs in hoards with silver, exceptions being the halved SC coin in the Nineveh hoard of silver, or the denarii in the 'Levante' hoard of Antiochene civic bronzes recorded by Marthaler, or the Gush Halav hoard.³²⁰ There is one case of a hoard of aurei and Syrian and Arabian silver (Acre).

Aside from the issues of denarii and radiates, few Syrian hoards contain silver coins from other provinces. There is very little evidence for

³¹⁷ The Sarnakounk hoard from Soviet Armenia provides a collection of denarii and tetradrachms together in the thirties BC, but this is a very unusual assortment of material, including cistophori from Asia Minor. It is also a hoard deposited outside Syria.

³¹⁸ L. Kadman, *Israel Numismatic Bulletin* I (1962), pp. 9-11.

³¹⁹ See Hopkins, *JRS* 1980, pp. 112-116.

³²⁰ Hill, *NC* 1931, p. 161; B.L. Marthaler, *Two Studies in the Greek Imperial Coinage of Asia Minor*, pp. 32-47; H. Hamburger, 'A Hoard of Syrian Tetradrachms and Tyrian Bronze Coins from Gush Halav, *IEJ* 1954, pp. 201-226.

the circulation of Caesarean coinage in Syria.³²¹ Most reports of Caesarean coinage in Syria refer in fact to coins of Arabia or Syria, produced either at Rome or Antioch, and misattributed to Caesarea by Sydenham (see section on production). Arabian issues of Trajan circulated with Syrian silver in the south (Murabb'at, Tell Kalak; Mampsis; even some Arabian tetradrachms in the Nineveh hoard). No hoards from other provinces in the Roman empire contain Syrian coinage, with the exception of Arabia and Mesopotamia, whose currency seems to have been closely linked with that of Syria.

To sum up, it would appear that the reign of Nero marks an important change in the pattern of silver circulation in Syria. Prior to this, the posthumous Philip issues seem to have circulated in the north, and perhaps in Mesopotamia, but did not circulate in the south, where Tyrian silver appears to have predominated. The Antiochene coinages of the Julio-Claudians may also have circulated only in the north, and only for a short while. The cessation of the mint of Tyre in the mid first century AD, and the beginning of the Antiochene 'eagle' coinage in AD 59/60, coupled with the debasement of the denarius in AD 64, probably saw to the Antiochene 'eagle' tetradrachm of four denarii becoming acceptable in the south as a replacement for Tyrian currency, at least by the reign of Vespasian, when the Mount of Olives hoard was deposited. Tyrian currency, which was on a slightly higher silver standard than the Neronian coins, was withdrawn, along with any surviving issues of other earlier rulers, between the reigns of Nero and Trajan. No other withdrawals of tetradrachms in Syria can be demonstrated in such a dramatic manner. The Neronian reform may well have unified the pool of circulation in Syria; thereafter Antiochene coins occur commonly in the south, and the rare Flavian tetradrachms from Judaea occur in the north.³²² Some posthumous Philips may have re-entered circulation, perhaps from Mesopotamia, after Trajan lowered the silver content of the tetradrachm in about AD 107 (for this 'debasement', see section on metrology), or they may have remained in circulation in northern Syria while the general recoinage of Julio-Claudian coinages took place, although hoard evidence does not support the latter suggestion.

³²¹ *BGCH* 1035, a small hoard of Caesarean drachms from Tiberius to Nero, may not be from Syria proper, and has no certain find spot. The Tell Kalak hoard includes one drachm of Domitian, struck at Rome, probably for Caesarea, reverse Athena, Metcalf, *loc. cit.*, p. 88.

³²² *Eg.* Waagé 367, also another specimen seen by me in the Antakya Museum.

The Trajanic reform, and the subsequent high output of coins which followed it, provided a circulating medium until the reign of Septimius Severus, and the small issues of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius do not seem to have made much impact upon the preponderance of coinage of Nero, Vespasian and Trajan. It is possible that the tetradrachm coinage of Pescennius Niger was large, but that it too, like the Julio-Claudian issues, was successfully destroyed, leaving no trace in published hoards.

B. Bronze

Published hoards of Syrian bronze coins are even fewer than published hoards of silver. Most date to the third century AD. A much stronger rule of locality dominates hoards of bronze; whereas silver coins appear to have circulated all over Syria, at least from the reign of Nero, the circulation of bronze appears to have been much more restricted. In this section I will be considering only those hoards found in northern Syria, where bronze coins of the types discussed in the section on production predominate.

The bronze hoards are a complement to the site finds, but provide some additional detail. Only a few first century BC hoards have been recorded. They include pre-Roman material.³²³ A small group of reformed Antiochene bronzes, in the Antakya Museum, of Pompeian year 19 and Caesarean year 9, contains no smaller pre-reform Pompeian era pieces, but further hoard evidence is necessary before it is possible to speculate about the relationship of the reformed coinage to the smaller module coinage.

Hoard of Antiochene coinage of the third century are much commoner. Most belong to the period Philip - Trebonianus Gallus, and all consist primarily of the larger denomination, although some are mixed with smaller pieces. The Levante Hoard, ending with Philip, contained a few SC bronzes of Macrinus, Diadumenian, and Elagabalus, and some medium denominations. One hoard seen in trade in London in 1985 apparently consisted of SC bronzes of Macrinus and Diadumenian only. The Glendinning's Hoard, ending with Philip, contained a few medium bronzes. Some smaller hoards in the Antakya Museum consist only of the larger denomination. Hoards from around Antioch tend to contain almost exclusively Antiochene coins. The curious 'Side' Hoard, consisting of large denomination Antiochene bronzes and Pamphylian and western Cilician bronze of similar module, runs from Philip to Trebonianus Gallus for the

³²³ *Eg.* The Hama hoard, or the Nisibis hoard; see Appendix 3.

Antiochene bronzes, but the coins from Cilicia and Pamphylia are mostly Gallienus and family. Even larger, and even more mixed, is Dura Hoard 8 + 9. Although well-known and well-published, the Dura Hoard is one of the few recorded hoards with such a wide range of coins, although this does not mean to say that such hoards are rare, simply that once they are broken up in trade they are very difficult to identify as a single hoard.

It would appear that coins struck during the second century had mostly dropped from circulation by the reign of Philip. This is also confirmed by countermarks.

3.8 Overstrikes

Isolated examples of overstrikes are not very informative about patterns of circulation, but where overstrikes consistently occur on groups of coins some information about circulation may be gleaned from them. However, caution should be exercised. Some, like Trajan's Arabian drachms, some of which are overstruck on Nabatean drachms, may have been deliberately overstruck on specific issues or groups of issues to maintain a particular standard, and even one group of apparently random overstrikes, those of the Bar-Kochba war in the south, reveals a pattern.

A. Silver

The so-called Zeus tetradrachms of Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius are sometimes overstruck on posthumous Philips or Seleucid coins. The mint for these coins is uncertain, but it seems likely that it was in northern Syria or eastern Cilicia, since this is where the Posthumous Philips and Antiochene Seleucid issues usually circulated. The Bar-Kochba silver coinage consists of large pieces overstruck on Syrian tetradrachms, and small units overstruck on denarii, Trajanic drachms of Arabia, or Nabataean drachms. Evidently the silver content of the coins was not important to the rebels, since the same dies were used to overstrike both denarii and Arabian drachms. The Arabian drachm contained considerably less silver than a denarius. Since both are overstruck using the same dies it would have been impossible for their users to make a distinction. Similarly, among the tetradrachms overstruck, there are examples from before and after Trajan altered the metal content of the Syrian tetradrachm. What is interesting is that the Trajanic tetradrachms struck for Arabia were not overstruck (to call them 'tridrachms' is a misnomer, since the drachms show that they were clearly intended to be tetradrachms). It was

apparently size and weight that prevented their being used for the Bar Kochba coinage. Silver content cannot have been a criterion, since the Syrian tetradrachms after AD 107/8 contain a roughly equal amount of silver to the Arabian tetradrachms.³²⁴

B. Bronze

The few consistent overstrikes on bronze coins in the north are discussed in the section 'Physical Characteristics of the Coinage', in the chapter on Production. The coins of Samosata of the first century BC indicate the circulation of Antiochene issues in inland northern Syria, which supports the finds recorded by Doyen at Tell Abou Danné.³²⁵

³²⁴ On the silver content of Syrian and Arabian tetradrachms, see below, section on metrology. The principal study of the Bar-Kochba coinage is L. Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar-Kochba War*, Typos 6, Aurau, 1984. For the drachms and denarii overstruck by the same dies, see under die combination 128. On the avoidance of Arabian tetradrachms, p. 88. The overstruck tetradrachms include Nero 'eagle' type (Mildenberg, die combination 57); Otho (in trade, seen by me - not in Mildenberg); Vespasian (Mildenberg 40); Nerva (58); Trajan (2; 49; 64; 70; 99); Hadrian (55).

³²⁵ J.-M. Doyen, *Les monnaies antiques du Tell Abou Danné et d'Oumm el-Marra*, Brussels, 1987.

3.9 The date of the introduction of the denarius into Syria

When were denarii introduced into the province of Syria? The impact of the denarius upon provincial monetary systems has been used as an indication of 'Romanisation' of currency systems. It has been suggested that Syria was one of the last provinces in the Roman empire to adopt the use of denarii; it seems certain that the denarius did not circulate in Syria during the Republic.³²⁶

Since silver coins are rare as site finds, hoards provide the main body of evidence for the penetration of denarii in Syria. Various mints struck denarii in the east during the civil wars at the end of the Republic; whether any of these were in Syria cannot be proved. For the moment, site find evidence is lacking.³²⁷ Denarii were certainly struck at Antioch under the Flavians; stylistic comparisons with tetradrachms leave little doubt of this. However, production at one centre does not necessarily mean that the coins circulated there. I have suggested that Alexandria also produced denarii from time to time, as well as tetradrachms for Syria. Although struck at Alexandria, they were probably produced for use elsewhere, and did not circulate in Egypt. Under Hadrian we have unequivocal proof of the denarius circulating in Syria; there are Bar-Kochba overstrikes on denarii (see above). Denarii were also struck at Antioch under Hadrian, although, like those of the Flavians, these issues are likely to have been the response to specific (and immediate) needs rather than any long term intentions to strike denarii in Syria.

Hoard evidence is not very useful for dating the arrival of the denarius. Syrian hoards of silver of the late first century BC seem to be composed wholly of tetradrachms. The presence of Seleucid and other pre-Roman issues in the hoards suggests that the fractional silver denominations may also have been drawn from this pre-Roman stock, so that drachms were used rather than denarii for sums smaller than a

³²⁶ See comments by H.R. Baldus, 'Syria', in A.M. Burnett, M.H. Crawford (eds.), *The Coinage in the Roman World in the Late Republic*, BAR International Series 326, 1987, pp. 121-151; Crawford, *CMRR*, p. 252: 'Only Syria and Egypt still remained outside the sphere where Roman mainstream issues circulated'.

³²⁷ These coinages are discussed in the chapter on production, 'Silver Coinage'.

tetradrachm. It may be no coincidence that Cicero describes a sum of money in terms of tetradrachms rather than denarii in a Syrian context.³²⁸ As I have mentioned above, there are no adequately published hoards of Syrian silver between Augustus and the reform of Nero, and it is not until the reign of Trajan or later that most published hoards were deposited. In the south, one hoard of Tyrian coinage included denarii of Augustus, the Mount Carmel hoard.³²⁹ This provided a mixture, mainly of Tyrian tetradrachms (3,850+) and didrachms (1,100), down to about AD 52/3, with denarii (275), of which the 160 recorded were of Augustus, with the Gaius and Lucius reverse type. Whether the hoard represents temple-dues (so Kadman) or tradesman's savings (Ben-David) is not clear. The skew in favour of the Gaius and Lucius denarii, and the absence of other denarius types, is in itself rather peculiar, reminiscent of the denarius finds from places like India rather than of those within the Roman empire.³³⁰ It is possible that the denarii in the Mount Carmel hoard were hoarded for their intrinsic rather than their face value (which I suggest may have been quite different - see section on metrology), and that they were part of a single consignment, perhaps direct from the mint at Lugdunum. However, the base metal core of a plated denarius of Augustus, of the same type, was found during the Antioch excavations. A plated type suggests that the prototype would have circulated as a coin, although its deposition at Antioch may mean that it was abandoned because it could not be used, and so the presence of a single plated specimen does not necessarily imply that the prototypes circulated as coins in Syria itself. The core may even have circulated as a bronze coin. The fact that all pre-Neronian imperial denarii found in Syria are of the same type (Gaius and Lucius reverse) seems to imply that they were not part of a general pool of denarii in circulation in the east, which normally would have included a large number of other issues, especially Republican coins. No later hoards contain any Augustan denarii, so if these coins were indeed in circulation, they were successfully removed in their entirety. At any rate, the Mount Carmel hoard shows that some denarii were present in Syria at least from the reign of Nero, even if they did not circulate as currency.

³²⁸ *Ad fam.* 12, 13.4.

³²⁹ L. Kadman, *Israel Numismatic Bulletin* I (1962), pp. 9-11; A. Ben-David, *Jerusalem und Tyros. Ein Beitrag zur palästinensischen Münz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte (126 a.C.-57 p.C.)*, Tübingen, 1969, pp. 33-36.

³³⁰ Rodewald, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-9.

The use of the term 'denarius' for assessing tax does not necessarily imply the circulation of this coin in Syria. The Palmyran tax laws have been used as evidence of the circulation of the denarius as early as the reign of Tiberius, but the matter is not as clearly defined as one might hope.³³¹ The laws as they have survived were set up in AD 137 by the Council of Palmyra, because:

'Since in former times most of the dues were not set down in the tax law but were exacted by convention, it being written into the contract that the tax collector should make his exactions in accordance with the law and custom, and it frequently happened that disputes arose on this matter between the merchants and the tax collectors, it is resolved that the magistrates ... should determine the dues not set down in the law and write them into the next contract, and assign to each class of goods the tax laid down by custom ...'

There then follows a list of dues on goods, all of which were omitted in the old law. The sums mentioned are in denarii and asses. This is then followed by the old law, which seems to have been drawn from several first century sources. Most importantly, it quotes a letter of a first century legate, probably C. Licinius Mucianus, who was legate of Syria AD 67-9. This makes reference to denarii. This letter in turn refers to a letter of Germanicus:

'The tax on animals for slaughter should be reckoned in denarii, as Germanicus Caesar also made clear in his letter to Statilius, to the effect that taxes should be reckoned in Italian asses. Any tax of less than a denarius the tax collector will exact according to custom in *kerma* (= small change). In the case of animals rejected on account of natural death the tax is not due.'

The context is a passage referring to a tax on animals for slaughter, and it is not entirely clear whether Germanicus' stipulations were intended to cover everything, or only animals for slaughter.³³² However, Germanicus quite clearly states that the tax was to be reckoned in Italian asses, which suggests that the finances of Syria were calculated in Roman denominations. It is interesting to note that smaller sums were to be collected in bronze coin - taxes were not always in silver, although it is quite clear that silver was preferred, for larger sums tend to be reckoned in units of whole denarii. But does the reckoning of taxes mean the

³³¹ The most recent and complete translation of the text is that of J.F. Matthews, *JRS* 74 (1984), pp. 157-180. It is this translation which is quoted here.

³³² Shortly afterwards, Mucianus refers to a letter of Corbulo, who had stipulated a tax of one denarius per camel entering the territory of Palmyra. In this case there is no doubt that the letter of Corbulo refers only to a tax on camels, perhaps only at Palmyra.

circulation of the physical coins in Syria? There also appears to be a reference in the 'old law' to sestertii. The sestertius, a coin struck almost exclusively at Rome, does not appear to have been at all common in Roman Syria, and very few from before AD 137 have been found anywhere in the province. Whilst it was a standard unit of account at Rome, the sestertius is hardly ever referred to at all in the east. In view of this, it is likely that a sestertius in this inscription was only a unit of account. The same might equally apply to denarii and Italian asses. Real Italian asses from Rome are as rare as sestertii in Syria; therefore they can only be notional sums, reckoned in local currency. Denarii and asses may be units of reckoning rather than physical coins. Taxes might be reckoned in Italian asses and denarii, and collected in obols and tetradrachms. The reckoning of taxes in denarii and asses is, however, a sign of 'Romanisation' of provincial finances, even if it does not help to provide a secure date for the introduction of the denarius.

Denarii were certainly being hoarded with tetradrachms in the second century, under Hadrian. The presence of a few Republican denarii in some of these hoards does not prove that these coins had reached Syria during the Republic, and they might well have entered Syria in the second century. By the reigns of Pescennius Niger and Septimius Severus there can be no doubt that the denarius was circulating freely in Syria. There is, therefore, a rough *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the denarius, of the second quarter of the second century.

Inscriptions and papyri have been used before as evidence for the changes from Greek to Roman denominations (and therefore presumably coinage), but the evidence is scanty indeed. Undue importance has been attached to the Dura papyri which refer to coins, and inscriptions from Jerash. This evidence was used by Bellinger and others to support an argument for the replacement of terms such as tetradrachms 'of Tyrian stamp' by reckoning in denarii in the third century. The last Dura document to mention drachms, which also mentions denarii, is dated 204. However, as only four Dura papyri mention Tyrian silver, the evidence is somewhat selective. The denarius symbol (✠) is well attested among the graffiti at Dura. These, however, cannot be dated accurately, and they probably belong to the third century. All of this evidence falls too late, at a time when it is clear that denarii circulated freely.

Dura, however, is not the only source of information. Other inscriptions refer to sums of money in denarii and drachms much earlier

than AD 204. The inscriptions from the Temenos of Zeus Madbachos and Selamanes, north of Aleppo, constructed *circa* AD 86-120, gives the cost of building in sums of both denarii and drachms.³³³ Other undated inscriptions from Syria give the cost of objects in denarii and drachms.³³⁴ An even earlier inscription mentions denarii; a statue bracket at Palmyra honours a man who donated gifts to a temple, their value being given in denarii. The reading of the date is not wholly clear, except for the number 'T', 300, although it must be before AD 88/9, when the Seleucid era, which was used at Palmyra, reached the year 400. Prentice read year 382, AD 70/1.³³⁵ At any rate, even these rough dates are contemporary with the known Flavian issues of denarii in Syria, which does not push the date of the introduction much further forward than hoard evidence. There is also, of course, the danger that the inscriptions refer to notional sums of account rather than physical coins.

Possibly the denarius circulated in Syria in the early Julio-Claudian period; lack of evidence makes it impossible to say with certainty. If the contents of the Mount Carmel hoard were drawn from circulation, there must have been a special consignment of denarii, presumably direct from the mint (which would explain the absence of other denarius types), sent to Syria under Augustus. Since the hoard dates to the reign of Nero, and there were no later Julio-Claudian denarii present, it does not seem likely that Syria was open for other denarii to circulate freely, or else we might have expected other types in the hoard. The evidence for denarii in Syria before the Flavian period is equivocal at best. In the Flavian period denarii were certainly produced in Syria, and the tetradrachms were produced on a silver standard compatible with them. Hoard evidence shows that by the second century, denarii had indeed reached Syria. It is tempting to suggest that the Neronian 'reform' of the Syrian silver coinage, and the subsequent withdrawal of older silver coins from circulation, represents the point at which denarii began to circulate. By the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius denarii were circulating freely alongside tetradrachms, and both currencies were hoarded together.

³³³ Dated by its inscriptions; the one that mentions drachms is dated to AD 86, the denarii are recorded on an inscription of about 120. W.K. Prentice, *Part III of the Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900*, New York, 1906, nos. 100 and 104.

³³⁴ Prentice, *op. cit.*, 363 and 364, dedications by the same man.

³³⁵ Prentice, *op. cit.*, no. 352.

Unlike in Egypt, where the tetradrachm was very debased and where the currency was apparently protected by having a closed monetary system, the Syrian tetradrachm continued to be used alongside the denarius and its successor, the radiate, until the end of the Syrian provincial coinage in 253/254. From about the Flavian period onwards, then, it would appear likely that for silver coinage, the Syrian currency system was an 'open' one with regard to denarii. This in turn is important for understanding the relationship of the denarius and tetradrachm coinages to one another, and whether one or the other was overvalued. This is a subject to which we shall turn presently.

3.10 The aureus in Syria

The date of the introduction of the aureus to Syria is likewise problematic. Some of the uncertain mints of the civil wars at the end of the Republic produced aurei as well as denarii; as I have said above, there is no evidence as yet that any of the mints were situated in Syria. Aurei, like denarii, were certainly produced at Antioch under Vespasian, and the Acre hoard shows that Roman gold was circulating in the mid second century AD. Under Pescennius Niger, and Septimius Severus, aurei were again being struck in Syria. Their occurrence seems to parallel that of denarii, but the evidence for gold is even scantier than that for silver, and more evidence is necessary for us to determine when the aureus was introduced into the province.

3.11 Longevity of coins in circulation

A. Countermarks

One feature of countermarks is that they tell us what coins were in circulation together at the time the countermarking took place. Since most civic countermarks were selective and were usually applied to the coinage of a single city, their value for the study of circulation as a whole, even within a city territory, is extremely limited.³³⁶ Almost all countermarks in northern Syria seem to be selective; those that were not applied to a single city coinage have been discussed above. However, countermarks specific to particular cities can sometimes give some indication of how long particular issues remained in circulation, and their relative frequency on different issues may be an indication of the proportions of coins surviving in circulation when the countermarking took place. Similarly they may hint at reforms or demonetisation. Unfortunately, many countermarks are now rare, and the list below considers only the commoner marks, which were applied to coins of several emperors. Most of the cities issued coins infrequently, so that countermarks inevitably cover only the previous reign or two, for which coins were issued. Some countermarks may, of course, have assisted the circulation of old coins, which might not otherwise have been acceptable. Although the Brunk hoard, consisting mostly of very worn Antiochene coinage of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians, was evidently circulating at the end of Trajan's reign, or the beginning of Hadrian's reign, it is not clear whether it was circulating because it was countermarked by the Roman legions (and perhaps other authorities), or whether such worn coins were circulating even when not countermarked. There are no countermarks on Syrian silver. However, countermarks on silver from neighbouring Cyprus suggests that Flavian coins were still in use as late as the sole reign of Caracalla.³³⁷ The data presented here is derived from *GIC*, and further specimens noted by myself in trade or in collections not visited by Howgego.

³³⁶ The best treatment, on data from Asia Minor, is in *GIC*, pp 32-51.

³³⁷ *GIC*, nos. 845-8.

only applied to recent coins with little wear. Howgego notes one on what may be a coin of Tiberius.³³⁹ If the countermark does represent a sample of what was in circulation, then it appears that most of the coinage prior to Nerva had disappeared from circulation by the reign of Hadrian. A small hoard from the same period shows a similar bias towards second century coins. However, further evidence is necessary before any conclusions can be drawn.

ii) Other cities

Seleucia Pieria, Catalogue no. 96, *GIC* 563. Severus Alexander or later.

Septimius Severus	II
Caracalla (sole reign)	-
Elagabalus	III
Severus Alexander	IIIIIII

The countermark was restricted to coins of Seleucia. No coins of this city were issued after the reign of Severus Alexander, and the countermark might have been applied years later. None have been found on the prolific issues of Trajan, struck circa 113-117; either they were too worn at the time of countermarking, or they were not circulating in any numbers. Between Trajan and Septimius there were only small issues of coin, under Antoninus Pius and Commodus, and countermarks, probably of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, which occur frequently on coins of Trajan and Antoninus Pius. The coins of Trajan were the commonest coins in circulation at the time of Marcus Aurelius. Between Marcus Aurelius and Severus Alexander, the coins of the second century may have disappeared from circulation at Seleucia.

Nicopolis Seleucidis, Catalogue no. 15, *GIC* 263. Severus Alexander - Philip.

Caracalla (sole reign)	II
Elagabalus	I
Severus Alexander	IIIIIIII

Any generalisations using as evidence a coinage as rare as that of Nicopolis is fraught with difficulties. The countermark seems to have been applied to all denominations. It does not occur on the coinage of Philip, and so it was probably applied before 249. The pattern, such as it is, on such a small sample, seems to repeat that of the example from Seleucia above. Unlike Seleucia, however, no coinage was issued at Nicopolis before the

³³⁹ ANS collection.

reign of Commodus. None of Commodus' coins are countermarked, but they are excessively rare. Another countermark, Catalogue no. 18, was applied in or after the reign of Philip. It is also found on a coin of Severus Alexander, but on no earlier coins.

Uncertain site, perhaps Antioch (Catalogue, Antioch, no. 158), *GIC* 599.

Augustus, Antioch	III
Tiberius, Antioch	IIIIII
Claudius, Antioch	IIIIIIII
Nero, Antioch	IIIIII
Antiochus IV (Commagene)	I

This mark was probably applied during the rebellions against Nero, or the civil wars that followed, AD 68-69. It was only applied to coinages with portraits, the larger denominations in circulation at the time. That the mark is found on a coin of Commagene provides a good parallel with a few of the countermarks discussed in a previous section, indicating some sort of compatibility between SC coinage and the royal issues of Commagene. The spread of coins compares well with those on which the countermark of Domitian occurs (see above).

Unfortunately the extent of the countermarking is insufficient to give anything other than a very fragmented picture over time. The evidence seems to indicate that by the mid second century, the coinages of the Julio-Claudians had virtually disappeared from circulation, and by the mid third century, there were few pre-Severan coins still in use.

B. Hoards

The evidence of continued use and survival of coins from hoard material is obscured by the lack of recorded hoards. The longevity of silver coins in hoards has already been covered in a previous section. There was a complete removal of silver prior to Nero's reform, between Nero and Trajan. However, there were no further removals of silver in this way. There seem to have been major periods of recoinage, under Trajan, and the Severans, but none of these resulted in a thorough destruction of the earlier issues. After Nero's reform, it was quite possible for a tetradrachm to remain in circulation up to, and into, the second half of the third century. Hoards from Mesopotamia seem to show an even greater period of longevity, where tetradrachms of the first century BC remained in use into the mid third century.

The evidence for longevity from hoards of bronze coins is far less complete than for silver. The few recorded examples give the same general impression as the countermarks on bronze coins.

Hoards of the first century BC show that pre-Roman and Roman period coinages circulated together.³⁴⁰ The Nisibis hoard includes royal Seleucid coinage, as well as issues of many cities and kingdoms. It is possible that the reform of the Antiochene coinage in year 19 of the Pompeian era (48/7 BC) resulted in a demonetisation of earlier coins, but the evidence is not clear, and no hoards of the second half of the first century BC have been recorded. Nor have any hoards of the first century AD been recorded. The so-called 'Brunk hoard', which probably came from the eastern *limes*, ends with Trajan. Most of the coins in the hoard were very worn, and were countermarked by various authorities, especially the Roman legions. In this case it is not clear whether the countermarks enabled the coins to remain in circulation (see above), which might not be indicative of a general pattern throughout Syria.

Two hoards of the second century, one from Assur (outside the Roman empire) and one from the Antioch region, seem to parallel the evidence of contemporary countermarks. They indicate that the first century AD coinage of Antioch had mostly disappeared from circulation in the mid second century.

Most of the third century hoards consist of coins of Antioch, and most belong to the period after Severus Alexander. They generally begin with Macrinus or Elagabalus, and seem to show that the immense issues of the second century had more or less dropped out of use. The large and diverse contents of Dura hoards 8 and 9 (actually the same hoard), which terminate with Trajan Decius, contain a few second century coins (0.9%), but most of the coins are third century. When the Antiochene coinage is isolated from the total figures for each reign, the pattern of the Antiochene coinage is very like that of other hoards of this period which contain almost exclusively Antiochene coins.

The table below gives the contents of Dura hoard 8-9, by reign. It does not include one anomalous coin, of Antiochus III, nor the illegible pieces. The figures in column 1) give the total number of coins for each reign, which includes a large number of coins of Edessa, Nisibis and Amasia, and column 2) gives the numbers of coins of Antioch present. 3)

³⁴⁰ *Eg.* Hama: see Appendix 3.

gives the numbers for other north Syrian mints, Seleucia, Cyrrhus, Hierapolis, Zeugma and Samosata.

	1)	2)	3)
Domitian	3	3	-
Nerva	-	-	-
Trajan	1	-	-
Hadrian	-	-	-
Antoninus Pius	13	1	4
Marcus Aurelius	6	1	3
Commodus	1	-	-
Septimius Severus	626	-	-
Caracalla (sole reign)	11	-	3
Macrinus	7	6	-
Elagabalus	167	110	6
Severus Alexander	799	79	2
Gordian III	934	-	-
Philip	232	152	3
Trajan Decius	17	4	-
Trebonianus Gallus	-	-	-

The small amount of data available seem to suggest that two points, the first roughly the reign of Trajan, and the second in the Severan period, mark the moments where coinage in circulation began to change, and coinage issued before these points began to disappear from circulation. These periods coincide with notable changes to the silver coinage (see section on metrology). It is impossible to tell from the small amount of material available whether the changes took place suddenly or over a period of decades. SC bronzes of Augustus seem to have remained in circulation for about a century, whereas the circulating life of Vespasian's Antiochene issues may have been considerably shorter. During the Severan period, when the new colonial coinage of Antioch commenced, the resulting large quantities of new coins may have had a considerable effect on the balance of what was in circulation. The gaps in our knowledge are very great, but a comparison of countermark and hoard evidence allows a generalised pattern to emerge.

Chapter 4: Metrology and denominations

A. Silver denominations

The purpose of this section is to try to determine the value of Syrian silver denominations, by comparing them to the other silver coinages of the Roman Empire, and in particular, the Roman denarius. Most of the silver coinage in Syria was composed of large silver coins, which numismatists have called tetradrachms, which were coins that divided into four smaller silver units, or drachms. By comparison, the neighbouring region of Cappadocia always used smaller units, consisting predominantly of what numismatists have called didrachms, drachms, and hemidrachms. The clear dichotomy between the kinds of silver denominations used in Cappadocia and Syria, two regions where a copious silver coinage of Greek-style denominations continued to be issued from the first to the third century AD, is extremely interesting, because it seems to indicate that there were two different currency systems in use in two neighbouring provinces. Furthermore, hoard and site find evidence do not indicate much mixing of the silver coinage of the two regions, as if there were some barrier, such as incompatibility, which prevented their mingling.

By far the most comprehensive study of Roman silver standards is that produced by David Walker, presenting and interpreting a vast amount of silver coinage throughout the empire between the reigns of Augustus and Trebonianus Gallus. The study presented here owes him a great debt; for without his analyses it would have been impossible to study the metrology of the Syrian silver coinage, and to present a case against some of his conclusions. I have used his extensive lists of analyses throughout this section.³⁴¹ In his pioneering work he was able to demonstrate some

³⁴¹ The figures quoted are not absolute; that is, they are not necessarily indicative of the original weight standards, since Walker's data frequently derives from only a few coins, many of which are worn or cannot be dated with great accuracy. His figures are beset with further problems; the data were obtained by X-ray fluorescence, sampling cleaned areas on the edges of coins and extrapolating the metallic content of the entire coin from these readings. Whilst the problems of surface enrichment do not necessarily affect purer silver coins, Roger Bland has informed me that samples taken from the interior of baser coins have provided results which challenge some of Walker's figures. Surface enrichment is probably to blame for the high deviation in individual silver contents of coins in Walker's tables, especially in baser coins, from the second century

interrelationships between the eastern silver coinages and the denarius, and his conclusions have met with general acceptance.³⁴² Walker, as others before him³⁴³, saw the denarius as the supreme coin in the empire, against which all other silver coinages were generally overvalued: 'In the Julio-Claudian period all the provincial currencies were overvalued against the denarius to a greater or lesser degrees, and their production would have been of profit to the state.'³⁴⁴ The idea of overvaluation, with the state profiting from the issue of overvalued coinage, was an appealing one when it came to dealing with what seemed to be slightly contradictory evidence against the supremacy of the denarius: the fact that the Roman authorities continued to issue 'non-denarii', that is, tetradrachms and didrachms. One way of overcoming this problem was to suggest that the Roman authorities quickly made eastern silver coinages compatible with denarii, and ensured that they could be reckoned in terms of whole denarii, and not awkward fractions like three quarters of a denarius. A drachm was therefore equal to a denarius. However, according to Walker's analyses, the silver content of a drachm - which either existed as a physical coin, or could be calculated by dividing a tetradrachm by four, or a didrachm by two - was frequently at variance with the silver content of a denarius. Most of the time the eastern drachms appeared to be slightly overvalued against the denarius, that is, they contained less silver per drachm than a contemporary denarius. It therefore cost less to produce a denarius' worth of provincial silver than it did to produce a denarius. Walker first suggested

onwards, and in reality, the silver contents of coins within certain groups are probably much more consistent. The mean provided by Walker for each group of coins is probably more reliable, but surface enrichment is still likely to result in the silver content of the coinage being artificially high. The figures given here for silver contents, therefore, are approximations, based on Walker's figures, and do not indicate how much silver was originally intended to be in the coinage. Surface enrichment does not affect the discussions presented below to any great degree, since the original amount of silver within the coin does not concern us here. I am concerned with comparing the averages for different groups of coins.

³⁴² Aspects of overvaluation and undervaluation questioned by Burnett, *NC* 1980, pp. 214-7, but the direct compatibility of eastern coinages to the denarius is often accepted without question; *GIC* pp. 52-3: 'During the imperial period the Greek silver standards were either superseded by or assimilated to the Roman denarius'; Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coins*, p. 62: 'The denarius was clearly intended as the dominant silver coin for the Roman Empire, and by the second century AD it seems that all of the silver standards in the empire had been brought into line with it...'

³⁴³ Eg. S. Bolin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire*; J.-P. Callu, *La politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238 à 311*.

³⁴⁴ *MRSC* III, p. 109.

overvaluation against the denarius when dealing with Julio-Claudian cistophori of Asia. Here the overvaluations were quite small, 6-11%, which could also be explained as the result of data derived from cistophori which were more worn than the denarii Walker analysed. Walker also argued that their value might not always have been three denarii, even if they appeared to be the same type of coin, or were overstruck on coins originally worth three denarii.³⁴⁵ But elsewhere we find surprisingly high overvaluations. At Caesarea in Cappadocia the coinage was often overvalued by over 30%, and in Syria under Caracalla and Macrinus tetradrachms seem to have been overvalued by 50%. At Alexandria in Egypt, the 'billon tetradrachm' fared even worse: after a debasement under Commodus, it was overvalued by more than 50%. According to Walker's analyses, the degrees of overvaluation varied unpredictably. Overvaluation, however, saw to the circulation of the eastern coins being restricted; it was a way of ensuring that debased Cappadocian drachms and Syrian tetradrachms stayed in provinces where their value could be enforced. This was important because, by the late first century AD, all eastern silver coinages are presumed to have been tarified in terms of denarii. How strong is the evidence for extreme overvaluation of provincial coinage, and the 'triumph' of the denarius as the main unit of silver in the Roman empire?

i) Overvaluation of the denarius

The Roman denarius was overvalued against silver bullion. This means that it was worth more than its weight in silver. I make these statements without hedging them with 'perhaps' or 'probably', because it must have been so. For the issuing authority, the purpose of a coin was to ensure that its users spent it, and did not hoard it, or melt it down and turn it into bullion, plate or jewellery. One safeguard to ensure that the issuing authority did not lose it altogether was to demand its return through taxation. Taxes under the principate were probably collected in silver where possible, and denarii issued by the state were recovered by this means. A way of discouraging hoarding of the denarius was to overvalue it, so that the goods that could be purchased with a denarius were always of greater value than the intrinsic value of silver in the coin. This helped to ensure that denarii stayed in circulation. The more times a denarius was exchanged for bronze coin at a moneychanger's table, the more profit it

³⁴⁵ *MRSC* I, p. 35 and II, p. 64.

made for the authority that issued it. Circulation and exchange of the denarius was the source of profit, not simply issue and recovery through taxes, since the government issued an overvalued coin, and recovered an overvalued coin in taxes.

There is positive evidence of the overvaluation of the Roman denarius. At Rome, in AD 68-69, the emperors Galba and Otho issued a denarius containing about 3g of silver. Rome was not the only centre of production for denarii, and some provincial mints struck a silver coinage of Roman type, and there was often slightly more silver in these denarii than in the denarii of Rome. Galba's so-called 'Spanish' and 'Gallic' mints produced denarii with a mean weight of over 3.2g, as did other peripheral mints of AD 69, making the denarius of Rome an overvalued coin against them. Vespasian's denarii at Rome are overvalued against several of his provincial denarius issues. Under Elagabalus, the denarius contained about 1.4g of silver, but some eastern mints were producing denarii on higher standards. Even denarii of Augustus varied in silver content, depending on where they were struck.³⁴⁶

Taxation in silver had another advantage for the state; as the denarius became more debased, that is, its silver content became less and less, the government could remove old coins of higher silver content, melt them down, and re-issue them as new debased denarii. We can see from Walker's analyses how debasement of the denarius took place, very slowly in the first century AD, and increasing in the second and third centuries until *circa* AD 260 when the silver content of the coinage became negligible. Apart from two dramatic debasements, under Nero, and under Septimius Severus, the debasement was gradual, in stages of less than 0.4g of silver per denarius (I exclude the 'reforms' of Domitian and Pertinax from these figures). In order to prevent hoarding, and consequently loss to the state of older and purer coins, debasement was deliberately a gradual process, and the speed of debasement was controlled by the degree to which a contemporary denarius was overvalued against silver bullion. Thus, in AD 107, Trajan debased the denarius from a mean average of about 3.00g of silver per denarius, to about 2.85g of silver, so that a post-reform denarius

³⁴⁶ Walker, *MRSC* I, pp. 5-13 (Augustus), pp. 102-7 (Galba, Vitellius, Civil War, Vespasian), and III, pp. 24-6, for Elagabalus. Elagabalus' eastern silver was probably struck at several mints, and these mints may have had different standards. The so-called eastern mint of Severus Alexander has a standard roughly comparable to that of the denarius of Rome, as do some of the supposed eastern coins of Elagabalus. Further analyses of these coinages would be very helpful in sorting them out.

contained about 0.15g of silver less than a pre-reform denarius. The standard of 3.00g had been maintained, with some fluctuations, since the reign of Nero, in other words, for about fifty years. I would suggest that even after the debasement of 107, the denarius of 3.00g was still overvalued against silver bullion. Therefore the coin-using population would not be encouraged to hoard pre-107 denarii containing 3.00g of silver, since their buying power was still greater than their intrinsic worth. This 'margin' of overvaluation of both pre- and post-107 denarii would give the government time to recover pre-107 denarii before further debasements occurred, if it needed to do so. It seems that a removal of denarii issued before Nero's reform in AD 64 took place at about this time, which perhaps indicates that the silver content of Republican and early imperial silver may have been greater than the 'margin' of overvaluation of the denarius of 2.85g of silver against silver bullion. Presumably the state would already have removed the bulk of the undervalued issues, after earlier debasements, when they were still overvalued. Below I present some ways in which the silver coinages of the eastern empire can help to suggest the degree to which the denarius was overvalued against silver bullion at certain times.

There are other factors which may have affected the overvaluation of silver coinage. Somehow, costs in producing the coinage had to be met: of transport of raw materials, their melting, the production of individual flans, their striking, and transport of ready-made coins to far-flung places of distribution. Sending denarii to Britain, to Germany, and to North Africa from Rome must have been expensive. Sums of money may have been more time-consuming and expensive to produce in small units like denarii than larger units such as tetradrachms. In theory, a tetradrachm could represent four denarii in a single flan and a single striking. The distribution costs of tetradrachms would also be lower than the distribution costs of large denarius issues, since the tetradrachms did not have to be transported the distances that denarii apparently moved, or sent to more than one province for distribution. These costs may have been included in the degree of overvaluation of coinage, or the losses incurred in production and distribution may have been recouped through circulation and exchange.

ii) Undervaluation and overvaluation of provincial silver

One of the major obstacles to the study of eastern silver denominations is the confusing and varying degrees of overvaluation against the denarius which, according to Walker's calculations, seem to be a

feature of eastern silver coinages. It is impossible to determine the denomination of a coin simply by the amount of silver it has in it, except that a drachm cannot contain more silver than the 'preferred' denarius. Walker's view was that the Roman government maintained Greek denominations such as didrachms and tetradrachms, usually equating them with the denarius, but saw to it that they contained less silver than a denarius. These eastern silver coins were therefore overvalued against the denarius, and produced at profit to the state. Their value was enforced in the province where they were meant to circulate. Overvalued coins would not be acceptable in denarius-using areas because their silver content was too low. The paradigm for this system appears to be Egypt, where denarii did not circulate, and where a 'tetradrachm' currency, apparently heavily overvalued against the denarius, existed from the reign of Claudius. Walker suggested that even small amounts of overvaluation, such as 6-10%, were seen as profit by the Roman authorities. Equality with the denarius was not profitable, therefore the silver content of eastern coinages was kept below that of the denarius. In this way, the denarius could remain the dominant 'preferred currency' of the Roman Empire. Many of Walker's calculations show eastern silver coinage containing less silver than a contemporary denarius. Thus, as a general principle, the 'Walker model' of overvaluation of eastern silver seems tempting.

There are, however, features of eastern silver which cannot be explained by the Walker model. Walker himself made no attempt to explain them. Firstly, a number of Syrian tetradrachm issues presumed to be worth four denarii are actually *undervalued* against the contemporary denarius: the tetradrachms of Galba and Otho contain *more* silver than four denarii. So do those of the Flavians. The Syrian coins of Nerva and Trajan also show undervaluation, sometimes quite high.³⁴⁷ Likewise, other eastern silver of the same period is undervalued (covered in more detail below, section iv). There is a forty year period in which, according to Walker, the Syrian tetradrachm is undervalued against the Roman denarius (after which, it suddenly plummets to a high overvaluation - see below). If the denarius was a preferred currency by virtue of its higher silver content, undervaluation of a provincial coinage would be impossible. If differences of silver content were as important as Walker suggests, it would not be

³⁴⁷ According to Walker's results, a tetradrachm of Nerva contains 13.12g of silver, 1g of silver more than four contemporary denarii at 12.12g. On this standard, three tetradrachms of Nerva, nominally worth 12 denarii, would contain 13 denarii's worth of silver.

beneficial for Nerva's denarii to circulate alongside Nerva's tetradrachms, since the undervalued tetradrachms were likely to be hoarded and disappear from circulation, which was, of course, detrimental to the issuing authority. I would argue that the difference between the silver content of Nerva's denarii and Nerva's tetradrachms was not important to the Roman authorities, since both fell within the degree or 'margin' of overvaluation of four denarii against silver bullion (see section i, above).³⁴⁸ If small differences in silver content were important, and the 'preferred' denarius circulated freely throughout regions such as Syria and Cappadocia, where provincial silver was often overvalued or undervalued, problems arise for one or other of the silver coinages. Whichever way one looks at it, undervalued or overvalued, one silver currency is overvalued against the other. Huge overvaluations of provincial coinage seem unlikely unless the provincial system were 'closed' to free circulation of denarii, since if any denarii were in circulation alongside the overvalued provincial coins, then the denarii would disappear into hoards, and this would be detrimental to the state. Furthermore, if small differences in silver content were important, Syria between the reigns of Galba and Trajan would have to be free of denarii also, since their lower silver content would make them less desirable than tetradrachms, and there would be little point in the government introducing denarii which might drive out its own tetradrachms. Absolute equilibrium would seem the most desirable relationship. Yet in Syria, from Galba to Trajan, we seem to have a provincial coinage which contains either the same or more than a contemporary denarius. These coins are not found outside Syria. That the undervalued tetradrachms exist is plain enough. We can see the undervaluations in Walker's tables of analyses. In this case, the denarius cannot be seen as a 'preferred coin', and at most can be seen as equal. Walker's model of overvaluation as a means of restricting the circulation of

³⁴⁸ It might be objected that if the tetradrachms were undervalued against the denarius, someone might hit on the idea of taking them elsewhere, to denarius-using areas, as bullion, which would be detrimental to the issuing authority. For such a scheme to be profitable, the coinage would have to be undervalued by a sufficient amount to cover the cost of transport. Undervalued Syrian tetradrachms do not appear to have 'leaked' into denarius-using areas. (I know of none from hoards or sites in Asia Minor.) Denarii, which were vastly undervalued in Egypt, were presumed not to have been freely taken into Egypt because such actions were forbidden, or money-changers were instructed not to take them. If such 'rules' existed in Egypt, they perhaps existed elsewhere, but if the Syrian tetradrachms were still overvalued against bullion, there would be no incentive for anyone to transport them elsewhere.

provincial silver cannot explain these tetradrachms. I believe that there is a simpler explanation for the reason why provincial silver coins such as tetradrachms stayed in one province. Tetradrachms did not circulate beyond Syria because they were tetradrachms, and incompatible with other currency systems. They were meant to be spent by coin-users in Syria. They were not used for inter-provincial transactions because the denarius was the silver unit for inter-provincial transactions. 'Undervalued' tetradrachms did not leak out of Syria, because they were not really undervalued; they were actually overvalued against bullion, and therefore there was no point in individuals removing them from circulation in Syria.

Let us turn to overvaluations of provincial silver. Walker's analyses provide us with the most extensive figures for overvaluations against the denarius. Under the Julio-Claudians the figure appears to be generally rather small, averaging less than 20%.³⁴⁹ This might be explained either as a generalised 'profit margin' on the striking of provincial silver and which helped to limit the circulation of certain issues (so Walker, *MRSC* I, p. 35, 46, 51, 53), or (as I would prefer) simply indicative of a general eastern standard which was maintained without direct reference to the silver content of denarii, because the difference between 9.86g of silver in a cistophorus of Claudius and 10.77g of silver in three contemporary denarii was well within the degree of overvaluation against silver bullion common to both coinages.³⁵⁰ But later, in the Flavian period, we come across inexplicable variations in the degree of overvaluation. Cistophori:

³⁴⁹ Crete: Tiberius-Nero: 19%, falling to 17%; Cistophori, Augustus: 6%, Claudius: 11%; Lycia, Augustus: 16%, Claudius: 5% (?); Caesarea, Nero: 19%, falling to 16%; Pontus, Polemo: 16.5%; Syria presents a different picture and is dealt with below: section iv.

³⁵⁰ Almost 1g, as we have seen with Syrian tetradrachms of Nerva against denarii of the same emperor. I might also point out that at Alexandria, a standard of about 2.19g of silver to the Alexandrian tetradrachm is thought to have been maintained from Nero to Marcus Aurelius without direct reference to the progressive debasements of the denarius. It is currently assumed by numismatists that throughout the period an Alexandrian tetradrachm was equal to one denarius, and that the tetradrachm was heavily overvalued. But successive debasements of the denarius gradually lessened the degree of overvaluation, from 37% under Nero to about 19% in AD 148 (*MRSC* II, p. 115). Under Marcus Aurelius, the overvaluation increased to about 41%. The tetradrachm was dramatically debased under Commodus, to produce a coinage supposedly overvalued by 64% (*MRSC* II, p. 116). If profit was a strong motive, why was the Roman government so slow to change the silver content of the Alexandrian tetradrachm? Perhaps it was so debased that changes were considered unimportant. Walker and King (*MRSC* I, p. 139-40) call the Egyptian tetradrachms 'a purely token currency', but a purely token coinage does not have to contain any silver at all.

No overvaluation; Caesarea: 34.5%; Lycia: 8%; Tarsus: Undervaluation (?); Cyprus: Probably no overvaluation, perhaps even slight undervaluation³⁵¹; Syria: No overvaluation, often undervaluation. By the reign of Trajan, Walker's estimated overvaluations have become even more confused: Lycia: 6%; Caesarea: 20%, rising to 25%; Tarsus: about 30%; Syria: Undervaluation, changing to 19% overvaluation after 107, Arabia: No overvaluation (assuming a Rhodian cistophoric standard); Cyrenaica: Undervaluation. If the Roman state, which was producing these coins (and often striking them at Rome), intended to make a profit from foisting debased coinages on the provinces, why did it not take steps to standardise the levels of overvaluation against the denarius, and prevent undervaluation of Syrian tetradrachms and other coinages? There is no apparent pattern to these degrees of under- and overvaluations against the denarius. How are we to believe that overvaluation was viewed both as profit and as a means of limiting the circulation of a provincial coinage if, as I have attempted to show elsewhere (above, chapter 2.1, section B.xiv), the mint at Rome produced for Trajan a Lycian coinage which was only slightly overvalued against the denarius, a highly overvalued Caesarean coinage, and an *undervalued* coinage for Syria? There is something very wrong with the 'Walker model' for overvaluation of provincial coinage.

The problems may lie in our assumptions about the value of eastern silver denominations compared to the denarius. Denominations have been determined largely by inference. Literary references to denominations are few, and they are marred by the fact that it is not always clear what period each writer is referring to. For example, Festus³⁵² says that 'the Attic (talent) is six thousand denarii, the Rhodian and cistophoric (talent) four thousand five hundred denarii.' It has therefore been assumed that the cistophorus was always worth three denarii, and theoretically the cistophorus was composed of four drachms, each worth three quarters of a denarius.³⁵³ Other denominations have no supporting literary evidence,

³⁵¹ Walker's sample contained worn coins, and Cypriot silver of Vespasian remained in circulation for some time, as evidenced by the countermarks; *GIC* nos. 844-8.

³⁵² Ed. Müller, p. 359.

³⁵³ Walker was happy with this valuation of the cistophorus until he came to the reign of Hadrian, when some of the worn, old cistophori of earlier reigns were recoined. If Hadrian's coins were cistophori of three denarii, they were now undervalued at 3.10g of silver per theoretical denarius (*ie.* per third of a cistophorus) against the contemporary Roman denarius of approximately 2.85g. Walker therefore suggested they were now revalued

but their value has been guessed. The Cappadocian drachm under Vespasian is slightly heavier than a contemporary denarius of AD 77-8 (3.36g as opposed to 3.19g), but it is considered equal to a denarius, although considerably more debased.³⁵⁴ The latter view, in particular, is probably wrong, as we shall see presently.

iii) Caesarea in Cappadocia: The Survival of the Rhodian Standard

One of the most heavily overvalued eastern silver coinages in the first and second centuries, according to Walker, was the coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia. The early coinages analysed, from Archelaus, the last Cappadocian monarch, to Claudius, appear to have been struck on a uniform silver standard which was not directly compatible with the denarius. However, it is worth bearing in mind the fact that the two principal silver standards used in the eastern Mediterranean in the Hellenistic period, usually called the 'Attic' and the 'Rhodian', evolved independent of the denarius. The Rhodian standard was three quarters that of the Attic, so that a Rhodian tetradrachm was worth three quarters of an Attic tetradrachm. During the Hellenistic period the standards slowly declined in weight, but neither was precisely compatible with the weight and silver content of the denarius. The Attic drachm was closest to the denarius in silver content, and it is not unlikely that the two were considered compatible with one another by the Roman authorities. Under Nero, the denarius was debased and its silver content became equal to an Attic drachm, making the equation between the two very clear.

The Caesarean drachm from Archelaus to Claudius seems to have been struck on a 'reduced' Attic standard of about 3.14g of silver to the drachm.³⁵⁵ With the coinage of Nero, however, there is evidence to pin the denominations down, with a rare issue marked 24 and 12 Italian asses. These are Greek denominations, a didrachm and drachm on a Rhodian cistophoric standard, theoretically worth 1.5 and 0.75 denarii respectively. Similar denominations are known at Antioch under Nero (see chapter 2.1, section B.viii). Walker was able to demonstrate that between *circa* AD 55 and 60 Caesarea struck a series of denominations, a 'didrachm' (worth 2 denarii), a

as tetradrachms of four denarii, with a theoretical drachm overvalued against the denarius by 19%: *MRSC* II, pp. 63-4.

³⁵⁴ E.A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia*, p. 4.

³⁵⁵ This figure is derived from combined figures of coinage issued by Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius. See *MRSC* I, pp. 37-44.

24 Italian as coin (worth 1.5 denarii), a 'drachm' (worth one denarius), a 12 Italian as coin (worth 0.75 denarii), and a 'hemidrachm' (worth 0.5 denarii). It is assumed that the 24 and 12 Italian as coins were so marked because they were abnormal denominations for Caesarea. At any rate, the analyses produce conclusive evidence that Caesarea issued silver coins more or less compatible with the denarius under Nero. ' The Cappadocian drachm is worth 16 asses, or 1 denarius. The weight of the single 12-as piece confirms this. The equality of the Cappadocian drachma with the denarius is therefore generally accepted.'³⁵⁶ Walker had jumped to an illogical conclusion: that the coin which he calls a 'drachm' was actually a Cappadocian drachm forever after. But none of the coins are marked didrachm, drachm, or hemidrachm. The only marks of value are 24 and 12 Italian asses. What if these set the standard for later Cappadocian didrachms and drachms, on a Rhodian standard? The coinage of Nero is not conclusive evidence that Caesarea had adopted Roman silver standards; it is merely evidence that it had adopted dual standards, and marked some of the coins to avoid confusion.

<u>Caesarean coinage</u>	<u>Denarius equivalent</u>	<u>Rhodian equivalent</u>	<u>Possible bronze value</u>
'Didrachm'	2 denarii	3 drachms	18 obols
24 Italian asses	1.5 denarii	2 drachms	12 obols
'Drachm'	1 denarius	1.5 drachms	8 obols
12 Italian asses	0.75 denarii	1 drachm	6 obols
'Hemidrachm'	0.5 denarii	0.75 drachms	4 obols

Figure 17. Early Neronian coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia: Possible relationships of denominations.

Believing the Cappadocian drachm to be equivalent to a denarius, Walker went on to show how under Vespasian and his successors the drachm was frequently heavily overvalued against the denarius. The mean for the period Vespasian to Commodus shows an overvaluation of about 30%. Walker was puzzled by the coinage of Commodus, which was considerably more debased than previous issues, and suggested that the 'didrachm' could perhaps represent a 1.5 denarius piece - effectively the old 24 Italian as coin. '... it is hard to see what possible reason there could be for the sudden introduction of so strange a denomination, as well as meaning a decrease in overvaluation at a time when we might more reasonably expect an increase.'³⁵⁷

³⁵⁶ *MRSC* I, p. 45.

³⁵⁷ *MRSC* II, p. 85.

Vespasian:	34%
Domitian:	35%
Nerva:	20%
Trajan:	25%
Hadrian:	33%
Antoninus Pius: 'overvaluation ... normal for eastern coinages'	
Marcus Aurelius: (early)	17%
(late)	32%
Commodus:	39%

Figure 18. Degree of overvaluation of Caesarean drachm against the denarius, according to Walker, *MRSC* I-II.

The mystery can be solved quite simply. Commodus' didrachms were worth 1.5 denarii, and there was little change in the degree of 'overvaluation' because all Caesarean didrachms from Vespasian to Commodus were probably worth 1.5 denarii. The 24 and 12 Italian as coins of Nero set the norm for the value of Caesarean coinage under Vespasian and his successors. In other words, the Greek denominational system prevailed until the reign of Pescennius Niger (on whom, see below). Until then a Caesarean drachm was worth 0.75 denarii. The Rhodian standard, which according to Walker's calculations did not outlast the reign of Trajan in coinage form (and was only used for cistophori from the Flavians onwards), was the standard of Caesarea from the Flavian period and through most of the second century AD. When Walker's analyses are tabulated assuming 0.75 denarii to the drachm, there is hardly any 'overvaluation' to the denarius at all, and frequently the same degree of undervaluation found in the Syrian issues of the same rulers.

Figure 19 shows that there was little difference between the silver value of the coinage of Caesarea and that of Rome, assuming a Rhodian standard for the Caesarean drachm. When the Caesarean coins are dated, I have given values for denarii of corresponding dates. I have excluded the hemidrachms of Vespasian and Hadrian, which give readings incompatible with both the cistophoric and denarius standard, and which may have been badly affected by surface enrichment. Other values seem slightly high, such as the didrachms of Trajan of AD 99 or Antoninus Pius of 138-140, but these are probably the result of small samples of analyses, and the drachms of the same issues perform better. Hadrian's coinage is rather overvalued, but the denarius standard used here is an average for the entire reign, and may not be representative of the dates when the Cappadocian coins were issued. At any rate, the assumption of a Rhodian drachm for the value of a

Caesarean drachm produces a much better fit than Walker's assumption of a Caesarean drachm equal to a denarius.

<u>Issue</u>	<u>g. of silver in theoretical denarius</u>	<u>g. of silver in Roman denarius</u>
Vespasian, AD 77/8 Didrachm	2.89	2.85
undated drachm	2.85	2.85
Domitian, AD 93/4 Didrachm	3.01	3.05
Nerva, AD 98/9 Didrachm	3.10	3.03
Trajan, AD 99 Didrachm	3.36	3.05
Drachm	3.17	3.05
AD 112-5 Didrachm	2.92	2.89
Drachm	2.96	2.89
AD 115-6 Didrachm	2.79	2.86
Drachm	2.89	2.86
Hadrian, undated Didrachm	2.54	2.84
undated Drachm	2.49	2.84
Antoninus Pius, AD 138-40 Didrachm	3.17	2.82
Drachm	2.89	2.82
AD 163-6 Didrachm	2.81	2.58
Marcus Aurelius, AD 175/6 'Tridrachm'	2.70	2.57
Didrachm	2.34	2.57
Commodus, AD 181-3, Didrachm	1.88	2.33

Figure 19. Relationship of grammes of silver in the Cappadocian drachm to grammes of silver in the Roman denarius, assuming 1 denarius = 0.75 Cappadocian drachms. The silver content of the Cappadocian coinage is calculated in theoretical denarii.

It is therefore incorrect to assume that all eastern silver coinages were tarified in terms of whole denarii. The Rhodian standard, with a drachm worth three quarters of the Roman denarius, continued beyond the first century AD, and was probably the principal standard for the Caesarean coinage of the second century AD, even though the commonest denominations corresponded to 0.375, 0.75 and 1.5 denarii. This would mean that for silver, four Cappadocian drachms were needed to produce a sum of money translatable in terms of whole denarii. It is hard to see this as part of a process of 'Romanisation' of the eastern currency systems, even though it seems that the mint of Rome was producing much of this coinage. It must point to a wholesale survival of the Rhodian denominational system into the second century, for Cappadocia at least. The direct connection with Rome would also suggest that the Roman authorities had no concept of 'Romanising' the denominational structure of one of the major eastern

silver coinages, which damages a fundamental assumption about the predominance of Roman denominations in the eastern Roman Empire. A further interesting observation derived from these calculations is that in comparing the Caesarean and Syrian coinages, it is the weight of silver in each coin which establishes their denomination, not their overall weight or fineness. The fineness of Caesarean coins is lower than that of Syrian coins. A Caesarean didrachm of Trajan struck before the debasement of 107 contains about 5g of silver, weighs 6.81g and is about 74% fine, whereas the contemporary Syrian didrachm contains 6.3g of silver but weighs 7.13g and is about 87% fine. The Syrian didrachm has a smaller diameter than a Caesarean didrachm, but makes up for this by being thicker, and consequently, heavier than a Caesarean didrachm. All of these factors, as well as the fact that a Caesarean didrachm was worth only 0.75 times that of the Syrian didrachm, would have hindered the circulation of Caesarean coinage in Syria, and vice versa. Theoretically, however, their intrinsic values of silver made them more or less compatible. This has some fairly serious implications for the metrology of other eastern silver coinages. In relation to three quarters of a denarius, the Caesarean drachm has a roughly equivalent weight of silver. To talk in terms of constantly high but varying overvaluation is wrong. The standards used at Rome and Caesarea were more or less the same. This is not surprising; as we have seen, Caesarean drachms and Roman denarii were often produced at the same mint. Given this, are the denominations of other eastern silver coinages calculable from their metrology? I shall examine this in the context of the Syrian issues.

iv) The Metrology of Syrian Silver, 64 BC - AD 119

The organisation and minting of Syrian tetradrachms falls into four main periods:

1. 64 BC - AD 69. Localised minting of tetradrachms, with several Syrian cities minting. Main centre of production is Antioch, but many coins also produced at Laodicea, Aradus and Tyre.
2. AD 69 - 119. Centralised organisation of minting, involving the mints of Rome, Antioch and Alexandria.
3. AD 204 - 219. Localised minting involving a number of mints, especially Antioch, Laodicea, and Tyre.
4. AD 238 - 253. Single mint at Antioch.

There are minor exceptions to these rules, such as the small output of tetradrachms in AD 70/1, probably at Caesarea in Samaria, the MON VRB

coinage of Rome, struck under Philip, or the issues of Uranius Antoninus at Emisa, but these do not obstruct the general pattern, which applies to other silver coinages in the eastern empire as well (see chapter 2.1, section B).

a) Syria: 64 BC - AD 69

Syria used at least two different silver standards. Pollux, writing in the late Antonine period, probably under Commodus, defined a Tyrian talent as equal to an Attic talent (so that a Tyrian tetradrachm was equal to a denarius), and an Antiochene talent as equal to 4500 Attic drachms, making an Antiochene tetradrachm worth three denarii. Walker's analyses of Tyrian tetradrachms of first century BC and first half of the first century AD showed that these coins contained an amount of silver which was fairly close to four denarii, and that the 'posthumous Philip' coinage of Antioch was composed of tetradrachms of three denarii.³⁵⁸ A denarius was therefore equal to a quarter of a Tyrian tetradrachm, and a third of an Antiochene tetradrachm. Perhaps it is worth noting that although Tyrian currency was finer, a denarius' or Attic drachm's worth of silver contained in one third of an Antiochene tetradrachm may have been slightly greater than a denarius' worth of silver in one quarter of a Tyrian tetradrachm; 3.43g in an Antiochene coin, as opposed to 3.3g in a Tyrian coin, according to Walker's figures. But these differences are miniscule, and should not be interpreted as significant. To all intents and purposes, the coins of Antioch and Tyre contained equal amounts of silver per denarius or Attic drachm. The Attic drachm seems on the basis of this evidence to have contained about 3.36g of silver. The total weight of the Antiochene coins, at about 14g, is almost identical to the coinage of Tyre.

The Rhodian standard seems to have been maintained at Antioch down to the reign of Augustus, whose first portrait issues, with the reverse type of Zeus Nicephorus of Daphne, contained the same amount of silver as the posthumous Philip coinage. However, both Attic and Rhodian standards continued to decline in weight and silver content. There was a 'reduced' Attic standard, on which tetradrachms of Cleopatra and M. Antonius had been issued. This contained about 3.03g of silver per Attic drachm. The reduced Attic drachm becomes important for understanding the metrology of later silver coinages in the eastern Roman empire.

After the first issue of Augustus the Syrian coinage of the Julio-Claudians becomes very much more complicated. Firstly, there is a major

³⁵⁸ *MRSC* I, pp. 70-73.

problem of sorting out mints, as outlined in chapter 2.1. Walker suggested that the two standards, the Attic standard of Tyre, and the Rhodian standard of Antioch, continued to be used up to the reign of Nero. The last known issues of 'civic' silver tetradrachms at Tyre belong to the year AD 58/9.³⁵⁹ 'In AD 59/60 there was a major reform of the silver currency of Antioch, which took the form of the adoption of the reverse type of a standing eagle which had previously been used at Tyre, but which had never been used at Antioch. Simultaneously the silver content of the tetradrachm increased considerably... The last 'eagle' tetradrachms of Nero are therefore indubitably coins worth 4 denarii; they are clearly therefore coins struck on the Tyrian (or Attic) standard.'³⁶⁰ Walker had found a very interesting solution to the problems of metrology of Julio-Claudian tetradrachms: that there were Syrian tetradrachms worth three denarii at Antioch and four denarii at Tyre up to AD 59/60, after which production of the four-denarius coin switched to Antioch, when the 'Tyrian stamp', of a standing eagle, was first introduced onto the coinage of Antioch. Walker then suggested that the terms 'argyriou Tyriou' or 'argyriou kalou Tyriou kommatos' always referred to coins on a denarius standard.³⁶¹ This may be correct, but it should be understood that the 'Tyrian stamp' was not always used for coins worth four denarii only. Under Trajan, Tyrian types occur on coins which are obviously tridrachms or didrachms, that is, coins of three or two denarii. And there are still some problems with Walker's overvaluations of Julio-Claudian coins of Syria, which seem to range from 6.5% to 29%.³⁶²

It is worth re-examining Walker's analyses and calculations in the light of what we now know about where the various issues were probably struck. The rare Zeus tetradrachms of Claudius were dismissed by Walker, since they re-used earlier Seleucid coins, simply by overstriking, which did not constitute establishing a standard. It is not clear where these coins were struck, but the very fact that they are overstruck makes them important. Immediately, the overstriking of Seleucid coins begs a question: If any 'profit' is to be gained from tinkering with the silver content of the tetradrachm issues and overvaluing them against the denarius, why were the coins simply overstruck on earlier coins? The answer can only be that the Zeus coinage of Claudius was on roughly the same standard as the

³⁵⁹ However, didrachms continued to be struck down to AD 69/70. I am grateful to Dr. B.E. Levy for this information.

³⁶⁰ *MRSC* I, p. 71.

³⁶¹ *MRSC* I, pp. 70-2.

³⁶² *MRSC* I, p. 74.

overstruck coins, i.e. a Seleucid standard, as indeed, Walker's analyses seem to show.³⁶³ If there was any perceived difference in standards there would be no point in simply overstriking. This is at once extremely interesting, since it would seem to indicate that the Seleucid standard was maintained without reference to the denarius standard. Since the Claudius 'Zeus' tetradrachms were on a standard shared by other tetradrachms, in particular the 'Tyche' coinage of Augustus and the 'eagle' coinage of Nero, the Seleucid coin provides a key to the standard being used. It is clearly on the reduced Attic standard, with a drachm of about 3g of silver.

If the grammes of silver in the Syrian issues of the Julio-Claudian period are plotted on a graph, assuming all the coins are tetradrachms, we can see how there is a fairly wide variation between the standards of different issues (Figure 20). The Tyrian tetradrachms and their Antiochene counterparts, the posthumous Philip issues, form separate and coherent groups. However, the first issues of Antioch, before 48 BC, seem to be on a 'Tyrian' (Attic) standard. This must cast some doubt on the strict divisions between a perceived 'Antiochene' standard, and a 'Tyrian' standard, based on the use of types. The Antonius and Cleopatra coins are on a standard between the Tyrian coins and the posthumous Philips of 31-13 BC. The direct relationship between the silver contents of the Tyrian tetradrachms and the posthumous Philips of 31-13 BC confirms the statement of Pollux, that there was an Antiochene standard worth 0.75 of the Tyrian standard, at least for the period after 31 BC. The Antiochene posthumous Philip tetradrachms of 31-13 BC are on the Rhodian standard.

The Antiochene 'Rhodian' standard was continued on the first issues of Augustus, and this also seems to have been the standard used for Gaius and Claudius at Antioch. Augustus' Tyche coinage appears as something of an anomaly, with a fairly wide spread of values falling between those of the Tyrian tetradrachms and the posthumous Philips. The mean for the Tyche coins is 2.89g of silver per theoretical drachm. This seems only a little below the normal level for coinage on the reduced Attic standard, and the difference, at about 0.1g, is probably not significant. The Claudius Zeus tetradrachms fall within a similar range. The mean weight of silver per drachm in the first group, comprising the posthumous Philips, the Augustan coins with the Zeus reverse, the tetradrachms of Gaius, and the Antiochene coinage of Claudius, is 2.53g, and for the second group, the Augustus Tyche, and the Claudius Zeus coinage, 2.86g. Comparison with

³⁶³ *MRSC* I, p. 61; ignoring no. 638 which is an issue of Antioch.

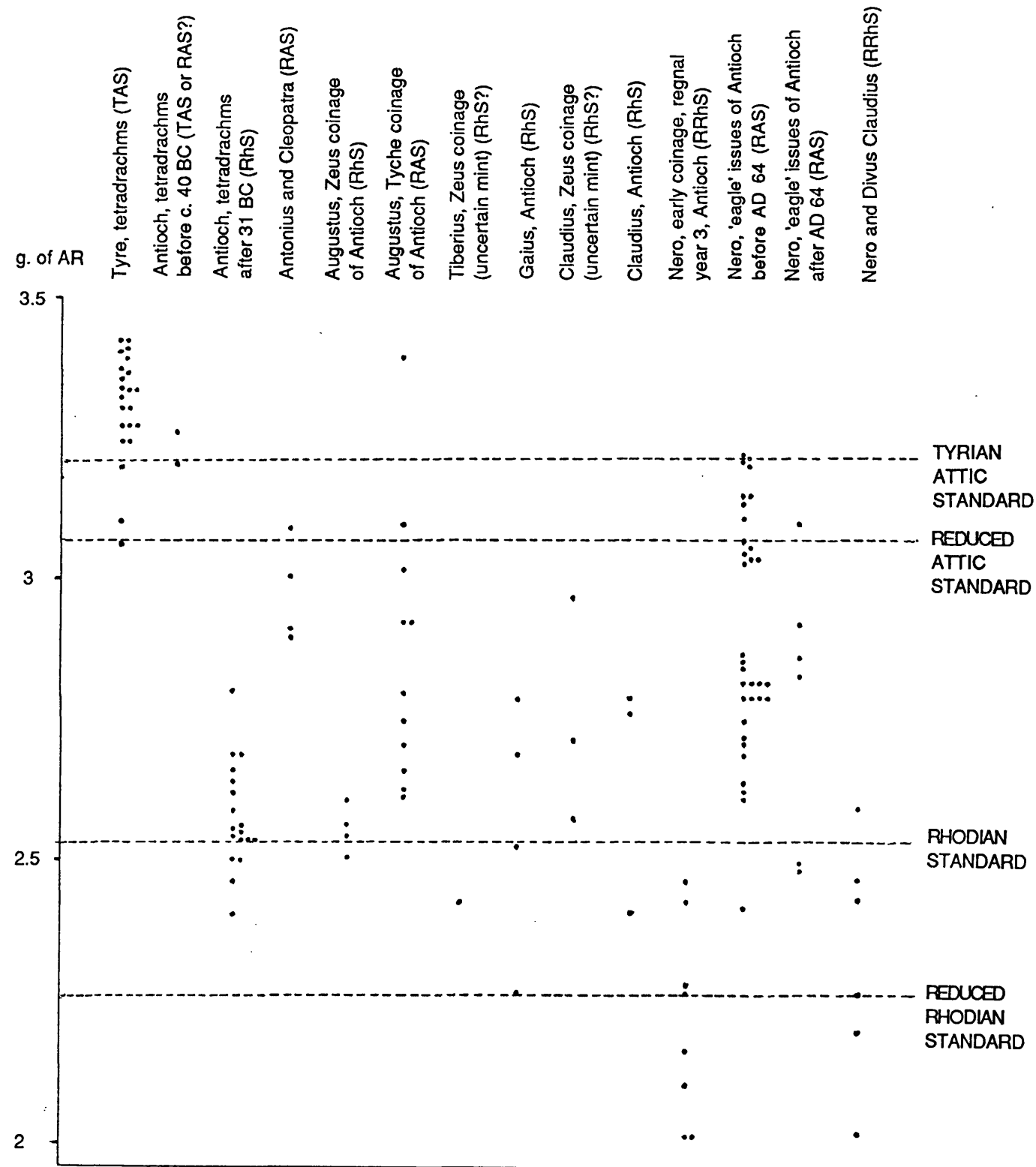


Figure 20: Syrian silver, 64 BC - AD 68. Grams of silver per theoretical drachm. Individual analyses, according to Walker, and mean values for possible standards. TAS = Tyrian Attic Standard; RAS = Reduced Attic Standard, RhS = Rhodian Standard; RRhS = Reduced Rhodian Standard.

other eastern silver tetradrachm coinages of the same period is revealing. Augustan cistophori compare well with the first group, with a mean weight of silver per drachm of 2.58g, which is what we might expect.³⁶⁴ The Rhodian standard, as Walker suggested, is therefore highly probable for the first group. The second group relates to the reduced Attic drachm of about 3g, of which it is probably a slightly debased version. This reduced Attic standard seems to have been widespread, and was apparently used at Tarsus, Caesarea (under Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius and early in the reign of Nero) and for Pontic coinage.³⁶⁵

It seems that when Tyre ceased minting tetradrachms, no more tetradrachms on the old Attic standard of 3.36g were struck under the Julio-Claudians. Therefore, the only other standards in use were the reduced Attic and the Rhodian. The values for Nero's first coinage seem very low, even lower than those of the poorer Rhodian drachms. They have a mean of about 2.18g of silver per drachm.³⁶⁶ This seems to be the standard used for the later tetradrachms of Nero and Divus Claudius, with the Latin legends (2.23g). This standard also seems to be in use on the island of Crete, where a standard of about 2.28g seems to have been used from Tiberius to Claudius.³⁶⁷ I have shown that a drachm containing this weight of silver was used at Caesarea in Cappadocia from Vespasian onwards, and I have already called this drachm 'Rhodian'. As the Rhodian drachm of 2.58g stands at 0.75 Attic drachms of about 3.36g, so this standard, with a drachm of 2.26g stands at 0.75 reduced Attic drachms of about 3g. This would seem to be a 'reduced Rhodian' standard, linked to the reduced Attic. The Neronian issues of Antioch consist of a tetradrachm, a didrachm and a drachm, and the latter two bear their denominations spelled out in full on the coins. There can be no doubt, therefore, that these coins, like the coins of Crete, contain drachms on a standard of roughly 2.25g of silver.

As the Attic standard declined, it would seem that the Rhodian standard declined with it. The use of a 'reduced Rhodian' standard, based on a 'reduced Attic' standard, permits us to view a Neronian reform of eastern silver without referring to apparently random overvaluations. If, as I have

³⁶⁴ *MRSC* I, p. 35.

³⁶⁵ For Tarsus, 3.07g per drachm, *MRSC* I, p. 56; Caesarea, 3.14g, combined values of Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius, p. 43; Pontus, 3.13g, p. 52.

³⁶⁶ Combined values of tetradrachm, didrachm and drachm, *MRSC* I, p. 62; but the values for the didrachms are very low, and 2.26g, derived from the figures for the tetradrachms and drachms might be a better average.

³⁶⁷ *MRSC* I, pp. 47-8.

indicated above, the issues of Caesarea from the Flavian period onwards consisted of a drachm worth 0.75 denarii, might not the origins of this denomination lie in the 24 and 12 Italian as coins of Caesarea? The Caesarean coins up to Claudius seem to consist of coins based around the reduced Attic standard. Between Tiberius and Claudius the Caesarean reduced Attic drachm stood at about 3.14g, and a similar value of 3.18 is derived from the coinage of Nero struck before circa AD 64. If the 24 and 12 Italian as coins are directly related to the other coins, as outlined in Figure 17, they would contain a 'reduced Rhodian' drachm of about 2.38g of silver, which seems to be close to Nero's contemporary reduced Rhodian coinage at Antioch, similarly marked with values.

The concept of a 'reduced Rhodian' standard greatly reinforces Walker's theory about a reform of the Syrian coinage of Antioch in AD 59, for in that year, Antioch began issuing tetradrachms on the reduced Attic standard of 2.90g³⁶⁸, a standard it had not used since the issue of the Augustus tetradrachms. Antioch therefore went from producing tetradrachms of three Attic drachms, to tetradrachms of four Attic drachms. Although the standard seems to have dropped a little towards the end of Nero's reign (this may be the result of worn coins), it was restored under Galba and continued as the Antiochene standard under the Flavians.

The standards of Antiochene coinage from 64 BC to AD 68 would therefore be as follows:

Aulus Gabinius-circa 48 BC:	Attic standard, perhaps reduced Attic (3.23g)
Cleopatra and Antonius:	Reduced Attic standard (3.06g)
Posthumous Philips, 31-13 BC:	Rhodian standard (2.57g)
Augustus, Zeus coinage:	Rhodian standard (2.54g)
Augustus, Tyche coinage:	Reduced Attic standard (2.89g)
Gaius:	Rhodian standard (2.45g)
Claudius:	Rhodian standard (2.57g)
Nero, to AD 57:	Reduced Rhodian standard (2.26g)
Nero, from AD 59:	Reduced Attic standard (2.90g)

³⁶⁸ *MRSC* I, p. 63.

Other coinages of Syria

Tyrian, 64 BC-AD 56/7:	Attic standard (3.30g)
Seleucia Pieria, Augustus:	Reduced Attic standard (2.81g)
Laodicea, Augustus-Nero:	Reduced Attic standard (3.00g)
Nero and Divus Claudius:	Reduced Rhodian (2.23g)

There were two silver standards in use between 64 BC and AD 69. The Attic drachm of about 3.40g, accompanied by a Rhodian drachm of 2.55g, declined in weight and silver content to a reduced Attic drachm of about 3.00g, accompanied by a reduced Rhodian drachm of about 2.25g. The two reduced standards carry forward into the next period.

b) Syria: AD 69 - 119

This period is marked by organisation of production of most major eastern coinages based around four centres: Rome, Caesarea, Antioch and Alexandria.

	g. of silver per theoretical drachm	g. of silver per Roman denarius
Galba (Antioch)	3.09	3.01
Otho (Antioch)	3.10	3.06
Vespasian, AD 69 (Antioch)	2.89	-
Vespasian, AD 69/70 (Antioch)	2.94	2.82
Vespasian, AD 71-3 (Antioch)	2.96	2.88
Vespasian, AD 69-73 (Alex.)	2.81	2.84
Domitian (Alexandria)	2.94	3.03
Nerva (Alexandria)	3.28	3.03
Trajan, to c. AD 107 (Rome)	3.18(3.00)	3.00
Trajan, 107/8 (Alexandria)	3.42	2.85
Trajan (Antioch)	2.30	2.86
Hadrian (Antioch)	2.42	2.84
Marcus Aurelius AD 178/9	2.53	2.56

Figure 21. Mean for grammes of silver per drachm in the Syrian tetradrachm, Vespasian - Marcus Aurelius (assuming 1 tetradrachm = 4 denarii) compared with grammes of silver per Roman denarius for the same dates. The average for denarii of Domitian includes his 'reformed' coinage of 82-5; otherwise the value would be 2.98g.

In AD 64 Nero lowered the silver content of the denarius to about 2.97g of silver per coin. This brought the denarius down to an equivalence with the reduced Attic drachm. The standard was maintained, with some fluctuations, into the reign of Trajan.

The figures for tetradrachms of AD 69-107/8 seem to show a general undervaluation against the denarius. There seems to be no obvious trend towards a debasement, although Vespasian's 'Alexandria' tetradrachms are closer to the denarius standard than those of Antioch. For tetradrachms, the mean standard for all of them, over the entire period AD 69-107/8, is 3.06g of silver per theoretical drachm, in other words, compatible with the reduced Attic standard. Under Vespasian, Antioch also produced denarii, AD 72-3, which have a mean of about 3g of silver, slightly more than a Roman denarius.³⁶⁹ It is hard to see any of these coinages as being valued at more than 1 drachm=1 denarius. There also has to be a reason why Syrian tetradrachms continued to contain more silver than four denarii. Undervaluations of denarii produced at 'peripheral' mints other than Antioch do occur. It would appear that differences or fluctuations in the mean weight of silver less than about three tenths of a gramme were not important, and that a Roman denarius was overvalued by more than the difference in weight of the peripheral denarii and Syrian tetradrachms.

Under Nerva, if the figures are correct, the tetradrachm was very much undervalued against the denarius.³⁷⁰ This is the highest undervaluation yet encountered among the Syrian issues, although it is probably worth suspending judgement until further examples of the Alexandrian issues of Nerva and Trajan have been analysed. The Roman issues of Trajan brought the tetradrachm back into line with the denarius. The figure in brackets excludes two issues, traditionally ascribed to Caesarea but which Walker attributes to Syria (above, chapter 2.1, section B. xiv), since their attribution is not yet confirmed, and their silver content seems to undervalue them. They have as reverse types a bust of Zeus/Hadad and a bust of Hera/Atergatis. If they are included, then the weight of the theoretical drachm/denarius rises to 3.18g. Note that this makes their silver content per denarius equal to contemporary drachms of Caesarea in Cappadocia.³⁷¹ When the Caesarean drachm is considered equal to 0.75 denarii, the metrology of Syrian coins fits perfectly with those of Caesarea. This is what we should expect, since all are produced at Rome. This would

³⁶⁹ *MRSC* I, p. 119.

³⁷⁰ *MRSC* p. 98.

³⁷¹ Walker did not attribute these two types to Caesarea, the mint to which they were originally attributed, because they were too fine (*MRSC* II, p. 99-101), but that was because he thought the Caesarean drachm equalled a denarius. However, he is correct to attribute the types to Syria, since they occur in Syrian hoards, but not in hoards of Cappadocian silver.

seem to confirm that during the period AD 98-107 a Caesarean drachm was equal to 0.75 denarii and a Syrian drachm equal to 1 denarius.

The high value for the 'Alexandrian' tetradrachm of 107/108, which compares favourably with the old Attic standard of Tyre, is probably the result of data derived from a single coin.³⁷²

The Antiochene issues of Trajan and Hadrian produced after 107 pose something of a problem. They are distinctly undervalued against the denarius, apparently between about 10-20%. However, since Antioch was also producing Asian cistophori, Arabian drachms and Cretan drachms under Trajan, and denarii under Hadrian, we may be able to discern the standard being used. The Asian cistophori contain about 2.72g of silver per denarius, assuming that they were valued at three denarii.³⁷³ 2.72g is not far off the silver content of a post-107 denarius of 2.85g. It seems likely that these are intended to be coins of three denarii, and that Antioch struck cistophori for Asia in AD 112-114. The sample, however, is very small (2 coins), and it is difficult to be certain whether their weight of silver, 8.17g, was intended to be roughly 1g below that of the Antiochene tetradrachms of the same date, 9.03g. If so, the Rhodian drachm derived from these 'cistophori' works out at 2.04g of silver, a little lower than the reduced Rhodian standard of the Julio-Claudian period. Cretan drachms contain about 2.51g of silver, but Walker's sample was very worn, and he suggested that they contained roughly the same percentage of silver as contemporary denarii, so that they presumably correspond to the denarius.³⁷⁴ The Arabian drachms have a very low silver content, 1.8g, a figure which may be affected by the fact that these coins are often overstruck on Nabataean drachms of that standard.³⁷⁵ Rome also struck silver coinage for Arabia; these, Walker conceded, were probably on a cistophoric/Rhodian standard, with a drachm weight 2.05g of silver for the period 112-116. The Arabian coinage was therefore on a Rhodian standard, like Caesarea. The Hadrianic denarii of Antioch are much more debased than Rome denarii, with a mean weight of 2.37g of silver.³⁷⁶ This is, however, not far off the weight of a theoretical Antiochene drachm, derived from the weights of silver in tetradrachms of Trajan and

³⁷² *MRSC* II, no. 3274.

³⁷³ *MRSC* II p. 69-70.

³⁷⁴ *MRSC* II, pp. 65-6.

³⁷⁵ *MRSC* II, pp. 108-110.

³⁷⁶ *MRSC* II, p. 24.

Hadrian.³⁷⁷ The Antiochene denarius of Hadrian would therefore appear to be a quarter of an Antiochene tetradrachm. This produces an Antiochene denarius with much less silver than a Roman denarius (which has about 2.84g of silver), resulting in the Antiochene denarius being overvalued at about 17%.³⁷⁸ This hardly equates with the idea of the denarius being a preferred currency against the tetradrachm. The authorities in Syria took care to produce a 'denarius' that was compatible with the tetradrachms.

The Antiochene 'cistophori' are tetradrachms on a Rhodian standard, with a drachm weight of silver at 2.04g, the same weight as contemporary silver coinage of Rhodian standard struck at Rome for Arabia. So Antioch was able to produce cistophori to the correct standard. The reduced Rhodian drachm therefore contained roughly the following amounts of silver, between circa 112-117:

Caesarea	Asia (Antioch)	Arabia
2.15g	2.04	2.05

The Syrian tetradrachms appear to be struck at a standard above that of the presumed Rhodian standard, at 2.37g of silver per drachm. But let us study the Antiochene tetradrachms in a wider context. From about AD 99-107 almost all of the major issues of eastern silver were probably struck at Rome. How regular were the standards of this eastern coinage of Rome?

	<u>Lycia</u>	<u>Asia (cistophori)</u>	<u>Caesarea</u>	<u>Syria</u>	<u>Arabia</u>	<u>Cyrenaica</u>
Cos II	2.72	2.90	3.26	3.15		
Cos III				2.96		3.20
Cos V				3.03	3.02	
Cos VI			2.89		2.74	3.07

Figure 22. Grammes of silver per theoretical denarius in the eastern coinages of Trajan struck at Rome. It is assumed that the drachms of Lycia, Syria and Cyrenaica equal one denarius, and that the drachms of Asia, Caesarea and Arabia equal 0.75 denarii. Until Trajan's fifth consulship, the denarius contained about 3g of silver, but during the fifth consulship the content was lowered to 2.85g.

This seems to show a fair degree of variation in the standard, perhaps the result of small numbers of analyses on coins with variable surface enrichment. The early coins of Caesarea, Syria and Cyrenaica stand out as being undervalued against a contemporary denarius. The weights of silver do, however, conform to the Syrian standard of Nerva (3.24g) and the

³⁷⁷ 2.30g for Trajan and 2.42g for Hadrian: 2.37g for both reigns combined.

³⁷⁸ *MRSC* II, p. 57.

Cappadocian standard of the same ruler (3.10g) and Domitian. They fall within the high range of the reduced Attic standard, although it seems that both the Caesarean and Syrian coinages of Nerva and Trajan were somewhat undervalued against the denarius. The undervaluation of the Caesarean coinage, and its close relationship to the rest of the eastern coinages, has not previously been recognised, since it was assumed that the Caesarean drachm of this period equalled one denarius. Of all of the coins tabulated above, only the Lycian drachms and the final issues of Arabian coins appear to be on a lower standard. For the entire group, the mean for grammes of silver per theoretical denarius is 2.99g.³⁷⁹ This would seem to indicate adherence to a denarius standard of 3g.

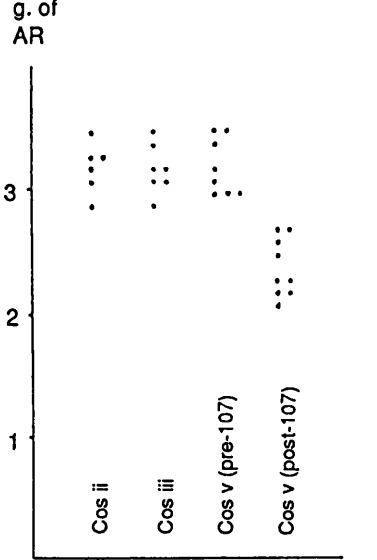
Amongst all the Syrian coins of Trajan struck at Rome, there is little or no overvaluation against the denarius, and often, it appears, a slight undervaluation, both before and after 107. The standard of equality set by Vespasian continued. Set against this, the Antiochene tetradrachms produced after 107 come as something of a surprise. Trajan lowered the silver content of the denarius by about 0.15g from 107, and we have seen how this reform marked the beginning of the Antiochene coinage (chapter 2.1, section B. xiv). Assuming a tetradrachm of 4 denarii after 107, this produces an overvaluation against the denarius of about 19%.³⁸⁰ Such a high overvaluation may be quite possible, but it is worth comparing the values in Figure 22 above for coins of Trajan's sixth consulship at Caesarea, and for Arabia and Cyrenaica, with the newly debased denarii of Rome. This seems to indicate that there had been some debasement since 107 amongst the eastern coinages which were struck at Rome, but those of Caesarea and Cyrenaica were still undervalued against the denarius, although the numbers analysed make any further speculation unwise. Antioch struck a cistophorus in this period, at a standard of 2.72g of silver to the denarius, rather higher than the Antiochene tetradrachms, if they were valued at four denarii. The Antiochene tetradrachms, if valued at four denarii, would now be the most heavily overvalued eastern coinage of all, apart from the overstruck Arabian drachms.

There is, however, another explanation. The Antiochene tetradrachms after 107 went back to a Rhodian standard of about 2.30g of

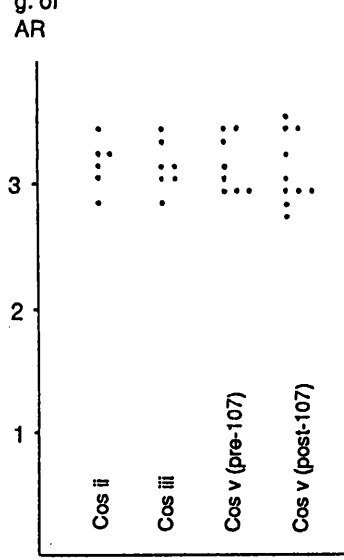
³⁷⁹ If we exclude the slightly low figures for Lycia and Arabia, then the mean is 3.16g. But in each case we are dealing with a silver coinage more or less equal to or undervalued against a contemporary denarius, so the first figure provides a better overall standard.

³⁸⁰ *MRSC* II, p. 105.

silver per drachm. But is it possible to see a Syrian coin of three denarii, containing about 3.08g of silver per denarius, after Trajan's reform which lowered the silver content of the real denarius? Metrologically, yes; the table above shows that coins struck at Rome for the east continued on the old denarius standard of about 3g, and frequently rose above 3g. Typologically, of course, such a suggestion would generally be considered unacceptable, since the post-reform tetrachms still appear to be 'tetrachms of the Tyrian stamp'. However, as I have stated, 'Tyrian' types were not monopolised by coins worth four denarii, and appear on Trajan's tridrachms and didrachms of the period before 107. Would the users of these post-107 tetrachms be able to distinguish them from pre-107 tetrachms? Their general size and appearance is so like pre 107-tetrachms that to modern eyes their value would appear to be the same. The pre-107 tetrachms are slightly heavier, but otherwise there is little in their shape and fabric to tell them apart. The types, however, are noticeably different from the pre-107 tetrachms. There are three of these types. Firstly, the Tyche of Antioch, which had not been used since Augustus. Secondly, an eagle, standing on a club, with a palm branch in the field, quite different in appearance from the issues with an eagle struck early in Trajan's reign, and with different attributes. Thirdly, the head of Melkart. This reverse type is no different from the pre-107 coins, but the obverse is (see chapter 2.1, section B. xiv). The pre- and post-107 tetrachms can be distinguished from one another. If we can tell them apart, then their users could tell them apart, especially if they were of different values. There is no clear distinction between the two in hoards, except that the pre-107 coins tend to be rarer. However, hoards do not distinguish between coins of three and four denarii of earlier periods, *eg.* appendix 3, no. 29, which contains a Nero and Divus Claudius tetrachm which Walker considered a Rhodian tetrachm; or the numerous hoards which contain Arabian tetrachms of three denarii and Syrian tetrachms of four denarii. If we consider the post-107 tetrachms of Antioch Rhodian tetrachms of three denarii, this would also make the Hadrianic denarius of Antioch actually a reduced Rhodian drachm with Latin legends, with 3.16g of silver to the denarius/reduced Attic drachm.



Grams of silver in the drachm, if post 107 tetradrachms were worth 4 denarii or 4 Attic drachms.



Grams of silver in the denarius or Attic drachm, if post 107 tetradrachms were worth 3 denarii or 3 Attic drachms.

Figure 23: Syrian silver of Trajan.

Figure 23 presents the two possibilities in tabular form. The dots show the values of the theoretical denarius for individual specimens analysed by Walker. In the first table, both pre- and post-107 coins are considered tetradrachms worth four denarii. This produces a notable reduction in silver content for the post-reform coins. The second table reproduces the same material, but plots the post-107 tetradrachms as coins of three denarii. In this table the post-107 coins fit well with the pre-107 coins, and there is no dramatic reduction of silver content. The second table is the explanation that I prefer, with the Syrian tetradrachm reverting to a coin of three denarii after the reform of 107. As a three-denarius coin, the Syrian tetradrachm was produced on a theoretical denarius standard of slightly over 3g for the entire period AD 69-107/8, and the mints of Rome, Antioch and Alexandria all struck Syrian tetradrachms on this standard. Fluctuations in the silver content of the real denarius at Rome had some effect, but the tetradrachm remained undervalued, perhaps because the denarius itself was overvalued against pure silver bullion.³⁸¹ An

³⁸¹ Does the difference between the Vespasianic/Trajanic (post 107) denarius at about 2.85g of silver, set against the eastern coinages, or Domitian's reformed denarii (3.26g of silver in 82-5, falling to 3.05g in 92-6), or the products of peripheral mints under Galba, represent the safe 'hedge' of overvaluation of the denarius against bullion? If so, the denarius

approximate equilibrium of denarius and Syrian tetradrachm was therefore maintained over the period AD 69-117. I think that this explanation is better than simply suggesting that the tetradrachm remained valued at four denarii, so that it went from slight undervaluation or parity with the denarius, to high overvaluation after 107, just at the point when we have positive evidence for the use of denarii in Syria alongside tetradrachms. It would also allow the metrological writer Pollux to be talking about coinage in circulation in his own time, in the Antonine period, when tetradrachms might be worth three and four denarii, rather than coins struck between 31 BC and AD 59.

The Rhodian standard seems to have been used for a number of small civic issues of silver in neighbouring Cilicia. Coins of Trajan from Tarsus, dating to his fifth consulship, seem to be Rhodian/cistophoric tetradrachms, with a drachm of 2.03g of silver. This gives them a denarius weight of 2.71g of silver, very close to the rare Asian-style cistophori struck at Antioch (dating to after Trajan's reform of 107). Most of the Cilician cities struck under Hadrian, with a few issues under Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. In the eastern part of Cilicia, which was originally in the province of Syria, Tarsus, Mopsus and Aegeae struck tetradrachms. When tabulated, the similarities of Antiochene coinage and the Cilician coinage are striking. These are probably Rhodian tetradrachms of three denarii. At any rate, at three denarii they fall within the range of reduced Attic drachms in pre-107 Syrian coins of Trajan.

		g of silver per drachm	g of silver per denarius
Antioch	Hadrian	2.42	3.22
Tarsus	Hadrian (b)	2.45	3.26
	Hadrian (c)	2.33	3.11
	Hadrian (d)	2.38	3.17
	Hadrian (e)	2.45	3.26
Mopsus	Hadrian	2.19	2.92
	Antoninus	2.27	3.03
Aegeae	Hadrian (a)	2.58	3.44
	Hadrian (b)	2.02	2.69
	Hadrian (c)	<u>2.34</u>	<u>3.12</u>
Mean value		2.34	3.12

Figure 24. Silver tetradrachm coinage of Cilicia, if valued at three denarii. Letters in brackets refer to Walker's groupings.

of Galba, Vespasian and Trajan (after 107) was overvalued by 8% or even more (*MRSC* I, p. 120).

The Cilician coins seem to compare very favourably with other eastern silver of Hadrian as well. Cistophori of Hadrian, valued at three denarii, contain 2.32g of silver per drachm, and 3.10g of silver per denarius.³⁸² Like all of the other coinages, they are slightly overvalued against the denarius, as they had been since AD 69, but there was no attempt to debase the drachm because it was still within the margin of overvaluation. The same standard seems to have prevailed at Amisus in Pontus, with 2.31g of silver per drachm, and 3.08g per denarius.³⁸³

This seems to point towards a general unification of Asian and Syrian silver standards on the Rhodian values, falling between about 2 and 2.3g of silver per drachm. If this is the case, it prepares the way for the next period in the metrology of eastern silver.

Two small Syrian coinages, struck between the great output of Antioch under Trajan and the next major period under Septimius Severus, both appear to be tetradrachms of four denarii. Hadrian's silver from Laodicea, the last issue of Syrian silver to bear an ethnic, contains a reduced Attic drachm of about 2.89g of silver, which is very close to a denarius of 2.85g.

Marcus Aurelius' small issue at Antioch in 178/9 contains a drachm of 2.53g of silver, against a contemporary denarius of 2.56g. This standard of 2.53g is very interesting indeed, for it seems to indicate the first major debasement of the Attic drachm, in line with reductions in the silver content of the denarius. We can see that the coin is intended to be composed of four Attic drachms, not only by comparing it with the contemporary denarius (valued at an Attic drachm), itself also in decline, but by comparing it with the coinage of Caesarea, which was composed of Rhodian drachms. Indeed, the correlation is very close; Marcus Aurelius' coinage of Caesarea, struck in 175/6, and Commodus' coinage of 181-3, both contain a Rhodian drachm of about 1.8g of silver, which works out at 0.75 of an Attic drachm of 2.40g. The silver content of the Attic drachm had therefore declined from 3g to about 2.5g by AD 175/6.

³⁸² Walker thought undervaluation of the cistophori against the denarius of 2.84g impossible, and although they were overstruck on earlier cistophori, argued that they were revalued at four denarii (*MRSC* II, pp. 62-4). This view has been challenged by W.E. Metcalf, *The Cistophori of Hadrian*, New York 1980, p. 120.

³⁸³ *MRSC* II, pp. 66-9. On the silver coinage of Amisus in general, see J.H. Nordbø, 'The Imperial Silver Coinage of Amisus, 131/2-137/8 AD', in *Studies in Ancient History and Numismatics Presented to Rudi Thomsen*, Aarhus, 1988, although this does not discuss the metrology of this coinage in detail.

v) **Unification of silver standards, AD 193-219**

Between the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Commodus the silver content of the denarius continued to decline, and standards appear to have been very erratic.³⁸⁴ On the death of Commodus in 192, the denarius contained about 2.18g of silver. The period between 148 and 192 saw a graduated fall away from the standards used between Nero and Hadrian. In 193 Rome struck some small issues of denarii in the names of Pertinax and Didius Julianus, which appear to be on a slightly higher standard. That of Didius, about 2.4, was maintained by Septimius Severus until 194.

For once, however, the standards of Rome suddenly become anomalous. Between 193-4, the eastern mints were in the hands of Pescennius Niger, who produced denarii and Greek legend coinage at Caesarea, Antioch, and Alexandria. Walker was unable to analyse any Greek legend coins of Pescennius Niger, except for one Antiochene tetradrachm. Pescennius' denarii were, in general, more debased than contemporary denarii of Rome, containing about 1.74 grammes of silver as opposed to 2.18 at Rome in 192, or 2.4g in 193. In other words, Pescennius' denarii were about 25% more debased than Roman denarii of Commodus. This made a Pescennian denarius equal to a Cappadocian (Rhodian) drachm. Happily, the 'Pescennian standard' of denarii was the one which Septimius Severus also adopted at Rome, so that all denarii and Rhodian drachms became more or less equal from 194.

	<u>Cappadocia</u>	<u>Rome</u>
Septimius, AD 194/5 (?), Drachm	1.69	1.94
AD 197/8, Tridrachm	1.62	1.79
Drachm	1.68	1.79
AD 204-211, Tridrachm	1.47	1.81
Drachm	1.79	1.81

Figure 25. Grammes of silver per denarius in Cappadocian and Roman silver under Septimius Severus.

This shows that the Severan Cappadocian drachm was now worth one denarius. But it is important to note that it was not an enforced imposition of Roman denominations that had brought about equality, but a reduction of weight of silver in the denarius which had reduced it to the value of a Cappadocian or Rhodian drachm. It may have been the result of an attempt by Pescennius Niger to unify his silver currencies on one standard, which,

³⁸⁴ *MRSC* II, p. 54, fig 7.

oddly enough, appears to have been a 'Greek' one. This idea was taken up by Septimius Severus, and all denarii and drachms in his reign seem to have been equal.

Antioch	Laodicea	Tyre	Rome
1.99	2.12	2.22	1.81

Figure 25a. Silver content of drachm of silver in Syrian tetradrachms under Septimius Severus, compared to the denarius, AD 204-211.

Once again the tetradrachm is rather undervalued against the denarius. Walker was unable to explain this, hinting that they did not circulate for long, presumably because people had hoarded these coins for their high silver content.³⁸⁵ This interpretation would mean that for about seven years the Syrian mints were 'accidentally' producing coins at a loss. As an explanation, this does not seem very likely. The degree of difference between drachm and denarius, however, compares most favourably for the figures derived from the eastern silver coinages of the Flavians to Hadrian, when compared with contemporary denarii. As before, I suggest that the difference was not considered important, even when the tetradrachm of Tyre contained 8.89g of silver, 1.65g more than four denarii at 7.24g. Once again it was within the margin of overvaluation of silver coinage.

Interpreting the next period is tricky. Walker suggests that Caracalla, having arrived in the east in 215, and having introduced the radiate or antoninianus at Rome in the same year, halved the silver content of the tetradrachm coinage, with the result that all of the earlier tetradrachm coinage disappeared into hoards or was melted down to be re-used for the new debased tetradrachms. 'There is little doubt that the bulk of the tetradrachms in circulation in the area were recoined and effectively the government could turn 2 drachmas of old money into 4 drachmas of new'.³⁸⁶ The hoards of successive decades, however, tell a different story. Contrary to Walker's views, the purer old coins continued to circulate, in large numbers, after the reduction of silver content under Caracalla. To explain the reduction in terms of simple debasement seems to me implausible. It would mean that in three years the tetradrachm went from undervaluation to 50% overvaluation against the denarius - the highest overvaluation yet recorded for Syrian silver. It seems that the

³⁸⁵ *MRSC* III, p. 97.

³⁸⁶ *MRSC* III, p. 132.

government could only lose out by such an action, since it would have been very much in its interests to recover all of the tetradrachms in circulation before 215, to prevent their loss into hoards.

The analyses published by Walker show a wide variation in standards of tetradrachms, and the dangers of surface enrichment mean that caution should be exercised when using Walker's figures. The coins analysed were grouped according to Bellinger's attributions, and show an extraordinary variation. Few groups contain sufficient members to be certain about standards, but those which contained six or more members are listed below.

<u>'Mint'</u>	<u>g. of silver</u>	<u>g. of silver in drachm</u>
Antioch	5.04	1.26
Hierapolis	5.13	1.28
Emisa	3.28	0.82
Tripolis	3.56	0.89
Tyre	5.09	1.27

This is a far wider degree of variation than encountered before among the eastern silver coinages, and I am not sure that it can be explained by surface enrichment. Between 211 and 214, Caracalla's denarius coinage contained 1.71g of silver, and from 215 contained 1.61g, or about 1.66g for the whole period. It is interesting to divide the grammes of silver in the tetradrachms by Caracalla's denarius of 1.66g:

Antioch	3.04
Hierapolis	3.09
Emisa	1.97
Tripolis	2.14
Tyre	3.07

Are some of the tetradrachms worth three denarii and others two? The symbols on the reverses of the coins would be enough for their users to distinguish the two groups, if it were necessary. I would be unhappy about suggesting the existence of a 'tetradrachm' of two denarii, were it not for the evidence of other silver coinages in the east. The mean average for tetradrachms from the reigns of Macrinus and Elagabalus is as follows:

<u>Issue</u>	<u>g. of silver</u>	<u>g. of silver per drachm</u>
Macrinus, Carrhae	3.70	0.92
Macrinus, Emisa	3.20	0.80
Macrinus, all coins	3.80	0.94
Elagabalus, all coins	3.31	0.82

This would seem to have established the standard on the lower range of Caracalla's coinage. This same standard can be seen at Caesarea, which

struck coins in the last year of Caracalla's reign, and under Macrinus, and at Tarsus, under the same rulers.

<u>Issue</u>	<u>g. of silver per drachm</u>
Caracalla, Caesarea	0.81
Macrinus, Caesarea	0.85
Caracalla, Tarsus	0.89
Macrinus, Tarsus	0.79

The Caesarean coins are all called 'didrachms'. Were they now worth one denarius? The coins of Tarsus are called tridrachms and didrachms, although the weights of the tridrachms are less than the weights of tridrachms of Caesarea, struck under Septimius, when the silver content confirms their value at three denarii. These 'tridrachms' weigh about 6g, against a Caesarean tridrachm of 9g struck under Septimius. The Tarsus tridrachms contain silver equivalent to one and a half denarii, and the 'didrachms' slightly more than a denarius.

What should we make of this? Walker suggests undervaluation under Septimius Severus, moving to massive overvaluation under Caracalla, which became progressively worse until, under Elagabalus, public confidence in the tetradrachm collapsed and the government could no longer enforce its value. At Dura this failure in public confidence resulted in the term 'Tyrian silver' being replaced by 'denarius' by the beginning of the third century.³⁸⁷ However, as Walker concedes:

'... it is clear from the finds that the first half of the third century was the time when tetradrachms circulated most intensively there. What is clear is that they must have had a different value in terms of denarii to that which they had enjoyed earlier, or at least that even if the state tried to still impose the same exchange in its own transactions (as it had every reason to try to do) the population was reluctant to accept it. The elaborate structure of the Roman currency was beginning to crumble.'

Walker himself thus seemed to doubt whether the value of Elagabalus' tetradrachm really was four denarii. The presence of tetradrachms and denarii together at Dura causes severe problems for Walker's model of overvaluation. Walker's model would see the government allowing denarii to circulate, whilst producing vastly debased tetradrachms and then trying to enforce their value at twice their silver content, and making an immense profit on the overvaluation (strange, considering that under Septimius they were making a loss). The public would then prefer (and hoard) denarii and refuse tetradrachms where possible. Between 209

³⁸⁷ *MRSC* III, p. 99-101.

and 219 the silver content of the tetradrachm was halved, and the undervalued tetradrachm became, with other eastern coinages, so overvalued that all earlier coins disappeared from circulation. According to Walker, this is why pre-211 tetradrachms are rare in hoards buried after the debasement by Caracalla. Yet as I have stated above, this is not true. The Mammsis hoard contains coins of Elagabalus, and was therefore buried in 219 or later, but contains a large number of Severan tetradrachms, as well as earlier coins. Unless these hoards were assembled over a period straddling 211-215, the coins of Septimius cannot have disappeared quickly from circulation by recoinage. Tetradrachms with 50% less silver were circulating alongside tetradrachms that contained more silver than four denarii. If small variations in the silver content were important, and the government was looking to convert as much silver as it could into debased tetradrachms, such a situation seems impossible. There has to be a better explanation.

Could a tetradrachm be halved in value, without halving its size or weight? I have already suggested that between AD 99 and 119 the Syrian tetradrachm went from an undervalued coin of four denarii to an undervalued coin of three denarii, without substantial changes to its size. Caracalla reduced the silver content of the denarius from about 1.75g in 211 to about 1.56 in 217, and, apart from a slight increase in fineness under Macrinus, it continued to fall, under Elagabalus, from about 1.43g to 1.38g, between 218 and 222. This fairly rapid debasement of the denarius may have eroded away the margin of overvaluation of Septimius' tetradrachms by the later part of Caracalla's reign. Initially it may have been expedient to issue a tetradrachm of three denarii, which was further reduced to two denarii when the debasement continued. A great many more analyses of Caracalla and Macrinus' tetradrachms are necessary before it is possible to determine whether particular groups consistently contain three or two denarius' worth of silver. Tetradrachm-like coins were not always worth four or three denarii; in Egypt a tetradrachm was worth one denarius. In a nominal tetradrachm, the theoretical drachm of Syria contained about 0.8g of silver by the reigns of Macrinus and Elagabalus. Under Caracalla, a large bronze denomination was introduced to northern Syria, which under Elagabalus began to be struck at Antioch. Its value seems to have been a bronze drachm of eight obols (see below). There is further evidence that Caracalla doubled the value of the bronze SC coinage, perhaps to compensate for the down-grading of the tetradrachm. Therefore some

evidence for a tetradrachm of low value, the fractions of which are bronze units rather than silver units, does exist. Further evidence for the continued production of tetradrachms worth three and two denarii will be explored below.

vi) **Tetradrachms and radiates, AD 238-253**

The metrology of the later tetradrachm coinage of Antioch is made very unclear by its relationship to the regular Roman silver coinage. In order to establish what it was worth, we must first consider the value of the only common silver denomination in the Roman empire after 238, and the relationship of that denomination to the denarius, which was more or less abandoned after 238. I refer to the antoninianus or radiate, which was produced sporadically alongside denarii under Caracalla, Macrinus and Elagabalus, then abandoned, and reintroduced under Balbinus and Pupienus. Under Gordian III it became the dominant coin, virtually replacing the denarius. It is the axiom of third century economic history that the radiate was a 'trick' designed to overcome the problems of debasement.³⁸⁸ Although it contained silver equal to one and a half denarii, Caracalla's government valued it at two.

One can argue that until the reign of Caracalla, most silver coinages throughout the Roman empire were rarely overvalued to any great degree, and that provincial coinage was frequently undervalued. If this is the case, would Caracalla have introduced at Rome in 215 a coin that contained 1.5 times the silver of a denarius and then tried to enforce its value at two denarii? When Caracalla introduced this overvalued coin in 215, is it curious that he continued to strike ordinary denarii, which were greatly undervalued against the new radiate coin, if the radiate were worth two denarii. If the radiate were worth 1.5 denarii, there would be no overvaluation. The value of the radiate at two denarii is presumed, but there is no firm supporting evidence.

Let us examine the evidence for the 'double denarius'. The most persuasive arguments were advanced by Walker, *MRSC* III, pp. 62-4. The value is inferred from the radiate crown which the emperor wears. Did the radiate crown mean 'double value'? At the same time as Caracalla

³⁸⁸ This view derives in part from the authority of Dio Cassius, who states that Caracalla's silver and gold was 'kibdelos', 'immoral' or 'devious' (see below). But Dio accuses him of mixing base metal with silver and gold, or of plating coins, not of creating a lightweight coin. Dio also accuses Caracalla of a great many other strange things which may or may not have any sound basis.

introduced the radiate, an aureus with a radiate crown was introduced. We know that its value was twice that of the laureate aureus because it contained twice the gold of a laureate aureus. In this case the metal content confirms its value. The radiate dupondius was tarified at twice that of a laureate as. The coins were the same size, but they were made of different metals. The radiate 'double sestertius' of Trajan Decius weighs twice as much as a laureate sestertius. Again, metal and weight confirm the value. In every case the metal and/or weight confirms the value, and the radiate crown demonstrates that there is a distinction between it and pieces with laureate crowns. By this argument, the weight and metal should prove the value of the radiate at 1.5 denarii.

Used by itself, a radiate crown does not signify double value. On the imperial tetradrachms of Syria, which after 238 were struck alongside radiates, the emperor's portrait may be either radiate or laureate, with no apparent denominational significance.³⁸⁹ Walker drew an analogy with the debased issue of Tarsus under Caracalla, stating that the 'didrachm' has a radiate portrait and a 'tridrachm' a laureate portrait, showing that a two-denarius coin bears a radiate portrait, and therefore a radiate crown signifies 'double denarius'. The coin contains an amount of silver equivalent to one denarius, and in my opinion, that was its value (see above). Radiate aurei of Trebonianus Gallus appear to weigh 1.5 times the weight of laureate aurei of the same emperor. It would seem unlikely that these radiate coins were overvalued at two laureate aurei, and they were probably worth 1.5 times the value of laureate pieces.³⁹⁰ Another use of the radiate crown concerns the curious tetradrachm coinage of Uranius Antoninus (on whom, see chapter 2.1, section B. xxv). Uranius issued two types of silver coin. One type is the normal Syrian tetradrachm, which bears either a laureate or radiate portrait. The other type is a silver coin with about four times the silver content of the Syrian tetradrachm. On this coinage, with one exception, where an obverse die of the debased tetradrachm coinage was used³⁹¹, Uranius' portrait is consistently radiate. But the radiate coins must have been worth considerably more than double

³⁸⁹ Gilmore, *NCirc.* June 1984, pp. 149-150, is mistaken in thinking that by the reign of Trebonianus Gallus, the radiate crown signified 'junior emperor' on Syrian coinage, for the 'senior' Trebonianus appears radiate on some Antiochene bronzes: Catalogue, nos. 505-506.

³⁹⁰ I am grateful to Roger Bland for pointing out the weights of aurei of Trebonianus Gallus.

³⁹¹ K. Butcher, 'Uranius Antoninus- a Missing Link', *NC* 1989, pp. 171-172.

the value of the base tetrachms, or otherwise the base tetrachms would have been heavily undervalued against the pure tetrachms. The evidence of the radiate crown seems to indicate that it could mean twice the value, or one and a half times the value, or one third of the value, or many times the value, or that sometimes it had no denominational significance at all. I am prepared to concede that the radiate crown signified 'different' (to pieces with laureate crowns) in cases where two denominations circulated side by side and where size alone may not have been sufficient to avoid confusion of the two denominations. Denarii are consistently laureate, and radiates radiate, so the radiate crown carries a denominational significance for the silver radiate coinage introduced under Caracalla, but it does not have to be twice the value of the laureate denarii.

In presenting evidence in favour of the radiate being worth two denarii, Walker quotes Dio Cassius, lxxviii, 15, 4 (the context is not necessarily AD 215): 'The gold and silver he gave (Germanic barbarians as bribes) was of course genuine, whereas the silver and the gold he gave to the Romans was debased, for he made it of lead plated with silver, and copper plated with gold.'³⁹² This does not appear to be describing Caracalla's radiate. But note also the variant of this passage preserved in Xiphilinus: 'With Antoninus the coinage as well as everything else was debased, both the silver and the gold that he gave us.' Walker accepts the latter, but dismisses the former, which 'surely cannot be part of Dio's text. Dio must surely have known more about what was going on than to make such a mistake.' Why should we believe one statement and not the other? Because one suits the argument and the other does not?

The passage is *ben trovato*, but I think it unrealistic to let the economy of the Roman empire in the third century AD hang on two Byzantine variations of an epitome of a third century author who seems to be in the middle of a rather standardised attack on a 'tyrant', accusing him of doing immoral things, a view which Walker accepts.³⁹³ The text continues: 15.1 states that he tried to conceal what he did to money, but unintentionally revealed it, whereas he proudly published other wicked deeds. 15.2 states that he 'devastated the whole land and the whole sea and left nothing anywhere unharmed.'³⁹⁴ Coins seem to be used by Dio to help

³⁹² *Exc. Val.* 379.

³⁹³ *MRSC* III, p. 70, n. 9.

³⁹⁴ It is true that Dio mentions coins a great deal, which is presumably why Walker relies on him for much of the historical interpretation in *MRSC*, but that does not mean that Dio understood what was going on. For example, he

illustrate the character of an emperor. One might argue that the radiate appeared in Dio's own lifetime, and therefore he must have felt its effect. If so, why is he so vague about gold and silver? Is the idea of debasement here related to the idea that coins with a portrait of a 'bad' emperor are somehow 'base'?³⁹⁵ Furthermore, Dio's reliability when talking about things which he experienced is questionable; at one point he claims that it rained liquid silver, and he himself plated some coins from a puddle of the liquid.³⁹⁶ Dio's statement about gold and silver coins under Caracalla does not mean that he knew what was 'going on'. And if the radiate was actually worth 1.5 denarii, nothing was 'going on'. The Byzantine variants of Dio's history state that Caracalla either plated coins or debased coins, both gold and silver. This does not bear any obvious relevance to the value of a radiate coin. The evidence of Dio is excessively weak, and the texts for the reign of Caracalla confused and unreliable.

Walker's second piece of evidence concerns the apparent debasement of eastern coinages in 215-7. As we have seen, silver coins of Caesarea, Tarsus and Syria become very debased in proportion to their weight. I have suggested that there are other ways of interpreting this evidence which do not necessarily mean that the denominations of these eastern coinages were what Walker thinks they are. In any case, the supposed debasements far exceed even the idea of a 'double-denarius' at Rome, and so do not help to prove the value of a radiate at two denarii.

The third piece of evidence is historical, but largely inference. It is not actually evidence at all. Caracalla fought wars, therefore he became short of money, therefore we should expect a debasement of the silver, therefore Caracalla's 'double denarius' with 1.5 times the silver of a denarius is a clever 'debasement'. It is not actually a clever debasement at all; it is a stupid one, much less intelligent than debasing the existing

mentions with approval that Trajan melted down worn coins (lxviii, 15.3). This can be taken at face value, that Trajan melted down old worn coins, including bronze as well as silver, or that it refers to his debasement of the silver in 107, and that old silver of higher value was taken from circulation (which, as hoards demonstrate, did happen). The context of the remark, between the Dacian and Parthian wars, is right, but Dio tells us nothing more than worn coins were melted down. Vitellius allowed coins of Nero, Galba and Otho to remain in circulation, 'envincing no displeasure at their likenesses' (lxiv, 6.1). Was this really very unusual, or was it a regular policy of emperors to melt down the coinage of 'bad' predecessors?

³⁹⁵ Note the remarks of Epictetus about Nero's coins (Arrian, *Discourses of Epictetus*, 5.17). It does not necessarily follow that rhetorical comments about the removing the coinage of 'bad' emperors was standard practice.

³⁹⁶ lxxvi, 4.7.

denarius, since it is a debasement that would have been obvious to all immediately (because the coins weighed 1.5 times as much as denarii), and the coins could be distinguished from the better denarii by their size and radiate crowns and shunned. Caracalla's government cannot have been so dull.

The fourth piece of evidence also has nothing to do with what a radiate was worth, although it implies that changes to the gold coinage should bring about changes to the silver coinage. Caracalla lowered the weight of the aureus. Nero also lowered the weight of the aureus when he debased the denarius. Domitian raised the weight of the aureus when he raised the silver content of the denarius. Caracalla reduced the weight of the aureus, and by inference, we would expect him to have debased the denarius. Macrinus brought the weight of the aureus back to its former level, and also raised the silver content of the denarius. However, between the accession of Trajan and AD 215, the weight of the aureus had remained more or less constant. The same can hardly be said for the weight of silver in the denarius. From Trajan to Commodus its silver content had dropped by 21%. Severus dramatically reduced the silver content of the denarius, yet nothing happened to the weight of the aureus. In any case, the relationship of gold to silver during this period is not clear. It is all inference.

It does not seem to me that there is any conclusive evidence of the radiate being valued at two denarii. Nor is there any very clear evidence for the existence of overvalued silver coins in earlier periods, in places where denarii circulated. On the other hand, there is evidence that the radiate was worth 1.5 denarii, simply based on its silver content. If the radiate had been introduced during a period of apparent prosperity, by a 'good' emperor, such as Hadrian, would we have suggested that it was a debasement? There is also a very strong piece of comparative evidence for the value of the radiate at 1.5 denarii provided by the coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia, issued under Gordian III. Three denominations were issued, and their silver content suggests that they stood in relation to one another at a ratio of 1:2:3. The smallest coin, the size of a denarius, contains the same amount of silver (1.52g) as a denarius. It is the only denarius-sized coin to be issued in the east after about 211, and, indeed, it contains only a little less silver than drachms of Septimius worth one denarius (1.65g for AD 194-211). If a radiate of Gordian was worth 1.5 denarii, then it contained a denarius of about 1.40g, more or less the same as the Caesarean drachm. The

Caesarean issue would seem a little out of place, if the radiate coinage were overvalued against the denarius. It would produce a provincial silver issue highly undervalued against the radiate valued at 2 denarii. On the other hand, if a radiate was worth its silver content, at 1.5 denarii, there would be no undervaluation of the Caesarean drachms against it. I would prefer to let the coins speak for themselves. The radiate was a coin worth 1.5 denarii, and in effect, restored the pre-Commodan denarius which Pertinax had tried to restore in 193 by improving the silver content of his denarii. Throughout the first and second centuries, the silver coinage of the Roman empire was worth its weight in silver, and tarified on two standards, one worth 0.75 of the other. There seems to be no sound evidence that the radiate was overvalued at two denarii. It simply re-established an old denarius standard. It was a way of improving the denarius, not a way of debasing it.

Those in favour of the radiate being worth two denarii have suggested that a coin of 1.5 denarii would have been pointless.³⁹⁷ Since they can see no purpose in a coin of 1.5 denarii, the radiate must have been worth two. Kent has plausibly suggested that it re-established a relationship of 25 silver pieces to one gold piece, a relationship held by the denarius until Septimius lowered the silver content of the denarius in 194.³⁹⁸ Others have maintained that the aureus was still worth 25 denarii in the late Severan period, because Dio Cassius seems to say this in the speech of Maecenas, which, although supposed to be set in the reign of Augustus (when an aureus was worth 25 denarii), might refer to his own day, which might be the reign of Severus Alexander, or slightly later. As I have stated above, I am not wholly satisfied with the merits of interpreting the somewhat ambiguous comments of Dio Cassius as firm evidence to counter interpretations drawn from the metallic content of coinage.

To claim that a 1.5 denarius coin would be useless is presumptuous, since it implies that we understand the motives for its issue, when in fact we do not. As we have seen, the idea of a coin worth 1.5 denarii is not so unusual, and was prevalent in the east in the second century in the form of Cappadocian didrachms. Effectively it also creates a coin equal in silver content to a second century denarius, before Severus reduced all denarii to the debased standard comparable to Rhodian drachms. Caracalla's radiate

³⁹⁷ *Eg.* Crawford, 'Finance, Coinage and Money from the Severans to Constantine', *ANRW II.2*, pp. 560-593, at p. 565.

³⁹⁸ 'The President's Address', *NC* 1985, at p. 7.

contained about 2.60 grammes of silver, comparable to the silver content of denarii of Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla's namesake. The radiate may not be a crude trick, but an attempt to restore an earlier standard, and a relationship to the gold coinage at 25 to 1, without altering the metal content (which might have to mean adjustments to all of the provincial silver coinages as well). This is not to congratulate Caracalla on his financial integrity, but it might be considered an expedient 'reform', which proved in the long term much easier to support than simply increasing the silver content of the denarius, as Domitian and Pertinax had tried, and Macrinus was briefly to attempt in 217-8, after abandoning the radiate. These denarius reforms may have failed because they replaced a debased denarius with a purer one, committing the government to higher expenditure on the same amount of coin. Caracalla created a new coin alongside the old denarius, instead of replacing one with the other. This would allow him to control the amount of 'reformed' coin being issued without committing the government to higher expenditure on the same amount of money, and restore a ratio of 25 to 1 for silver to gold without altering the metal content of the denarius, which presumably formed the backbone of military pay at that time.

At any rate, the acceptance of a radiate of 1.5 denarii makes it possible to calculate the relationship between the radiate and the Syrian tetradrachm. If we are forced to believe that a radiate was worth 2 denarii, then it is impossible to calculate the value of a tetradrachm, because then we cannot rely on the silver content of a coin to tell us its denarius value. If we accept that the radiate or 'new denarius' was worth its weight in silver, this makes calculations for the debasement of the silver coinage between 215 and 253 (by which time the radiate was the only common silver coin) look less precipitous. And, if the radiate was called a denarius after the reign of Gordian, which was the last time that the laureate denarius was issued in any quantity, this may affect the estimations and calculations of prices in the third century.

The supposition that the radiate was worth two denarii, and that a tetradrachm was worth four, creates the most bizarre scenarios for the mid third century silver coinage in Syria, as Walker suggests when dealing with prices at Dura Europos:

'In AD 208 the fixed price of a replacement garrison mount was 125 denarii. In 251 the price was exactly the same. In other words, when forcibly purchasing horses the state gave as many denarii in 251 as it did in 208,

although the amount of silver in the coins in which it was paid (assuming the payment was in denarii in 208 and antoniniani in 251) was halved. If payment was made in tetradrachms then the amount of silver was even less'.³⁹⁹

A simple way of dismissing the problems involved is to assume that the imperial mints of Antioch and Rome issued silver coins which were compatible with one another with regard to their weights of silver, and that their silver content governed their value. This would only leave an explanation as to why one horse in AD 208 cost the same number of denarii as one horse in 251, and yet the amount of silver paid out later was actually less. Perhaps horses were cheaper, or the horse of 251 was worse. Or perhaps the denarii referred to in 251 are actually radiates of 1.5 denarii. If so, then the amount of silver paid for one horse was the same in 251 as it had been in 208.⁴⁰⁰

Gordian III's tetradrachms of 238-9 seem to be much finer than those of Elagabalus. If they were worth two denarii, then they have 2.19 grammes of silver per theoretical denarius, which seems too high against 1.56 grammes for the Antiochene radiate. I suggest that they are in fact three denarius coins, worth two Antiochene radiates, which produces a denarius weight of 1.46 grammes of silver. In 239 Antioch switched to production of the same three denarius denomination, although of different weight, for Caesarea in Cappadocia. When Antioch resumed tetradrachm production in 240, it struck on a lower standard, producing a tetradrachm of two denarii, and this value was maintained until the denomination was abandoned in 253.

The close correlation between Antiochene tetradrachms and radiates strongly suggests that from 240, tetradrachms were valued at 2 denarii, and radiates at 1.5 denarii. The decline of the silver content in the two seems to be closely interlinked. If the tetradrachm were overvalued at four denarii, we might not expect the adjustments to the silver content to follow the radiate so closely. The debased and overvalued tetradrachm of Egypt did not

³⁹⁹ *MRSC* III, p. 157.

⁴⁰⁰ Severus' denarii of 208 contain about 1.7g of silver, thus 125 contemporary denarii contained 212.5g of silver. If an antoninianus of 250-251 contained 1.63g of silver, and was valued at 2 denarii, then 62.5 radiates contained 101.88g of silver. If a tetradrachm was worth four denarii, and it contained 1.80g of silver, and 31.25 tetradrachms contained 56.56g of silver. If, on the other hand, the silver coins were valued by their silver content, and a radiate of 1.5 laureate denarii was called a denarius by 251, 125 radiates of 1.63g of silver contained 203.75g of silver, very close to the figure for 208.

follow the decline of the denarius in the first to third centuries in such a precise manner.⁴⁰¹ The value of the Antiochene tetradrachm, apart from the first issue under Gordian III, was the same as it had been under Macrinus and Elagabalus, at two denarii, until its demise under Trebonianus Gallus.

		<u>tetradrachms</u>	<u>Antioch radiates</u>	<u>Rome radiates</u>
Gordian III	238-9	1.46	1.56	1.55
	240	1.53	1.47	1.46
Philip	244-5	1.38	1.41	1.40
	MON VRB	1.63	-	1.30
	247-8	1.14	-	1.34
	249	1.00	-	1.46
Trajan Decius		0.90	0.90	1.34
Trebonianus Gallus		0.65	0.63	0.94

Figure 26. Tetradrachms and radiates, AD 238-253: Grammes of silver per theoretical denarius, where the radiate = 1.5 denarii, and the tetradrachms of 238-9 = 3 denarii, and the tetradrachms of 240 onwards = 2 denarii.

The final issues of Greek silver coins in Syria seem to have been those issued by Uranius Antoninus. His pre-reform tetradrachms are similar in metal content to the issues of Trebonianus Gallus at Antioch. The post-reform silver contains about four times as much silver as the old tetradrachms, and the coins are about 25% lighter than the pre-reform pieces. Their fabric and appearance are distinctly different from the old Syrian tetradrachms. Walker gives a plausible explanation as to why the reform took place: to enable Uranius' coinage to compete with Sassanian silver.⁴⁰²

vii) East and West: Comparative metrologies

In this section I would like to explore some ways in which the standards used for provincial coinage can help to shed light on the nature of various debasements of the denarius. Walker connected quite small debasements of the denarius, often less than 0.2g per coin, with perceived financial stratagems of the emperors. The traditional characters ascribed to the emperors are played upon, to great effect.⁴⁰³ Thus Walker suggests that Galba's *severitas* played a part in maintaining high silver content in the denarius (3.01g of silver), but that the spendthrift *liberalitas* of Vitellius

⁴⁰¹ MRSC II, p. 114-6.

⁴⁰² MRSC III, pp. 136-138.

⁴⁰³ MRSC III, pp. 106-143.

resulted in a drop of 0.05g of silver per denarius. Vespasian's *avaritia* was responsible for a further fall of 0.14g in AD 70, and this adjustment helped him to pay off state debts after the civil wars. Domitian, a grim and conservative moralist, brought the silver content up to 3.20g, but was unable to maintain this level, and dropped it to about 3.00g - still an improvement on Vespasian. Nerva, short of cash, but desperate to maintain himself in power, kept the denarius at 3.00g of silver. The state began to run into trouble in Trajan's reign, so that the denarius fell to Vespasian's standard in 107, never to rise again to 3.00g. Hadrian maintained Trajan's standard, but a debasement was necessary by the reign of Antoninus Pius, who was too indulgent with *liberalitates*. Thereafter, successive wars and extravagance of Commodus reduced the denarius even further. The upright character and *civilitas* of Pertinax resulted in a restoration of the denarius from 2.19g in 192 to 2.75 in 193, but the civil wars of 193-4 eventually saw an even greater fall, initiated by Septimius Severus, to 1.85g of silver. High expenditure on armies and *liberalitates* under Septimius and Caracalla made matters even worse. A series of financially crippling wars and the personal depravities of Nero, Vitellius, Commodus, Caracalla and Elagabalus all sent the denarius sinking.

Is it correct to link imperial biographies with silver coinage? Clearly, in Domitian's case, it is not, since he too went down in history as a 'bad' emperor, and yet he did a 'good' thing to the coinage. Historically he was also extravagant; he increased military pay and embarked upon an ambitious building programme, and had to fight external wars. Military expenditure is seen as the main cause of debasements, and no doubt wars contributed to the decline of the denarius, as the silver supplies were stretched across an ever-increasing amount of coin. Increased expenditure should therefore result in debasements, if expenditure outstrips available supplies of silver. Increased expenditure on the army would also be very difficult to reverse. Yet caution should be exercised before explaining small debasements as the result of increased expenditure, especially if the silver content of the denarius rises again afterwards.

The undervalued Syrian tetradrachms between the reigns of Galba and Trajan put the fluctuations in the denarius standard in perspective. If Nerva and Trajan were in financial trouble, this did not prevent them issuing Caesarean and Syrian coinage on a higher standard than the denarius. These coins are struck on a standard that even makes Domitian's reformed coinage of 3.20g look fairly unremarkable. Regardless of the

extravagance of Nero and Vitellius, the civil wars of AD 69, Domitian's wars and his increase in military pay, the eastern coinage stood unshaken at a high standard, up to 107 and beyond, probably until the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Since we are now in a position to suggest values for the Caesarean and Syrian coinages, it is worth comparing their metrology with that of the denarius to see how closely the eastern coinages conform with the standards of the denarius (Figure 27).

The picture that emerges is one in which the eastern coinages remain relatively unchanged by fluctuations in the denarius. Under the Julio-Claudians, the western denarius standard is quite different from the eastern coinages, although Nero's reform brings the denarius into line with the reduced Attic drachm. From the standard of Tiberius, the denarius was debased by about 20%. The eastern standard remains virtually the same through the first century until somewhere between the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. The denarius, meanwhile, fluctuates up and down within the range of the Attic standard. I would suggest that fluctuations in the silver content of the denarius between AD 64 and 148 are insignificant, even when dealing with millions of coins, that they are not directly connected with financial pressures, and that the coin-using public did not notice any changes in the silver content. The fluctuations all fell within the margin of overvaluation of silver coinage, as can be seen by the silver content of the eastern coinages. All kinds of factors could explain the fluctuations between 2.85 and 3.00g of silver in the denarius between AD 64 and 148: worn coins in too small a sample with a high standard deviation; adjustments made to the silver content to cover the costs of manufacture and sending to the provinces; or the deliberate debasement of some issues and not others, because a profit could be made on them and the public would not notice; more denarii needing to be produced, with the opening up of new provinces in which they circulated; or combinations of these factors.

It is simpler to suggest that the Attic standard, which was the 'Standard of Nero', was maintained with minor fluctuations until at least the reign of Antoninus Pius.

What is interesting is the fall-off of the denarius and eastern coinages between Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus. Between these points the denarius seems to have no fixed standard; at least, no standard that is adhered to for more than a few years. Pescennius Niger issued a

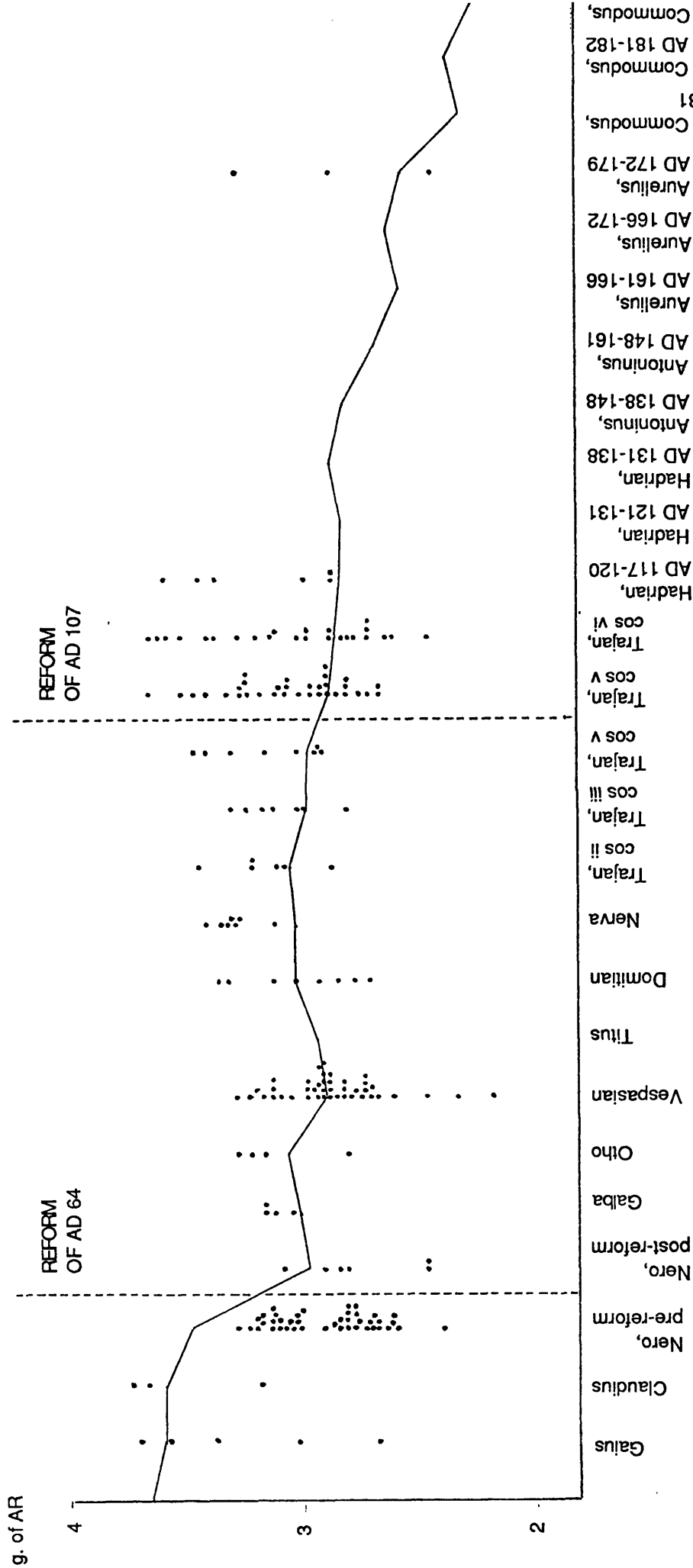


Figure 27: Syrian silver and the denarius standard, Gaius - Commodus. The continuous line gives the mean weight of silver in the denarius during various reigns, set against the dots representing individual analyses of Syrian silver coins, based on Walker's results. Tetradrachms which I consider Rhodian have been divided by 3 to give a theoretical denarius value, and tetradrachms which I consider Attic have been divided by 4. Syrian coins of Laodicea, the Zeus coinage of Claudius, and the coinage of Nero and Divus Claudius are not included. The table suggests that the reform of Nero brought denarius and Attic drachms into equivalence, and that fluctuations after this reform, even the reform of AD 107, were well within a margin of tolerance permitted for eastern coinages. Only in the later second century did the denarius begin to fall below the range of earlier eastern coinages.

— mean weight of silver in denarius
 • individual weights per theoretical denarius, in Syrian silver

denarius which was the standard adopted by Septimius in 194. It was effectively a denarius at 0.75 of the Attic drachm's silver content. The Syrian tetradrachms continue to be struck on a standard slightly above that of the denarius. Although their silver content now makes them worth four denarii, they are struck at a standard only slightly reduced from that of the post-107 tetradrachms of Trajan and Hadrian, so that a tetradrachm of three denarii in 107-119 was worth four denarii in 204-211. Seen in this light, Septimius' debasement is not merely a random one; it derives from that of Pescennius, and like that of Nero, unified eastern and western standards.

This implies that between about 148 and 194 there was a problem with the relationship of the silver content of the denarius and the cost of silver bullion. However, the silver content of the denarius still fluctuated up and down, and both Marcus Aurelius and Pertinax were able to restore fineness. The fluctuations still fall within the median range of eastern silver, and were probably less significant than Walker suggests. There is, therefore, a slow trend towards debasement over the whole period between AD 64 and 194. There was some reduction in the silver content of the Caesarean drachm in the issue of circa 163-166, and even further reductions in the issues of 175/6 and 181-3, suggesting that the old eastern silver standard, which had continued in use for more than a century, was now close to the limit of its overvaluation against silver bullion, and steps were therefore taken to lower the silver content of new eastern silver coinages. Pescennius simplified matters by issuing a debased denarius, containing roughly 25% less silver than denarii of Commodus, and issuing eastern silver on the same standards. The relationship of the tetradrachms of 107-119 to those of 204-211 suggests that the Septimius took a pragmatic step in debasing the denarius and reduced the value of new coinage against old by 25%. Whether he did so deceitfully or openly is not something that can be answered easily. Since he did not apparently adjust the weight of the aureus, he may have openly retariffed the denarius at a new value against the aureus. This debasement is the most significant since that of Nero.

The period from Caracalla to Trebonianus Gallus is confused by uncertainties, such as the value of the tetradrachm and radiate. However, if Elagabalus' eastern denarii actually are denarii, then the difference between 1.40g and 1.81g of silver per coin was not too significant, and it would seem that Severus' standard of 1.94g, established in 194, had not yet reached a point where it was undervalued. Although the denarii of Severus

Alexander slipped even lower, in about 228 their fineness was restored to about the standard used by Elagabalus, which was maintained by Maximinus and the emperors of 238 (with perhaps an even greater restoration of fineness under the Gordiani, returning the denarius to a standard used by Caracalla). This standard was also used by Gordian III's denarius issue of 240-1. If the radiate was a double-denarius, then its introduction in 238 sees the silver content of the theoretical denarius plummet quickly, and makes the denarii of 240-1 a peculiar anomaly, or at least a restoration of fineness as remarkable as that of Domitian or Pertinax. If, on the other hand, the radiate is a coin worth 1.5 denarii, then the level used by Elagabalus and Severus Alexander continues until *circa* 249-251, when the level falls to a new low, at which it continues, beyond the range of analyses provided by Walker.⁴⁰⁴

This scheme envisages two dramatic debasements, the first in AD 64, and the second in AD 194, with gradual falls, before, in between, and after these debasements. Both major debasements united denarii and Syrian tetradrachms on a ratio of 1:4. The other falls were covered by the margin of overvaluation of the denarius coinage, a margin which allowed peripheral mints to issue denarii at a higher fineness and provincial silver to retain slightly higher standards than the denarius, and allowed the denarius standard to fluctuate. Even the major debasements may have been covered by overvaluation at first, or in some cases old coins may simply have been tariffed at a higher value. That the debasement of Septimius probably left a margin of overvaluation greater than the silver content of his pre-debasement denarii (at 2.44g of silver) is indicated by the fact that between 202 and 211 he could issue tetradrachms quite close to the old standard (1.99 to 2.22g). This would mean that under Septimius, Commodus' coinage was not undervalued, even as late as 211 (range for Commodus' denarii is 2.18-2.43g of silver). This would enable the earlier coins to remain in circulation, and if necessary, the state could remove them before the next debasement.

⁴⁰⁴ The debasement of about AD 249 coincides with what appears to be a withdrawal of old denarii. The debasement of the radiate had now brought its silver content onto a par with the content of the earlier denarii (which had virtually ceased since the reign of Gordian). A large number of denarius flans seem to have been overstruck using radiate dies. This may simply have been expediency, turning 'lower value' denarii into 'higher value' radiates, but it might equally represent the point at which old denarii were now revalued as radiates, leaving the Roman empire with only one important unit of silver currency.

B. Bronze denominations

The evidence we have been examining for silver denominations implies that Greek denominations survived during the period under discussion. Studies of the metrology and denominational structure of eastern bronze coinages are still very much in their infancy. The few analyses performed on Syrian bronze coinages suggests that the coins were composed of a rather inconsistent selection of materials - inconsistent over a period of time, rather than over a single issue. The main constituent of all of the coins analysed is copper. Carter, having analysed some SC coins of the first century AD to Trajan, gave an average of about 90% copper to 10% tin, including traces of iron, nickel, antimony, silver and lead. The coins sometimes contain small proportions of cobalt, zinc and arsenic. He concluded that they were 'perhaps unique among Greek Imperial coins from the viewpoint of their chemical compositions, essentially pure bronze from the time of Tiberius (and probably Augustus) to at least Nero', although there was a decrease in the tin content and an increase in lead content from at least the reign of Domitian. More recent, unpublished analyses refine (and confirm) Carter's findings. Civic bronzes of Antioch of Nero also share the 90% copper/10% tin of the SC bronzes. Four coins of Galba and Otho (two SC bronzes, a large civic bronze of Galba and a small 'autonomous' civic bronze of Caesarean year 117), all contain very similar amounts of copper (84%), lead (9%), and tin (6%) - rather more lead and less tin than in any of the other coins Carter analysed. Three coins of Vespasian (two SC bronzes and a small civic bronze), had much lower lead contents (about 3%, with about 88% copper and 9% tin), roughly comparable to those of Domitian onwards. The similarities of SC bronzes to civic coins in each reign shows that they were intended to be part of a single denominational system. However, this is not the whole story. Whilst Augustan SC bronzes are very pure bronze, 90% copper/10% tin, sometimes with no lead present at all, not all the civic coinage of Augustus is so pure. Two archieratic bronzes conform to the pattern of the SC bronzes, although *BMC* 133 is almost pure copper, with 3% lead and no tin. The smaller civic coins of Augustus are much poorer, even those types struck late in his reign; about 70% copper, 25% lead, and 5% tin. They perhaps represent alloys of the type used for earlier Antiochene (and maybe Seleucid) coinages, against which the newly-introduced Augustan denominations are

made out of a purer alloy. However, by the next issue of small civic bronzes, under Nero, the alloys are identical to the SC bronzes. From Nerva to Hadrian, the lead content rises, and the composition of SC bronzes and civic coins is about 80% copper, 10% lead, and 10% tin, although it is very variable. Carter suggests that the bullion may well have contained remelted metals. Under Antoninus Pius the metal contents are about 75% copper, 15% lead, and 10% tin, the level at which they continue into the reign of Marcus Aurelius. From Elagabalus onwards, the coinage of northern Syria seems to be fairly homogenous, a heavily leaded tin bronze, about 5% tin and 28% lead, although at Antioch, the tin content is even further reduced, to 2% or less, under Trebonianus Gallus.⁴⁰⁵

There is, therefore, good reason for assuming that there was no bimetallic system of base metal coinage, such as that of copper and orichalcum, used at Rome.⁴⁰⁶ Thus the relative values of the bronze denominations were likely to have been determined by size and weight.

Until the reign of Augustus the bronze coinage of northern Syria, which was concentrated in the cities of the Tetrapolis and the cities along the coast, was composed of three denominations, which seem to have continued on a Seleucid standard, with weights of about 2.5g, 5g, and 7.5g⁴⁰⁷, compared to Seleucid values of 2.25g., 4g., and 7g. for the same range of denominations.⁴⁰⁸ It seems likely, then, that the coins of the early Roman province were still Seleucid denominations, and that their weights show a ratio of 1:2:3, in other words, the largest denomination was probably worth three of the smallest, not four. At Antioch and Laodicea the weights

⁴⁰⁵ For early Antiochene coins, G.F. Carter, 'Chemical Compositions of Copper-Based Roman Coins, viii. Bronze Coins Minted in Antioch', *INJ* 6-7 (1982-3), pp. 22-38, for coins from Tiberius to Trajan. Further analyses of a range of coins from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius, performed by Paul Craddock, were made available to me by A.M. Burnett. Analyses of the coinage of northern Syria from Elagabalus to Valerian, by myself and M.R. Cowell, is forthcoming.

⁴⁰⁶ Unfortunately, no analyses have been undertaken of the Augustan CA coinage from Syria, or any of the related 'sestertii' (Catalogue no. 38). These may well turn out to be made of orichalcum, but since they did not survive the reign of Augustus, and their relationship to the SC coinage is quite uncertain, it is difficult to talk of a bimetallic currency like that at Rome.

⁴⁰⁷ Combined values of dated coinage from Antioch, Seleucia, Laodicea and Apamea, 63 - 47 BC.

⁴⁰⁸ Values taken from a sample of 47 coins, of Antiochus IX, Seleucus VI, Antiochus X, Antiochus XI, and Tigranes: Large denomination, 7.13g (17 specimens); medium denomination, 4.07 (15); Small denomination, 2.23g. (15). The weights and types of denominations at Laodicea and Apamea will be published by me in a forthcoming study of the coinages of these cities.

and sizes of these denominations were reformed c. 49-8 BC. That this corresponds to Caesar's presence in Syria cannot be accidental, and it seems likely that Caesar carried out a programme of monetary reform in the province (increased tetradrachm production at Antioch, and decreased production at Laodicea). At Antioch and Laodicea coins were now dated by a Caesarean era, and bronze was produced in considerably large quantities over a short period (see section on production). At Antioch the weight standard returned to the old level after a few years.

Under Augustus the coinage at Antioch was reformed to produce a new range of denominations. A new large bronze of about 16g. was introduced, together with a smaller unit of about 9g.; they remained the standard large bronze denominations for the next two centuries. Other cities were slow to follow. Seleucia struck a comparable large denomination once (under Tiberius) during the first century and Laodicea from the reign of Domitian. Only with major changes in production under Trajan did the large denomination become common elsewhere.

The normal range of denominations during the first and second centuries corresponds to a unit, a half, and then two smaller denominations, corresponding to the earlier traditional pattern. One of these, the smaller of the two, is a quarter of the unit; the other stands in a rather odd relationship to the unit, but is important for demonstrating the survival of the Greek denominational system, and will be dealt with below. Occasionally, an eighth of the unit was issued. At Antioch, the SC bronzes generally tend to make up the units and halves and the smaller municipal coins the lesser denominations. The most commonly produced denomination for most cities is the unit. Smaller denominations are often produced from a very limited number of dies. There is little variance in weights of all of these until the mid second century, under Antoninus Pius, when all of the coinages, including the SC bronzes, begin to show a distinct loss in weight.

It is sometimes assumed that the reform under Augustus led to these coins being given Roman names, especially the SC coins which were countermarked by Roman legions and therefore probably heavily used by them. The evidence for this is examined below.

Under Septimius Severus a new denomination, of about 30mm., was introduced. A similar sized denomination, perhaps the same one, had been in use in neighbouring Cilicia since the late Antonine period, particularly

at Tarsus (mean weight 20.6g).⁴⁰⁹ The first appearance of this new coin in the region covered by this study was at Laodicea ad Mare, c. AD 202-5. Few other mints were operating in this period. Gabala and Nicopolis Seleucidis struck roughly contemporary coins of the same denomination, but it was only with the increase in minting activity during the sole reign of Caracalla that the denomination became common, being introduced at Seleucia, Rhosus, Hierapolis and Emesa.⁴¹⁰

Antioch did not begin striking this denomination until the reign of Elagabalus, when the new colonial coinage was introduced, but it rapidly became the most important mint for this denomination in Roman Syria, and was soon providing this denomination for other cities as well. Under the new system there was a unit, a half and (rarely) a quarter, the latter being in Antioch's case the SC bronze. In size and shape the coins look vaguely like Roman denominations and have sometimes earned themselves names like 'tetrassarion' and 'dupondius', but there is no evidence for any of these names, and their weights are rather different from the corresponding Roman coins.

i) Weights and Marks of value

Few bronze coins of the Roman period, either civic or imperial, carry marks of value. It appears, therefore, that the users knew the value of their coins by type and size, and that the issuing authorities were generally prepared to honour their value. As denominational marks are the exception, rather than the rule, it seems likely that these were only used where the denomination was unfamiliar or where confusion was likely to occur. Marking a coin with a value had its disadvantages; if it needed to be revalued, the value mark would have to be erased. Metrology, however, goes a little way towards solving the problems of denominations; as shown above, the mean weights of different denominations can help to show their relationship to one another. But we must infer the actual value of the denominations by reference to other sources, and to the few value marks which do occur on coins.

⁴⁰⁹ It seems that a large denomination of this size first appears at Tarsus for Antinoos, *SNG Levante* 1004, and occurs again for Antoninus Pius. By the reign of Marcus Aurelius the weight standard quoted seems to have been established, and the figure given is derived from coins of Marcus Aurelius (3 specimens), Septimius Severus (6), and Caracalla (33), all of which have a similar range of weights.

⁴¹⁰ Gabala, *BMC* 16; Nicopolis, Catalogue no. 6; Seleucia, no. 84; Rhosus, no. 27; Hierapolis, nos. 53-54; Emesa, *BMC* 15-16.

The arguments presented by Callu attempted to show that by the third century AD, a system of denominations divided by a ratio of 1=2=4 had been established throughout the eastern empire, and that these were equated with a sestertius, dupondius and as, although local variations on the value of bronze coinage to silver coinage, and the presumed decline of bronze denominations in the third century as silver became more debased, affected the relationship between value marks and metrology.⁴¹¹ Melville-Jones demonstrated that the assarion was likely to have been universally tariffed at one sixteenth of a denarius, and that there was no fluctuation in the value of the assarion *vis-a-vis* silver.⁴¹² Apparent discrepancies between silver and bronze ratios were explicable in terms of the agio charged by the moneychanger on conversion of silver and base metal. These arguments were picked up by Howgego, who presented a compelling survey in favour of the predominance of the assarion, *GIC* pp. 54-60.⁴¹³ Greek denominational systems were presumed to have died out in an erratic fashion: 'The date of the final abandonment of obols and chalcoi probably varied from one city to another'.⁴¹⁴

To work through previous arguments in favour of assaria or obols would involve repetition of work published elsewhere.⁴¹⁵ Instead, let us examine some value marks on Syrian coins of the Severan period, which have either remained unnoticed or misinterpreted. These belong to a period when it is assumed that assaria had become predominant. The bronzes of Nicopolis Seleucidis struck under Caracalla and Severus Alexander comprise four denominations. They are clearly marked with values, which are confirmed by their metrology. From the largest to the smallest, they are: Nine, six, three, and finally, a coin marked $\surd \frac{A}{x}$. It is difficult to accept that the $\frac{A}{x}$ means anything other than four chalcoi.⁴¹⁶ The smallest coin is half the weight of the coin marked three, therefore it is one-and-a-half units. The half is equal to four chalcoi, therefore the

⁴¹¹ J.P. Callu, *La politique monétaire*, pp. 57-110.

⁴¹² J. Melville-Jones, 'Denarii, asses and assaria in the early Roman Empire', *BICS* 18 (1971), pp. 99-105.

⁴¹³ As does Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman World*, pp. 46-7.

⁴¹⁴ *GIC* p. 60.

⁴¹⁵ The best account is *GIC*, pp. 54-60.

⁴¹⁶ This parallels the marks on Mesopotamian issues of the Seleucids and their successors in that area: G. Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*, Paris, 1965, pp. 140, 144, 334-341; J-M. Doyen, *Les monnaies antiques du Tell Abou Danné et d'Oumm el-Marra*, Brussels, 1987, pp. 158-162.

mark \surd means 'obol'. This same mark is found on documents at Dura, for sums of less than a denarius (Figure 28).⁴¹⁷ Contemporary coins of Severus Alexander from Seleucia Pieria, of the same size and weight as coins of the same emperor from Nicopolis, are marked OB Θ .⁴¹⁸ Even if one tries to argue that OB Θ means 72=9, there is no way of avoiding the conclusion that this still means nine obols, since a ratio of eight chalcoi to one obol would produce 72 chalcoi to 9 obols. This seems sufficient proof of the existence of an obol of eight chalcoi into the 220s AD. If the marks are interpreted as assaria, then OB and $\surd \hat{x}$ have to be explained. The argument that Nicopolis and Seleucia are cities on the periphery of the Roman empire, and therefore the evidence is circumstantial, simply will not wash. Nicopolis is on the border of Cilicia, just north of Antioch, and Seleucia is the port of Antioch. Furthermore, Seleucia's coinage under Severus Alexander is probably struck at Antioch. Any interpretation of the values of these coinages must have a bearing on the values of the other bronze coinages covered by this study.

The contemporary bronze coinage of Antioch for Severus Alexander bears value marks as well: eight, rather than nine, for the coin of equal size and weight to that of Seleucia, and four for the smaller denomination. These must also be obols, or at least, if they are interpreted as assaria, then they must be viewed as being worth less than half the value of coins of the same size and weight (and probably struck from the same obverse dies) at Seleucia. Theoretically nine obols would be eighteen assaria. As both coinages were struck at about the same time, at the same mint, the assaria interpretation is highly improbable. The difference between nine and eight might be related to an *agio* on the conversion of bronze and silver which was automatically applied to the Seleucian coinage, but where different rules existed for the imperial coinage of Antioch.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ F.E. Brown, C.B. Welles (eds.), *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of the 7th and 8th Seasons of Work, 1933-1934 and 1934-1935*, Yale 1939, p. 125, nos. 861-2; accounts for banquets in the Mithraeum; there the mark is interpreted as meaning assaria, because the inscriptions relate to coins being used by soldiers: 'They [the denominations] were apparently denarii and assaria (or sesterces) since we are dealing with Roman soldiers.'

⁴¹⁸ Not OBO, the reading published by Butcher, *NC* 1988, p. 65, and *GIC* p. 58, based on the unclear specimen in the BM, *BMC* 58.

⁴¹⁹ An *agio* of about 1 obol for 8 on conversions between bronze and silver is known in Egypt during the imperial period.

ΔΑΝΝΑ
 ΚΡΕΑΣ
 ΕΛΕΝ *
 ΞΥΛΑ * Β
 ΡΕΦΑΝΙΔΙΑ ✓ ε
 ΚΑΡΤΑ ✓ Β
 ΕΛΛΥΧΙΝ ✓ ε

δάμμα []	jar of wine []
κρέας []	meat []
ἔλεν * []	oil [] denarii
ξύλα * β	wood 2 denarii
ῥεφανίδια ✓ ε	radishes 5 obols (?)
κάρτα ✓ β	paper 2 obols (?)
ἐλλύχιν ✓ ε	lamp wicks 5 obols (?)

Figure 28: Banquet inscription from the Mithraeum at Dura Europus. M.I. Rostovtzeff, F.E. Brown and C.B. Welles (eds.), *The Excavations at Dura Europos. Preliminary Report of the 7th and 8th Seasons of Work, 1933-1934 and 1934-1935*, Yale, 1939, pp. 124-125, no. 861.

Publications, past and present, accept the two denominations of the SC coinage as equivalent to a Roman dupondius and as.⁴²⁰ I do not wish to argue a case against their compatibility with dupondii and asses. This seems an entirely reasonable suggestion, although it is merely a suggestion. The metrology of the Julio-Claudian SC denominations, which are the only SC bronzes to have received much attention in the past, favours such an interpretation. The SC coin most frequently struck during the first two centuries AD is the one seen as equivalent to the dupondius, not the coin equivalent to the as. There appears to have been an experiment with a 'sestertius' under Augustus, but this denomination was not continued. A few SC bronzes are apparently very small divisions of the larger denominations, such as the tiny pieces struck under Hadrian.⁴²¹

Alongside the SC bronzes, Antioch issued a series of civic coins with ethnics. The largest two denominations of civic coinage struck in the first century AD bear the emperor's head. From Claudius to Vespasian they are struck from the same obverse dies as the two SC denominations.⁴²² They were probably intended to have the same value as the SC denominations. Apart from the two large denominations with the emperor's head, the civic coinage usually consists of two smaller denominations without the imperial portrait. Under Nero an even smaller denomination was struck, dated year 114 of the Caesarean era. This bears the clearest value mark one could wish for - 'chalcous', spelled out in full. Like the silver drachms and didrachms of the reigns of Claudius and Nero it may have been considered sufficiently unfamiliar to warrant spelling out its value on the coin itself.⁴²³ The metrology of these coins seems to clarify their relationship (Fig. 29).

⁴²⁰ Eg. Wruck, pp. 164-7, 172.

⁴²¹ The so-called 'unciae', Catalogue nos. 240-248; sometimes mistakenly attributed to Rome, *RIC* 629b; *BMCRE* 1833.

⁴²² At least, this is demonstrable under Galba and Vespasian - see relevant sections of the Catalogue.

⁴²³ For the chalcous, see Catalogue, no. 138; another chalcous is attributed in the catalogue to Antioch under Augustus, but the attribution is not absolutely certain: Catalogue no. 49f.

Large SC/Civic bronze: Imperial portrait	14.08 (41)
Medium SC/Civic bronze: Imperial portrait	7.27 (24)
Civic bronze: Tyche/Ram; Tyche/Altar	5.69 (17)
Civic bronze: Artemis/Laurel; Apollo/Lyre	3.62 (19)
Chalcous: Artemis/Bow and Quiver	2.45 (5)

Figure 29. Metrological relationship of Antiochene bronze coins of Nero, Caesarean year 114 (Catalogue, group 6; No large SC denomination coins were struck in this year, so the mean has been taken from group 4 for this denomination). Weights in grammes; numbers in brackets refer to the number of coins in the sample.

The chalcoi are, unfortunately, very rare, and the few identifiable specimens in museums are struck on quite thick flans, which, when coupled with the small size of the sample, gives them a high weight in relation to the other coins. The Augustan chalcous weighs about 1.46g, and it is likely that the true mean of the Neronian pieces is about 2g. This suggests an ascending ratio, from the chalcous, of 1-2-3-4-8. If a chalcous corresponds to an eighth of an obol, on a system which the Seleucids themselves seem to have used, the denominations under Nero would be as follows:

Unit (SC 'dupondius')	Obol
Half (SC 'as')	Tetrachalcon
'Fraction' (Tyche/altar)	Trichalcon
Quarter (Apollo/laurel; Apollo/lyre)	Dichalcon
Eighth (Artemis/bow and quiver)	Chalcous

The largest SC denomination is therefore an obol, equivalent to a dupondius, and the smaller SC denomination a 'tetrachalcon' or assarion. The smaller denominations are tarified in terms of one, two and three chalcoi. What we have is a denominational system more complex than that of Rome, which would appear to confirm the continuation of Seleucid denominations in Syria. The chalcous is a quarter of the assarion, and in a Roman system would be worth a quadrans. The dichalcon would equal a semis, and the trichalcon would have no equivalent. None the less, the assumption that the two SC coins correspond to a dupondius and as can be accepted, demonstrating that a Syrian coinage of obols and chalcoi could exist and be compatible with Roman bronze denominations.

Although there is no further epigraphic evidence of a one chalcous coin being struck at Antioch after Nero, the other denominations continue

well into the second century. It is likely that the tiny SC bronzes of Hadrian were intended to be chalcoi, although, with a mean weight of 1.08g, they are somewhat lighter than an eighth of the large SC denomination, which weighs 14g. A similar denomination, with a mean weight of 1.18g, was struck at Rome for Syria under Trajan (Catalogue, Coinage Probably Produced at Rome, no. 24). As the catalogue demonstrates, the relationship of the coins is confirmed by their metrology and the use of types specific to particular denominations. What is clear is that from Antoninus Pius there was a reduction in the size and weight of the coins, which continued until the denominations ceased under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The decline in weight of the two largest denominations, the SC 'obol' and 'assarion', is plotted in Figure 30.

Augustus	16.26	8.96
Tiberius	15.09	7.93
Claudius, issue 2	14.36	7.29
Nero, group 4	14.08	7.74
Galba	14.35	6.16
Otho	14.98	7.15
Vespasian, issue 2	14.26	7.17
Domitian	14.48	6.50
Nerva	13.75	7.20
Trajan, issue 1	13.98	7.21
Hadrian	13.99	6.31
Antoninus Pius, issue 2	13.82	-
Antoninus Pius, issue 3	8.90	4.85
Aurelius & Verus, issue 1	9.92	4.33

Figure 30. Mean weights (in grammes) for the two SC denominations of Antioch, Augustus to Marcus Aurelius.

The relationship of Commodus' coinage to the above issues is not clear. The larger coin weighs 4.64g., the smaller, 1.59g. I suspect that the smaller coin is intended to be a 'chalcous', as under Trajan and Hadrian, and that the larger denomination is intended to correspond to the smaller of the two denominations listed above.

In the reign of Caracalla production of SC bronzes was resumed. One group, which I consider to be the earlier (see Catalogue), carries numerals on the reverses. These at first appear to be numeral letters, a phenomenon which does occur as late as Caracalla, at Hierapolis, but is not otherwise known to exist as late as this (the last examples otherwise date to the sole reign of Commodus, again at Hierapolis). An alternative interpretation for the Antiochene marks is that they are denominational marks, A = 1 for the smaller, and B = 2 for the larger. There are no known specimens of the

smaller denomination marked B and no larger denominations marked A, which is very unusual if they are simply numeral letters. It is possible that they functioned as value marks *and* numeral letters. Metrologically the interpretation of the numbers as value marks fits very nicely with the denominational system under Severus Alexander, with an large Antiochene colonial bronze of 8 obols, and a medium bronze of 4 obols, making the larger of Caracalla's SC bronzes 2 obols, and the smaller 1 obol. As we have seen in the section on silver, the tetradrachm coinage of Caracalla was debased to a level where it contained only half the silver content of the tetradrachms of Septimius and his predecessors. This has usually been explained as evidence of Caracalla's *avaritia*, profiteering by issuing bad money to the provincials. Another explanation, which helps to tie up all of these denominational marks, is that at about this time the structure of Syrian coinage was altered, and the new SC bronzes, previously an obol and half-obol, were put into circulation at twice the old value. Elagabalus then issued coins of 8 and 4 obols, effectively drachms and hemidrachms of bronze, which could serve as quarters and eighths of his debased tetradrachm coinage, since denarii, which had previously served as quarters or thirds, were now half-tetradrachms. The result would have been a coinage rather like that of Egypt, with a debased tetradrachm divided into bronze units, although the Syrian tetradrachms were still much finer than the Egyptian coins.

The smaller denominations were gradually abandoned. By the reign of Philip, only the largest denomination was at all common. After an initial reduction in weight of the SC denomination under Macrinus, the weights for all of the denominations remained unchanged until the reign of Philip, whose second issue seems to have been lighter than the first. Under Trajan Decius a change in type seems to have corresponded to a reversion to the earlier weight standard, at which it continued, until the end of the bronze coinage under Valerian.

The metrology of the civic coinages of other cities in northern Syria seems to be closely related to the coinage of Antioch. Seleucia's coinage of the first century BC has two denominations, one at about 7.06g and the other at 2.22g (1 specimen), comparable to the largest and smallest of the contemporary Antiochene denominations. This would indicate that the smaller of the two denominations at Seleucia was valued at a third of the larger, but as the sample for the smaller denomination consists of one specimen, it would be unwise to press this evidence far. At Rhodus, the

denominations weigh 7.09g. and 3.59g, the smaller apparently half the weight of the other. The specimens of the smaller denomination were all struck before 42 BC, whereas the larger denomination continued to be issued into imperial times.

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Caracalla, issue 1	-	-	7.42	3.66
Caracalla, issue 2	-	-	7.23	2.99
Macrinus	-	-	4.31	-
Elagabalus	18.01	10.46	4.66	-
Alexander	18.32	10.71	5.67	-
Philip, issue 1	17.88	9.50	no wt.	-
Philip, issue 2	15.75	7.31	4.60	-
Decius, issue 1	15.44	-	-	-
Decius, issue 2	17.48	7.31	-	-
Gallus, issue 1	17.56	8.18	-	-
Gallus, issue 2	17.73	-	-	-
Valerian	17.48	-	-	-

Figure 31. Mean weights for the later coinage of Antioch, Caracalla to Valerian.

1 = Large colonial denomination (8 obols?); 2 = Medium colonial denomination (4 obols?); 3 = Large SC bronze (2 obols?); 4 = Small SC bronze (1 obol?). Weights in grammes.

The civic coinages of the first century AD are so sporadic that little can be gained from a study of them. The denominations under Tiberius, issued in the name of the legate Silanus, at Antioch and Seleucia, seem to be on the same weight standard:

	<u>Large</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small 1</u>	<u>Small 2</u>	<u>Small 3</u>
Antioch	15.15g.	8.88g.	-	-	-
Seleucia	15.43g.	-	4.44g.	-	1.76g.

At Seleucia there is only one other issue in the first century AD, under Titus, a single denomination, at 6.57g. Under Domitian at Antioch, the smaller of the two SC denominations weighs 6.5g; it would seem possible that they are intended to correspond roughly.

A comparison of style has been made between the coinage of Antiochus IV and that of Antioch. The mean weights for Antiochus' coinage as a whole are 13.29g. for the largest denomination, 6.39g. for the medium denomination, and 3.67g. for the smallest. This is actually lighter than the contemporary issues of Antioch, but individual groups of Antiochus' coinage, particularly groups 2 and 3, which are most like the Antiochene

coins, have better weights, much closer to the SC bronzes of Antioch. However, this is not conclusive evidence that Antiochus' coins were issued at Antioch, although it seems likely that they were intended to represent similar denominations.

In the second century there were many more mints striking coins. The commonest denomination is the largest. For comparison, the weights, together with the coinage of Antioch, are tabulated below. There can be no doubt that these coinages were intended to imitate Antiochene bronze, and 'pseudo-autonomous' coins of Hierapolis and Zeugma bear the same types as their equivalent denominations at Antioch, further indicating that they were supposed to be the same denominations as those of Antioch.

	<u>Trajan</u>	<u>Antoninus</u>	<u>Marcus</u>
Antioch	13.98	13.82/8.90	9.92
Seleucia	11.18	10.35	-
Chalcis	12.07	12.84	11.26
Beroea	11.92	9.22	-
Cyrrhus	12.01	10.28	9.67
Hierapolis	14.89	9.39	9.04
Zeugma	-	9.20	9.75
Antioch (Euphr.)	-	-	9.81
Germanicia	-	-	10.36
Doliche	-	-	9.58

Figure 32. Large denomination coinage of Antioch and other cities. All types carry numeral letters. Weights in grammes.

The weights are rather more variable under Trajan than under later emperors. The coins of the cities are also rather lighter than for contemporary denominations at Antioch. Only at Hierapolis, whose coins are very similar to the Antiochene series in other ways, does the metrology compare well with Antioch. Under Antoninus Pius, the weights are closer to his later, lighter Antiochene issues. Under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, most of the weights seem to correspond closely with Antiochene bronze.

This does not mean that the civic denominations correspond exactly with the Antiochene coinage. The difference between the '9 obol' coins of Seleucia and the '8 obol' coins at Antioch under Severus Alexander serves as a warning that coins of very similar appearance may not have had identical values. However, if '9 obols' may mean '8 obols plus an *agio* of 1 obol', then the potential differences in value between similar coins may

have been nothing more than an *agio* levied on the exchange of coins of different metals.

In the third century there was a unification of weight standards, as production of coinage came to be centred on Antioch.⁴²⁴ The Antiochene system dominated in every sense. Although the native coinage of Samosata under Philip is rather heavier than the coinage which was produced at Antioch for Samosata during the same reign, the standard seems to derive from the older Antiochene standards of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, and the native issues and Antiochene issues of Philip were probably intended to represent the same denominations.

The comparison of weights of bronze coins of different cities is fraught with difficulties. However, the denominational marks indicate that coins were probably still called obols and chalcoi in Syria, even into the third century AD. What evidence survives in terms of value marks indicates that within an individual issue, denominations bore some sensible relation to one another, both in size and weight. As we have seen, the Antiochene coinage divides into strict groups of denominations, as does the coinage of Nicopolis. At the same time, it would be obtuse to try to calculate hypothetical and universal weight standards in Syria. Within a city territory, a city might issue coins to suit its own purposes, using whatever weight standards and denominations it wished. It might be convenient for one city to make coins of a certain denomination look and weigh the same as those of neighbouring cities, but what seems convenient to us may not have been a consideration in antiquity. The use of foreign coins in a city may not have been as frequent as site finds imply. A city might be free to tariff coins of another city circulating in its territory at whatever value it wished. There is no reason to assume that the civic authorities of Seleucia would have felt obliged to honour Beroea's coinage at Beroean value if it was brought to the marketplace for exchange.

Although I have shown that it is likely that obols and chalcoi persisted down to the end of provincial coinage in Syria, this does not mean that they existed to the exclusion of Roman denominations, notional or otherwise. At least some, if not all, of the Syrian denominations corresponded to 'Italian asses', their multiples and divisions. What I would suggest is that in Syria, Roman and Greek denominations existed side-by-side into the mid-third century. The Roman authorities no doubt had an interest in making sure that provincial accounting could be reckoned in

⁴²⁴ This has been dealt with elsewhere; Butcher, *INJ* 1986-7.

Italian asses, but perhaps they were less concerned about fully 'Romanising' the currency than has previously been supposed. Many unspecified value marks on coins elsewhere, in places other than Syria, could just as easily equal obols as assaria.⁴²⁵

ii) Halved coins and 'semisses'

Antiochene SC bronzes have been observed, cut in half.⁴²⁶ These belong almost wholly to the Julio-Claudian period, and most of the halved pieces consist of the smaller of the two SC denominations. I have argued above that this coin was an assarion or tetrachalcon. Its half (assuming that the halved coin had a relative value) would therefore be a dichalcon or semis. They are frequent among the coins from the Antioch excavations, but have also been found at Masada. This may bear a relationship to the halved Tiberian asses found on military sites in western Europe, but the Antiochene context of many of these pieces is not obviously military.⁴²⁷ However, the same denomination seems to have been struck as an actual coin on those occasions when the mint at Rome issued coins for Syria, under Vespasian, Trajan (twice), and Hadrian. Larger denominations were also issued, and as a group they are usually referred to as orichalcum 'asses' and 'semisses'. The 'semis' was not produced as an imperial SC coin at Antioch itself. Were these coins struck to remedy a deficiency, or were they produced for specific occasions? A deficiency is possible, although one might have expected Antioch itself to fill the gap. A deficiency resulting in halved coins is quite plausible, since halved coins are known mainly for Tiberius and Claudius, under whom no Antiochene civic 'dichalcon' coins were struck. It is interesting to note a countermark which may have turned coins into this denomination, probably applied at Caesarea in Palestine.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁵ Take, for example, the curious countermarks at Side in Pamphylia, dated to the reign of Gallienus; *GIC* 803-5. At about the same time as Side produced an issue of coins marked '10', old coins of the same weight and module which were marked '11' (or perhaps '1=10') were countermarked '5'. '5' was the normal mark for this denomination at Side before Valerian and Gallienus. Howgego suggests that all of these marks are assaria, and that the countermark effectively halved the value of the old coins. It may also indicate the interchangeable nature of assaria and obols, 5 obols = 10 assaria, without any change in the face value of the countermarked coins.

⁴²⁶ Note also some civic bronzes of Antioch cut in half: see Chapter 3.3 A.v above.

⁴²⁷ T.V. Buttrey, *AJA* 76 (1972), pp. 31-48.

⁴²⁸ *GIC* no. 548; applied to coins of larger module, including a 'Commagene' dupondius. The mark appears to read KO B, which has been expanded to '2

quadrantes'. Might it alternatively mean 2 kollyboi? A kollybos was traditionally a very small sum of money, a half chalcous. It also meant *agio*. A dual meaning, of an *agio* of two kollyboi (= 1 quadrans or chalcous) might be intended.

Chapter 5: Interpretation

5.1 Authority and control

A. Imperial coinage

The tetradrachm coinage of Antioch and the SC bronzes were imperial coinages for Syria. Although this view is now generally accepted, it is rarely explained why this coinage is imperial, and why an imperial coinage should be considered different from a civic coinage.⁴²⁹ In the final analysis there may have been no difference in their actual use; imperial and civic coins were both used as currency in Syria and were probably interchangeable with one another. The difference lies in the authority or control behind their manufacture, which in turn has a bearing on why and for whom the coinage was issued. A civic mint may have responded to very different stimuli than an imperial mint which needed to produce coins to meet its own obligations, such as the payment of the army or civil service.

The following features support the view that the tetradrachms and SC bronzes were controlled by imperial authorities:

i) Syrian silver and the SC coinage do not bear ethnics (with one notable exception for some tetradrachms of Augustus and Gaius). This immediately sets them apart from the civic coins, which usually give an explicit reference to their place of issue. On the other hand, this makes the silver and SC coinage very like the normal products of the mint at Rome, which also carry no explicit reference to their place of issue. Like the coinage of Rome, the Syrian silver rarely refers to any authority other than the emperor, whose titles and/or regnal year replaces the ethnic found on civic coinage.

ii) Civic mints under the Roman empire rarely produced issues of silver with ethnics. A few civic issues of silver are produced in Syria under the Romans, but these are very small when compared with the 'anonymous' issues of the imperial mint(s). The output of anonymous silver coinage at

⁴²⁹ On the imperial as opposed to civic nature of these issues, see Grant, *SMACA*, introduction, p. 11; *NC* 1950, p. 161. This view is generally accepted; eg *GIC* pp. 20-4 and p. 83.

Caesarea, Antioch and Alexandria far exceeds that of any other provincial mint, and their output is only overshadowed by that of Rome itself.

iii) Production is co-ordinated between mints. Thus Alexandria and Rome can produce Syrian tetradrachms, and Antioch can produce tetradrachms and didrachms for Cyprus and cistophori for Asia. It is difficult to envisage this sort of co-operation unless it were organised by an authority which had access to all three mints, Rome, Antioch and Alexandria, and which also had access to vast resources of silver. This is one of the strongest arguments in favour of eastern silver being imperial.⁴³⁰

iv) The SC coinage of the first century AD frequently bears countermarks which are military in context (see below). Since the army were in the emperor's pay, it seems appropriate that their wages would be paid using the emperor's coin.

Exceptions to these observations highlight the problems in making absolute distinctions between 'imperial' and 'civic'. The tetradrachms of Augustus with the Antiochene ethnics are otherwise identical to tetradrachms of a series without ethnics. In the third century, the SC bronzes without ethnics made up the smallest denomination of a range of Antiochene bronzes, the rest of which all bear ethnics. At the same time, the mint of Antioch was striking tetradrachms and radiates without ethnics. Since the most important coinages (the radiates and tetradrachms, which seem to have been produced in greater quantities) are apparently 'imperial', without ethnics, it is possible that the third century colonial issues of Antioch are an example of imperial bronzes which bear ethnics, but it is equally possible that they were financed by the civic authorities. The evidence of the coins is not explicit enough to determine where the dividing line falls between imperial and civic, if indeed such a clear line existed.

B. Civic coinage

Civic coinage is seen as the product of an individual issuing city (or, in some cases in Asia Minor, of an 'alliance' of two cities). The decision to strike coins appears to have been made by the city council, and the issue

⁴³⁰ This point in favour of centralised control is also discussed by Walker, *MRSC* III, pp. 119-21.

was perhaps financed by persons holding public office. Occasionally the names or monograms of magistrates appear on the coins.

The civic coins would therefore appear to be the products of autonomous city authorities. Although cities petitioned the emperor for the right to strike coins, this does not indicate that the 'right' to coin came by imperial sanction.⁴³¹ However, the question of outside control does arise with the spread of 'workshops', where coins seem to have been produced at a central mint, or dies were shared between cities. Since there is a particularly good example of die sharing in Syria, centred on Antioch, it is worth examining this feature in more detail.

The Syrian civic coinages of the first two centuries AD frequently exhibit stylistic similarities with one another, but there are no known examples of dies being shared. Sharing the craft of an itinerant die-engraver is not indicative of any centralisation of authority. Even throughout the period between Vespasian and Marcus Aurelius, when the imperial coinages of the east were often being produced at centralised workshops, the civic coinages appear to be of purely local mintage.⁴³² At about the time that the organisation of the eastern imperial coinages begins to change to one of fairly localised production, the workshop system begins, spreading across Asia Minor between the reigns of Commodus and Macrinus. There are hints of centralisation under Macrinus in Phoenicia (see above, section on Production), but in northern Syria during this period production carried on as before.

By the reign of Elagabalus, a drastic change had come about. An entirely new coinage was introduced at Antioch: to all intents civic in appearance, with an ethnic, but with the SC and its accompanying *delta-epsilon* of the old imperial coinage included as subsidiary elements. Antioch now became the centre of production for other cities in northern Seleucis and Commagene. Some sort of centralisation was taking place. Under whose authority? The following observations may provide clues:

i) The centre of production is that which was traditionally the imperial mint and the seat of government in Syria: Antioch. The centre of production therefore coincides with the centre of imperial authority.

⁴³¹ The idea of 'coining rights' examined by Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coins*, pp. 30-31.

⁴³² Note, however, the similar metrology and appearance of Trajan's coinage at Hierapolis to the coinage of Antioch; see Catalogue.

ii) One anomaly among the die-sharing cities whose coinage was produced at Antioch is a very long way from the centre of production, being technically in another province. Philippopolis in Arabia was intimately connected with the Emperor Philip, under whom the only known coinage of Philippopolis was issued. The city was probably Philip's birthplace. Not only was it named or renamed in his honour, but most of the city was constructed during his reign, probably using architects sent from elsewhere in the Roman empire. Philip presumably had an active interest in its construction; I would also suggest that he had a part in the decision to use the mint of Antioch to produce the coins, rather than nearer mint cities like Bostra or Damascus, which also struck in his reign. Die-links with Antioch and Zeugma are known for the coinage of Philippopolis.⁴³³ We therefore have evidence of interprovincial linking, perhaps organised by the emperor himself.

iii) There are oddities in the titles and ethnics of some of the civic coins for which Antioch struck coins. The ethnic for the coinage of Cyrrhus is consistently misspelled 'Kyreston', at variance with the usual ethnic 'Kyrreston' found on earlier coinages of Cyrrhus (see Catalogue, no. 21). Samosata struck its own coins under Elagabalus and Philip, but under both rulers a substantial coinage bearing the Samosatan ethnic was struck at Antioch. Samosata's 'native' coins usually include its title as metropolis of Commagene, not something, given the civic pride we often find advertised on civic coins, to be passed over lightly. Yet the Antiochene issues for Samosata accord the city only the ethnic 'Samosateon'. One would think, if Samosata were simply commissioning the coins from Antioch, that the Samosatans would have voiced a preference for the complete titulature. This may simply be sloppiness or carelessness on the part of Antioch, but there are other hints of expediency with the other coinages. Antioch was a Roman colony, but its coinage bore Greek legends. When striking coins for two other colonies, Laodicea and Philippopolis, reverse dies with Latin legends were specially cut for each city, but existing Antiochene obverse dies were employed for the obverses which, of course, bore Greek legends. This results in a curious bi-lingual coinage at both cities, which is

⁴³³ Philip's background and connections with Philippopolis discussed by G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, Harvard, 1983, p. 122. The most recent discussion of the coinage is Butcher, *INJ* 1986-7.

otherwise very rare among provincial civic coinages.⁴³⁴ The Antiochene coinage fastidiously accords itself an ethnic with the titles of metropolis and colony, and yet is less careful with the titles of other cities for which it struck coins.

iv) Laodicea, historically a rival of Antioch and supposedly opposed to Antioch, has its final issues of coinage produced at Antioch, certainly under Trebonianus Gallus, and probably earlier under Philip.⁴³⁵ The rivalry of the two cities during the civil wars of 193-4 supposedly led to Antioch's humiliation, to the benefit of Laodicea. If the historical rivalry is to be accepted, is any sort of civic alliance likely, and does it seem likely that Laodicea would go to Antioch of its own accord for coinage, which was then produced as a strange, bi-lingual hybrid?

Were the workshops state run or organised by 'entrepreneurs'? The stylistic evidence of the coins shows that the same engravers cut dies for radiates, tetradrachms, colonial bronzes and SC bronzes. Most of the coinage produced at Antioch at this date was imperial, and literary evidence (discussed above, in chapters 2 and 3) indicates that major imperial mints in the later third century and the fourth century were state 'industries'. I would suggest that there are strong hints of some sort of control of die-linking civic coinage in Syria during the third century, centred on the imperial mint at Antioch. The establishment of a 'workshop' at Antioch indicates that the imperial authorities may have had an interest in controlling or supplementing civic coinage in northern Syria. The question of a wider imperial involvement in civic coinage will be explored below.

⁴³⁴ Found on the bronzes of Claudius for the koinon of Cypriots, but this is not a true civic coinage; also on the coinage of Paltos in Syria, under Severus Alexander.

⁴³⁵ Under Gallus there is an obverse die-link between Antioch and Laodicea, see Butcher, *NC* 1988 p. 70, and pl. 22, 31-2. The stylistic affinities of Philip's Laodicean coinage with that of Antioch make it likely that Antioch also produced this coinage, as it did for so many other cities during his reign. Butcher, *loc. cit.* pp. 70-2; *INJ* 1986-7, pp. 73-84.

5.2 Organisation of Production

A. Imperial coinage

The imperial coinage of Antioch belonged to a much wider group of Roman imperial coinages struck for provincial use (see, for example, the list of imperial provincial coinages listed for Trajan in chapter 2.1, section B.xiv). We have already observed the connections between the eastern imperial mints of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Antioch in Syria, and Alexandria in Egypt, and how Rome itself was often used as a mint for eastern coinages. All of these coinages share the features of imperial coinages described above. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to see the imperial coinages of the east in the same context as the denarii and aes coinage produced mainly for the western provinces.

Several instances demonstrate that the issue of imperial coinage of Syria was organised by the provincial governors, in response to generalised monetary policies in the eastern provinces. Under the republic, the reintroduction of tetradrachms is specifically connected with Aulus Gabinius, whose monogram appears on the coinage. So do the monograms of Gabinius' two successors in the office, Crassus and Cassius. Gabinius' coinage can be seen in a wider context, with a revival of cistophori in Asia at about the same date.⁴³⁶ A revival of the tetradrachm under Quinctilius Varus in 5 BC is likely.

The emperor's legate was therefore the man most likely to have been in charge of the production of imperial coinage for Syria. He certainly had an interest in collection of taxes and the prices of goods, all of which relate directly to the function of coinage.⁴³⁷

B. Civic coinage

Callu sought to explain production and lacunae at mints in third century Syria and Mesopotamia in terms of a consistent policy by the imperial authorities which ensured a constant supply of money.⁴³⁸ If one group of mints were inactive, another group filled the gap. There is little

⁴³⁶ *CMRR* pp. 203-9.

⁴³⁷ The 'old customs tariff' of Palmyra gives an insight into his involvement in the financial affairs of that city, and quotes the words of an imperial legate, probably Gaius Licinius Mucianus, on matters of taxation and the way in which it should be collected. J.F. Matthews, *loc. cit.*, p. 179, at 191.

⁴³⁸ J.P. Callu, *La politique monétaire*.

evidence to support this view. From the second century onwards there are some distinct patterns, but none of these represent constant production. The abundant 'legend in wreath' coinages of northern Seleucis and Commagene under Trajan, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius indicate a common idea, even if there was no attempt to centralise production as a whole. The die-linking coinages under Elagabalus and Philip are easily explained as being tied to periods of output at Antioch. Gordian did not produce any substantial bronze coinages in Syria, but utilised the cities of Mesopotamia and Caesarea. It would be difficult to argue that the Mesopotamian mints were pressed into service when Syrian mints were inactive; Elagabalus and Severus Alexander are fairly well represented at mints in both Mesopotamia and Syria, and Maximinus is not represented at all. Such features do however indicate that apparently simultaneous production of civic coinage was sometimes conceived in terms of provinces or districts: the Severan issues of the Peloponnese, the Lycian coinage of Gordian, or the isolation of the final issues of civic coins in Pisidia and Pamphylia under Claudius II, Aurelian and Tacitus. The spread of 'workshops' across Asia Minor in the late second and early third centuries, into Syria by the reign of Elagabalus, may demonstrate a trend towards centralisation of civic coinages based on important administrative centres. The organisation and frequency of production may relate more closely to the availability of workshops and the needs of the authorities that controlled the workshop rather than relating to purely local needs. Whether the existence of workshops means a lessening of independence for civic mints or not has yet to be explored; further studies on the workshop systems of Asia Minor may help to clarify matters.

5.3 Coinage and Military Finance

Some numismatists have asserted that the imperial government had little or no interest in producing coin to meet economic needs, and that its sole preoccupation was payment of its debts, mainly to the army. Imperial coinage is therefore seen as being produced in response to military activity, with peaks of production coinciding roughly with military campaigns, and therefore with high government expenditure. Whilst I do not wish to challenge the theory that imperial coinage was used as military pay, the correlation between military activity and peaks in production is

not as good as one might wish, and other reasons for the peaks can be discerned.⁴³⁹

A. Silver coinage

Walker's survey indicated likely 'peaks' in production at Caesarea and Antioch, or periods of production, corresponding to periods of military activity in the east. Both of these mints are seen as the principal sources of supply of silver coin to the eastern armies. That the armies could have been paid with eastern silver coinage is entirely plausible, and indeed quite likely, but one should exercise extreme caution before pronouncing that eastern silver was produced in response to campaigns. For the argument to be convincing, most eastern silver issues should correspond to known periods of military activity in their areas of circulation.

Before attempting to test the correlation between Syrian silver coinage and periods of warfare, let us consider briefly one negative point from another province. As far as I know, production of silver at one imperial mint has never been seen as having a wholly military bias. We know that the military in Egypt used Alexandrian coinage. Few, on the other hand, have argued that peaks in production at Alexandria corresponded to military activity in Egypt. To suggest that Egypt is a special case would appear to be special pleading. The connections between periods of production and inactivity at Alexandria, and its involvement in the production of coinage for Syria, argue that it was conceived of as part of a general plan for production of eastern silver in general, at least on some occasions. Alexandrian silver coinage may have been more debased and actually overvalued against other silver coinages, and it was confined to its province of issue, but Syrian silver likewise had a limited circulation. These comparisons between production at Alexandria and in Syria are of interest; if one major mint for provincial silver seems to have been non-military, what of the other important silver mints?⁴⁴⁰

The examples of high production of silver coinage in Syria corresponding with military campaigns are relatively few. Most frequently

⁴³⁹ There is, of course, the danger that the observed peaks in production, taken from site finds or hoards, do not in reality correspond to the original peaks in production (see section on volume of production), which would greatly confuse the matter. This possibility does not, however, make the case for a correlation between production of eastern imperial coinage and periods of warfare any stronger.

⁴⁴⁰ It seems highly unlikely that the silver of Crete or Cyprus was produced for any campaigns!

cited are the peaks in production under Trajan and Caracalla. The former corresponds to a Parthian War of 114-117 and the latter another Parthian campaign from 215-217/8.⁴⁴¹ We have already seen how the bulk of Trajan's tetradrachm coinage was produced in response to a debasement of the denarius at Rome in 107, and how production during the period leading up to and including Trajan's campaigns was lowered, and Antioch turned to producing coins for Crete, Asia and Arabia, places which have no immediate connection with the campaigns.⁴⁴²

The tetradrachms of Caracalla cannot be dated so closely as those of Trajan. They are dated only by his fourth consulship, AD 213-217. So it is possible that production extended back before the Parthian campaigns, as indeed it did in the case of the three major tetradrachm mints, Antioch, Laodicea and Tyre, all of which began production between about AD 204 and 208.⁴⁴³ They continued to be produced under Macrinus, and a large number survive from the reign of Elagabalus, all apparently struck in AD 219. Caracalla's tetradrachms are therefore part of a large group, struck with a fair degree of regularity between 204 and 219. There is no reason to assume, as several scholars have, that the largest part of Caracalla's coinage was issued between 215 and 217, and much of it could have been struck between 213 and 215, with production increasing again under Macrinus. The Parthian campaigns, like those of Trajan before, have been seen as the stimulus to produce tetradrachms, and a 'peg' on which to hang their dating. If Trajan's tetradrachms had been dated simply by his fifth and sixth consulships, presumably a similar reasoning would have placed the production of his sixth consulship coinage in 114-117, whereas in fact they extend from 112 to 117, and production was organised on an annual basis,

⁴⁴¹ For Trajan's Parthian campaigns, the standard work is F.A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, Oxford, 1948.

⁴⁴² The last year of significant tetradrachm output seems to have been 113/4, when Trajan arrived in the east and campaigned in Armenia; summary of campaigns by Lepper, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.

⁴⁴³ Laodicea has been the subject of two recent studies: R.G. McAlee, 'The Severan Tetradrachms of Laodicea', *ANSMN* 29 (1984), pp. 43-59; M. Prieur, M. Amandry, 'Nouvel apport à l'étude des tétradrachmes Sévériens de Laodicea', *Revue belge de Numismatique* (1987), pp. 67-86. Laodicea's production is quite frequent and can be grouped into periods: 205-7; 207-8; 208-9; 209-12; 213-217. The argument presented by Prieur and Amandry, p. 74, for the date of the last group, is mainly stylistic, and rests on the assumption that the tetradrachms were issued for military reasons: 'La différence de qualité entre les groupes V et VI est telle qu'il est probable que les frappes du group VI sont liées à la guerre parthique et que l'atelier de Laodicée a cessé son activité durant quelques années de la reprendre entre 215 et 217'. Why not date them simply 213-217?

with most of the coinage of the sixth consulship being produced in the first year, quite some time before the campaigns. Furthermore, Trajan's sixth consulship tetradrachms are part of a larger group, struck at Antioch, between about 107 and 119. The Parthian War falls in the period of lowest production. A similar phenomenon may have occurred under Caracalla; at present there is insufficient evidence to refute or support a correlation of high tetradrachm production with Caracalla's Parthian campaigns.

The concept of 'stockpiling' in anticipation of a campaign has possibilities, but for our purposes it is special pleading, and in any case does not prove a correlation between campaigns and production of coinage. Trajan's tetradrachm coinage, struck mostly between 107/8 and 112/3, may have been produced in readiness for the campaigns of 114-117, but there is no evidence during this period that the Roman government prepared for external wars such a long time in advance.

There are also well-attested eastern campaigns for which there are no known tetradrachm coinages. We know that Lucius Verus conducted major campaigns against the Parthians, and that his centre of command was Antioch, yet no tetradrachms were produced. There were Caesarean coins, it is true, but for the moment we shall only examine the connections between Syrian coins and military campaigns; the involvement of Caesarea in military finance will be discussed shortly. A similar lack occurs under Severus Alexander.⁴⁴⁴ He fought an important eastern campaign, but there were no tetradrachms or denarii struck in Syria, nor were any coins struck at Caesarea.

Caesarea's involvement in the provision of silver coinage for the army has been stressed by Walker.⁴⁴⁵ We can provide no military explanation for the issues of Nerva and Trajan, circa AD 96-99. Walker believed that the second issue of Trajan, 112-116, was struck 'in connection

⁴⁴⁴ There are no known tetradrachms of Severus Alexander; the extraordinary coins of 'Edessa' illustrated by Bellinger and attributed to him must, in the light of other finds, be attributed to Elagabalus. Gold coins: Bank Leu AG, Zurich, Auction 42, May 1987, lot 373; RIC 163d = Bank Leu, Auction 36, May 1985, lot 310, and another tetradrachm in a private collection seen by me, Paris.

⁴⁴⁵ *MRSC* II, pp. 81-85. Incidentally, the Caesarean drachm was then thought to be equated with the denarius, and since it can be argued that from Vespasian to Commodus it was actually worth three quarters of a denarius, we have the interesting notion of a Roman government producing Rhodian drachms and didrachms, not directly compatible with the denarius, for army pay.

with Trajan's Parthian war'.⁴⁴⁶ In connection, perhaps, but not *for* Trajan's Parthian war. The coins are extremely rare in hoards or among site finds from Syria or Mesopotamia. They may have been struck to pay troops when campaigning in Armenia in 114, but as these particular coins were probably sent from Rome even this does not seem the prime reason for issuing the coinage. One would have thought it preferable to have a mint on-the-spot if the coins were needed for the campaigns; otherwise what prevented Trajan paying the troops in regular denarii from Rome instead of sending to Rome for Caesarean coins? Hadrian struck a series of hemidrachms, *circa* 120-2, which fall just a little later in date than the last issues of silver in Syria. There was a second issue in 131-138, coinciding with an issue of silver at Amisus in Pontus. Walker suggests that both coinages of 131-8 were the result of a 'second imperial visit to the area', presumably as there is no known conflict to explain the issues.⁴⁴⁷ Hadrian's Caesarean issue seems to continue into the reign of Antoninus Pius, *circa* 138-140. For Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus there was a large output between about 163 and 166, 'probably the largest ever produced at Caesarea, and, in the absence of any other major issues in the east, it served as the main source of currency for the Parthian war waged in the name of Lucius Verus'.⁴⁴⁸ No coins of this issue are known from either Syria or Mesopotamia. Caesarea issued coins for Septimius Severus, in about 194, then 196-7, and from 203-211. Apart from the small issue of 194, these periods of production correspond to periods when Septimius was absent from the east, and the lacuna of about 198-202 corresponds to his Parthian campaign. This produces a fine correlation between wars and no production at Caesarea.

The period between the reign of Vespasian and Trajan is worth re-examining, to see if the interaction between mints can be construed in military terms. Syrian tetradrachms were struck from AD 69 to 73/4, at several mints (see section on production, under silver). Alexandrian billon tetradrachms were struck in large numbers in Vespasian's early years, but

⁴⁴⁶ *MRSC* II, p. 82. A few pages later, Walker rightly denies that Caesarean coinage had any part to play in the currency of Syria or Mesopotamia: 'What is now becoming clear is that a negligible quantity of silver coinage from Cappadocia ever circulated south of the Taurus', p. 98.

⁴⁴⁷ *MRSC* II, p. 83. Do imperial visits result in large outputs of silver? There were none for Hadrian in Syria. Alexandria seems to have produced a 'commemorative' issue, but it seems to have been no greater or smaller than previous or subsequent issues.

⁴⁴⁸ *MRSC* II, p. 83.

thereafter they dwindle in numbers, and in some years they are not issued at all. Caesarean coinage was produced at both Rome and Caesarea, some, if not all of which belongs to the years 74-9. In the same years Antioch was probably producing silver for Cyprus (76-79), and Rome struck coins for Asia and Lycia, and produced some of the issues for Caesarea.

	Asia	Lycia	Caesarea	Cyprus	Syria	Egypt
69/70					X	X
70/71					X	X
71/72					X	
72/73	X?				X	
73/74						
74/75			X			
75/76			X	X		X
76/77			X	X		
77/78			X	X		
78/79			X	X		
79/80	X					X
80/81	X					X
81/82	X				X	
82/83	X					X
83/84	X					
84/85						
85/86						
86/87					X	X
87/88					X	
88/89					X	X
89/90						
90/91					X	
91/92						
92/93					X	
93/94			X			
94/95	X	X				
95/96						
96/97			X		X	X
97/98	X	X	X		X	
98/99	X	X	X		X	
99/100					X	

Figure 33. Issues of provincial silver, AD 69-100, by year. X = issue of that year.

This was a period during which an great variety of coinages were produced. If the Cypriot coins were produced at Antioch, then they fit very neatly into a gap in Syrian production. But there is no known military activity in Cyprus during this period, certainly nothing that would have resulted in the production of coinage on what was quite a large scale. Rome seems to switch between Caesarea and Asia, producing coins for one place, then the other, although the Asian coinage was on a very small scale compared to that of Caesarea. Production of Alexandrian coins for Syria and

of genuine Alexandrian billon tetradrachms is so sporadic it is impossible to discern a pattern. Important military activity in the east during this period does not seem to produce a direct concentration of coinage in a given place at a given time. In Syria the Jewish War had effectively come to an end in AD 70, yet tetradrachms were produced for another three years, although the rare issues probably produced in Judaea seem to coincide with the end of the war, AD 70-71. All the same it is difficult to be certain about Vespasian's Syrian tetradrachms, coming as they do on the tail end of the major output of Nero, and coinciding with a civil war and an internal rebellion in Syria itself, but this seems to be one of the stronger candidates for a connection between campaigns (either against Vitellius or the Jews) and coinage.⁴⁴⁹

Walker suggested that the switch of silver production from one province to another might be construed in military terms. In AD 60, Corbulo, who was responsible for the Armenian campaigns under Nero, moved the centre of his command from Asia Minor to Syria. Walker illustrated a perceived switch of silver production corresponding to Corbulo's move. Drachms of Polemo of Pontus, produced in large quantities until about AD 58, suddenly tail off and cease by about AD 61. In contrast, Syrian tetradrachms rise in output from AD 60, ending in 63/4, coinciding with the compromise and settlement agreed between Rome and Parthia.⁴⁵⁰ Estimation of the size of output was based on the number of observed obverse dies. However, Burnett observed a rather different number of dies per year for the Syrian tetradrachms (*RPC*), and these give a rather different picture. An earlier issue of Syrian silver under Nero was struck in AD 56/7, and was probably as large as either issue of the first two years following Corbulo's move to Syria. It is also a little misleading to talk of the issues ending in AD 63/4, when the sequence of tetradrachms merely pauses for two years before continuing, AD 65/6 - 72/3. Whilst it is apparently the case that the largest number of dies belong to AD 63/4, this does not necessarily coincide with the preparations for war undertaken by Corbulo in AD 63. It may have been related to Nero's reform of the denarius in 64, and a decision to recoin earlier tetradrachms of different silver standards.

⁴⁴⁹ Walker, *MRSC* III, p. 115-7, argued that the period of highest output belonged to the period up to the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70.

⁴⁵⁰ *MRSC* III, pp. 112-4.

In other periods the rise or fall of silver production at one mint or another cannot always be explained in military terms. For example, it seems that Elagabalus in 219 ceased striking Syrian tetradrachms and production was switched to Alexandrian billon tetradrachms for Egypt, where the mint had been at a virtual standstill since the civil wars of 193.⁴⁵¹ Admittedly we do not know if there was any serious military activity in Egypt during his reign, but since we do not know, we cannot explain the switch in military terms.

There is, of course, no logical reason why output of coinage should correspond exactly with campaigns. Carradice has noted that periods of production of the denarius at Rome under Domitian do not correspond well with known periods of military activity, and that estimates of annual output for the denarius fall far short of the presumed annual budget for the army.⁴⁵² This seems to imply that wars were financed using existing coin, and that new coins were made to top up the supply, or as a result of adjustments to the fineness of the denarius, or in order to replace coins being removed from circulation.

To sum up: There will always be a vague correlation between some issues of silver and military campaigns, since the Romans fought so many wars in the east. But the correlation is not good. Historical explanations for output are tempting in numismatics. As a result, any 'historical' explanation for an issue, a war, or period of negotiations with hostile neighbours, or an imperial visit, becomes a convenient 'fact' to explain an issue. To claim that Caesarean coinage was struck for Parthian campaigns carries as much credibility as Syrian tetradrachms being produced for armies in Galatia. Other reasons - changes in tax laws, large-scale imperial construction works, in general, imperial commitments of which we have no overall clear picture, make equally plausible explanations. We know of one important function of silver for the government - it was used to capitalise on exchange between silver and bronze. Silver coinage must have been produced for a more long-sighted reason than ephemeral military campaigns.

⁴⁵¹ This perceived switch is suggested by Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman World*, p. 30.

⁴⁵² I. Carradice, *Coinage and Finances in the Reign of Domitian*, p. 91.

B. Bronze coinage

The problem of deciding whether the SC coinage was produced to meet the demands of campaigning armies still remains. The issues of Trajan and of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus seem to imply that it could have been, but the high output under Claudius cannot be explained so easily in these terms. The precise chronology of output does not suggest any great correlation between campaigns and issues of coin, but the army needed to use coins in peace as well as in war. The most convincing evidence for use of SC bronzes by the military comes from the Brunk hoard, where worn SC bronzes bear legionary countermarks, although, as I have stated elsewhere, the countermarks are indications of secondary use, but do not necessarily reflect primary use, and hence they cannot determine the reason why the coins were originally issued. However, the predominance of legionary countermarks on SC coinage in particular strongly suggests that these coins were those most commonly available to the armies, although there were very few civic coinages circulating in northern Syria when the countermarking took place, making the SC bronzes the most likely candidates in the first instance.

The legionary countermarks on SC coinage end with Trajan.⁴⁵³ Howgego suggested that the army may have switched to using the bronze coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia after this date, since legionary countermarks occur on the later issues of that city. Site find evidence shows that the bronze coinage of Caesarea, like the silver, did not circulate much in Syria or Mesopotamia, and the SC coinage still predominated.⁴⁵⁴ The countermarking of SC bronze by the legions may have occurred on very few occasions, for specific reasons, rather than on a habitual basis. The long gaps in production of SC bronzes at the end of the first century and beginning of the second, between Domitian's issue (in or before AD 83) and Nerva's issue (AD 97), and Trajan's first issue (probably after AD 107), may be the context in which most of the countermarking of SC bronzes took place. At least one countermark was applied in or after 115/6, by which time Trajan's first issue of SC bronze was in circulation, which suggests that the countermarks may well have been applied to worn or damaged

⁴⁵³ *GIC* no. 739 was applied in or after 115/6, on a Trajanic coin of Aradus, but no SC bronzes of Trajan appear to have been countermarked by the legions.

⁴⁵⁴ *GIC* pp. 24 and 30 and nn. 52 and 78. Also countermarks 738 and 740: one of the coins with 740 was found at Dura. 83 coins of Caesarea were found at Dura, against 1,781 coins of Antioch.

coins rather than new issues, in contrast to the Antiochene countermark, *GIC* 378, which was only applied to the coins not countermarked by the legions, SC bronzes of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian. Possibly the older, worn coins were allowed to circulate only if countermarked, and only in an emergency, such as Trajan's Parthian campaigns, when a need for bronze coinage may have been acute. The decline of legionary countermarks on Antiochene and other coins need not indicate that the legions were using them less and less, although it may indicate that countermarks were no longer necessary, as a plentiful supply of unworn coins was available. The massive output of colonial bronzes at Antioch during the third century argues that this coinage was intended to supply a wider area than the territory of Antioch alone.

A few legionary countermarks on Syrian civic coins show that the Roman armies in the province used these coins as well as the regular SC coinage. At times the production of coinage may have been a burden imposed on cities for military finance, but the evidence is lacking.⁴⁵⁵ The imperial authorities at times may have financed the striking of coins at various cities to meet military expenditure, but equally they may have purchased or requisitioned existing coin from cities, which may account for the presence of legionary countermarks on particular civic issues.⁴⁵⁶ Among the cities of northern Syria, the concentration of periods of production at the end of Trajan's reign and during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus makes it likely that these issues had some connection with military campaigns. In particular, Hierapolis, which seems to have had some kind of connection with Antioch from its earliest imperial issues, struck for these emperors, and for Caracalla and Severus Alexander, all of whom campaigned in the east (although the latter two issues are undated and cannot be assigned with certainty to the period of the campaigns). Yet again, as we have seen for the silver, there are campaigns for which there are virtually no bronze coins, civic or imperial: those of Septimius Severus, and of Gordian III.

⁴⁵⁵ M. Crawford, *ANRW* II 2, pp. 572-5, who cites as 'cumulatively decisive' evidence some isolated anomalies and examples which can be explained by other means. See comments by Howgego, *GIC* pp. 25-8.

⁴⁵⁶ Countermarks specific to the coinages of Sidon, *GIC* 735i; Caesarea in Samaria, 727; Sebaste, 733; Ascalon, 735ii. Such a policy could explain the worn state of the imperial SC coins from the Brunk hoard; it may have been expedient for the authorities to donate or sell worn coins. These, when countermarked, perhaps functioned as army tokens, which could be used along the *limes* or in military camps but were not current in civic centres.

The army used bronze coins; at times the imperial SC coinage may have been produced to meet military requirements, but this was probably not its sole purpose. The armies could also obtain civic coins for their use, and the presence of armies may have encouraged cities to issue bronze coinage, but as yet there is no evidence of an obligation on the part of the cities to produce it.

5.4 Coinage and provincial finances

Some numismatists have doubted that the eastern silver coinages were of any significance when compared to the output of denarii at Rome, and consequently their issue and alterations to their silver content can be considered unimportant. These scholars have in general adhered to the concept of the 'supreme' denarius: '... the provincial silver of the east, supposing it to have served a really useful end, should have been coined with far greater regularity than we find to be the case'.⁴⁵⁷ Regularity of production is misleading as an indication of output; if catalogues show coins for most emperors, or with a wide variety of dates, it is assumed that output was regular and therefore probably large. This is not always the case. As Christiansen has surmised for Alexandria, Septimius Severus maintained 'regular' production there, although the number of coins produced each year was insignificant when compared to other reigns. Regularity of production was not so important as was providing a standardised circulating medium for a particular province. Therefore, not every emperor struck a provincial silver issue in Syria. Large issues were generally produced when adjustments were necessary. Even if Christiansen's estimate of 600 million tetrachms at Alexandria under Nero is far off the mark, the large numbers of dies used do not suggest that this was an insignificant coinage.⁴⁵⁸ Using Christiansen's rough methods of estimating output for Syrian tetrachms, we arrive at some comparative figures for issues.⁴⁵⁹ Otho, who reigned for three months, struck Syrian tetrachms from about 13 obverse dies, producing 208,000 tetrachms, equivalent to 832,000 denarii. This coinage was a relatively minor issue for Syrian tetrachms. In contrast, Nero's 'eagle' tetrachms were produced from about 110 observed obverse dies, which could have produced the equivalent of 7,040,000 denarii.⁴⁶⁰ Issues of denarii during the reign of Claudius were produced from 830 observed

⁴⁵⁷ H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, (1st edition, p. 184).

⁴⁵⁸ E. Christiansen, *The Roman Coins of Alexandria. Quantitative Studies I*, p. 96; W.E. Metcalf, reviewing Christiansen's work for *JRA* 3 (1990), pp. 467-470, has criticised the estimates.

⁴⁵⁹ Christiansen uses a figure of 16,000 coins per obverse die. It matters little for the present purposes whether this figure is at all correct; the figures are merely an attempt to compare the potential number of coins and amount of money produced at Alexandria and Antioch.

⁴⁶⁰ Die count based on Burnett and Amandry, *RPC*.

obverse dies, which might have produced 13,280,000 coins.⁴⁶¹ The point of comparing these figures is to show that the provincial silver coinages, even if they were not struck with any regularity, were produced in substantial quantities. When translated into denarii the quantities seem not inadequate for the supply of one province, especially when set against output at the mint of Rome, which was supplying a much larger area with coinage. If the denarius did not circulate in northern Syria until the Neronian or Flavian periods, it becomes difficult to argue that the tetradrachms, which were the only silver currency being produced, did not serve a useful purpose. In this sense, the amount produced cannot have been insignificant.

It would appear that short-term military finance, with coins being struck primarily to pay armies on campaign, is not an adequate explanation for why eastern imperial silver was issued. The major periods of production in Syria begin in the reigns of Nero, Trajan, and Caracalla, when, as I have suggested in the section on metrology and denominations, the metrology of the coinage was changed. A regular and substantial period of output in Nero's reign began with a concentration of minting at Antioch, and a standardisation of the coinage on the Attic standard, making a tetradrachm equal to four denarii (I exclude the Nero and Divus Claudius issues). The high output under Nero has parallels at the other imperial mints. Caesarea struck large issues for Nero, as did Alexandria. Since it is very difficult to conceive of the Alexandrian output in military terms, other explanations have been sought. Walker suggested a plausible explanation; that the old Ptolemaic silver coinage was recoined and turned into billon tetradrachms. This seems entirely reasonable, and what little hoard evidence there is suggests that Ptolemaic coinage disappeared from circulation under the Julio-Claudians.

Walker, and more recently, Christiansen, have offered further reasons for the recoinage at Alexandria. Nero, short of finances because of his extravagance and the fire at Rome, was able to 'cream off' silver by turning Ptolemaic silver into debased coins. The silver thus saved went to Rome to cover Nero's expenses. Christiansen, producing one of the first quantitative studies of an eastern imperial coinage, gave a rough estimate for output of billon tetradrachms of Alexandria under Nero. The issues were

⁴⁶¹ H. von Kaenel, *Münzprägung und Münzbildnis der Claudius*, Berlin, 1986.

immense, and for the last four or five years of Nero's reign, during Alexandrian years 10-14, Christiansen suggested that some 600 million tetradrachms were struck.⁴⁶² This figure is debatable, and such a quantity of money is astounding. Assuming that the Alexandrian tetradrachm was equal to a denarius, 600 million denarii would have been sufficient to cover the entire military budget of the Roman empire for about five years.⁴⁶³ The 'profit' on recoining 600 million Ptolemaic coins was estimated at over 3,500 tons of silver.⁴⁶⁴

This idea, of Nero spiriting away 3500 tons of silver and leaving the Egyptians with 600 million debased coins, is very ingenious, and historically very tempting. It follows Walker's concept of overvaluation as a means of making a profit on the minting of debased coins. I will not contend that the billion tetradrachm was worth anything more or less than one denarius, even though it contained about 25% less silver than a denarius, and that Egypt operated a 'closed' currency system which allowed an overvalued currency to function. I am, however, less certain about the assumption that there were 600 million Ptolemaic silver coins in Egypt in the first place, from which Nero was tempted to 'steal' 3500 tons. Even if there had been, would it have been necessary to use such cunning to conceal the deed? Was it worth producing 600 million coins to 'steal' 3500 tons of silver? Why not simply requisition 3500 tons' worth of Ptolemaic silver by sending Ptolemaic coins to Rome? This would be a lot less expensive than minting 600 million coins to achieve the same end, which Christiansen suggests equalled 1,192 million post-reform denarii. Where are the 1,192 million denarii? Nero's post-reform denarii are not that numerous. Since Nero died prematurely, they may have ended up in the coins of the civil wars and the Flavians.⁴⁶⁵ But 1,192 million denarii is still

⁴⁶² Christiansen, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁴⁶³ Assuming an annual military budget of 125 million denarii; see Hopkins, 'Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire', *JRS* 70 (1980), p. 116, who suggests a sum for the second century of over 400 million sestertii annually.

⁴⁶⁴ Christiansen further suggested that the initial investment needed to begin production was provided for in part by drawing off silver from Caesarea and Antioch: 'Exactly at the same time (AD 63) the silver coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia and of Antiochia in Syria began to decline and then to cease' (p. 106). However, the dating is based on Walker, *MRSC* III, p. 112, which for Caesarea is probably incorrect anyway.

⁴⁶⁵ Christiansen, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

an enormous amount of money. Carradice estimates less than 250 million denarii were produced for Domitian's entire reign.⁴⁶⁶

There is another way of explaining the massive production at Alexandria under Nero, essentially a modification of Christiansen's thesis. Nero's government had decided to remove the Ptolemaic tetradrachms from circulation, and to set a new standard for Egyptian silver currency. The Ptolemaic coinage had to be removed from circulation. Each Ptolemaic tetradrachm was recoined as several debased Neronian tetradrachms. No silver was 'creamed off' and sent to Rome, and the reform was essentially a localised fiscal one, and an honest one. A moderately sized population of coins of high silver content was turned into a very large population of debased coins, and the reason why output was so disproportionately large when compared to the economy of Egypt was that the authorities did a thorough job and recoined everything on the new standard (except perhaps the pre-debasement coins of Claudius and Nero, which would not have been undervalued anyway, if a billon tetradrachm was equal to a denarius).

A similar event may have occurred in Syria. Indeed, it may have been Nero's policy to remove Hellenistic silver from circulation, as part of a concerted effort to standardise the silver coinage of the Roman empire, something which Augustus and his immediate successors had not done. A reform of the denarius, a reform of the Egyptian tetradrachm, and a unification of Syrian coinage on the Attic standard, all fall in the reign of Nero, and these events are followed by the disappearance of earlier coins from hoards during the period from Vespasian to Trajan. Hoard evidence suggests that the Syrian reform of Nero allowed the coinage of Antioch to circulate throughout Syria, taking the place of Tyrian currency in the south, where it had not circulated before. Seleucid coinage, and especially the later Roman imitations, may have made up the bulk of silver circulating in northern Syria under the Julio-Claudians, although the evidence is very scanty after Augustus. However, there is clearly a cut-off point in later hoards, which begin with Nero's 'eagle' tetradrachms. The output of Neronian 'eagle' tetradrachms would not have been as vast as that of Alexandria, since the new Syrian tetradrachm was not as debased. After a slump in production later in Nero's reign, output of Syrian tetradrachms continued at a fairly high level in AD 69 and 70, supplemented by silver

⁴⁶⁶ I. Carradice, *Coinage and Finances*, pp. 85-90.

issues from Alexandria.⁴⁶⁷ The fairly large issues of Vespasian at Antioch may have been the result of continued recoinage of Hellenistic and Julio-Claudian silver, and maybe some recoinage of Neronian silver.

Trajan's great issues of Syrian silver begin with the adjustment of Antiochene silver back to the old Antiochene 'Rhodian' standard, where a tetradrachm was probably equal to three denarii. There was no apparent attempt to destroy all of the earlier issues, as there had been under Nero, but the silver for the new coinage had to come from somewhere, and recycling of old silver coinage seems likely.

Caracalla's re-issue of tetradrachms, on a low standard, perhaps equal to two denarii, resulted in a further change to the silver coinage in circulation. As under Trajan, the reform does not seem to have brought about the immediate and total destruction of the older coin population, and earlier coins survive in hoards after Caracalla, although in greatly diminished quantities.

The reign of Valerian marks a watershed in which the coinage of the Roman empire became composed almost wholly of a single denomination, the radiate, and most civic coinages in the east died out. In Syria the tetradrachm was abandoned, and the only silver now produced at Antioch was in the form of radiates, which were issued in large quantities. Gold, hitherto the prerogative of the mint of Rome, also began to be produced at Antioch under Valerian.

Major issues of silver, then, appear in the case of Syria to coincide with changes to silver standards, and reflect the attempts of the authorities to re-issue as much old money as possible on the new standard. This suggests that the coins had a more general financial function than simply military pay.

If the output of Syrian silver coinage has no general military explanation, it can perhaps be explained in terms of adjustments to the financial organisation of the province, or indeed, the whole empire. Whilst this explanation is not as attractively clear and concise as the military one, it highlights an important function of silver coinage, which was ultimately more vital to the Roman state than military pay: the recovery of taxes through the medium of silver coinage.

The few recorded hoards of bronze coinage suggest that the longevity of base metal in circulation was not always affected by changes

⁴⁶⁷ Perhaps the Syrian tetradrachms struck at Alexandria are indeed an example of Egyptian silver being 'creamed off' and sent elsewhere.

made to the tetradrachm coinage. Whilst Nero's silver dominates the Julio-Claudian period, Claudius' bronze coinage seems to have been the most prolific. Even so, the older coins were not demonetised. SC bronzes of Augustus and Tiberius were still allowed to circulate into the second century AD, although countermarks may have prolonged the circulation of very worn pieces. Unlike the silver coinage prior to Nero's reform, which was of very variable standard, the bronze coinage remained on the same standard into the second century. There was therefore no need to change the bronze coinage with Nero's silver. The intermittent coining of SC bronze through the first and second centuries provided fresh coinage and replaced some of the worn coin in circulation. I have suggested that the bronze coinage issued prior to Nerva may have been demonetised under Trajan or Hadrian, but it seems unlikely that this coincided with Trajan's reform of the silver coinage, and probably happened later, if it happened at all. The long gap in production at Antioch, between Commodus and Caracalla, ended with a considerable change in the denominational structure, which on this occasion might well have been the result of a major reform of the silver coinage. The old SC bronzes were apparently no longer in circulation. Similarly, the decision to abandon the tetradrachm, taken under Trebonianus Gallus or Valerian, coincided with a final issue of Antiochene bronze coinage.

The major reforms in Syria seem to have come under Nero, Trajan, Caracalla, and either Trebonianus Gallus or Valerian. These reforms were marked by changes to either silver or bronze coinage, or both metals, and a subsequent period during which the older coinage began to disappear from circulation. These changes are paralleled outside Syria. The reform of the tetradrachm under Nero seems to have been part of a general reform of silver throughout the Roman empire. Trajan's tetradrachm reform was less destructive. It resulted in a new silver standard at 25% below the Neronian one, a standard which was taken up for most other eastern silver coinages at the same time. Perhaps it was the creation of a uniform standard at 25% less silver than the Neronian tetradrachm that enabled the earlier coinage to remain in circulation, with the old tetradrachms recognised as being worth four denarii and the new ones worth three. Caracalla's new silver standard in Syria is also found in use at Caesarea and Tarsus. The final abandonment of the tetradrachm and Antiochene bronze coinage under Trebonianus Gallus, and the switch to a coinage composed only of radiates, was followed by a decline and extinction of civic bronze in Syria by the end

of the reign of Valerian. The extinction of civic coinages is discussed later; I suspect that in general the end of provincial coinage was linked to the supply of low value radiate coinage, and that it was the supply of radiates that fuelled the 'inflation' which put an end to civic coinages, and not the actual debasements. Supply and output must have been directly under the control of the imperial authorities. A deliberate and calculated decision must have been taken to abandon the Antiochene tetradrachm and bronze; radiates were produced to take their place. All of these changes must have been major financial decisions. The coinage of Syria reflects a wider imperial monetary policy, and production and supply of provincial coinage was not geared to the presence of this or that army on campaign.

5.5 Syrian coinage in the Roman World

I have already challenged the view that the Roman authorities turned all eastern coinages into Roman denominations, and that they were concerned at the outset for 'the gradual creation of a single monetary system for the whole of the Roman world' and that this process was 'in all essentials complete by the end of the reign of Augustus'.⁴⁶⁸ It does not seem to me that the evidence will permit us to draw such conclusions. The tax law of Palmyra talks of denarii and assaria in the first century AD. The civic coins of the third century were composed of obols and chalcoi, and the Roman state was still issuing large silver coins of Hellenistic type up to the middle of the third century. The existence and continued support by the Roman authorities for non-denarial denominations (*i.e.* didrachms, tridrachms and tetradrachms) does not suggest that Rome viewed the denarius as the supreme currency of the empire in the way that modern scholarship has viewed it. If by 'Romanisation' of currency we mean that a coinage adopts a unified standard and appearance which is recognisably and primarily 'Roman', and we view the denarii, sestertii and asses of the mint of Rome as the model of Roman coinage, then the eastern coinage does not appear to be 'Romanised'. One might argue that the use of denarii in the east is 'Romanisation', or that the adoption of the portrait is 'Romanisation', but it is impossible to view the eastern provincial coinages and those of the west as a unified, single monetary system. Sometimes the importance of the eastern coinages in the scheme of Roman monetary economics has been denied; it is seen as something inferior to the products of Rome, produced for the eccentric predilections of conservative provincials. On the other hand, since the Roman state can be shown to have been behind major issues of 'inferior' money, it is thought that the coinage must have had a rôle in paying state debts. The argument in favour of Syrian coinage being produced primarily for military use encounters all sorts of problems when it is allied to the belief that provincial coins were second-rate. The allegiance of these two beliefs produces contradictions:

⁴⁶⁸ Crawford, *CMRR* p. 256: This belief has won some acceptance - eg F.G.B. Millar in the introduction to S. Macready, F.H. Thompson, *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*, London, 1987.

'Like the *cistophori*, these Syrian tetradrachms may well have been produced primarily to meet the needs of Roman forces, but indirectly they would have helped sustain the monetary economy of the Levant'.

'In sum, it does not seem likely that any of these pseudo-Greek coinages were intended to meet the same needs as had been met by the (Hellenistic) coinages that ceased, or that they did in fact suffice to do so. That the coins were given a familiar appearance was a concession to the conservatism of those who would be required to accept them'.⁴⁶⁹

What this seems to be saying is that the coinage has a military function, but is not produced in sufficient quantities to be significant, and it is of poor quality. It is composed of non-Roman denominations to satisfy provincials, although they are not the primary users of this coinage since it is produced for the army. Although the denarius is the preferred currency, the Roman authorities produce debased 'non-denarius' coins to pay their army.

What the evidence does suggest is that the currency systems of the various Hellenistic kingdoms taken over by the Romans in Asia and the Levant were initially preserved intact. Much of the circulating medium of Syria was composed of Seleucid coinage and Roman imitations of it, and civic silver of late Seleucid type, up to and including the reigns of Augustus and the early Julio-Claudian emperors. The three major imperial mints for silver were originally centres of production for three Hellenistic kingdoms, Cappadocia, the Seleucid kingdom, and the Ptolemaic kingdom. None of them had ever issued a 'civic' silver coinage. From the beginning there was a direct continuation from the old royal coinages to the new imperial ones, which derived their appearance from the old. Augustus did not complete the 'Romanisation' of the provincial coinages. His CA bronze coinage in Asia was a shortlived phenomenon, not continued by his successors. Denarii circulated alongside Asian *cistophori*, which continued to be produced through the first century AD, and continued to circulate into the second century. One of his most important provincial coinage reforms was the creation of the SC coinage for Syria, compatible with both Greek and Roman denominational systems. The emphasis of production was on the larger of the two SC denominations, a dupondius or obol, and continued to be so until production of this denomination halted in the later second century. Augustus did not reform the metrology of the Syrian silver coinage, which continued on a Hellenistic standard which did not match his western denarii.

⁴⁶⁹ C. Rodewald, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Nero seems to have made the first step towards a reorganisation of silver standards in the empire. It was not an attempt to unify denominations or currency systems, but it did bring silver standards in east and west into equivalence.⁴⁷⁰ Coinage of a Hellenistic type (*i.e.* tetradrachms, didrachms, *etc.*) continued, but the hoard evidence suggests that the authorities now made a concerted effort to begin recoining the earlier coinages, or at least to withdraw them from circulation. The unification of silver standards may have allowed the denarius to circulate freely in Syria, if it was not already in circulation before Nero's reform. On the other hand, Nero appears to have done nothing to change the nature of the bronze coinages of Asia and the Levant. Throughout the Roman empire, the silver content of the coinage made the denominations equal to units of denarii, or three-quarter denarii. Before Nero, Hellenistic silver standards had been maintained without reference to denarii.

The Flavians made some attempts to centralise the minting of imperial silver and bronze by concentrating minting activity at Rome, Caesarea, Antioch and Alexandria. This policy was continued through most of the second century. What is important here is not where the coins were struck, since they were all produced for Syria anyway, but that some authority - or authorities - had to coordinate the mints of Antioch, Rome and Alexandria to produce this coinage. The interplay between these mints (which were all imperial mints for silver), indicates that the authorities were very much concerned for the supply of provincial silver, apparently going to considerable lengths to produce it. The minting and distribution was on a scale which required organisation on interprovincial terms. Syrian tetradrachms were not always the independent product of Syria. Throughout the east there was still no attempt to abandon Greek denominations, even if their exchange rate with the denarius was sometimes a little awkward. Occasionally there were issues of denarii, or Latin legend drachms, in Syria, but it seems that these were always fixed at

⁴⁷⁰ The idea of unification of silver weight standards has been put forward before, by A. Savio, *QT* 1972, p. 89, but this is 'beyond belief' according to M. Crawford, 'Ancient Devaluations: A General Theory', in *Les Devaluations à Rome*, Rome, 1972, pp. 151-2 n. 30. The theory of assimilation does not seem to me to be beyond belief at all. Whether Nero's debasement of the denarius, to about 93% silver, was the result of financial pressures which are mentioned in historical sources, is irrelevant to the observation that the silver standards of Attic drachms and denarii now became equal, so that an Attic drachm contained about as much silver as a denarius. Previously, the denarius had contained more silver than an Attic drachm.

a quarter of the Syrian tetradrachm, which meant that a Syrian denarius was not always equal in its silver content to a western denarius.

In AD 82 Domitian reformed the denarius, raising its silver content to 98% for a few years, before lowering it to about 93%, still better than Vespasian's coinage. One wonders if Domitian was able to pay for the revival of the denarius in part by lowering production of provincial silver, which was not produced in any quantity during his reign. However, his high silver standard for the denarius was reflected in a new higher standard for eastern silver, which continued through the reigns of Nerva and Trajan.

We have seen how Trajan's debasement of the denarius to about 89% in 107 coincided with a tetradrachm reform in Syria.⁴⁷¹ All major issues of eastern silver were now produced on a standard based on a unit at three quarters of a denarius. Old tetradrachms were allowed to circulate, but the high output immediately following the reform suggests an attempt to recoin much of the earlier circulating medium.

The metrology of the Syrian SC bronze coinage was altered under Antoninus Pius, being made lighter. Prior to this its weight had remained more or less constant since the reign of Augustus. No attempt was yet made to introduce larger denominations in northern Syria.

The period between Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus witnessed some important changes to the coinage of the Roman empire. At Rome, the denarius suffered further debasements, sinking to a new low, and denarii were produced in very large numbers, whereas it appears that the volume of bronze coinage produced became less and less by degrees. Eastern silver coinages followed the debasement of the denarius. The SC coinage of Antioch came to a halt in the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus; at the same time, the workshop system in Asia Minor began, and spread across Anatolia in the early third century, creating shifting centres of production for a wide variety of civic coinages. Alexandrian coinage became greatly debased under Commodus.

Septimius Severus, either deliberately or accidentally, debased the denarius of Rome onto the eastern silver standard which had been used by his rival Pescennius Niger, a unit at three quarters of the old denarius. Septimius issued denarii at Alexandria and Antioch for a few years, but eastern coinages of tetradrachms, and drachms and tridrachms of Caesarea, continued. Septimius' comparatively large issues of denarii may have been

⁴⁷¹ Above, chapter 4.

an attempt to 'Romanise' the silver coinage of Syria, but the experiment was abandoned by 204/5. The number of mints issuing Syrian tetradrachms multiplied, but Alexandrian coinage dwindled. The arrival of the workshop system in Syria coincided with the creation of a new civic coinage for Antioch, which seems to have replaced the SC coinage as the dominant coinage in the region. Output of civic bronze issues from Caesarea in Cappadocia increased, although there is no evidence of a workshop system there.⁴⁷² The Syrian workshop was based at Antioch; its organisation hints at an imperial interest in production and supply of bronze coinage.

The reign of Caracalla is notable for a debasement of the eastern silver coinages. The coinage of Caesarea and Antioch appears to have been brought onto a single standard, significantly lower than that of contemporary denarii, although it is possible that the eastern coinages were revalued against the denarius to compensate, with the Syrian tetradrachm of Macrinus and Elagabalus being valued at two denarii. It is to this period that value marks confirm the existence of denominations composed of obols and chalcoi. The largest Syrian bronzes were of eight or nine obols, and were perhaps bronze drachms, valued at quarter of the debased tetradrachm.

In AD 238/9 Gordian III revived the Syrian tetradrachm after a gap following the reign of Elagabalus. Antioch also began minting radiates, and was possibly the centre for production of silver and bronze coinage for Caesarea in Cappadocia (excluding the final issues, in bronze only, of Caesarea, which are presumably of local manufacture). The production of five different types of silver coin, Caesarean drachm, didrachm, tridrachm, Roman radiate, and Syrian tetradrachm, and their comparative silver contents, suggests that the Caesarean denominations corresponded to units of one, two and three denarii (although no didrachms were analysed by Walker), the radiate corresponded in its silver content to one and a half denarii, and the tetradrachms of Gordian, initially issued at three denarii, were later lowered to two denarii, the latter being a standard for the Syrian tetradrachm since the reign of Caracalla.⁴⁷³ Whilst the radiates were a fully 'Romanised' coinage, and Antiochene radiates could circulate freely throughout the Roman world, tetradrachms and Caesarean coinage did not. They were not part of a universal currency for the Roman empire.

⁴⁷² Caesarean silver halted under Macrinus, and was revived only briefly, under Gordian III.

⁴⁷³ *MRSC* III, pp. 39; 77-8; 91.

Production of the different coinages seems to have been alternate, rather than simultaneous.

With the cessation of silver coinage for Caesarea under Gordian III, the Antiochene tetradrachm and the Alexandrian tetradrachm became the only non-Roman silver denominations of Greek type to survive within the Roman empire. In northern Syria, things began to change quickly. The workshop system saw to the virtual domination of Antioch as a provider of bronze coinage for northern Syria, which was now composed almost entirely of a single large denomination, probably a coin of eight or nine obols, and possibly a bronze drachm. This coin was perhaps valued at a quarter of a Syrian tetradrachm, and perhaps a third of an Antiochene radiate. Trajan Decius lowered the silver content of the radiate coinage at Rome and at Antioch, and the tetradrachms were also more debased. At the same time there appears to have been a withdrawal of old denarii, which were sometimes restruck as radiates. In Syria, although Antiochene radiates of Gordian, Philip and Trajan Decius circulated in the province, they did not make up the bulk of the radiate coinage used in Syria, which was otherwise composed of radiates from Rome. This continued to be a policy under Trebonianus Gallus, until *circa* 252. The last issue of tetradrachm coinage seems to have been smaller than previous issues, and then this coinage ceased altogether. Radiate production greatly increased, apparently to compensate for a lack of radiates from Rome. This would appear to indicate that Trebonianus Gallus had decided to fully 'Romanise' the Syrian silver coinage, by making Syria more self-sufficient as a producer of radiate coinage, and by abandoning the Syrian tetradrachm. At roughly the same time, the Syrian usurper Uranius Antoninus 'reformed' his silver coinage by producing radiate 'tetradrachms' of almost pure silver, and striking a coinage in gold.

The final adjustments were made early in the reign of Valerian. No tetradrachms were produced, only radiates. Antiochene bronze was discontinued, and later Antioch struck asses of Roman type with Latin legends. Although no clear attempt was made to suppress civic bronze coinage in Syria, in the north, the closure of the workshop at Antioch may have had a detrimental effect on further issues of bronze. Further away from Antioch, in central and southern Syria, bronze civic coinages were produced during the joint reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, but there is no evidence of these coinages continuing beyond 260. As in other areas of the Roman empire, the debased radiate seems to have taken over as the

principal means of exchange, although tetradrachms and old bronzes may have continued to circulate.

The picture which emerges of coinage in Roman Syria is one of a very slow evolution, with some changes occurring between the reigns of Nero and Trajan, but with the more dramatic changes taking place in the third century. Some of these changes may have occurred as a result of inflation and a shift in the use of denominations, as the smaller ones fell out of use, but others seem to have been the result of deliberate changes in monetary policy by the Roman authorities. None the less, we cannot talk of 'Romanisation' of the Syrian coinage - by which I mean that the Syrian coinage became part of a single unified monetary system - being fully achieved until the reign of Valerian, two and a half centuries after Augustus. This is the point at which we can say for sure that the Roman authorities in Syria ceased producing any form of imperial coinage which was inherently Greek in denomination and appearance, and which was restricted in its circulation. If this is the case for Syria, a province very much a part of the Roman world, controlled by legates under the direct authority of the emperor, and effectively a military zone, with important armies patrolling against a formidable enemy to the east, what should we make of the survival of provincial coinage in neighbouring provinces, some of which continued striking until the reigns of Aurelian and Tacitus? Egypt's coinage was not reformed until the reign of Diocletian, and, as at Antioch, the reform was presumably the result of a deliberate decision by the Roman authorities to discontinue production of one sort of imperial coinage and replace it altogether with another. Antioch, Alexandria and Caesarea in Cappadocia were imperial mints of the eastern Roman empire, but Rome seems to have been complacent about unifying the currencies of these three mints. If the imperial mints were not unified, what then of the myriad civic mints of Asia Minor and the Levant?

The coinage of Roman Syria derived from Seleucid antecedents. It was a Greek coinage which was made compatible with Roman denominations. Whilst the Roman authorities created new coinages such as the SC bronzes, the fact that they were probably equal to Italian dupondii and asses does not mean that they *were* Italian dupondii and asses, just as tetradrachms might be reckoned in terms of denarii and yet manifestly were not denarii. Syrian tetradrachms and SC bronzes did not circulate throughout the Roman world because they were not a universally accepted currency. This was not because they were more debased or because they

were inferior; they were simply not 'Roman' in the way that denarii or radiates were.

5.6 The end of provincial coinage in Syria

The end of provincial coinage in general is usually ascribed to the debasement of the radiate and the resulting inflation of this currency. The same happened to the bronze currency of Rome, which was never issued in any significant quantity after the silver content of the radiate had fallen to about 2%, under Gallienus. In Egypt, where a special closed currency system existed, the tetradrachm survived this inflation. Elsewhere, provincial coinage seems to have died out between the reigns of Trajan Decius (AD 249-251) and Probus (AD 276-282), although countermarking may have gone on for longer. The pattern of extinction is by no means a uniform one. Northern Syria was one of the first regions to succumb; no provincial coinage was struck later than the joint reigns of Valerian and Gallienus (AD 253-260). In Pisidia and Pamphylia civic bronze survived into the reign of Aurelian (AD 270-275), and the city of Perge in Pamphylia struck bronzes for Tacitus (AD 275-276).

This collapse of bronze coinage is seen as the direct result of the falling silver content of the radiate, which became so debased that it was no longer economical to produce smaller denominations in bronze.⁴⁷⁴ Presumably this means that civic authorities were either unable or unwilling to issue base silver coins, and that it was impossible to tariff bronze sufficiently highly, on a par with the value of radiates, to make continued production worthwhile. If so, why did provincial coinage die out in such an inconsistent manner, with some provinces striking coins after others had finished? Why did Perge strike coins for Tacitus, so late after Aurelian's important reform of the radiate coinage? Did inflation occur in an inconsistent manner, from province to province?

It was perhaps the supply of radiate coinage, ready-made and of low denomination, that led to the cessation of provincial coinages, and if a supply was not forthcoming, the provincial coinages continued to be issued. At Antioch, the abandonment of the tetradrachm and the bronze coinage may have been a deliberate decision on the part of the Roman

⁴⁷⁴ *GIC*, p. 69.

authorities. Antioch switched to production of a regular imperial coinage of the type struck at Rome; aurei, radiates and a few rare asses.⁴⁷⁵ Since most of the civic coinage of northern Syria had probably been produced at Antioch since the reign of Elagabalus, the suspension of production of Antiochene bronze would have killed off further issues on behalf of the cities in this region. No independent issues were struck, as the radiate was now available in northern Syria, in large quantities. If the silver content of the radiate had not yet led to price rises, it is likely that the abundant supply soon did so. At any rate, there was now no other denomination in the Roman empire being produced on such a scale, suggesting that, outside of Egypt, the imperial authorities considered the radiate was sufficient as the lowest common denomination.

There are indications that the supply of radiate coinages in the provinces of the Roman empire was somewhat irregular. In Britain, for example, it appears that the reformed radiates of Aurelian and his successors were not as important a part of the circulating medium as the pre-reform radiates, and that the supply of post-reform coinage was small. A similar situation in places like Pamphylia and Pisidia, where radiates may have failed to make much impact until after Aurelian's reform, could have prolonged the survival of provincial coinages there. Likewise in Egypt, where there was no attempt to introduce radiates. The supply might have been dictated by a conscious imperial policy to try to supply provinces with money, or it might have arrived with the presence of campaigning armies. The end of Syrian provincial coinage was perhaps a symptom of the frequent wars with Persia, and the need to supply the eastern armies frequently, with a locally produced silver coinage which was current throughout the empire. As yet there are only hints that it was during this crucial period, from about 238 to 270, that the political organisation of the eastern provinces were being changed, and that much of the organisation attributed to Diocletian was in fact already in place when he assumed the purple. If Syria was reorganised, and its boundaries changed, *circa* AD 253, this might have given Valerian every opportunity to abandon the provincial coinage, which was confined to circulation within the traditional boundaries, and replace it with something universal. With an

⁴⁷⁵ Was the influence of the old provincial coinage the reason why 'Italian asses', rather than sestertii, were produced at Antioch?

abundant supply of radiate coinage in Syria, the civic coinages succumbed.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁶ The latest dated issues in the region of greater Syria are those of the Arabian city of Adraa, struck in AD 256/7 (Spijkerman, *Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia*, pp. 64-5). All other issues in Syria were struck during the joint reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, and coins of Gallienus die-link with those of Valerian. After Antioch, the only cities to strike coins were Heliopolis, Damascus, Berytus, Tyre, and Ptolemais. Contrast this limited output with the abundance of coins in neighbouring Cilicia. Note also that those cities producing civic coinages in Syria were well away from the radiate mint at Antioch.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

This study of coinage in Roman Syria has presented a neglected subject in its political and economic context. Much of the material presented here has never been published before, and in some cases, site and hoard evidence has been rescued from oblivion. No detailed catalogue of the bronze coinage of Antioch previously existed, even though Antioch was one of the more prolific mints in the Roman empire. This gap in our knowledge of provincial coinage has been painfully obvious for too long.⁴⁷⁷ The same can be said of the catalogues of the other, smaller civic mints, all of which were influenced by Antiochene coinage in some way. The arrangement of the issues and organisation of the material are also new. Previously, the lack of any comprehensive catalogue and discussion of the northern Syrian coinages seems to have resulted in a reluctance on the part of numismatists to study these important issues. The creation of this catalogue means that those interested in the material will now be able to work on the coinage of Antioch and its neighbouring cities without having to begin from first principles, and will hopefully point to new areas for research and discussion.

The study of the bronze coinage and its production has demonstrated some links between political and historical events. At least two important phases of production at a number of mints in northern Syria, under Trajan and Lucius Verus, suggest a link between production of bronze and military activity. It is far more difficult to make this connection with the silver coinages, and I have suggested that the authorities may have had quite different objectives in mind when issuing large quantities of precious metal. The issue of silver coinages may have had a greater relationship to provincial finances and taxation than to military campaigns. The study of the silver coinage itself, and the complexity of the issues in many reigns has yielded interesting results. I have demonstrated that there is a strong case for direct involvement of the mints of Rome and Alexandria in the production of Syrian silver in certain reigns, and also for Antioch's own involvement in the provision of silver coinages for other provinces. All of these observations raise questions about the organisation of silver production within the Roman empire, and the possibility that direct

⁴⁷⁷ See, for example, the comments by Howgego, 'Roman Empire: Greek and Provincial Issues', in *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1978-1984*, p. 255.

imperial control may have been necessary to co-ordinate production between mints has been considered. Problems relating to the nature and volume of production have been explored. The insufficient size of all of the collections examined has prevented anything other than selective die studies as surely as the vast number of issues. Instead, site finds have provided evidence for the relative sizes of various issues of Antiochene coinage.

The study of the site finds and hoard evidence has drawn together data both published and unpublished. The usefulness of the published data has sometimes been hindered by the unreliability of the original publications, but for the first time it has been possible to discern general patterns of circulation of bronze and silver in northern Syria, and to examine the significance of those groups of 'foreign' coins which are present in the region. The close relationships between the political and geographical limits of the province and the circulation of the coinage have been studied; the results suggest that Syrian coinage was in general constrained by its geopolitical boundaries and did not circulate in other Roman provinces. In the first century BC and perhaps under the Julio-Claudians, the circulation patterns of silver even within Syria itself seem to have been divided, with the coinage of Antioch circulating in the north, and the coinage of Tyre in the south, without any visible signs of cross over between the two. Hoards, site finds and countermarks have all been used to find out how and where coins moved, and how long they remained in circulation. The date of the introduction of the denarius, the staple unit of Roman imperial currency, to Syria, now appears to have been at some time in the late Julio-Claudian or early Flavian period, but more hoards of the first century have yet to be recorded before the situation can be clarified.

The section on metrology and denominations offers new ways of interpreting not only the currency of Syria, but of other eastern provinces as well. The study of the silver standards also helps to interpret aspects of the Roman imperial coinage produced at Rome itself. My interpretations suggest that whilst the provincial coinages were not part of a unified single monetary system based on that used at Rome, the eastern issues were perhaps not altogether independent of Rome when it came to organisation of production, and the central government encouraged, rather than discouraged, the provincial coinages, at least into the second quarter of the third century AD.

Finally, the authority behind the issues, and the reasons why the coins were produced are discussed. The correlation between military activity and output of coinage is not particularly strong, in spite of what some numismatists have suggested. High output at Antioch, either of silver or bronze, did not necessarily occur in times of war, although, as I have stated above, a proliferation of minting activity at cities inland in northern Syria does seem to have coincided with campaigns on two occasions. The desire by numismatists to see a military explanation for the sudden surge in radiate output under Trebonianus Gallus circa AD 252/3 (to counter a presumed Persian invasion) has perhaps obscured an important reform in Syria, with the abandonment of the tetradrachm and a decision to make the Antiochene radiate the main source of silver currency in Syria. Syrian coinage is then examined in the wider context of coinage throughout the Roman world. Like other eastern coinages, that of Syria seems to have derived from Hellenistic antecedents. I have argued that the influence of Rome upon many of these coinages was slow, contrary to the views of some numismatists, who have seen a general unification of the monetary system of the Roman world during the early imperial period. In Syria, a full reform onto the Roman model did not take place until the middle of the third century AD. A conscious decision to abandon Greek coinage at Antioch may have been the sole reason for its demise at that mint, but the ready supply of low-value radiates throughout Syria may have discouraged production of coinage by other cities.

This study of Syrian coinage has tried to take account of all forms of coinage, from Roman imperial to localised civic issues, in order to view each component in its wider context. It has been traditional to separate the mainstream issues of Rome from the provincial coinages when studying Roman economic and monetary policy. That is no longer possible. The provincial issues, eccentric in appearance and denominations, were an integral part of a number of different monetary systems absorbed into the Roman empire. Instead of viewing the coinage of the Roman empire up to the middle of the third century as a unified currency, it is wiser to accept that the monetary makeup of the eastern Roman empire consisted of a patchwork of systems which were self contained, but which were often supported and encouraged by the Roman authorities. The coinage of Roman Syria is one of the more remarkable examples.

**Coinage in Roman Syria: Northern Syria, 64 BC
- AD 253.**

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Volume 2

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Appendix 1: The Emperor on the Coinage; Portraits, Types and Imperial 'Propaganda'

A. Imperial coinage

The 'propaganda' value of the imperial portrait on the obverses of coins, and the spread of its use under Augustus, has been strongly emphasised.¹ In Syria, the first appearance of the imperial image was probably on the SC bronze, first struck in the penultimate or last decade of the first century BC, and which from its inception bore an imperial portrait. The silver coinage did not adopt Augustus' portrait until 5 BC, but after that it became normal for the emperor's portrait to appear on the obverse of the silver coinage. The use of the imperial coinage to convey the imperial *imago* is not too surprising, although it was perhaps taken up a little later in Syria than in some of the other provinces.²

Western imperial coinage used other images in addition to the emperor's portrait to emphasise the achievements and ideals of the Roman state. Dynastic portraiture, and the use of allegorical scenes or figures to express imperial ideals (usually accompanied by an explicit inscription), or direct allusions to the emperor's achievements, were employed as types on the obverses and reverses of imperial coins. The result is an enormous variety of types which can be perceived as imperial 'propaganda', or the glorification of the imperial household and the Roman state. The use of western imperial coinage for propaganda purposes has been explored in numerous works.³ In the light of this the almost complete lack of variety of types on the imperial coinage of Syria (or of most other eastern imperial issues) is worth noting. Other forms of 'propaganda', such as imperial victories, receive no explicit notice on Syrian imperial coinage.⁴ There is

¹ See, for example, A.M. Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman World*, pp. 73-5.

² Cistophori in Asia carry the portraits of M. Antonius before 38 BC, and Augustus' image appears from about 28 BC. The CA coinage of Augustus in Asia is less easy to date, but it may also belong to the 20's BC. For the dating of the cistophori, see C.H.V. Sutherland, N. Olcay, K.E. Merrington, *The Cistophori of Augustus*, RNS Special Publication, London, 1970. In Egypt, the earliest Alexandrian bronzes of Augustus, the so-called First Series, which imitate the types of Cleopatra VII, bear the Greek equivalent of 'Caesar imp./ divi f.', and probably belong to before 27 BC. The Second and Third Series carry the title 'Sebastos'. See J.G. Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins, Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1933, introduction, p. 19.

³ The most notable is C.H.V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy, 31 BC-AD 68*, London, 1951.

⁴ Contrast this with the silver of Caesarea in Cappadocia, which bears relatively monotonous types, but carries the occasional explicit types such

even a reticence to portray members of the imperial household other than the emperor on the SC coinage, and tetradrachms display only a limited variety of imperial persons. Under the Julio-Claudians, Germanicus (probably struck under Claudius) is the only person portrayed other than the emperor himself on the bronze. The silver portraits include Germanicus and Agrippina Senior (under Gaius), Agrippina Junior and Nero Caesar (under Claudius), and Poppaea (under Nero). Vespasian struck bronze for his sons, but no silver in the name of Titus or Domitian under Vespasian can be directly associated with the mint of Antioch, except the coins probably struck there for Cyprus (see above, under 'Production: silver coinage'). From Domitian to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus the Syrian imperial coinage portrays no other persons than the reigning emperor(s), with the sole exception of Marcus Aurelius under Antoninus Pius. Not until the third century, with the Severan tetradrachms, the colonial coinage of Antioch and the silver coinages which accompanied it, do portraits of relatives and successors become common. Septimius' tetradrachms portray himself and his two sons, and (more rarely) his wife Julia Domna, who also appears on some tetradrachms from the sole reign of Caracalla.¹ Macrinus' son Diadumenian occurs frequently on both SC bronzes and tetradrachms. None of Elagabalus' female relatives, a notable feature of his Roman coinage, appear on the imperial coinage of Syria. Alexander's colonial bronze portrays his mother. Tranquillina, the wife of Gordian III, does not appear on tetradrachms, although she does occur on the coinage of Caesarea which may have been produced at Antioch, and some very rare Antiochene radiates.² Thereafter, however, on the coinage of Philip, Trajan Decius, and Trebonianus Gallus, all members of the imperial family that appear on the Roman coinage also appear on the Syrian imperial coinage.

The repetitive nature of the reverse types is likewise in complete contrast to the contemporary imperial coinage of the west. The eagle, as the

as an Armenian victory under Nero, or Claudius' famous DE BRITANN(is) issue. Note also the 'Judaea capta' coinage of Vespasian, struck in Judaea; I. Carradice, 'Coinage in Judaea in the Flavian Period, AD 70-96', *INJ* 6-7 (1982-3), pp. 14-21. The figure of Roma does occur on a tridrachm of Trajan, probably struck at Rome, which was probably issued for Syria; see 'Production: silver coinage'.

¹ A tetradrachm of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna is illustrated in *Empire Coins Auction* 5, May 1986, lot 134. Under Caracalla, 'Hierapolis' and 'Emisa' issued tetradrachms for Julia Domna; see Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, nos. 93, 178-183.

² For the Caesarean coinage, see above, under 'Production: silver coinage'.

main reverse for tetradrachms, might be viewed as imperial 'propaganda', as a Roman eagle, or the symbol of Jupiter, but it seems to derive from the coin-type of pre-Roman Tyrian coinage, and the silver of the Ptolemies and Seleucids. If SC refers to the Roman Senate, the letters could be viewed as state propaganda, but it remained an unchanging type for over two centuries. Only once, under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, was this bronze coinage utilised for an explicit reverse type: the two emperors clasping hands, with the legend 'homonoia sebaston' (Catalogue, Antioch no. 393). Perhaps, as these were considered to be much more restricted 'provincial' issues, less stress was placed on the propaganda value of various reverse types for tetradrachms and SC bronzes, even when some of these coinages seem to have been struck at Rome. The tetradrachms were perhaps conservative in their reverse types because they were non-Roman denominations which preserved their traditional character, but it is less easy to argue this for the SC bronze, which was essentially a Roman creation.¹ It is none the less strange that, if 'propaganda' (by using an assortment of types to glorify the Roman state) were a really important consideration when issuing an imperial coinage of any sort, the imperial authorities missed an opportunity with the Syrian coinage for over two hundred years.

B. Civic coinage

The adoption of the imperial portrait on the civic coinage of northern Syria was slow. Its use at Antioch is perhaps distorted by the introduction of the SC coinage, and it may be wrong to cite its appearance there as indicative of the prevailing trend throughout Syria. It might be argued that the new Antiochene coinage *set* the trend, but other cities were slow to respond. Apart from Antioch, Seleucia is the only other city in the region to portray Augustus on the coinage, and on the silver coinage only, issued in the first decade of the first century AD. Further south, outside the region of the present study, Augustus appears on the coinage of Apamea, and Gabala, but his portrait only appears on silver at Laodicea. Tiberius occurs on Seleucian bronze, and on the coinage of Rhodus. Gaius is the first ruler to appear on the bronze of Laodicea. By the late Julio-Claudian period the imperial portrait is a normal feature of civic coinage, usually

¹ Cistophori of Asia, however, were 'traditional' denominations, yet they bear a wide variety of reverse types, many of which might be viewed as propaganda. Only the strange 'post-reform' tetradrachms of Uranius Antoninus break with traditional Syrian tetradrachm types, although this may be precisely because they were not traditional tetradrachms.

occupying the obverses of the larger denominations, a pattern which continues into the second century AD.

Reverse types generally feature religious images pertinent to the issuing city. Occasionally reference is made to the imperial family. The reverse of a coin of Commodus at Rhodus may depict Crispina as Aphrodite, although the interpretation is not explicit. On the colonial coinage of Antioch, the emperor Severus Alexander (if it is indeed he) stands next to the Tyche of Antioch and crowns her. The type was copied at Nicopolis Seleucidis. Such types, however, are few.

No political message can be construed from the pattern of minting among the cities. Whilst the striking of coinage might be taken to be an affirmation of loyalty to the regime, the non-striking of coinage does not signify anything. I have already shown that there is no numismatic evidence for Antioch's punishment by Septimius Severus after the defeat of Pescennius Niger in AD 194. Antioch and Cyrrhus were reputedly the centres of the revolt of Avidius Cassius in 175, yet they both struck coins shortly after the collapse of the revolt, with portraits of a young, beardless Commodus. The striking of coinages among the cities in this region follows a distinct pattern, but this is unlikely to have any connection with political adherence. I have suggested above that at least some of it is connected with military activity. During the civil wars of 69, some cities used countermarks of Otho or Vespasian, but for these wars, or those of 193 or 238, there were no civic coins struck in Syria on behalf of any ruler.

Appendix 2: Letters, Dots, Numbers and Stars

A. The meaning of SC

The appearance of the letters SC on Antiochene coinage for over two and a half centuries has puzzled numismatists and historians who have seen its use at Rome as representing some form of *senatus consultum* related to the coinage. Since Syria was an imperial province, and the main coinage of Antioch an imperial coinage, what possible connections could the senate have with these issues? The letters have sometimes been dismissed as merely imitative: 'I ... continue to think that the appearance of SC on the bronze coinage of Antioch is the result of the unthinking copying of a Roman design a generation after its introduction.'¹ If SC really represents unthinking copying (which seems rather implausible on a coinage produced by the imperial authorities for some two hundred and fifty years), why, during two and a half centuries, was someone not informed that the imperial bronze coinage of Antioch had as its sole reverse a type which was meaningless? I very much doubt that so important a coinage would have as a reverse type a design of no significance. It seems likely that SC does refer to a *senatus consultum*, and the view of Burnett, 'that Augustus used a decree or several decrees of the senate (one of his regular methods of introducing reform) to regularise the coinage', seems the most sensible explanation.² This is essentially a modification of an interpretation of the meaning of SC at Rome which Crawford accepts.³ SC can therefore mean *senatus consulto* without involving the senate in the affairs of Syria. The SC refers to the original ratification by the senate under Augustus, who proposed the introduction of a special coinage for Syria. Does its continued appearance refer only to the original decision to issue the coinage, and is its later use merely unthinking copying? If it refers only to the original SC in the reign of Augustus, the terms of this decree may have been interpreted very widely under Gordian III and his successors, who introduced the tetradrachm coinage with SC. I do not think that the continued use of SC on Elagabalus' colonial coinage of Antioch was simply copying; for everything else about this new coinage is innovative. The colonial coinage was clearly linked by

¹ Crawford, *NC* 1989, p. 245.

² Burnett p. 19; see also A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus', *JRS* 1986, pp. 81-2.

³ A. Bay, 'The Letters SC on Augustan *Aes* Coinage', *JRS* 1972, pp. 111-122; Crawford, *CMRR*, p. 261.

the use of SC to the old imperial coinage of Antioch, and it is likely that it continued to have a meaning down to the last issues under Valerian.

B. *Delta-epsilon*

These letters first occur on Antiochene civic bronzes, struck in Caesarean year 226 (AD 177/8). Their first appearance, therefore, is on civic rather than imperial coins. They next appear on Caracalla's SC coinage, variously arranged, *delta* only, *delta-epsilon*, or occasionally (and perhaps mistakenly) *epsilon-delta*. From this point onwards they are always found in conjunction with the letters SC, and occur on all Antiochene bronze from Macrinus to Valerian.

The letters also occur on the bronze coinage of Laodicea ad Mare, from the reign of Elagabalus. From Philip onwards, the coinage of Laodicea was probably produced at Antioch, so the appearance of the letters is not altogether unexpected. Unlike the coinage of Antioch, the Laodicean coins do not bear the letters SC.¹ However, a parallel issue to the small SC bronzes of Antioch was produced at Laodicea, bearing the letters *delta-epsilon*, with a star below, arranged in a wreath.² A similar arrangement may be noted on certain tetradrachms of Caracalla, Macrinus and Elagabalus, traditionally attributed to Antioch, but perhaps struck elsewhere (see section on production, silver coinage).

The meaning of the letters *delta-epsilon* is far from clear. 'Demarchikes exousias' (= Tr. Pot.) is the most obvious explanation. The clearest parallel is with the *pi-pi* mark used on some civic coinages of eastern Cilicia during the third century, especially at Tarsus. The interpretation of *pi-pi* as 'pater patridos' (= Pater Patriae) seems confirmed by its appearance on the obverses of the coins, arranged either side of the emperor's head. *Pi-pi* is found only on coins portraying the emperor, not on coins portraying other members of the imperial family, as one might expect, since it was a title which only the emperor held. The evidence for *delta-epsilon* is not as clearly defined; if it does mean 'demarchikes exousias', we might expect it to occur only in conjunction with the imperial

¹ It is interesting to note that SC without *delta-epsilon* occurs on the coinage of Philippopolis in Arabia, which was also produced at Antioch during the same period; Butcher, *INJ* 9 (1986/7), pp. 73-84.

² In spite of some arguments that this coinage was struck at Antioch, it is demonstrably not Antiochene; only a tiny number have been recovered from around Antioch, and they are commoner further south. The obverse legends are in Latin, a feature of Laodicean coinage, and the style of portraiture is also clearly Laodicean. I intend to deal with this coinage in a later study of the coinage of Laodicea.

portrait, but this is not the case.¹ It is normally found only on the reverses of coins (its only appearance on the obverse seems to be when some reverse dies were re-used as obverse dies, see Catalogue, Antioch, nos. 447-8). The very first appearance of *delta-epsilon*, on civic coins, portraying a bust of Tyche, or a portrait of Lucilla, seems to strain the 'demarchikes exousias' interpretation, especially as it does not appear on contemporary SC bronzes of Commodus, who should bear the title 'demarchikes exousias'. On the reverses of tetradrachms of Elagabalus, *delta-epsilon* actually occurs with the explicit legend 'demarchikes exousias', a needless (though not altogether impossible) repetition.² On the Antiochene bronze of the third century, *delta-epsilon* seems to occur as a counterpart to the letters SC. Baldus has proposed 'Dogma ekklesias', which seems a slightly more plausible interpretation in view of the manner in which *delta-epsilon* occurs on coins than 'demarchikes exousias'.³ One could, however, speculate endlessly about the meaning of two letters, and new evidence is needed to support any interpretation.

C. Dots and numeral letters

Dots, or pellets, normally found in the reverse field of coins, occur mainly on the coinage of Antioch, during the first century AD, on some silver tetradrachms and on many SC bronzes. They also occur occasionally on civic coins. On the silver and on the civic coins their position, in the reverse field, is usually fixed. On SC bronzes the positions are more variable. Coins occur most commonly without a dot, but many issues of SC bronze are known with a dot placed at one of four positions, at twelve, three, six, or nine o'clock. A single issue of Claudius has two dots, at twelve and six o'clock.

The use of dots on the SC coinage seems to be inextricably linked with the use of numeral letters, which take over from the system of dots in the reign of Domitian. Once the numeral letters appear, the dots never occur again.

¹ Note, however, that the words 'demarchikes exousias' occur on the reverses of tetradrachms of Otacilia Severa and Herennia Etruscilla.

² Other interpretations seem even less likely. 'Delta etous', in this sense meaning a 'fourth age', was proposed by Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, p. 96.

³ H.R. Baldus, 'Zum Rechtsstatus syrischer Prägungen der 1. Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.', *Chiron* 3 (1973), pp. 441-8.

The following observations may be noted of numeral letters:

- 1) The letters appear to form sequences, always beginning with 1, and the most complete runs from 1-14. Not all sequences appear to be complete.¹
- 2) Sometimes there are two or, in one case, three, consecutive numeral letters on the same coin.
- 3) Different numeral letters may share the same obverse die (usually consecutive letters in a sequence, unless the issue was particularly small, in which case the dies may be shared between several numeral letters).
- 4) Some letters appear to be unintelligible as numbers, *gamma-alpha*, *epsilon-kappa*, *chi* (these three examples all occur on the second issue of SC bronze under Trajan).

Eckhel proposed that the numeral letters were regnal years.² Since the highest numeral letter on Nerva's SC bronze is 20, this cannot be the case. Nor could coins of Trajan, bearing his titles 'Optimus' and 'Dacicus', with the numeral letter 1, be dated to AD 98. Pick thought they were perhaps officinae, but this seems unlikely in view of the die-links, the gaps in the sequences, and it would give a city like Beroea eight officinae under Trajan!³ Dieudonné suggested that they numbered the obverse dies.⁴ This too is impossible, since many dies share the same numeral letter, and occasionally an obverse die may be observed to link reverses with different numeral letters. MacDonald, in an article devoted to the subject of numeral letters, suggested that they represented months of issue. He found no sequences of numeral letters higher than thirteen, arguing that the thirteenth could be explained as an intercalary month which was still in use in Syria at the time. More problematic letters (*Gamma-alpha*, *epsilon-kappa*, *kappa*, *chi*) he dismissed as magistrates' initials. Those coins which bore two numeral letters represented issues covering two months, and one issue of Seleucia Pieria, with the monogram *beta-gamma-delta*, represented a period of three months.⁵ However, SC bronzes of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, which MacDonald did not know about, have sequences

¹ Eg. SC bronzes of Nerva run 1-10, then 20; Beroea under Trajan runs 1-4, then 8. These coinages seem too well recorded for the gaps to be caused merely by missing rarities, although in the Catalogue I have given Beroea the benefit of the doubt and have listed numeral letters 5 to 7 as requiring confirmation.

² *Dnv*, iii, pp. 259-60.

³ *ZN* 14 (1887) pp. 302-303.

⁴ A. Dieudonné, 'Les sigles littérales des monnaies d'Antioche et autres villes de Syrie à l'époque impériale', *JIAN* 10 (1907), pp. 273-286.

⁵ G. MacDonald, 'The Numerical Letters on Imperial Coins of Syria', *NC* 3 (1903), pp. 105-110.

running to fifteen, which makes the suggestion rather more implausible. Furthermore, it is odd that the SC bronzes would mark months and not years, when the civic bronzes, which also bear numeral letters, are dated by year. Bellinger, writing the Dura report, discussed numeral letters but did not offer any explanation of them.¹

Since the letters seem to form sequences, and all begin with 1, it seems very likely that the dots and numeral letters have some temporal significance. The gaps in the sequences suggest that they are not simply numbering sequences of issues. If they are not calendrical, they must relate to some fixed cycle that did not relate directly to issues of coin. They might relate in some way to magistracies, which may explain the unusual non-numerals under Trajan, or the groups of numerals, but again, the high numbers at some of the small cities is surprising.

D Crescents and stars

Star and crescent symbols, either alone or together, are known on many other coinages aside from those of Syria. Their use was widespread. Some are clearly religious symbols for Helios and Selene, or their local counterparts.² Occasionally, however, their religious significance may be secondary. On the rare Caesarean didrachms of Gordian III, two dots of denominational significance are sometimes replaced by a crescent and star.³ In Syria itself the marks appear either singly or together, on silver and bronze, usually on the reverse but occasionally on the obverse.⁴ The prevalence of lunar and solar deities in semitic religions may account for a number of star and crescent symbols on Syrian coinage. This is probably the significance of their appearance at Hierapolis, where they represent Hadad and Atergatis, who are also symbolised on the coinage by a bull and lion. Coins of this city of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus tend to have a radiate obverse portrait when the reverse bears a star.⁵ On most Syrian coins the crescent and star rarely appear in conjunction. An Antiochene bronze of Severus Alexander carries both symbols on the obverse, but this is an exception. On most of the Antiochene issues of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, the symbols appear singly, replacing each other in the reverse

¹ *Dura*, p. 151.

² *Eg.* The large crescent found on the reverses of coins of Carrhae, such as *BMC* 1, probably represents the cult of the moon goddess Sin.

³ I am grateful to Roger Bland for pointing out these marks.

⁴ The subject is discussed by P. Gilmore, 'Crescents and stars, *NCirc.* 1985, p. 9.

⁵ Radiate portraits of this issue do sometimes occur without stars.

field, or are otherwise absent altogether. Coins with and without symbols share obverse dies. Stars appear on both the obverse and reverse of certain SC bronzes of Antoninus Pius, apparently in the same issues as coins with only one star, or no stars. Some tetradrachms of Galba, of AD 68, have a star on the obverse, whilst some tetradrachms of Otho, and Vespasian, dated AD 69, bear a crescent on the reverse. It may be that these symbols represent periods of the year which were seen as solar or lunar phases, although they occur with such irregularity that one wonders whether their appearance was sometimes little more than talismanic.¹

¹ General astrological symbolism on coinage was widespread; the radiate sun crown of the emperor, or the crescent of his consort; the zodiacal signs on the coinage of Syrian cities, Aries at Antioch, Taurus at Cyrrhus, and Capricorn at Zeugma.

Appendix 3: List of Hoards of Silver and Bronze Coins from Syria

A. Silver hoards

Most of these hoards have been published elsewhere, or are about to be published; therefore only the briefest listings are given.

1. **Irbid.** Tetrachms of Tyre (40), with didrachms (15), to 64/5 BC.
Seyrig, Trésors, no. 48.
2. **Ascalon.** Tetrachms of Antiochus VII, Tyre (2); Ascalon to 64/3 BC (6).
IGCH 1616.
3. **Palestine.** Tetrachms of Antiochus VII, Tyre (1); Demetrius II, Tyre (4); autonomous of Tyre, to year 64, 63/2 BC (10).
IGCH 1617.
4. **Nahr-Ibrahim**, n. of Beirut. Tetrachms of Aradus to year 199, 61/60 BC (about 200).
IGCH 1618.
5. **'Mardin'**. Tetrachms of Antioch, Seleucus VI (1); Antiochus X (1); Philip (30), with drachms of Parthia to Phraates III, 70-57 BC (56).
Seyrig, Trésors, no. 34.
6. **'Région d'Alep'**. Tetrachms, Philip Philadelphus (1), Posthumous Philips of Aulus Gabinius (21).
IGCH 1578, *Seyrig, Trésors*, no. 35.
7. **Beirut.** Tetrachms of Tyre to 54/3 BC (34).
IGCH 1621; *Seyrig, Trésors*, no. 47.
8. **Safad**, Galilee. Tetrachms of Ascalon to year 55, 50/49 BC (6+).
IGCH 1622.
9. **Gaza.** Tetrachms of Ascalon, to year 41, including portrait coins of Cleopatra VII.
IGCH 1627.
10. **'Syria'**. Tetrachms of Laodicea, 200+ (?).
CH 7, no. 50.
11. **'Syria'**. Tetrachms of Laodicea to 47/6 BC (70+); of Seleucia (19); of Aradus (41); of Tyre to 41/40 BC (20+).
IGCH 1581, and *CH* 3, no. 78.
12. **Tartus.** Tetrachms of Aradus to year 216, 44/3 BC (16), of Laodicea to Julian year 2 (2).
IGCH 1582, *Seyrig, Trésors*, no. 36.

13. **Akkar**, sw. of Homs. Tetradrachms of Seleucus VI (2); Antiochus X (9); Philip (4); Phraates IV, 33/2 BC (1).
IGCH 1583, Seyrig, *Trésors*, no. 37: 'L'absence de toute imitation romaine de Philippe Philadelphie est curieuse'. But compare pattern with that of Mardin, above, and Diyarbakir, below.
14. **Diyarbakir**. Tetradrachms of Antiochus VIII (4); Antiochus X (6); Philip (136); Posthumous Philips to Caesarean year 19, 31/30 BC (4), with drachms of Ariobarzanes I, 72 BC (8), and Parthian drachms to Phraates III, 70-57 BC (70).
 Seyrig, *Trésors*, no. 38: 'Les quatre pièces de cette catégorie (Posthumous Philips) se trouvent être ... les plus usées du trésor'.
15. **Mount Scopus**. Tetradrachms, of Demetrius II, Tyre (2); autonomous of Tyre to 30/29 BC (9).
IGCH 1628.
16. **Syria**. Posthumous Philips (30+); Augustus Tyche tetradrachm, year 26 (1).
 Seen in trade, London, 1984.
17. **Bâb**. Tetradrachms, of Philip (26); Cleopatra and M. Antonius (6); Posthumous Philips, Caesarean years 26 - 31 (35); Augustus Tyche tetradrachms, Caesarean year 54 and Actian year 36 (7); Caesarean year 60 and Actian year 42 (1), with tetradrachm of Augustus from Seleucia, year 114 (1).
 Seyrig, *Trésors*, no. 39. All very worn, except for the last Antiochene issue of Augustus.
18. **Syria**. Tetradrachms, 70+, including 40 of Augustus, rev. Tyche.
CH 2, no. 131. Seen in Beirut. Perhaps same hoard as the previous entry.
19. **Syria** (?). Caesarea in Cappadocia, drachms. Tiberius and Drusus (5), Gaius (4); Germanicus and Divus Augustus (11); Nero and Divus Claudius (2).
 E.A. Sydenham, 'A Small Find of Caesarean Drachms', *NC* 1932, pp. 68-9.
20. **Antioch** (?). Tetradrachms of Nero and Divus Claudius, attributed by Sydenham to Caesarea in Cappadocia. Number uncertain, but many.
 Information from A. Spaer, Jerusalem, who acquired a specimen from the hoard at Antioch.
21. '**Syria**'. Tetradrachms of Nero (10+), years 108 (AD 59/60) to 114 (65/6).
Journal of Numismatic Fine Arts, Vol. 5, 1976, inside cover. Quite possibly part of a larger hoard which included later coins.
22. **Mount Carmel**. Tyre, tetradrachms (3850), didrachms (1000), denarii (275), including 160 denarii of Augustus, rev. Gaius and Lucius.
 Kadman, *Israel Numismatic Bulletin* 1 (1962), pp. 9-11; A. Ben-David, *Jerusalem und Tyros*, pp. 33-36; *CH* 1, no. 118 and 2, no. 134.
- 22a. **Palestine**. Shekels of First Jewish Revolt to circa AD 67, tetradrachm of Tyre, AD 36/7 (1), tetradrachm of Antioch, Nero, AD 60/1 (1).
Numismatic Literature, no. 124 (1990), p. 26, item 159.
23. **Mount of Olives**. Last coin AD 70. First Revolt shekels (10); half shekels (4); Tyre tetradrachm POH (=AD 52/3) (1); Nero Antioch tetradrachm HIP (=AD 61/2) (1).

A. Spijkerman, 'Trésor de sicles juifs trouvé au Mont des Oliviers à Jérusalem', *SM* 42 (1961), pp. 25-32.

24. 'Middle East'. Tetradrachms, 10+, of Galba, Vespasian, and Titus.

CH 2, no. 135; *Journal of Numismatic Fine Arts*, Vol. 4, 1975, p. 32. No adequate description. The coins, illustrated in a pile, seem to be mostly Vespasian, Antioch, year 2, but the Titus coin must be of the 'Caesarea' mint. Possibly part of a larger hoard, and perhaps part of hoard no. 21.

25. Syria. Tetradrachms of Trajan. Rome (?), rev. Heracles (2); Antioch, rev. Heracles (7); Antioch, rev. Tyche (1).

CH 7, no. 153.

26. Syria. Coins of Trajan. Rome, tridrachm, cos iii, rev. Heracles (1); Rome, tetradrachm, cos v, rev. Heracles (1); Antioch, rev. eagle, tr.p. xv cos v (1); tr.p. xvi cos vi (1); tr.p. xxi cos vi (1); rev. Heracles, tr.p. xvi cos vi (1).
Trade, London, 1988.

27. 'Syria'. Tetradrachms of Trajan, Rome (1), tridrachm, Rome, rev. Roma (1); Antioch (36); with Arabia tetradrachms and drachms (4).

CH 2, no. 141, *Journal of Numismatic Fine Arts*, Vol. 4, 1975, p. 33.

28. Hebron district. Tetradrachms, Nero (1); Vespasian (3); Trajan (1), tridrachm of Trajan, rev. Roma (1), with Bar-Kochba tetradrachms (4), Arabia drachms of Trajan (6), and denarii, Republic-Hadrian (38).

CH 3, no. 90.

29. Lattakia, 1966. Tetradrachms, Nero, Laodicea ad Mare (2); Nero and Divus Claudius (1); Trajan, Rome (2), Antioch (6); Hadrian, Laodicea ad Mare (1), with Cyprus tetradrachms of Vespasian (25) and Cyprus didrachms of Titus (2) and Domitian (4), with denarii, Nero (1); Galba (1); Otho (1); Vitellius (1); Vespasian (5); Titus (1); Domitian (1); Trajan (7); Hadrian (3).

J.H. Evers, 'Syrische Muntvondst (I)', *De Geuzen Penning*, July 1970, pp. 29-34.

30. Eleutheropolis. Tetradrachms, Nero (12); Galba (2); Otho (2); Vespasian (Antioch mint 5; Alexandria 7); Nerva (1); Trajan (Rome 1; Alexandria 1; Antioch 9), with tetradrachm of Ptolemais (1), Syrian tridrachm (Zeus/Hadad) (1); Syrian didrachms (eagle) (4); Arabian tetradrachms of Trajan (13); Arabian drachms (rev Arabia) (43); Lycian drachm of Trajan (1); denarii, Republic (6); Nero (1); Otho (1); Vitellius (3); reign of Vespasian (63); reign of Titus (2); reign of Domitian (18); Nerva (4); Trajan (49); Hadrian (38).

I.N. Svoronos, *JIAN* 10 (1907), pp. 230-248.

31. Murabb'at. Tetradrachms, Nero (4); Galba (2); Otho (2); Vespasian (Antioch 2; Palestine mint for Titus 1); Trajan (Rome? 1; Antioch 2), with Syrian didrachms (rev. Hera/Atergatis 3; eagle 2), Arabian tetradrachms of Trajan (5); Arabian drachms of Trajan (Rome style 10; Antioch style 23), Nabataean drachms (119), denarii, Republic (2); M. Antonius (9); Galba (2); Vespasian (7); Titus (1); Domitian (6); Nerva (1); Trajan (22); Hadrian (1).

J.T. Milik, H. Seyrig, 'Trésor monétaire de Murabb'ât', *RN* 6.1 (1958), pp. 11-26.

32. Palestine area. Tetradrachms, of Vespasian (Antioch 1; Alexandria 1); Trajan (Rome 1, Antioch 1), didrachm, Trajan, Rome style (1), with denarii, reign of Vespasian (4); reign of Domitian (1); reign of Trajan (3), reign of Hadrian (1), and drachms of Arabia, reign of Trajan (Antioch style, rev.

Arabia standing 7, Rome style, rev. Camel 1), and Bar-Kokhba drachms (5), and bronzes, of Ascalon, Vespasian (1), and Trajan (7), and of Bar-Kokhba (1).

Y. Meshorer, 'A Coin Hoard of Bar-Kokhba's Time', *Israel Museum Journal* IV, 1985, pp. 43-50.

33. 'Near Jericho'. Tetradrachms, of Nero (1); Trajan, Antioch (1), tridrachm, Trajan, Rome, rev. Zeus/Hadad (1), Arabia drachms of Trajan (20), with Nabataean drachms (3), denarii, Otho-Hadrian (25), drachm of Trajan from Lycia (1), and Bar-Kokhba bronze (1).

CH 7, no. 234.

34. Acre. Tetradrachms, Nero (3); Otho (2); Vespasian (Antioch 3; Alexandria 4); Domitian (1); Nerva (1); Trajan (Rome 1; Antioch 5); Uncertain (9), with aurei, Nero (3); Vespasian (4); Nerva (1); Trajan (6); Hadrian (8); Antoninus Pius (8); Faustina II (1); Lucius Verus (1), and a denarius of Vespasian.

CH 7, no. 243.

35. Hatra. Tetradrachms of Philip Philadelphus (296), and of Parthia, to AD 191 (1214).

CH 3, no. 92; W.I. Al-Salihi, *Sumer* 30 (1974), pp. 155-162.

36. Nineveh. Tetradrachms, Posthumous Philips (121); Nero (3); Galba (1); Otho (1); Vespasian (3); Trajan (6); Severus & family (15), with Arabian tetradrachms of Trajan (3), Parthian drachms to Artabanus IV, AD 213-227 (92), denarii, Republic - Severus & family (142), halved SC bronze (1).

G.F. Hill, 'A Hoard of Coins from Nineveh', *NC* 1931, p. 160-170.

36a. 'Lattakia', 1964 (?). Tetradrachms of Tarsus, of Trajan (11) and Hadrian (32), countermarked under the Antonines and Caracalla.

H. Seyrig, 'Contremarques des tétradrachmes impériaux de Tarse', *RN* 13 (1971), pp. 22-24. Seyrig states that there were originally 50 or more coins in the hoard.

37. Dura, Hoard 3-4. Tetradrachms, Marcus Aurelius (1); Septimius Severus & family (19); sole reign of Caracalla (6); Macrinus (4), with Syrian tridrachm of Trajan, rev. Roma (1), and denarii, of Nero (1), Galba (2); Vitellius (3); Vespasian (30); reign of Titus (1); reign of Domitian (2); Trajan (52); Hadrian (45); Antoninus Pius (64); reign of Marcus Aurelius to 179 (17); reign of Commodus (15); Pescennius Niger (1); Septimius Severus (140); sole reign of Caracalla (3).

A.R. Bellinger, 'The Third and Fourth Dura Hoards', *ANSNM* no. 55, New York, 1932.

38. Mampsis. Tetradrachms, of Vespasian (4); Titus (7); Vespasian or Titus (2); Trajan (554); Hadrian (26); Marcus Aurelius (6); Commodus (5); Septimius Severus (2198); Julia Domna (5); Caracalla (4160); Geta (1274); Macrinus (13); Diadumenian (3); Elagabalus (18), with a denarius of Trajan (1), and Arabian drachms of Rabel II (3), and Trajan (2042).

CH 7, no. 156a. No complete report has been published, but a summary is provided by R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom, 'The Mampsis Hoard - A Preliminary Report', *INJ* 4 (1980), pp. 39-54.

39. Khirbet Qasta, Galilee. Tetradrachms, Geta-Caracalla (42); Macrinus & Diadumenian (14); Elagabalus (28).

CH 7, no. 157.

40. Syria (?). Tetradrachms, Caracalla, of Antioch (1), Beroea (1), Hierapolis (1); Zeugma (1), Carrhae (1), Heliopolis (1), Byblus (1), Berytus (1), Tyre (1), Gadara (1), Caesarea (1), Cyprus (1); Macrinus, Beroea (1), and Elagabalus (3).

London trade, 1986. On file in BM. Perhaps incomplete. The group included an Alexandrian billon tetradrachm of Nero, but this is unlikely to have been part of the hoard.

40a. Uncertain. Tetradrachms, Caracalla, of Laodicea (cos iv, 1), Beroea (2), Hierapolis (2), Edessa (1), Orthosia (1), Sidon (2), Damascus (1), Cyprus (1); Macrinus, of Laodicea (1), Emisa (1), Carrhae (2); Diadumenian, of Antioch (1), Beroea (1); Elagabalus (3).

London trade, 1987. Probably incomplete.

41. 'Syria'. Tetradrachms, Hadrian (1); Commodus (1); Macrinus (8); Elagabalus (1); Gordian III (17); Otacilia Severa (4).

Journal of Numismatic Fine Arts, Vol. 4, 1975, p. 33. Probably incomplete.

42. Syria. Tetradrachms, Caracalla to Trajan Decius (106+).

S.P. Noe, *BGCH* no. 1034.

43. Antioch. Tetradrachms, Nero (31); Galba (5); Otho (2); Vespasian (45); Domitian (8); Nerva (2); Trajan (58); Hadrian (2); Caracalla (7); Macrinus (1); Elagabalus (1); Gordian III (2); Philip & family (49); Trajan Decius & family (10); Trebonianus Gallus (4), with Trajan didrachms (Hera/Atergatis 1; Eagle 2) and denarii, Vespasian (4), Domitian (1), Trajan (2); Hadrian (3).

S.P. Noe, *BGCH* no. 56, with fuller listing in W.E. Metcalf, 'The Tell Kalak Hoard and Trajan's Arabian Mint', *ANSMN* 20 (1975), p. 92, n. 16.

44. Dura, Hoard 7. Tetradrachms, Septimius Severus (2); sole reign of Caracalla (28); Macrinus (13); Elagabalus (24); Gordian III (33); Philip (112), with radiates of Elagabalus (1); Gordian III (67); Philip (5); Trebonianus Gallus (1), and denarii, of Commodus (1); Septimius (12); sole reign of Caracalla (2); Elagabalus (12); Severus Alexander (30); Maximianus (4); Gordian III (9).

A.R. Bellinger, 'The Sixth, Seventh and Tenth Dura Hoards', *ANSNMM* no. 69, New York, 1935.

45. Dura, Hoard 2. Tetradrachms, Caracalla (1); Elagabalus (2); Gordian III (3); Philip & family (13); Trajan Decius & family (43); Trebonianus Gallus & family (27), with radiates of Gordian III (4) and Philip (1), and bronzes of Antiochus VIII (1), and civic issues, Caracalla (?) to Gordian III, of Antioch (1), Mesopotamia (5), uncertain (1).

A.R. Bellinger, 'Two Roman Hoards from Dura-Europos', *ANSNMM* 49, New York, 1931. Badly excavated and therefore perhaps not complete.

46. Dura, Hoard 6. Tetradrachms, Caracalla (1); Macrinus (1); Elagabalus (3); Philip & family (9); Trajan Decius & family (218); Trebonianus Gallus & family (35), with a radiate of Trebonianus (1).

A.R. Bellinger, 'The Sixth, Seventh and Tenth Dura Hoards', *ANSNMM* no. 69, New York, 1935.

47. Hama or Homs. Tetradrachms, Gordian III (4); Philip (101); Decius & family (67); Trebonianus Gallus & family (46).

S.P. Noe, *BGCH* no. 480.

48. Antioch. Radiates of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, about 1500.

W.E. Metcalf, *ANSMN* 22 (1977), pp. 71-94; W.E. Metcalf and P. Munro-Walker, *ANSMN* 23 (1978), pp. 129-132. *CH* 5, no. 141.

49. Syria. 'Tetradrachms' of reformed type of Uranius Antoninus (39).

H.R. Baldus, 'Die "reformierten" Tetradrachmen des Uranius Antoninus im Lichte eines neuen Fundes', *Chiron* 5 (1975), pp. 443-484.

50. Dura, Hoard 5. Tetradrachms, Posthumous Philips, Caesarean years 4 - 26 (15); Nero, eagle rev. (5); Galba (1); Titus (1), with denarii, of Trajan (1), Marcus Aurelius, to 179 (3); Commodus (2), and a radiate of Valerian (1).

E.T. Newell, 'The Fifth Dura Hoard', *ANSNMM* no. 58, 1933. Complete; found fused together.

51. Dura, Hoard 1. Tetradrachms of Caracalla (6); Macrinus (13); Elagabalus (39); Gordian III (18); Philip & family (165); Trajan Decius & family (148); Trebonianus Gallus and family (117), with radiates of Caracalla (1); Gordian III (140); Philip (1); Trajan Decius (4); Trebonianus Gallus & family (37); Valerian (99), with denarius of Severus Alexander (1).

A.R. Bellinger, 'Two Roman Hoards from Dura-Europos', *ANSNMM* 49, New York, 1931.

52. Dura, Hoard 10. Tetradrachms of Caracalla (14); Macrinus (12); Elagabalus (42); Gordian III (23); Philip & family (120); Trajan Decius & family (111); Trebonianus Gallus & family (31), with radiates, of Gordian III (18); Philip (3); Trebonianus Gallus (31), Valerian (99).

A.R. Bellinger, 'The Sixth, Seventh and Tenth Dura Hoards', *ANSNMM* no. 69, New York, 1935.

53. Capharnaum. Tetradrachms of Nero (7); Galba (2); Vespasian, Antioch (2); Vespasian and Titus, Alexandria (1); Trajan, Antioch (1); Caracalla, various mints (20); Macrinus and Diadumenian, various mints (7); Elagabalus (69); Gordian III (4); Philip & family (67); Trajan Decius and family (83); Trebonianus Gallus (7), with an SC bronze of Hadrian (1), and radiates, of Trebonianus Gallus & Volusian (12); Valerian, Gallienus & family (1105); Macrianus & Quietus (90); Claudius II (65).

A. Spijkerman, *Cafarnao iii, Le Monete della Città*, Jerusalem 1975, pp. 71-99.

54. 'Iafa, Galilee'. Tetradrachms, Caracalla to Trebonianus Gallus (55), with radiates, Valerian to Maximianus, AD 286-292 (104).

S.P. Noe, *BGCH* no. 490; F. de Saulcy, 'Trouvaille de Iafa de Galilée, près Nazareth', *Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique et d'archaeologie*, 3 (1868-70), pp. 350-369.

B. Bronze hoards

The list includes hoards with a few silver pieces. Unlike the section on silver hoards, this section does not contain information about hoards from the southern half of Syria, below the river Eleutherus, since hoards from the south do not generally contain coins from the north.

1. Hama. 51 coins.

R. Thomsen, 'Hoards', in A.P. Christiansen, R. Thomsen, G. Ploug, *Hama, fouilles et recherches, 1931-1938, III.3*, Copenhagen, 1986. Hoard 4, pp. 63-4. All 49 identifiable coins are of Antioch. Legible dates from Seleucid year 227 (86/5 BC) to Pompeian year 14 (53/2 BC).

2. Nisibis. 624 coins.

Fully described by H. Seyrig, *RN* 1955, pp. 85-125. Latest legible coin belongs to 53/2 BC. Numbers in brackets refer to number of coins.

Tigranes (11)
Natounia ad Kaprum (2)
Uncertain mints, east Anatolia/Mesopotamia (19)
Seleucia ad Tigris (72)
Antioch in Sittacene (1)
Mithridates II of Parthia (1)
Mithridates I of Commagene (4)
Antioch, Seleucid to Pompeian era, 91/90-53/2 BC (214)
Adelphon demon issue of Syrian tetrapolis (1)
Apamea (1)
Laodicea (1)
Aradus (18)
Sidon (1)
Damascus (1)
Nabataean (1)
Jewish (2)
Seleucid, various mints (171)
Soli (2)
Mopsus (5)
Other mints, Asia & Europe (3)
Uncertain (1)
Plated Republican denarius (1)
Illegible (91)

3. Antakya Museum 18311. 3 coins.

Unpublished. In a large batch of coins, acquired in Antakya from various sources in the region around Antioch. The patina suggests that they are part of a hoard. Numbers in brackets refer to die axes of individual coins.

ANTIOCH

Zeus head/Zeus seated. Pompeian year 19. Cornucopiae symbol on reverse.
(12)

Zeus Head/Zeus seated. Caesarean year 9. Dioscouros cap symbol on reverse.
(1); (1)

4. 'Brunk Hoard'. 168 coins (?).

G. Brunk, 'A Hoard from Syria Countermarked by the Roman Legions', *ANSMN* 25 (1980), pp. 63-76. More coins, possibly from the same hoard, noted by Howgego, *GIC* pp. 18-9. Provenance uncertain, Syria or perhaps Mesopotamia. Very worn coins with various countermarks, many of which are legionary. Few coins were fully identified in the publication. 133 SC coins, none apparently later than Domitian, 24 'dupondii' of Tiberius, 1 Trajanic coin of Laodicea.

5. From Assur. 21 coins.

J. Walker, 'The Coins of Hatra', *NC* 6. 18 (1958), pp. 167-172. All coins are SC bronzes. Numbers in the list below refer to number of specimens. The references cited make it impossible to tell which denominations or numeral letters were seen.

ANTIOCH

Nerva 3
Trajan 2; one with laurel branch countermark
Hadrian 4
Antoninus 6

MESOPOTAMIA
Hatra etc. 6

6. Antakya Museum 17860. 5 coins.

Unpublished. From Kusalani (a village east of Samandag, near Seleucia Pieria). All are large SC denominations unless otherwise stated. Number in brackets refer to die axes of individual coins.

ANTIOCH

Trajan, second issue

(6), numeral letters iota-alpha.

Hadrian

(1), numeral letter illegible, laurel branch countermark on obverse.

(1), numeral letter theta.

Antoninus Pius, group 2

(12), numeral letter illegible.

Lucius Verus, uncertain group

(12), numeral letter epsilon.

7. London trade, 1985. 30+ coins.

SC bronzes of Macrinus and Diadumenian. No further details.

8. 'Levante Hoard'. 75+ coins.

B. L. Marthaler, *Two Studies in the Greek Imperial Coinage of Asia Minor*. University of Minnesota Ph. D., 1968, pp. 32-47. Incomplete. Found in province of Hatay. The larger part of the hoard bought by E. Levante. Weights and die axes recorded by Marthaler; only a few coins are illustrated. Two silver coins also purport to be from the hoard; a denarius of Severus Alexander (*RIC* 235-6) and two tetradrachms of Philip I.

ANTIOCH

Macrinus

SC bronze 1

Diadumenian

SC bronze 2

Elagabalus

SC bronze 3

Large denomination 2

Medium denomination 2

Severus Alexander

Large denomination, issue 1, no symbol 2

Large denomination, issue 1, crescent 1

Large denomination, issue 2 1

Large denomination, issue 3 2

Julia Mamaea

Large denomination, issue 1, no symbol 1

Large denomination, issue 1, star 2

Philip I

Large denomination, issue 1 4

Medium denomination, issue 1, reverse Tyche 1

Large denomination, issue 2 26

Philip II

Large denomination, issue 1 5

Large denomination, issue 2 17

Otacilia Severa

Large denomination, issue 1 3

9. Glendining's Hoard (London, Feb. 15th 1989, lots 200-201). 52 coins.

Unpublished. Possibly incomplete. Examined by author at Glendining's. No weights available. Numbers after description refer to die axes. Numbers in brackets refer to number of specimens.

ANTIOCH

Elagabalus

Large denomination, angular style, no symbol: 12; 12; 12; 6 (4)

Medium denomination, angular style, no symbol: 12 (1)

Large denomination, elegant style, star: 12; 6; 6 (3)

Large denomination, elegant style, crescent: 12; 12 (2)

Large denomination, 'square head', no symbol: 12; 7 (2)

Large denomination, 'square head', star: 6 (1)

Severus Alexander

Large denomination, issue 1, young portrait, star: 6; 6 (2)

Medium denomination, issue 1, young portrait, no symbol visible: 12 (1)

Large denomination, issue 2, no symbol visible: 5; 5; 6; 6; 6; 11; 12 (7)

Large denomination, issue 3: 12 (1)

Julia Mamaea

Large denomination, issue 3: 6 (1)

Philip I

Large denomination, issue 1: 6; 6; 6; 6 (4)

Large denomination, issue 2: 6; 6; 6; 12; 12; 12; 12; 12 (8)

Philip II

Large denomination, issue 2: 5; 5; 5; 5; 6; 6; 6; 6; 6; 6; 12; 12; 12; 12; 12 (15)

10. Dura Hoards 8 and 9. 2,847 coins.

Actually a single hoard. The contents are well published by A. R. Bellinger, *The Eighth and Ninth Dura Hoards*, ANSNNM no. 85, though weights and die axes are not recorded. See also Noe, *BGCH*, no. 350. The earliest coin in the hoard (somewhat anomalous) is of Antiochus III. Other pieces not listed below include a base metal core of an Antiochene posthumous Philip tetradrachm, two denarii of Severus Alexander, and 24 unidentified or illegible. The latest coins are of Trajan Decius. Since the coins are described in detail in Bellinger's publication only relevant points will be given here. A summary in tabular form is given in the same publication, between pages 14-15. Numbers in brackets below refer to number of specimens.

ANTIOCH (356)

SELEUCIA (2)

CYRRHUS (7)

HIERAPOLIS (5)

ZEUGMA (4)

SAMOSATA (3)

LAODICEA (10)

GABALA (2)

EMISA (3)

EDESSA (896)

CARRHAE (81)

RHESAENA (14)

NISIBIS (643)

SINGARA (154)

PONTUS (604)

CAPPADOCIA (5)

CILICIA (2)

CYPRUS (2)
PHOENICIA (3)
GREECE (21)
OTHERS (14)

11. 'Side Hoard'. 13 coins of Antioch.

On file in the BM (R 12638); the coins (in trade, 1988) seen by the author. The composition of the hoard is peculiar, consisting of two parts, one containing predominantly Pamphylian and western Cilician coinage and the other coins of Antioch. The lack of coins from western Cilicia suggests that the hoard does not represent circulation in northern Syria. The patination of the coins is consistent, and it is possible that they were two hoards brought together in antiquity. The Syrian coins are listed here, by weights. All coins are large bronzes. Numbers in brackets refer to die axes of individual coins.

ANTIOCH

Philip I, issue 1

14.85g (12); 20.23g (12)

Philip II, issue 1

22.34g (12)

Philip I, issue 2

13.19g (12); 17.43 (1); 18.07 (6); 13.35 (12); 19.74 (12)

Philip II, issue 2

13.92g (12); 17.33 (6); 14.44 (6)

Trajan Decius, issue 2

18.03g (6)

Trebonianus Gallus, issue 1

20.00 (12)

12. Antakya Museum 17875. 10 coins.

Unpublished. Found at Antakya (Antioch). All obverse busts are laureate, draped cuirassed, facing right unless otherwise stated. All coins are large bronzes unless otherwise stated. Numbers in brackets refer to die axes of individual coins. An SC bronze of Nero was included with this group, but does not seem to have formed part of the hoard.

ANTIOCH

Elagabalus

SC, delta-epsilon, ram running right, all within wreath terminating in star.

(12) Radiate bare bust right.

Medium bronze, fine style

(12) Radiate draped cuirassed bust left.

Severus Alexander

(1)

Philip I, issue 1

(12) Radiate draped cuirassed bust right.

Philip I, issue 2

(12); (5)

Trebonianus Gallus, issue 2

(5); (11); (1); (5)

13. Antakya Museum 17809. 10 coins.

Unpublished. Found at Gümüşgöze (village near Antioch). All obverse busts are laureate, draped cuirassed, facing right unless otherwise stated. All coins are large bronzes unless otherwise stated. Numbers in brackets refer to die axes of individual coins.

ANTIOCH

Severus Alexander, issue 1, young bust

(12) Laureate cuirassed bust left, holding spear and shield.

Philip I. issue 2

(12) Laureate cuirassed bust left; (5) Radiate draped cuirassed bust right.

Trebonianus Gallus, issue 1

(1)

Trebonianus Gallus, issue 2

(11); (11); (5); (7); (5); Same obverse die as Butcher, *NC* 1988, pl. 22, nos. 31-

2; (6) Obverse die as previous coin.

14. Antakya Museum 17847. 8 coins.

Unpublished. Found at Çatbasi (village in hills south of Antioch). All obverse busts are laureate, draped cuirassed, facing right unless otherwise stated. All coins are large bronzes unless otherwise stated. Numbers in brackets refer to die axes of individual coins.

ANTIOCH

Otacia Severa, issue 1

(6) Diademed draped bust right.

Philip I. issue 2

(6) Radiate cuirassed bust left; (12)

Herennius Etruscus

(12) Bare head, draped cuirassed bust right.

Trebonianus Gallus, issue 2

(12); (12); (12); (11)

15. Antakya Museum 20754-7. 4 coins.

Unpublished. Found in the province of Hatay (Antioch region). All obverse busts are laureate, draped cuirassed, facing right. All coins are large bronzes. Numbers in brackets refer to die axes of individual coins.

ANTIOCH

Trebonianus Gallus, issue 2

20754. (11); 20755. (11) Same dies as last; 20756. (5); 20757. (6)

Appendix 4: List of Coins in the Antakya Museum Collection

The coins listed below are all stray finds from the modern Turkish province of Hatay, of which Antakya is the administrative capital. I have compiled a full list of inventory numbers, provenances and die axes for each piece, but repetition of that list here would greatly increase its length without greatly increasing its value. Most of the provenances are not specific, and those that are consist only of the name of the village or district in which the person who brought the coins to the museum lived, and it is likely that many of these persons collected coins from several villages. In any case, the number of different provenances is insufficient to provide information about any possible variations in the pattern of circulation in the region which is now the province of Hatay.

This list excludes hoard coins, and coins in the Antakya Museum which were found outside the province of Hatay. Lists of these coins may be found in Chapter 3.3, and Appendix 3. The number of specimens in each category is given in brackets, unless there is only a single specimen, in which case no figure is given.

The large number of Cilician coins deserve more comment than is possible here. A full list of these coins, with complete references and commentary, is forthcoming: K. Butcher, 'Some Cilician Coins in the Hatay Museum', British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, *Numismatic Studies* I.

The Roman imperial *aes* from Augustus to Commodus was identified by Andrew Hogley, who very kindly agreed to look over my descriptions and drawings of the pieces concerned. His expertise in identifying worn coinage of this type is considerably better than mine.

Silver coinage:

Roman state coinage: M. Antonius, denarius, legionary type; Vitellius, denarius; Vespasian, denarii (4); reign of Titus, denarius; reign of Domitian, denarius; Trajan, denarii (2); Hadrian, denarius; Antoninus Pius, denarii (2); Commodus, denarii (2); Septimius Severus & family, Rome, denarii (9 + 1 plated); Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarii (2); sole reign of Caracalla, denarius; Elagabalus, Rome, denarii (2); Severus Alexander, Rome, denarii (10); Gordian III, Rome, denarius; Gordian III, Rome, denarius, radiates (9), Antioch, radiates (3), mint uncertain, radiate (1); Philip I, Rome, radiates (3); Trajan Decius & family, Rome, radiates (2); Trebonianus Gallus & family, Rome, radiates (3); Trebonianus Gallus & family, Antioch, radiates (8); Volusian, mint uncertain, radiate (1).

Syria: Posthumous Philip Philadelphus tetradrachm, date illegible; Antonius and Cleopatra tetradrachm; Nero, plated tetradrachm, year 3, rev. Agrippina; Nero, tetradrachm, rev. eagle, date illegible, but obverse wreath type indicates years 6-108 to 111-9; Vespasian, tetradrachm, Antioch style, group 1, date illegible; Vespasian, Alexandria style, rev. eagle on club, year 2; Titus, tetradrachm, 'Judaea' mint; Caracalla, tetradrachm, Antioch, Bellinger, *Syrian Tetradrachms*, 18; Caracalla, tetradrachm, 'Tripolis', as Bellinger 257; Macrinus, tetradrachm, Carrhae, Bellinger 162; Macrinus, tetradrachm, Aradus, as Bellinger 242-3; Elagabalus, tetradrachms (9), some imitations; Gordian III, tetradrachm, first issue, c. AD 240; Gordian III, last issue, c. AD 243-4; Philip I, Antioch, tetradrachm, first issue (cos.); Philip I, Antioch, tetradrachm, cos. iii; Philip II, Antioch, tetradrachm, cos. iii; Trajan Decius, obv. legend 'Decius Traianus', 7th officina; Trajan Decius, obv. legend 'Traianus Decius', 1st officina; similar, 3rd officina; Trajan Decius, tetradrachm, details illegible (3); Herennius Etruscus, officina

illegible; Hostilian, 6th officina; Trebonianus Gallus, first group, cos., 4th officina; similar, officina illegible; similar, cos ii, officina illegible.

Caesarea: Nero, hemidrachm, *BMC* 409; Trajan, didrachm, *BMC* 67; Hadrian, hemidrachm, rev. Nike, date illegible; Hadrian, hemidrachm, as Sydenham 260; Hadrian, hemidrachm, rev. club, date illegible; Gordian III, didrachm, as Sydenham, supplement by A.G. Malloy, 604a.

Alexandria: Nero, tetradrachm, rev. bust of Agrippina or Octavia, date illegible; Nero, tetradrachm, Geissen 172-4; Vespasian, tetradrachm, Geissen 274; Hadrian, tetradrachm, Geissen 801; Hadrian, tetradrachm, Geissen 834; Antoninus Pius, tetradrachm, rev. Elpis advancing left, date illegible; Antoninus Pius, tetradrachm, Dattari 2357.

Bronze coinage:

Europe: Patrae, Commodus, Imhoof-Blumer & Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, Plate R, V. Hadrianopolis, Faustina II, *BMC* 6-7; Byzantium, autonomous, as *BMC* 38.

Pontus/Bithynia: Amasia, Caracalla, *SNG (Von Aulock)* 40; Cius, Philip II, type uncertain (figure in holding sceptre, r. arm raised), obv. as Waddington 113; Nicaea, Maximinus, rev. uncertain.

Asia: Cyzicus, Commodus, *SNG (Cop.)* 119; Miletus, Nero *BMC* 150-1; Smyrna, Sabina, *BMC* 338; Aezanis (?), Claudius, rev. Zeus Laodikeus standing; Cos, Nikias, as *BMC* 196 (fragment).

Pisidia: Antioch: Severus & family, obv. illegible, rev. as *BMC* 22; Caracalla, *SNG (Von Aulock)* 4937; Philip II, *SNG (Von Aulock)* 4795 (same obv. die).

Pamphylia: Aspendus, 3rd century empress, Æ 25mm. Obv. Draped bust right. Rev. Serapis seated r., Cerberus at feet?

Cilicia: Ninica Claudiopolis (?): 'Princeps Felix', Seyrig, *RN* 1969, pp. 49-52 (2); Seleucia ad Calycadnum: Marcus Aurelius, *SNG Levante* 729; Severus Alexander, *SNG Levante* 756; Gordian III; *SNG (Von Aulock)* 5842; Corycus: Valerian, *SNG Levante* 820; Soli-Pompeiopolis: autonomous, *SNG Levante* 866-8 (2); autonomous, head of Pompey/Nike; Gordian III, *SNG Levante* 893; Trebonianus Gallus, *SNG Levante* 897 (2); Zephyrium: autonomous, *SNG Levante* 900; Tarsus: autonomous, Tyche head/Sandan (10); Tyche head/'Pyre of Sandan' (3); Tyche seated/Zeus seated (11); club in wreath/Zeus seated (9); autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1007; Antoninus Pius, *SNG Levante* 1013 (2); Antoninus Pius, *SNG Levante* 1014; Marcus Aurelius, *SNG Levante* 1015; Marcus Aurelius, *SNG Levante* 1017; Commodus, *SNG (Von Aulock)* 5995; Caracalla, *SNG Levante* 1058; Caracalla, *SNG Levante* 1068; Caracalla, *SNG Levante* 1046; Elagabalus, *SNG Levante* 1078; Elagabalus, *SNG Levante* 1080 (5); Maximinus, *BMC* 219; Pupienus, *SNG Levante* 1114; Gordian III, *SNG Levante* 1137; Gordian III, *SNG Levante* 1143; Gordian III, *SNG Levante* 1123; Gordian III, *SNG (Von Aulock)* 6044; Gordian III, *SNG Levante* 1122 (2); Gordian III, Butcher, 'Some Cilician Coins in the Hatay Museum', forthcoming, no. 71; Gordian III, Butcher, no. 72; Gordian III, *SNG (Von Aulock)* 6051; Gordian III, *SNG (Von Aulock)* 6048; Tranquillina, *BMC* 293-5; Otacilia Severa, *SNG Levante* 1155; Trajan Decius, *SNG Levante* 1157-8; Trajan Decius, *BMC* 305; Herennia Etruscilla, *SNG Levante* 1166 (2); Herennia Etruscilla, *SNG Levante* 1170; Herennia Etruscilla, *SNG Levante* 1171; Trebonianus Gallus, *SNG Levante* 1175; Trebonianus Gallus, rev. Heracles standing; Salonina, rev. Nike; Adana: autonomous, Athena bust/Nike (3); Valerian, *SNG Levante* 1236; Augusta: Hadrian, *SNG Levante* 1247; Kings of eastern Cilicia: Tarcondimotus, *SNG*

Levante 1258 (2); Philopator, *SNG Levante* 1259-60 (2); *Mallus*: autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1263 (7); autonomous, 3rd century, *SNG Levante* 1286-7; 'Livia', *SNG (Von Aulock)* 5723; Tiberius, *SNG Levante* 1266; Uncertain Julio-Claudian ruler, Butcher, 105; Domitian, *SNG Levante* 1271; Hadrian (?), Butcher, 107; Sabina, *SNG Levante* 1274; Antoninus Pius, *SNG Levante* 1275 (3); Marcus Aurelius, *SNG Levante* 1276; Macrinus, *SNG Levante* 1283-4 (2); Macrinus, Butcher, 115; Severus Alexander, *SNG Levante* 1289 (2); Severus Alexander, Butcher 118; Severus Alexander, Butcher 119; Julia Mamaea (?), Butcher, 120; Gordian III, Butcher 121; Philip I & Otacilia Severa, Butcher 122; Trajan Decius, *SNG Levante* 1291-4 (2); Herennius Etruscus, *SNG Levante* 1295 (4); Hostilian, *SNG Levante* 1297 (2); Etruscus or Hostilian, Butcher 131-2 (2); Valerian, *SNG Levante* 1298 (2); Gallienus, Butcher 135; Uncertain 3rd century ruler, Butcher 136; *Mopsus*: autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1313; autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1314; Claudius, *SNG Levante* 1321; Antoninus Pius, *SNG Levante* 1336; Lucilla, *SNG Levante* 1339 (2); Valerian, *SNG Levante* 1358; *Anazarbus*: autonomous, *BMC* 4 (10), autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1379; Claudius, *SNG Levante* 1367; Domitian, *SNG Levante* 1371; Domitian, *SNG Levante* 1373; Trajan, *SNG Levante* 1377; Trajan & Matidia, *SNG Levante* 1385; Antoninus Pius, *SNG Levante* 1388 (3); Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus, *SNG Levante* 1392 (2); Commodus, *SNG Levante* 1398 or 1402 (8); Commodus, *SNG Levante* 1401 (2); Elagabalus, as *SNG Levante* 1424; Elagabalus, Butcher 176; Elagabalus, *SNG Levante* 1432; Elagabalus, Butcher 178; Julia Paula, Butcher 179; Severus Alexander, *SNG Levante* 1451; Severus Alexander, *SNG Levante* 1453-4 (2); Severus Alexander, *SNG Levante* 1458; Severus Alexander, *SNG Levante* 1467; Severus Alexander, *SNG Levante* 1469; Severus Alexander, Butcher 186-7 (2); Severus Alexander, rev. illegible; Severus Alexander, Butcher 189; Severus Alexander, Butcher 190; Severus Alexander, Butcher 191; Severus Alexander, Butcher 192; Julia Mamaea, *SNG Levante* 1476; Gordian III, *SNG Levante* 1487; Tranquillina, Butcher 195; Philip II, *BMC* 34 (2); Trajan Decius, *SNG Levante* 1495; Herennius Etruscus, Butcher 199-200 (2); Herennius Etruscus, Butcher 201; Valerian, *SNG Levante* 1523-5; *Flaviopolis*: Domitian, *SNG Levante* 1530 (2); Trajan, *SNG Levante* 1534 (4); Antoninus Pius, *SNG Levante* 1536; Antoninus Pius, *SNG Levante* 1537; Antoninus Pius, *SNG Levante* 1538; Antoninus Pius & Faustina I, *SNG (Von Aulock)* 8672 (4); Marcus Aurelius, *SNG Levante* 1539; Commodus, *SNG Levante* 1543; Elagabalus, *BMC* 9; Herennius Etruscus & Hostilian, Butcher 219; *Hierapolis Castabala*: autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1563-5; autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1569; autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1575; autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1577 (2); autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1589; autonomous, Butcher 226; Nerva, *SNG Levante* 1578; Uncertain ruler, Butcher 228; Antoninus Pius, Butcher 229; Elagabalus, Butcher 230; Severus Alexander, as *SNG Levante* 1595; *Eirenopolis*: Severus Alexander, Butcher 232; Julia Mamaea, *SNG Levante* 1621; Gordian III, *SNG Levante* 1622; Valerian, *SNG Levante* 1623; Valerian, *SNG Levante* 1624; *Aegeae*: autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1661 (3); autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1676 (2); autonomous, as *SNG Levante* 1694; autonomous, as *SNG Levante* 1695; autonomous, as *SNG (Von Aulock)* 5148 (2); Faustina I, Butcher 246; Diadumenian, *SNG Levante* 1751; Severus Alexander, *SNG Levante* 1756; Severus Alexander, *SNG Levante* 1762; Severus Alexander, *SNG Levante* 1766 (2); Severus Alexander, *SNG Levante* 1769 (2); Severus Alexander, *SNG (Von Aulock)* 5457; Herennia Etruscilla, Butcher 255; Valerian, *SNG Levante* 1793 (2); Valerian, *SNG Levante* 1795; Valerian, Butcher 259;

Gallienus, Butcher 260; Uncertain city of eastern Cilicia: Severus Alexander (?), Butcher 261; Epiphaneia: autonomous, *SNG Levante* 1808 (2); Domitian, Butcher 264; Septimius Severus & Julia Domna, *SNG Levante* 1820 (2); Philip I, *SNG Levante* 1826; Alexandria ad Issum: Trajan, *SNG Levante* 1844; Trajan, *Levante NC* 1971, nos. 79-80; Trajan, *SNG Levante* 1846-7; Trajan & Plotina, *SNG Levante* 1848-9; Caracalla, *BMC* 6; Severus Alexander, *Levante NC* 1971, no. 93; Severus Alexander, *SNG Levante* 1851; Severus Alexander & Julia Mamaea, *SNG Levante* 1852.

Cyprus: Trajan, 'sestertii' (2); Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, 'sestertii' (2).

Galatia: Ancyra, Caracalla, *SNG (Von Aulock)* 6158.

Cappadocia: Caesarea: Trajan, as Sydenham 239; Hadrian, Sydenham 285-6var; Antoninus Pius, Æ 24mm, rev. Mount Argaeus (2); Marcus Aurelius, Sydenham, supplement by A.G. Malloy, 338a; similar, 338b; Lucius Verus, Sydenham 360 (2); Commodus, Sydenham 385; Caracalla, Sydenham 489var (year 13); Caracalla, Sydenham 487var (year 13); Geta, Sydenham supplement 501a; Elagabalus, as Sydenham 521; Severus Alexander, as Sydenham 533 (date uncertain); Sydenham 534 (3); Sydenham 534var (radiate bust); Sydenham 543; as Sydenham 548; as Sydenham 558; Sydenham supplement 563d var (radiate bust); as Sydenham 580; Sydenham supplement 580d; Sydenham 584; Sydenham 596; *SNG (Von Aulock)* 6250; Æ 27mm, rev. Mount Argaeus on plinth, obv. circular cmk; Æ 24mm, rev. Mount Argaeus on plinth; rev. Mount Argaeus, no plinth (2, one with cmk.); Æ 25mm, rev. wreath containing legend; Æ 20, rev. 5 corn ears bound together; Gordian III, as Sydenham 607; as Sydenham 612, but rev. has small Mount Argaeus in place of Tyche; as *BMC* 346; Tyana: Antoninus Pius, as *BMC* 4-5, but year 13; similar, but year 16.

Coinage of uncertain origin: Augustus, rev. AVGV/STVS in wreath. Obv. die = *BMCRE* 730; Augustus, rev. CA, Howgego, *NC* 1982, type 1f; Augustus, Howgego, *NC* 1982, type 2b.

Northern Syria:

Antioch:

Pompeian era, Seleucid standard, large denomination (19); Seleucid standard, medium denomination (2); reformed standard, large denomination (7).

Caesarean era, large denomination, reformed standard (13, 3 of these with cmk Catalogue no. 18); Uncertain era, large denomination, reformed standard (7, 5 of these with cmk Catalogue no. 18); Caesarean era, large denomination, reduced module (16); Uncertain era, large denomination, Seleucid standard or Caesarean era, reduced module (17); Caesarean era, medium denomination, Zeus/Tripod, reduced module (14); Caesarean era, small denomination, reduced module.

Augustus, Group 1, CA coin, Catalogue no. 41; SC bronzes, as Catalogue no. 42 (2); AVGVSTVS bronzes, catalogue no. 43 (15); Group 2, SC bronzes, as Catalogue no. 45 (3); archieratic issues, Catalogue no. 50b (2); Catalogue no. 52a; Catalogue no. 53a; as Catalogue 50a, dates illegible (2); autonomous, Catalogue no. 48c (8); Catalogue no. 49c; Catalogue no. 50c (2); Catalogue no. 54c; as Catalogue no. 48c, dates illegible (5); autonomous, Catalogue no. 55a; Catalogue no. 57 (7); Catalogue no. 58 (6); as Catalogue no. 55a, dates illegible (4); Group 3, SC bronzes, as Catalogue no. 59 (9, 1 with cmk 179).

Tiberius, Group 1, Catalogue no. 62 (8); SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 64 (15, 1 with cmk Catalogue no. 179); Catalogue no. 65 (7); Group 2, Catalogue nos. 68-9 (8).

Claudius, SC bronzes, various groups, large denomination (55, 4 with cmk Catalogue 179, 1 with cmk Catalogue 158); medium denomination (2); Catalogue no. 91.

Nero, Group 1, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 112 (2); Catalogue no. 114 (2); autonomous, Catalogue no. 118 (3); Catalogue no. 119; Catalogue no. 121 (4); Group 2, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 126; as Catalogue no. 126, symbol unclear; autonomous, Catalogue no. 128 (5); Catalogue no. 129; Group 4, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 132 (11); autonomous, Catalogue no. 134 (2); Catalogue no. 136 (5); Catalogue no. 138; Group 5, autonomous, Catalogue no. 141 (8); Catalogue no. 142; Catalogue no. 143.

Galba and Otho, Otho, SC bronzes, large denomination, both groups (7, 2 with cmk Catalogue 179); Catalogue no. 151; 'barbarous' imitation of Catalogue 151; Catalogue no. 152; autonomous, Catalogue no. 160; Catalogue no. 161 (2).

Vespasian, Issue 1, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 162 (2); Issue 2, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 163a (5); Catalogue no. 163c (3); Catalogue no. 165a (2); Catalogue no. 165b; Catalogue no. 165c (18, 6 with cmk 179), uncertain ruler, as Catalogue no. 165; autonomous, Catalogue no. 167; Catalogue no. 168 (5); as Catalogue no. 167, date illegible (2).

Domitian, SC bronzes, as Catalogue 169a (16, 5 with cmk 179); Catalogue 169b.

Nerva, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 183a (2); Catalogue no. 184a (3); Catalogue no. 185a; Catalogue no. 186a; Catalogue no. 187b; Catalogue no. 188a; Catalogue no. 190a; Catalogue no. 191a; Catalogue no. 191b; Catalogue no. 193a (3); Catalogue no. 194a (2); as Catalogue no. 184a, numeral letter illegible (3); as Catalogue no. 184b, numeral letter illegible; autonomous, Catalogue no. 196.

Trajan, Issue 1, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 197b; Catalogue no. 198a (4); Catalogue no. 199a (4); Catalogue no. 200a (2); Catalogue no. 200b; Catalogue no. 201a (4); Catalogue no. 202a (3); Catalogue no. 202b; Catalogue no. 203a (2); Catalogue no. 204a (3); Catalogue no. 205a (3); Catalogue no. 206a (4); Catalogue no. 208a (2, 1 with cmk 237); Catalogue no. 209a; Catalogue no. 210a (3); Catalogue no. 211a (2); Catalogue no. 211b (2); as Catalogue no. 198a, numeral letters illegible (13); Issue 2, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 212b; Catalogue no. 213a (4); Catalogue no. 215a; Catalogue no. 217a; Catalogue no. 222a, with cmk 237; Catalogue 224a (2, 1 with cmk 237); Catalogue no. 227a (3); Catalogue no. 229a (2); as Catalogue no. 213a, numeral letters illegible (12); large denomination SC bronzes, Issue uncertain (2).

Hadrian, Group 1, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 230 (3, all with cmk 237); Catalogue no. 231, with cmk 237; Catalogue no. 232 (4, 1 with cmk 237); Catalogue no. 233; Catalogue no. 235; as Catalogue no. 230, numeral letters illegible (4, 3 with cmk 237); as Catalogue no. 240 (2); Group 2, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 253 (7) Catalogue no. 254 (5); Catalogue no. 256 (6), as Catalogue no. 256, numeral letter illegible; Hadrian/Tyche, Catalogue no. 259; Catalogue no. 261; as Catalogue no. 258, numeral letter illegible, if present; autonomous, Catalogue no. 262 (2); as Catalogue 262, reverse restruck brockage; Catalogue no. 266; as Catalogue no. 266, details unclear; Catalogue no. 270; Catalogue no. 272 (3); Catalogue no. 273 (3); Catalogue no. 274; Catalogue no. 275 (2); as Catalogue no. 276, details unclear (4); Catalogue no. 279; as Catalogue no. 279, details unclear; Catalogue no. 280 (3).

Antoninus Pius, Group 1, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 281 (5); Catalogue no. 282 (2); Catalogue no. 283 (2); Catalogue no. 285; Catalogue no. 286 (5); Catalogue no. 287; Catalogue no. 288; Catalogue no. 289; Catalogue no. 290 (4); as Catalogue no. 281, numeral letters illegible (5); Group 2, SC bronzes, as Catalogue no. 291ii, numeral letters illegible (6); Catalogue no. 292i (3); Catalogue no. 292ii (3); Catalogue no. 293i (3); Catalogue no. 295i (3); Catalogue no. 296i (2); Catalogue no. 296ii (2); Catalogue

no. 297i (4); Catalogue no. 298i (3); Catalogue no. 298ii; Catalogue no. 300i (2); Catalogue no. 300ii (2); Catalogue no. 301i; Group 3, SC bronzes; Catalogue no. 308; Catalogue no. 311, as Catalogue no. 304, numeral letters illegible (2); Group 4, SC bronzes; Catalogue no. 315i.a (3); Catalogue no. 315i.b (3); Catalogue no. 315ii.a; Catalogue no. 316i.b; Catalogue no. 317i.a (2); Catalogue no. 317i.b (3); Uncertain ruler, Pius or Aurelius, but rev. as Catalogue no. 318i.a or 318 ii.a; Catalogue no. 318i.b; Catalogue no. 319i.b (2); Catalogue no. 320i.a; Catalogue no. 320i.b; Catalogue no. 321i.b; Catalogue no. 322i.a (2); Catalogue no. 322i.b (3); Catalogue no. 323i.a; Catalogue no. 324i.a (4); Catalogue no. 324i.b (3); as Catalogue no. 314i.a, numeral letters illegible (10); as Catalogue no. 314i.b, numeral letters illegible (10); Group 5, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 325 (2); Catalogue no. 326 (4); Catalogue no. 328; Catalogue no. 329 (4); Catalogue no. 331 (2); Catalogue no. 332; Catalogue no. 334 (2); as Catalogue no. 325, numeral letters illegible (5); autonomous, Catalogue no. 342; as Catalogue no. 343a; as Catalogue no. 343b; Catalogue no. 365c; Catalogue 375c; Catalogue no. 376b; as Catalogue no. 376c (2); Catalogue no. 387; Catalogue no. 388; Catalogue no. 390.

Uncertain, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus, SC bronze, large denomination.

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Uncertain groups, as Catalogue 393, numeral letter illegible; Group 1, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 396ii.a (4); Catalogue no. 396a, uncertain ruler; Catalogue no. 397i.a (2); as Catalogue no. 399ii.a, uncertain ruler (2); Catalogue no. 399ii.b; Catalogue no. 400i.a (2); Catalogue no. 400ii.a (3); as Catalogue no. 400i.a, uncertain ruler; as Catalogue no. 401i.a, uncertain ruler; Catalogue no. 402i.a; Catalogue no. 402ii.a; as Catalogue no. 401i.a, uncertain ruler (2); Catalogue no. 404i.a; Catalogue no. 405i.a (2); Catalogue no. 405ii.a (2); Catalogue no. 406ii.a (2); as Catalogue no. 396i.a, numeral letter uncertain; as Catalogue no. 396ii.a, numeral letter uncertain; as Catalogue nos. 396-409, large denomination, uncertain ruler (7); as Catalogue no. 396ii.b, numeral letter uncertain (2); as previous, uncertain ruler (4); Group 2, SC bronzes, Catalogue 410ii.a (2); Group 3, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 412b; as Catalogue no. 416b; Catalogue no. 418a; Catalogue no. 422a (2); as Catalogue no. 422a, uncertain ruler; Catalogue no. 423a (2); as Catalogue nos. 411a - 424a (3); as Catalogue nos. 411-424, uncertain ruler (5); Group 4, SC bronzes, as Catalogue no. 439a, uncertain ruler; as Catalogue nos. 425-439, ruler and numeral letter uncertain (2); Uncertain groups, large denomination SC bronzes (12); autonomous, Catalogue no. 445.

Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, autonomous, Catalogue no. 448; Lucilla, Catalogue no. 449; SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 540i; Catalogue no. 451i; Catalogue no. 452i; Catalogue no. 453i; as Catalogue no. 450i, numeral letters illegible (2).

Caracalla, Group 1, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 454; Catalogue no. 456 (7); Catalogue no. 457 (3); Catalogue no. 458; as Catalogue nos. 454-456; Group 2, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 459 (3); Catalogue no. 461 (4); Catalogue no. 462 (9).

Macrinus, SC bronzes, Catalogue no. 463a (14); Catalogue no. 463b (12); Catalogue no. 464a (7); Catalogue no. 464b (2); as Catalogue nos. 463a-464a (7); as Catalogue nos. 463b-464b (13); Catalogue no. 465a; Catalogue no. 465b; as Catalogue nos. 463-465; Catalogue no. 466.

Elagabalus, SC coinage, Catalogue no. 467 (10); Catalogue no. 468 (5); as Catalogue nos. 467-468 (22); Catalogue no. 469 (40); Catalogue no. 470 (23); Catalogue nos. 469-470 (66); Catalogue no. 471 (8); Catalogue no. 472 (16); Catalogue no. 473; uncertain type, SC bronze (27); Colonial coinage, Catalogue no. 474a (5); as catalogue 474, symbol, if present,

illegible (16); Catalogue no. 476a (17); Catalogue no. 477a; as 478, symbol, if present, illegible; Catalogue no. 479a (2); Catalogue 479b (4); Catalogue 479c (2); as Catalogue 479, symbol, if present, illegible (9); Catalogue no. 480b; as Catalogue no. 480, symbol, if present, illegible (5); Catalogue no. 481a (2); Catalogue no. 481b (2); Catalogue no. 481c (3); as Catalogue no. 481, symbol, if present, illegible; as Catalogue no. 482, symbol, if present, illegible (2).

Severus Alexander, Group 1, Catalogue no. 483a (2); Catalogue no. 483b (10); Catalogue no. 483c; as Catalogue no. 483, symbol, if present, illegible (13); as Catalogue no. 485, symbol, if present, illegible (4); Catalogue no. 487 (3); Group 2, Catalogue no. 488a; Catalogue no. 488c (2); as Catalogue no. 488, symbol, if present, illegible (17); Group 3, Catalogue no. 490b (2); Catalogue no. 491a; Catalogue no. 491b; as catalogue 491, symbol, if present, illegible (2); Group 4, Catalogue no. 493a (8); Large denomination, issue uncertain.

Philip, First issue, Catalogue no. 494a (9); Catalogue no. 494b (2); Catalogue no. 494c; Catalogue no. 494d (11); Second issue, Catalogue no. 498a (30); Catalogue no. 498b (2); Catalogue no. 498c (2); Catalogue no. 498d (56); as 498, uncertain emperor (12); Catalogue no. 499a (2); Catalogue no. 500a.

Trajan Decius, First issue, Catalogue no. 501a (3); Second issue, Catalogue no. 502a (9); Catalogue no. 502c (3); Catalogue no. 502d (2); Catalogue no. 502c or 502d (2).

Trebonianus Gallus, First issue, Catalogue 504a (8); Catalogue 504b (13, 1 of which is 'bimetallic'); Catalogue no. 504c (6); Catalogue no. 505; Catalogue no. 507a (71); Catalogue no. 507b (7); Catalogue no. 507c (6).

Valerian, Catalogue no. 508.

Autonomous issues, uncertain dates, Tyche/ram (5); Tyche/Altar, first century (2); Tyche/Altar, uncertain date (3); Zeus/Altar (2); Apollo/Lyre (4); Apollo/Laurel, first century (4); Apollo/Laurel, uncertain date (2); Apollo/Tripod; Apollo/Artemis (3).

Imitation of an SC bronze, obverse illegible. As Waagé pp. 68-69, no. 719 a-o. Small Coins with Antiochene Types: Catalogue no. 4 (2); Catalogue no. 7; Catalogue no. 13i (3); Catalogue no. 13ii.

Uncertain, Æ 8mm. Apollo head right/Bunch of grapes (?). Coinage Probably Struck at Rome for Circulation in Syria: Vespasian, Catalogue no. 4 (2); Catalogue no. 7; Catalogue no. 11; Trajan, Catalogue no. 13 (5); Catalogue no. 14 (2); Catalogue no. 15 (4); Catalogue no. 16 (6); Catalogue no. 17 (2); as Catalogue nos. 19-20 (28, 1 with cmk 23); as Catalogue nos. 21-22 (4); Hadrian, Catalogue no. 25 (2); Catalogue no. 26; Catalogue no. 27; Catalogue no. 31 (7).

Seleucia Pieria: autonomous coinage to Tiberius, Catalogue no. 2; Catalogue no. 19; as Catalogue no. 19; Catalogue no. 31 (2); Catalogue no. 34; illegible, Tyche/Thunderbolt (4); Catalogue no. 37; Tiberius, Catalogue no. 38a; Catalogue no. 38b (2); as Catalogue no. 38 (2); Titus, Catalogue no. 43 (16); Catalogue no. 44 (3); Trajan, Catalogue no. 46a; as Catalogue no. 46b; Catalogue no. 50c; Catalogue no. 52a; Catalogue no. 53a; Catalogue no. 54a (4, 1 with cmk 73); Catalogue no. 55a (2, 1 with cmk 73); Catalogue no. 56a; Catalogue no. 56c; Catalogue no. 57a (2, 1 with cmk 73); as Catalogue nos. 52a-59a (23, 5 with cmk 73, 2 with cmk 74); as Catalogue nos. 52c-59c (2); Antoninus Pius, Catalogue no. 61a; Catalogue no. 64a; as Catalogue nos. 61a-66a (2, both with cmk 73); Catalogue no. 69a; Catalogue no. 71a; Catalogue no. 72a; as Catalogue nos. 67a-72a (5, 1 with cmk 74); Commodus, Catalogue no. 75; Catalogue no. 76; Catalogue no. 77; Septimius Severus, Catalogue no. 79a (6); Catalogue no. 79b (3, 2 with cmk 81); Catalogue no. 80a (7, 1 with cmk 82); Catalogue no. 80b (2); Catalogue no. 80b or 80c;

Caracalla, Catalogue no. 84 (2); Catalogue no. 85; Catalogue no. 86; Elagabalus, Group 1, Catalogue no. 87; Catalogue no. 88 (5); Catalogue no. 89 (2); Catalogue no. 90 (3); Catalogue no. 91; Severus Alexander, Catalogue no. 95 (3).

Rhosus: autonomous, Tyche/'Baal'; Catalogue no. 24.

Nicopolis Seleucidis: Severus Alexander, Catalogue no. 12.

Uncertain 'legend in wreath' coinage: Trajan.

Chalcis: Trajan, Catalogue no. 1a (2).

Beroea: Trajan, Catalogue no. 3a; Catalogue no. 4a (2).

Cyrrhus: Antoninus Pius, as Catalogue nos. 11b-12b; Uncertain ruler, second century, rev. as Catalogue nos. 11-12.

Hierapolis: Trajan, Catalogue no. 3; Commodus, Catalogue no. 50; Caracalla, Catalogue no. 58.

Antiochus IV of Commagene: Group 4, Catalogue no. 10.

Zeugma: Antoninus Pius, as Catalogue no. 1 or 4; as catalogue nos. 12-13; Catalogue no. 20; Catalogue no. 21; Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Catalogue no. 25a; Elagabalus, Catalogue no. 29 (2, 1 with cmk 34); Philip, Catalogue no. 31a (2, 1 with cmk 34); Catalogue no. 31c (4); as Catalogue no. 31a or 31c.

Samosata: Hadrian, as Catalogue no. 8 (2); Antoninus Pius, Catalogue no. 16; Lucius Verus, as Catalogue no. 19b; Septimius Severus, Catalogue no. 24; Elagabalus, Catalogue no. 29; Philip I, Catalogue no. 31a (2); Catalogue no. 33a; Philip II, Catalogue no. 32; Catalogue no. 33c (2).

Southern Syria and Phoenicia: Laodicea: autonomous, *BMC* 10; as *BMC* 20; Gaius, as Lindgren 2071; Domitian, *BMC* 38; Trajan, *BMC* 46; Trajan, *BMC* 51, obv. uncertain cmk in oval incuse; Trajan, as *BMC* 40, details illegible, with cmk *GIC* 572; Antoninus Pius, *BMC* 64; Antoninus Pius, as *BMC* 66, but obv. head right; Antoninus Pius, as *BMC* 70, but obv. head left; Antoninus Pius, *BMC* 74; Antoninus Pius, details unclear (6, 1 with uncertain cmk in oval incuse); Caracalla and Plautilla, obv. same die as *BMC* 95, rev. Artemis Brauronia, obv. cmk *GIC* 581 or 586; Caracalla, as *BMC* 91 (2); Elagabalus, rev. *delta-epsilon* and star in wreath, *BMC* (Antioch) 447-450 (2); Gabala: Macrinus, *BMC* 19; Paltois: Septimius Severus, *BMC* 1; Balanaea-Leucas: Gordian III, rev. bust of city goddess in shrine; Apamea: autonomous, as *BMC* 10, but date 276; Emisa: Caracalla, as *BMC* 15-16; *BMC* 9-11; Palmyra: obv. bust with crescent and star, rev. radiate bust, Krzyzanowska, 'Le monnayage de Palmyre', Actes du 90 congrès international de numismatique, Berne 1979, p. 448, fig. 1, no. iv; Heliopolis: Gallienus, as *BM* 1908 1-10-2528; Sidon: autonomous, as *BMC* 361; Elagabalus, *BMC* 248; Berytus: Augustus, *BMC* 52; Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, *BMC* 111; Gordian III, *BMC* 228; Tyre: autonomous, *BMC* 350 or 352-4; Caracalla, *BMC* 379. Uncertain of Phoenicia: Valerian I, obv. rad. dr. cuir. r., rev. priest ploughing with oxen. COL [].

Judaea/Palestine: Neapolis in Samaria: Domitian, *BMC* 9; Jewish: 'Antonius Felix', *BMC* 1; Agrippa I, parasol/3 corn ears.

Arabia: Nabataean: Aretas IV and Shaqilath, as *BMC* 14; Bostra: Trajan Decius, Kindler 48.

Mesopotamia: Edessa: Septimius Severus & Abgar VIII, as *BMC* 14 (2); Elagabalus, *BMC* 62; Severus Alexander, as *BMC* 79, but bust laur, draped cuir. right; *BMC* 93; Æ 24, type unclear; Julia Mamaea, *BMC* 122; Gordian III, *BMC* 124; Gordian & Abgar, *BMC* 136; *BMC* 141; *BMC* 144 (2); *BMC* 149; *BMC* 164; Rhesaena: Trajan Decius, *SNG (Cop.)* 248; Trajan Decius, *SNG (Cop.)* 250; Etruscilla, *BMC* 40; Nisibis: Severus Alexander, *SNG (Cop.)* 233; Gordian III, *SNG (Cop.)* 237; Gordian III *SNG (Cop.)* 237var. (obv. bust radiate); Otacilia, *BMC* 28; Singara:

Gordian III & Tranquillina, *BMC 7; Hatra*: obv. radiate head right, rev. retrograde SC, eagle above.

Alexandria: Trajan, 'chalcous', type as Dattari 1097; Trajan or Hadrian, drachm, rev. female bust right, details illegible; Hadrian, 'chalcous', as Geissen 924; Hadrian, drachm, Geissen 1236; Marcus Aurelius, 'diobol', rev. Tyche standing left, details illegible; Lucius Verus, 'diobol', Dattari 3727.

Rome:

Republican *as* (?), 30mm., obv head of Janus, reverse badly damaged. One countermark, an inscription in a long rectangular incuse.

Augustus: *asses*, *RIC* (2nd ed.) 326; *RIC* 427-8; *RIC* 471; illegible moneyer's *as*.

Tiberius: *as*, Divus Augustus, as *RIC* 74.

Gaius: *as*, *RIC* 38.

Titus: *sestertius*, rev. Annona seated left, date uncertain, if Caesar, then *RIC* (Vespasian) 680a, if Augustus, *RIC* 87.

Domitian: *dupondius*, as *RIC* 326.

Trajan: *dupondii*, *RIC* 494; *RIC* 635; *RIC* 641.

Hadrian: *sestertii*, illegible (2); *dupondius*, perhaps *RIC* 571 or 973.

Antoninus Pius: *sestertii*, as *RIC* 614; as *RIC* 538; as *RIC* 635; as *RIC* 982; illegible (5); *dupondii*, as *RIC* 847; illegible (2); *asses*, *RIC* 668 or 900; illegible (4).

Faustina I: *sestertii*, rev. Aeternitas; illegible (2); *dupondii/asses*, *RIC* 1162 (?); *RIC* 1169 (2); illegible (2).

Marcus Aurelius: *sestertii*, *RIC* 1272/3; *RIC* 861/3.

Lucius Verus: *as*, *RIC* 1288-1291.

Faustina II: *sestertii*, *RIC* 1673/4; illegible (2); *dupondii/asses*, *RIC* (Antoninus Pius) 1387; illegible.

Lucilla: *sestertius*, *RIC* 1756.

Commodus: *sestertii*, as *RIC* (Aurelius) 1000; as *RIC* (Aurelius) 1599 or 1607; as *RIC* 483; as *RIC* 291.

Uncertain ruler, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus or Commodus: *sestertii*, rev. Pietas left, sacrificing over altar (?); illegible.

Septimius Severus: *sestertius*, illegible rev.; *as*, uncertain type, possibly *RIC* 795var. (Annona seated left).

Caracalla: *sestertius*, *BMCRE* 265.

Severus Alexander: *sestertii*, *BMCRE* 652 (2).

Gordian III: *sestertius*, *RIC* 301.

Philip I: *sestertius*, *RIC* 165.

Trajan Decius: *sestertius*, *RIC* 103.

Trebonianus Gallus: *sestertius*, *RIC* 126.

Volusian: *sestertius*, *RIC* 255a.

Uncertain ruler, late 2nd century or later: *sestertii*, illegible (2).

Unidentified bronzes: (59).

The Catalogue

Geographical arrangement

The catalogue is arranged geographically, beginning with Antioch and the Syrian coinage. I have not followed the traditional arrangement, beginning with Commagene and placing cities in alphabetical order without any regard to their topographical relationships. Antioch is the most important and influential mint in northern Syria, and to place it between Palmyra and Apamea in a catalogue is to deny its predominance. The section covering northern Seleucis deals first with the mints in the region of the Amanus Mountains, and then moves northwards and eastwards through 'Chalcidice' and 'Cyrrestica'. Commagene's royal coinage is catalogued before the civic coinage. The latter begin with the Euphrates valley, moving northwards, and end with two minor mints to the west. The arrangement according to cities, and concordance with 'traditional' regions, is as follows:

1. Antioch and Syrian coinage
2. Coinage probably produced at Rome for circulation in Syria
3. Northern Seleucis and Commagene
 - a) Pieria
 - Seleucia Pieria
 - Rhosus
 - Nicopolis Seleucidis
 - b) Chalcidice
 - Chalcis
 - c) Cyrrestica
 - Beroea
 - Hierapolis
 - Cyrrhus
 - d) Commagene
 - Coinage of Antiochus I
 - Coinage of Antiochus IV
 - Zeugma
 - Antiochia ad Euphratem
 - Samosata
 - Doliche
 - Caesarea Germanicia
 - Antiochia ad Taurum

The coinage of each mint is subdivided by emperor or chronological period. Coinage issued on behalf of a junior member of the imperial family (eg. Marcus Aurelius under Antoninus Pius) will be included in the coinage of the senior emperor.

Arrangement of entries

The catalogue is arranged, where possible, according to groups or issues. The term 'group' signifies that there are sufficient characteristics to separate an entry from another entry, but it is not clear whether they represent successive issues or contemporary products (either of different officinae or mints). 'Issue' signifies that the differences between entries is probably chronological. A group or an issue may have been produced over several years, but it is assumed that they were intended to appear to be a homogenous whole. The reasons for dividing individual coinages into groups or issues will be given in the relevant part of the catalogue, either in the introduction to the mint or under a subheading. Line illustrations are sometimes given to help explain the differences between groups or issues. The amount of information given in the descriptions of types, the number of bunches of leaves in the wreath of the reverse etc., varies depending on whether the types are consistent and whether this has any use for comparative purposes, on other issues or at different mints. Countermarks are included, where possible, and are counted as issues of coinage just as much as the striking of new coins. Since many of these countermarks have already been illustrated in *GIC*, countermarks are less commonly illustrated in the plates than coins. Pre-Roman types (*i.e.* before 64 BC) have been listed where they demonstrate the continuity of a type and denomination

after the Roman annexation of Syria. At Seleucia Pieria, for example, a dividing line of 64 BC would be artificial, and the inclusion or exclusion of an issue of 65/4 BC an arbitrary decision.

The catalogue has been compiled so as to maximise information and minimise space. Much of the Syrian coinage is of sufficiently 'standard' type to make this approach simple. Legend variants or obverse bust variants have only been given separate numbers where they are considered significant. In cases where it is not significant the variants will share obverse and reverse dies, making it clear that these are only die variants and not indicative of different groups or issues.

Different groups and issues of coins have had to be catalogued in slightly different ways. Each catalogue number represents a significant variation in reverse type. Coins which share the same reverse type but are of different denominations or have different persons portrayed on the obverse have not always been given different catalogue numbers, but are divided under headings thus:

	i) Antoninus Pius		ii) Marcus Aurelius
	a) <u>large denom.</u>	b) <u>medium denom.</u>	c) <u>large denom.</u> d) <u>medium denom.</u>
1. A	<i>BMC X</i>	-	<i>BMC Y</i>
2. B	-	Paris X	Paris Y <i>BMC Z</i>

A type B medium denomination coin of Marcus Aurelius, issued under Antoninus Pius, would be 2 d). There are very few cases, however, where the coinage becomes this complex. A dash (-) indicates that there is no example of or reference for that particular coin known to me; but should an example turn up, a number can still be given to it and updates of the catalogue will not need major alterations. Terms for denominations such as 'large denomination', 'small denomination 1', 'small denomination 2', etc. are generally relative within a given issue, they are not absolute definitions of a standard denomination.

Inevitably some new types will appear, filling gaps in the material presented here. I am confident, however, that any additions will be minor. Small denominations, often poorly struck, without an imperial portrait, and difficult to read or date, are less well represented than larger pieces in most museums; new variants may be discovered now that a framework for the study of these coinages has been provided. The provision of a framework is the main aim of this section. The catalogue presented here attempts to sort out the issues of bronze coinages in northern Syria, and it aims to be as complete as circumstance permits.

Die axes

The normal position for dies during the first century BC and first century AD is 12 o'clock. The only notable exception to this rule is an issue of Samosata, no. 1 in the Catalogue, which is normally 9 o'clock - although the exact date of this issue is uncertain. In the second century, beginning under Trajan, axes begin to alternate between 12 and 6 o'clock, and continue to do so into the third century. Frequently coins of the same issue, and even the same pair of dies, may be struck at both 12 and 6 o'clock. The following summary by mint indicates general patterns, but the statement 'all 12 o'clock' is not definitive, and specimens at 6 o'clock may yet be discovered. Minor deviations from 12 or 6 o'clock are not recorded here. 5 o'clock is regarded as 6 o'clock; I have not come across any specimens of these coinages at 2, 4, 8 or 10 o'clock.

Antioch: 12 o'clock until the reign of Domitian, when a very few specimens are at 6 o'clock. A few civic coins of Vespasian are also 6 o'clock. Under Trajan, the coinage is normally 12, but 6 does occur. Under Hadrian, 12 o'clock and 6 o'clock. For Antoninus Pius, the normal position is 12 o'clock for all issues of SC and civic bronze, but 6 occasionally occurs.

Seleucia Pieria: All 12 o'clock until Antoninus Pius, when 6 o'clock sometimes occurs. Both 12 and 6 o'clock regular from Commodus onwards.

Rhosus: Insufficient information.

Nicopolis Seleucidis: Usually 6 o'clock, but sometimes 12.

Chalcis: Normally 12, rarely 6 o'clock.

Beroea: Trajan, 12 o'clock; Hadrian, normally 12, occasionally 6; Antoninus Pius, normally 12.

Cyrrhus: Trajan, all 12 o'clock; Hadrian normally 12, rarely 6. Aurelius and Verus onwards, regularly both 12 and 6.

Hierapolis: Trajan and Antoninus Pius, normally 12 o'clock, rarely 6. Small bronzes without imperial portrait commonly both 12 and 6. Aurelius and Verus onwards, regularly both 12 and 6.

Antiochus I of Commagene: 12 o'clock.

Antiochus IV of Commagene: Usually 12 o'clock, very rarely 6 or 3.

Zeugma: Antoninus Pius, usually 12 o'clock, rarely 6. Aurelius and Verus onwards, both 12 and 6.

Antiochia ad Euphratem: 12 o'clock.

Samosata: Zeus/Lion issue, normally 9 o'clock, sometimes 6. Tyche/Lion usually 12, rarely 6. Eagle types 12. Hadrian, normally 6, sometimes 12. Pius normally 12, sometimes 6. Aurelius and

Verus regularly both 12 and 6. Septimius Severus, 6, sometimes 12. Elagabalus, 'local' issues, 6, sometimes 12. Elagabalus 'Antioch', Philip, both local and Antioch, regularly 12 and 6.

Doliche: Aurelius and Verus 12; Commodus 12 and 6.

Caesarea Germanicia: 12 o'clock, sometimes 6.

References

Usually only one reference will be given in the catalogue itself, simply to maintain a legible order to the lists. *BMC* is the preferred published reference, followed by the Hunterian collection, *SNG Copenhagen* and other *SNG*'s. Unpublished collections are also cited, and Paris, being the most complete, is the preferred collection. References marked 'cast' are to casts either in the British Museum or the cast collection of Henri Seyrig in Paris. Casts in public collections are preferred to coins in private collections. Apart from these there will sometimes be a reference to 'Seyrig notes'. In this case I have not seen a specimen or cast of the coin in question and the reading depends entirely upon Seyrig. 'Seyrig notes' will be referenced only as a last resort. References to Eckhel, Mionnet or Cohen will only be cited if no other reference is available; in most cases they are very doubtful. Most of the references in the catalogue are either to *BMC*, Paris, or *SNG (Cop.)*.

Abbreviations for collections and publications frequently referred to in the Catalogue:

Publications

<i>BMC</i>	W. Wroth, <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, 20: Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria</i> , London 1899. Cited by relevant catalogue number.
Waagé	D.B. Waagé, <i>Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV.II. Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins</i> . Princeton 1952. Cited by relevant catalogue number.
Hunter	G. MacDonald, <i>Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow</i> , vol. iii. Glasgow 1905. Cited by relevant catalogue number.
<i>SNG (Cop.)</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum. Syria: Cities</i> , Copenhagen 1959. Cited by relevant catalogue number.
McClean	S.W. Grose, <i>Fitzwilliam Museum Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins</i> , vol. iii. Cambridge 1929. Cited by relevant catalogue number.
Dieudonné	A. Dieudonné, 'Les Monnaies Grecques de Syrie au Cabinet des Médailles'. <i>RN</i> 1927, pp. 1-50; pp. 155-169; <i>RN</i> 1929, pp. 15-26; pp. 131-151. Cited by page number.
Lindgren	H.C. Lindgren, F.L. Kovacs, <i>Ancient Bronze Coins of Asia Minor and the Levant from the Lindgren Collection</i> , San Mateo 1985. Cited by relevant catalogue number.

Collections

BM	British Museum, London (followed by inventory no.)
Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (followed by inventory no. or collection)
Antakya	Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi, Antakya (followed by inventory no.)
Antioch exc.	Antioch excavation coins (now housed in the Firestone Library, Princeton)
Oxford	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Fitzwilliam	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (followed by collection, Leake, General, Hart, Burkitt)
ANS	American Numismatic Society, New York (followed by collection or inventory no.: N = E.T. Newell; AAR = A.A. Rosen; Ho = H. Holzer)
Berlin	Staatliche Münzkabinett, Berlin (followed by collection or inventory no.)
SBF	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem

Israel Museum Hebrew Uni. Washington	The Israel Museum, Jerusalem Hebrew University, Jerusalem The National Numismatic Collection, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.
Missouri	University of Missouri-Columbia, Dept. of Art History and Archaeology
HS; Seyrig	Collection of Henri Seyrig, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (followed by inventory no.)
CB	Chandon de Briailles Collection, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (followed by inventory no.)

Other references: Those names followed by 'coll.' refer to private collections, giving either the name or initials of the owner. 'Spink' or 'Baldwin' refers to the stock of the particular dealer. Sometimes a sales list or auction catalogue is the only available reference; this is generally given in an abbreviated form, with name of dealer, date and/or number of sale, and lot number.

Antioch and the Syrian Coinage

The city of Antioch-on-the-Orontes (modern Antakya, the capital of the Turkish province of Hatay) has been the subject of numerous books and articles. The most thorough study is that of G. Downey (see bibliography). Many historical details relevant to Antioch and the Syrian coinage are dealt with elsewhere in this study, and will not be repeated in this introduction.

Antioch was one of the most important mints in the Roman empire. The mint struck both silver and bronze coins, though often not contemporaneously; the silver coins are discussed in another section. The rôle of Antioch, as a provider of coinage throughout northern Syria, is an important one, and is central to the discussions in the present work. A great many of its issues, in particular the SC bronzes, do not bear the Antiochene ethnic, and they were probably regarded as imperial coins for Syria in general rather than a civic coinage specific to the city. More than one mint may have been involved in the production of some of this Syrian bronze coinage, although the evidence is not strong, except for a few issues which seem to have been struck at Rome (for which, see catalogue section entitled 'Coinage Probably Produced at Rome for Circulation in Syria'). A few other coinages, although unquestionably Syrian and without ethnics, may not have been Antiochene, although they fit well with the general pattern. Thus not all of the coinage listed here was necessarily produced at Antioch, and not all of the coinage produced at Antioch was necessarily intended for use specifically at Antioch. Hence this section has been entitled 'Antioch and the Syrian Coinage', since the title 'Antioch' would be somewhat misleading.

Most of the types on the Antiochene and Syrian coinages are repetitive, but are not without interest. The meaning of SC, the principal type for Antiochene bronze of the first and second centuries AD, is discussed in the appendices, as are subsidiary elements of the SC bronzes and coinage of the third century, the *delta-epsilon* mark, and the use of numeral letters or dots, placed at various points in the reverse field.

The types on the coinage of Antioch are as follows:

Tyche

Tyche occurs in two main forms on the coinage of Antioch: the seated city goddess and a figure standing with a rudder and cornucopiae.

Although the seated city goddess became a widespread symbol for various cities in Syria, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Pamphylia and Cappadocia, these models all derive from the statue group designed by Eutychedes of Sicyon in the early third century BC for the city of Antioch (Pausanias 6.2.6; Malalas, Bonn edition, 201). His statue depicted the Tyche of Antioch, wearing a crown representing the turreted walls of the city, fully draped, resting her left hand upon a rock on which she was seated, and holding either a palm branch or ears of corn in her right hand. The rock on which she sat probably represented Mount Silpius, a spur of the Amanus Mountains which dominates the city. At her feet was the naked torso of a youth, swimming, the personification of the river Orontes. Throughout the ancient world this arrangement of figures was generally recognised as representation of Antioch, just as a seated female figure in military attire personified Rome.

It is probable that there were, by the Roman period, several statues of this type at Antioch. The original was reputedly of colossal size and made of gilded bronze, and overlooked the Orontes; it is unlikely to have been the one which appears in a portable shrine on coins of the third century, even if the number of carry bars on the shrine indicate great size. The figures first appear at a late date, on the coinage of Tigranes, and the type was not taken up again until the reign of Augustus. In these early representations the city goddess seems to be holding a single, long palm branch. On bronze coins the type does not occur again until the third century, with the new colonial coinage of Elagabalus. It occurs on silver during the second and early third centuries, but in all of these representations the goddess holds ears of corn, not a palm branch. From Severus Alexander to Valerian the statue group is represented in a portable shrine. In this case the statue group was probably a copy of the original, an *agalma* used in processions during public festivals. There is no reason to assume that the work of Eutychedes was permanently housed in a shrine of this type during the third century (*pace* A.R. Bellinger, *NM* 85, pp. 6-7). Malalas mentions another statue

set up by Trajan in the theatre. This included the city goddess with the Orontes at her feet, being crowned 'by the emperors Seleucus and Antiochus in the guise of the city's *tyche*' (Malalas, Bonn edition, 276). This particular type will be discussed below.

A standing Tyche, holding a cornucopiae in her left hand and a rudder in her right, occurs on Seleucid coinage and the issues of Antioch down to the reign of Augustus. The figure occurs again in the third century, on the colonial coinage, beginning with Philip. This form of Tyche was regarded as being a separate entity from the city goddess, and perhaps represented the *demos* of Antioch rather than the *tyche* of the city itself.

A type unique to the reign of Severus Alexander warrants special comment. This presents the city goddess seated facing, the Orontes at her feet, flanked by two figures. On the left is the second Tyche, standing holding a cornucopiae and rudder; on the right is a male figure in military attire, crowning the city goddess. The male figure is usually described as Severus Alexander. The type appears to have been imitated on the coinage of Severus Alexander at Nicopolis Seleucidis. However, this kind of scene is not unique to coins. A relief from the 'Temple of the Gaddé' at Dura Europus, dated AD 158/9, shows a seated city goddess (Gad, the Semitic equivalent of Tyche) flanked by two figures, one of whom is identified by an inscription as Seleucus I; this figure crowns the city goddess, as 'Severus Alexander' does on the coins of Antioch. The other figure is the dedicant. In this case both Seleucus and the city goddess are regarded as divine. The type also occurs on gems (Bellinger, *NM* 85, p. 6; also a seal impression of this type, with the city goddess flanked by a second Tyche and an emperor, seen by me at Doliche). Bellinger drew a parallel between the Dura representation and the coin type, suggesting that the second Tyche stood for the *demos* as the dedicant, with the city goddess and the emperor being the object of worship.

A head of Tyche, veiled and turreted, is recurrent type on the coinage of Antioch throughout the period covered by this study. It presumably represents the city goddess of Eutychedes.

Zeus

The Seleucid king Antiochus IV erected a chryselephantine statue of Zeus Nicephorus at Daphne, which was probably located in or near the temple of Apollo (see below). The figure appears on coins, seated on a throne, naked from the waist up, holding a sceptre in his left hand and a figure of Nike in his right hand. The original statue of Nike was reputed to have been made of solid gold; this was melted down by the bankrupt usurper Alexander Zebinas in the late second century BC. As a coin type, Zeus Nicephorus occurs on the royal Antiochene issues from at least the reign of Antiochus IV, who seems to have particularly favoured this deity (O. Mørholm, *Studies in the Coinage of Antiochus IV of Syria, Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.* 40, no. 3, Copenhagen 1963). The statue group was an important device on Seleucid silver coinage. On the bronze civic coinage of Antioch, struck under the Seleucids and their successors, Zeus Nicephorus was used as the sole reverse type for the largest denomination bronze, and the type continued down to the reign of Augustus. There is no certain evidence that the type was ever used again on Antiochene coinage (silver tetradrachms of Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius with a Zeus reverse type may not be Antiochene), except on the 'anonymous' coinage of Antioch of the early fourth century AD, now attributed to the reign of Licinius.

A head of Zeus occurs as an obverse type for a number of civic issues of Antioch into the imperial period. Whether this is a generic representation of Zeus or a specific representation of the chryselephantine statue is not clear.

Apollo and Artemis

The sanctuary of Daphne, near Antioch, was sacred to Apollo, whose figure, seated on an *omphalos*, was a common device on Seleucid coinage. This image was quite different from the standing figure of Apollo Citharoedus, reputedly the work of Bryaxis, a sculptor working in the third century BC. The original statue, a colossal acrolithic cultus-image, stood in the Temple of Apollo at Daphne, fully robed and holding a lyre. The statue figures on coins of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Under Roman rule it occurs only on the colonial coinage of the third century, from Philip to Trebonianus Gallus. On these coins the figure is sometimes accompanied by a coiled serpent; an encounter with a serpent was supposed to have persuaded Seleucus to found the sanctuary of Apollo at Daphne. A naked standing figure of Apollo also occurs on civic bronzes struck before the Roman annexation of Syria, but this type does not occur under Roman rule.

A figure of Artemis appears on an issue of civic bronze under Antoninus Pius. She is depicted dressed in a long robe, holding a bow in her left hand and a long torch in her right.

Small Antiochene civic coins often bear a head of Apollo or, less frequently, Artemis. The reverses of these coins usually bear their attributes, a lyre, tripod, laurel branch or bow and quiver.

Ram

The ram which appears as a type or subsidiary device on Antiochene coinage is thought to represent Aries, perhaps the zodiacal sign under which the city was founded (or subsequently refounded). On the reverses of civic bronzes it is usually accompanied by a star, or a star and crescent, strongly suggesting that it is indeed an astral symbol. Although the type is not known on Antiochene coinage before the reign of Augustus, this does not necessarily mean that it is late in date; the Tyche of Antioch, set up in the early third century BC, does not occur on coins until the first century BC.

Altar

An altar, garlanded and lighted, and usually supported by small legs in the shape of animals' feet, occurs as a reverse type on a number of issues of civic bronze during the imperial period. It occurs most frequently in conjunction with the obverse type of a bust of the city goddess, but one or two pieces bear an obverse head of Zeus. Since it figures so frequently on the coinage it must have had some important symbolic message.

Laurel branch, lyre

See above, under Apollo and Artemis.

Eagle

An eagle sometimes occurs as a subsidiary device to the main type, particularly on SC bronzes of the third century AD. Apart from its obvious associations with Zeus, it also had solar aspects, appropriate for Helios/Apollo.

Tripod

The tripod was associated with Apollo, the god at Daphne. On the coinage of Augustus, the tripod is embossed with human faces, and on later coins a serpent is sometimes coiled around it.

Boule

A seated female figure, dropping a pebble or tessera into a jar, is thought to represent the *boule* of Antioch, placing a ballot into a voting-urn. The type occurs on small civic coins of Nero and Hadrian only.

Caduceus

Occurs on small civic bronzes in conjunction with an obverse head of Apollo. In the Near East the symbol seems to have had celestial associations and may not have been simply connected with Hermes.

Ears of corn

Ears of corn are an obvious and ubiquitous symbol of fertility. They are an attribute of the Tyche of Antioch (see above), and occur on an issue of Tiberius along with a caduceus. Another denomination for Tiberius of the same issue bears a caduceus flanked by cornucopiae. The latter type is sometimes taken as a symbol of Commagene, but taken alongside the type with corn ears and a caduceus, both types can be seen as simply symbolic of fruitfulness, without specific geographical location.

Daphne

The nymph Daphne occurs as a type only once, on a small civic bronze of Antoninus Pius. Daphne is depicted standing, her arms raised, the lower half of her body transformed into a laurel tree. The type may have been derived from a statue or painting.

Eras and dating systems used on the coinage

Until the Roman annexation of Syria, the Seleucid era had been the system of dating employed at Antioch. In 64 BC the city adopted a new era, apparently backdated to 66/5 BC, which is generally referred to as a Pompeian era. This was used on Antiochene bronzes down to 48/7 BC, when Julius Caesar visited Antioch and conferred certain privileges on the city (the date given by Malalas is 20 Artemisios-May, but Malalas' dates are not always very reliable). The subsequent Caesarean era which was initiated at this time became the standard method of dating in the territory

of Antioch for several centuries, and last occurs on coins in Caesarean year 226, AD 177/8. Two other methods of dating occur in the late first century BC and first century AD. One is an Actian era, which is used only under Augustus and Tiberius, and the other a system of dating by regnal years, which occurs chiefly on silver coins, up to the reign of Trajan. These latter two dating systems are sometimes used in conjunction with the Antiochene Caesarean era. It is of some interest to observe how these dating systems interact.

The last year of the Pompeian era to appear on coins is year 19, a prolific issue on a reformed standard which was the prevailing standard for coins with Caesarean dates. The first year of the Caesarean era to appear on coins is year 2. The Caesarean era presumably began in 49/8 BC; the occasion which is thought to have prompted it was the battle of Pharsalus, in August of 48, so that the first year of the new era would not have been a full calendar year; indeed, it may have been backdated, the second year beginning in August 48 BC. A tetradrachm of Augustus bears the date 63, which, if not posthumous, must have been struck at about the time of his death in August AD 14, making the beginning of the first Caesarean year fall in 49 BC. Nero and Galba both struck tetradrachms dated year 116; therefore year 116 included the summer of AD 68 (Nero died in early June), but year 116 presumably began in AD 67, in order for the Caesarean era to begin in 49 BC and for Augustus' tetradrachm of year 63 to be issued in AD 14. So it seems likely that the beginning of the Caesarean year at Antioch fell somewhere between June and September, perhaps on the anniversary of Pharsalus, in August, or Julius Caesar's birthday, in July.

Caesarean and regnal years occur together on the silver coins of Nero. It is interesting to note that the two dating systems do not coincide. There are tetradrachms of Nero dated regnal year 9, Caesarean 111; regnal year 10, Caesarean 111; and regnal year 10, Caesarean 112. Coins were countermarked for Gaius, dated years 2 to 5, and his tetradrachms were dated years 2 to 3, and Galba issued tetradrachms dated years 1 and 2. As at Alexandria, years were obviously not reckoned from the date of accession, and the first regnal year of the reign did not usually cover a full twelve months. There was presumably a fixed point in the year at which the regnal year changed, one that differed from the point at which the Caesarean year changed. Since it seems very likely that the Caesarean year was reckoned from the summer of 49 BC, Caesarean year 111 must have been summer AD 62 - summer AD 63. Between these rough dates Nero's regnal years changed from 9 to 10. The regnal year cannot have begun after January, since both Gaius and Galba were killed in that month, and we could not otherwise allow for a fifth year for Gaius and a second for Galba. For Nero to begin year 10 in AD 62/3, before February AD 63, his regnal year 1 must have been very short - at the very longest, from his accession in October 54 to January 55. Somewhere between the summer and the winter the regnal year changed. There are various possible occasions. The Syrian year traditionally began in mid November, and the tribunician year on 10 December. The winter solstice is another possibility, especially given the Syrian interest in astrology and the movement of heavenly bodies, and their important religious connotations. The religious element of the regnal year is suggested by the epithet 'New Sacred Year' which accompanies the regnal date from the reigns of Galba to Trajan. Cycles of six monthly periods are used as dates on Syrian coins in Seleucid times. A possible framework for Nero's issues which bear both Caesarean and regnal dates is therefore as follows:

Summer 54 - Winter 54	Caes. 103, Claudius 14, Nero 1	-
Winter 54 - Summer 55	Caes. 103, Nero 2	-
Summer 55 - Winter 55	Caes. 104, Nero 2	-
Winter 55 - Summer 56	Caes. 104, Nero 3	-
Summer 56 - Winter 56	Caes. 105, Nero 3	Dated coinage
Winter 56 - Summer 57	Caes. 105, Nero 4	-
Summer 57 - Winter 57	Caes. 106, Nero 4	-
Winter 57 - Summer 58	Caes. 106, Nero 5	-
Summer 58 - Winter 58	Caes. 107, Nero 5	-
Winter 58 - Summer 59	Caes. 107, Nero 6	-
Summer 59 - Winter 59	Caes. 108, Nero 6	Dated coinage
Winter 59 - Summer 60	Caes. 108, Nero 7	-
Summer 60 - Winter 60	Caes. 109, Nero 7	Dated coinage
Winter 60 - Summer 61	Caes. 109, Nero 8	-
Summer 61 - Winter 61	Caes. 110, Nero 8	Dated coinage
Winter 61 - Summer 62	Caes. 110, Nero 9	-
Summer 62 - Winter 62	Caes. 111, Nero 9	Dated coinage
Winter 62 - Summer 63	Caes. 111, Nero 10	Dated coinage
Summer 63 - Winter 63	Caes. 112, Nero 10	Dated coinage

Similarly it can be shown that the Actian and Caesarean eras do not coincide. The tetradrachm of Augustus which bears the dates Caesarean year 63 and Actian year 44 proves this. Caesarean year 63 was a new year, beginning in AD 14; Actian year 44 began in AD 13. There can be no doubt that the Actian era began in 31 BC, since tetradrachms of year 29 record Augustus' twelfth and thirteenth consulships. The thirteenth consulship commenced at the beginning of 2 BC, so year 29 spans 3/2 BC. So the Actian era began in 31 BC. But the Actian year probably did not change at the same occasion as the regnal year. If the regnal years always began at a fixed point, between the summer and winter, then year 1 of Tiberius lasted roughly from summer to winter, AD 14, and year 2 began in winter 14. The first Antiochene bronze issue of Tiberius is dated Actian year 45 and regnal year 1, and therefore Actian year 45 must have commenced in or after the summer of AD 14 (when the tetradrachm of Augustus dated Caesarean year 63 and Actian year 44 was struck). For the Actian year 45 to coincide with Tiberius' first regnal year, the Actian year began either before Tiberius' accession (and there is not a great deal of time between Augustus' last issue dated 44 and Tiberius' accession), or before the end of the year 14 (since it would be impossible for the Actian era to begin in 31 BC if Actian year 44 ran over into AD 15). In the latter case the regnal year cannot have coincided with the Actian year, since the change from Actian year 44 to 45 would have to coincide with a change from regnal year 1 to 2. The Actian year perhaps began on the anniversary of the battle, September 31, and therefore would more or less coincide with the Macedonian year, beginning on 1 October. Unfortunately the coins are unable to provide more detailed information about the precise dating of these eras, and it would be unwise to speculate further.

Civic titles on the coinage of Antioch

From the time of the Seleucids down to the initiation of the Caesarean era at Antioch, the coinage of the city bears only the civic title of Metropolis. Antioch was presumably the Metropolis of Seleucis. The title 'autonomous' was not adopted until the beginning of the Caesarean era. It only appears on coins of Antioch down to the reign of Augustus. However, this may not be particularly significant; 'autonomous' is almost always placed after 'Metropolis' in the list of titles, and there is good numismatic evidence for the continued use of 'Metropolis' throughout this period. 'Autonomous' may have been dropped simply through lack of space, and there were more important things to place on civic coins. The name of the governor, in association with the Antiochene ethnic, appears to have been predominant in the first century AD. 'Metropolis' was preferred at the expense of 'autonomous', and the name of the governor at the expense of 'Metropolis'. Other titles, 'sacred and inviolate', occur only briefly on the coinage of 47-44 and 41/40 BC.

In the third century the city was made a *colonia*, although under whom Antioch gained colonial status is not clear; it was probably either Caracalla or Elagabalus. Under the latter emperor the new colonial coinage of Antioch begins by advertising the city's rank as 'Metropolis and Colony', and continues to do so down to the last issues of bronze under Valerian. 'Metropolis' is again given precedence of sequence over 'Colony'. There is no evidence of the city's loss of status under Septimius Severus as punishment for having supported his rival Pescennius Niger.

Seleucid era

The Roman conquest of Syria had virtually no effect on Antioch's bronze coinage. The same denominations used before the conquest were still in production afterwards, with only subtle changes to the types. Since the Pompeian coins are so like those with Seleucid dates, it would seem worth recording for comparative purposes all the known variants of coins of these types struck prior to the Roman conquest as well as those struck afterwards, since one frequently encounters coins where the exergue is off the flan, but where a particular symbol or monogram is specific to one year or period. However, since they are not strictly issues of the Roman period and on well preserved specimens bear characteristics which distinguish them from their Pompeian era successors, these Seleucid era bronzes are not given catalogue numbers. Most of the dates were known to Eckhel, *d.n.v. iii*, p. 268.

In addition to these municipal bronzes, Antioch also struck a contemporary royal coinage of silver tetradrachms for the Seleucid and Armenian monarchs during this period. The bronze issues of years 221-223 are contemporary with Demetrius III's occupation of Antioch (c. 92-89 BC). The coins of 224-228 belong to the reign of Philip (c. 89-84/3 BC), and the remainder correspond to the reign of Tigranes (83-69 BC). A few royal bronzes seem to have been issued at Antioch for Demetrius III (Newell, *Seleucid Antioch* p. 118 and Houghton, *CSE* no. 391). No bronzes are known for Philip Philadelphus, and the bronze tetradrachms illustrated by Houghton (*CSE* nos. 395-6) seem to me to be cores of plated tetradrachms. Foss (*NC* 146, 1986 p. 59) has argued against the attribution of bronzes of Tigranes to the city. It is possible, therefore, that Demetrius III was forced to grant some sort of concession of autonomy to Antioch and that thereafter royal bronze coinage ceased, but there is no reason why municipal and royal bronzes could not have been issued at the same mint, as indeed were later 'municipal' and 'imperial' bronzes under the Roman emperors.

Note that the Seleucid era is used on one issue of Antioch during the Roman period, catalogue no. 21 below.

Large denomination

Obverses: Laureate bust of Zeus right. No legend.

Reverses: Zeus seated left. To right, downwards in two lines, $\Lambda\text{N}\tau\text{I}\text{O}\chi\epsilon\alpha\text{N} / \tau\text{H}\Sigma$

To right, downwards, $\text{M}\text{I}\text{T}\text{P}\text{O}\text{T}\text{O}\text{A}\epsilon\alpha\text{C}$. Date in exergue. Letters or symbols sometimes in field.

Medium denomination

Obverses: Veiled turreted draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.

Reverses: Tripod. To right, downwards in two lines, $\Lambda\text{N}\tau\text{I}\text{O}\chi\epsilon\alpha\text{N} / \tau\text{H}\Sigma$

To right, downwards, $\text{M}\text{I}\text{T}\text{P}\text{O}\text{T}\text{O}\text{A}\epsilon\alpha\text{C}$. Date in exergue. Letters or symbols sometimes in field.

Small denomination

Obverses: Bust of Artemis right, quiver at shoulder. No legend.

Reverses: Apollo standing left, holding laurel branch in right hand, leaning on column. To right, downwards in two lines, $\Lambda\text{N}\tau\text{I}\text{O}\chi\epsilon\alpha\text{N} / \tau\text{H}\Sigma$

To right, downwards, $\text{M}\text{I}\text{T}\text{P}\text{O}\text{T}\text{O}\text{A}\epsilon\alpha\text{C}$. Date in exergue.

Large denomination

Medium denomination

Small denomination

Year 221, 92/1 BC

$\text{E} |$ BMC 21


$\text{E} |$ Hunter 1

Large denomination

Medium denomination

Small denomination


Year 221 (Cont'd)

 Seyrig notes 62

 Gaudin


 Gaudin

 Seyrig cast

 Seyrig notes 60


 SBF



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
 BMC 13

 Seyrig (Newell)

 ANS (N)

 Seyrig notes 72a

 Berlin (Löbbecke)  Seyrig notes 72

 Berlin 28678/19


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
 ANS (N)


Year 223, 90/89 BC


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 ANS (G)


 SBF


 Seyrig, *Trésor*, 34

 Seyrig, *Trésor*, 36


 Seyrig 76

 *SNG (Cop.)* 67

 BMC 14

 Hunter 2







 Vienna


 Seyrig 79

Large denominationMedium denominationSmall denominationYear 223 (Cont'd)




 Seyrig 79
 Seyrig 77
 Trade, Beirut
 Munich
 Berlin 16980


Year 224, 89/8 BC



 Paris 27
 ANS (N)
 Seyrig 92
 BMC 15
 Seyrig, *Trésor*, 41
 Seyrig 93


 HS 9







Year 225, 88/7 BC



 Paris 28
 *SNG (Cop.)* 68
 BMC 18

 BMC 19






 Hunter 7
 Hunter 8

 BMC 20


 Seyrig 104
 BMC 17
 Seyrig 100
 Paris 31
 HS 12, (poss.
yr. 223 misread)
 ANS (N)

 Hunter 20
 Seyrig 116

Large denominationMedium denominationSmall denominationYear 225 (Cont'd)


 Seyrig 113
 Seyrig 117
 Seyrig 118
 Seyrig cast
 Gaudin


Year 226, 87/6 BC

 Seyrig notes
 (doubtful)


Year 227, 86/5 BC

 Seyrig cast


 Seyrig, *Trésor*, 43


 BMC 21

 Hunter 22

 Hunter 21

 Seyrig cast

 Seyrig 142


 Seyrig 134

 ANS (N)

 Hunter 10

 Leake

Year 228, 85/4 BC

 BMC 22

 Berlin (Imhoof)

 Weber 7955

 Oxford

 Berlin (Fox)

 Hunter 12

 ANS (N)

Large denominationMedium denominationSmall denominationYear 231, 82/1 BC

| Paris 39

| Paris 42

| Hunter 13

| Hunter 23

| Seyrig, *Trésor*, 46

E | Seyrig 166

M | Seyrig notes,
(poss. | misread)

φ | Paris 40

| Seyrig 158

Year 232, 81/80 BC

| Seyrig cast

| Seyrig cast

| SBF

| Paris

| Paris

| Oxford

φ | Seyrig, *Trésor*, 55Year 233, 80/79 BC

| ANS (N)

| Paris 43

| Paris 24

Year 234, 79/8 BC

| BMC 23

| Lindgren 1939

| ANS (AAR)

| ANS (N)

Year 235, 78/7 BC

| Paris 45

| Seyrig 205

Year 236, 77/6 BC

| BMC 24

| Hunter 18

Year 237, 76/5 BC

| Oxford

Year 238, 75/4 BC┆ NNM 92, no. 239Year 240, 74/3 BC┆ Seyrig cast𐌆 Hunter 25
(unclear)𐌆 SNG (Cop.) 72
(possibly M)Year 243, 70/69 BC┆ HS 64† Seyrig 241‡ Seyrig cast,
(date uncertain)

Pompeian era

The Pompeian coinage was first issued at the old Seleucid standard. These coins are distinguished from the earlier issues by the use of the Pompeian (Pharsalian) era, backdated to 66 BC (see introduction to this section on Antioch). The Pompeian coinage was evidently intended as a continuation of the earlier coinage, and coins of the Seleucid and Pompeian periods were hoarded together (eg. Nisibis, Seyrig, *Trésor*, pp 85-128, Sel. Year 222 to Pomp. 14; Hama hoard 4, *Hama*, Sel. Year 227 to Pomp. 14). The commonest coins appear to be those of years thirteen and fourteen (54/3-53/2 BC), which may be the result of Crassus' activities in the east. The arrangement below is largely based on Seyrig, *Syria* 1950, p. 5-15, contra Newell, *NC4 XIX* 1919 pp. 69-113.

Seleucid standard

Large denomination, 7.54g.**Obverses:** Laureate bust of Zeus right. No legend.**Reverses:** Zeus seated left. To right, downwards in two lines, $\Lambda\text{NTI}\text{O}\text{X}\text{E}\text{O}\text{N} / \text{T}\text{H}\Sigma$
To right, downwards, $\text{M}\text{H}\text{T}\text{P}\text{O}\text{T}\text{O}\text{A}\text{E}\text{O}\Sigma$. Date in exergue, thunderbolt below date. Letters or symbols sometimes in field.Medium denomination, 5.2g.**Obverses:** Laureate bust of Zeus right. No legend.**Reverses:** Tyche standing left, holding rudder in right hand and cornucopiae in left. To right, downwards in two lines, $\Lambda\text{NTI}\text{O}\text{X}\text{E}\text{O}\text{N} / \text{T}\text{H}\Sigma$
To right, downwards, $\text{M}\text{H}\text{T}\text{P}\text{O}\text{T}\text{O}\text{A}\text{E}\text{O}\Sigma$ Date in exergue. Letters or symbols sometimes in field.Small denomination, 2.8g.

Type 1

Obverses: Bust of Artemis right, quiver at shoulder. No legend.**Reverses:** Apollo standing left, holding laurel branch in right hand, leaning on column. To right, downwards in two lines, $\Lambda\text{NTI}\text{O}\text{X}\text{E}\text{O}\text{N} / \text{T}\text{H}\Sigma$
To right, downwards, $\text{M}\text{H}\text{T}\text{P}\text{O}\text{T}\text{O}\text{A}\text{E}\text{O}\Sigma$. Date in exergue.

Type 2

Obverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.



Reverses: Tyche standing left, holding rudder in right hand and cornucopiae in left. To right, downwards in two lines, $\Lambda\text{ΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ}$, to left, downwards, ΠΙΠΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ . Date in exergue.

a) Large denomination

b) Medium denomination

c) Small denomination


Year 3 (64/3 BC)

1.  ANS (N)  Seyrig cast *Type 1*


Year 4 (63/2 BC)

2.  Oxford  Paris Y 23879/15

Year 5 (62/1 BC)

3.  Paris 64 (?)

Year 8 (59/8 BC)

4.  Paris Y 23879/16

Year 9 (58/7 BC)

5.  Paris 58  BM *Type 2*


Year 10 (57/6 BC)

6.  Paris 59  Paris 46 *Type 1*


Year 11 (56/5 BC)

7.  Paris 60

Year 12 (55/4 BC)


8.  ANS (N)


Year 13 (54/3 BC)

9.1  Paris HS 22

9.2  ANS (N)

9.3  Paris HS 25

9.4  ANS (N)

9.5  ANS (G)

Year 14 (53/2 BC)

10.  BMC 32

Year 16 (51/50 BC)

11.1 Seyrig notes

11.2 HS coll.

Year 17 (50/49 BC)

12. Paris 71

Seyrig, *Syria (loc. cit. above)*, p. 13, gives a coin to year 17, but not to year 16.

Reformed standard

The final issue of Pompeian era coinage was issued at a new standard, the coins being heavier and larger than their predecessors. They seem to have been hoarded separately from the earlier coinages, usually with early coins of the succeeding Caesarean period. This would seem to suggest that Antioch's coinage was reformed after the defeat of Pompey and Caesar's visit to Antioch, and before the Caesarean era was adopted on the coinage.

Large denomination, 11.79g.

Obverses: Laureate bust of Zeus right. No legend.

Reverses: Zeus seated left. To right, downwards in two lines, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ / ΤΗΣ**
To right, downwards, **ΜΗΤΡΩΠΟΛΕΩΣ**. Date in exergue. Cornucopiae in field to right. All within laurel wreath.

Medium denomination, 9.59g.

Obverses: Laureate bust of Zeus right. No legend.

Reverses: Tyche standing left, holding rudder in right hand and cornucopiae in left. To right, downwards in two lines, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ / ΤΗΣ**
To right, downwards, **ΜΗΤΡΩΠΟΛΕΩΣ**. Date in exergue. All within laurel wreath.

a) Large denomination b) Medium denomination

Year 19 (48/7 BC)

13.1 Seyrig 342

13.2 HS 30

Caesarean era

The early Caesarean era coins, years two to nine, are on the reformed standard. Those of year eight are exceptionally large and heavy and their average weight is given separately. In year nine there was also an issue using the old Seleucid method of dating; this was the last time this era was used on the coinage of Antioch, and is probably connected with the Parthian invasion of Syria under Labienus and Pacorus (see main text, under 'Production').

Large denomination, 11.79g. (Year eight: 15.65g)

Obverses: Laureate bust of Zeus right. No legend.

Reverses: Zeus seated left. Legend arranged variously (see under each entry for variations) to right, downwards in two lines, and to left, downwards in one or two lines. Date in exergue.

Letters or symbols sometimes in field. All within wreath as illustrated.




Fig. 1: Main features of Caesarean era bronzes with seated Zeus reverse. Lettering is often formed with a series of large, globular drill points.

Year 2 (47 BC)

Reverse legend: ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ / ΜΙΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ / ΙΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΑ / ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ

14.1  Berlin (Fox)

14.2  ANS (N)

Year 3 (47/6 BC)

Reverse legend as previous.

15.1  Paris 52

15.2  ANS (N)

15.3  BMC 26

Year 4 (46/5 BC)

Reverse legend as previous.

16.1  Antakya 17857

16.2  HS coll.

16.3  Berlin (Löbbecke)

Year 5 (45/4 BC)

Reverse legend as previous.

17.  ANS (N)

Countermark


18. Laureate head of Apollo right, in oval incuse. Bellinger, *Dura* p. 147 no. 1596 (identified as radiate head); BMC 27


The countermark seems to have been used on reformed coins only, and occurs on coins of Pompeian year 19 (18 examples); Caesarean year 3 (6); year 4 (5); and 5 (1). It may have been

connected with the issue of the much larger and heavier coins of year eight. It is interesting to note that coins of the old Seleucid standard were not countermarked; perhaps they were no longer current or their value against the reformed coinage was not equal.

Year 8 (42/1 BC)

Reverse legends: **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ / ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟ / ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ / ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ**


19.1  BMC 29

19.2  ANS (N)

19.3  Seyrig 416


Year 9 (41/40 BC)

Reverse legends: **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ / ΤΗΣ / ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ / ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ**

20.  SNG (Cop.) 80

Seleucid year 272, under Labienus and Pacorus (41/40 BC)

Reverse legends: **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ / ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛ / ΕΛΕΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ / ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ**

21.  BMC 25

Reduced module

The weights and diameters of these coins remained the same up to the time of Augustus.

Large denomination, 7.82g.

Obverses: Laureate bust of Zeus right. No legend.

Reverses: Zeus seated left. To right, downwards in two lines, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ / ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ**
To left, downwards, **ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ**. Date in exergue. Letters or symbols sometimes in field. All within laurel wreath.

Medium denomination, 5.81g.

Obverses: i) Laureate bust of Zeus right. No legend.

ii) Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.

Reverses: Tripod. To right, downwards in two lines, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ / ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ**
To left, downwards, **ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ**. Date in exergue.

Small denomination, 3.13g.

Obverses: Veiled turreted draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.

Reverses: Poppy between two corn ears. Date either side of poppy stem. To right, downwards in two lines, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ / ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ** To left, downwards, **ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ**.


a) Large denomination

b) Medium denomination

c) Small denomination

Year 11 (39/8 BC)

22.1  ANS (N)

 Seyrig 440 (obv. i)

22.2  BMC 36 (obv. i)

22.3  SNG (Cop.) 82 (obv. i)

22.4  Hunter 35

Year 12 (38/7 BC)


23.1  SNG (Cop.) 83 (obv. i)

23.2  Paris 63 (obv. i)


Year 13 (37/6 BC)


24.1  Paris 65

24.2  ANS (N)


24.3  Antakya 18317

Year 14 (36/5 BC)

25.1  SNG (Cop.) 84

25.2  HS coll. (obv. i)
(date unclear; Seyrig,
Éres, p. 13, gives this to year 15)


Year 15 (35/4 BC)

26.  SBF


Year 16 (34/3 BC)








27.1  Leake

27.2  Paris 70

27.3  ANS (N)

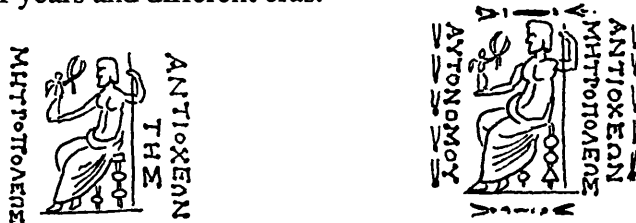
Year 17 (33/2 BC)

28.  Seyrig cast

a) Large denominationb) Medium denominationc) Small denominationYear 19 (31/30 BC)29.  Paris 76Year 20 (30/29 BC)30.1  Paris 7730.2  HS 34Year 21 (29/8 BC)31.1  BM 196631.2  SNG (Cop.) 8531.3  Paris 8431.4  ANS (N)  Seyrig 495 (obv. ii)Year 22 (28/7 BC)32.  Paris 84Year 25 or 26? (25/4 or 24/3 BC)33.  Seyrig cast
(date unclear)Year 27 (23/2 BC)34.  Seyrig cast (obv. i)Year 29? (21/20 BC)35.1  Paris 83 (obv. i)
(date unclear)35.2  SNG (Cop.) 87Year 31 (19/8 BC)36.  BM 1903Year 33? (17/6 BC)37.  FM (Burkitt) 992
(date unclear)

Identification of worn or poorly preserved examples of the pre-imperial coinage of Roman Antioch.

The Zeus head/Zeus seated bronzes are the most commonly encountered of the Antiochene pre-imperial coins. In cases where the date is illegible, there are other ways of assigning them to a particular era. The Seleucid and Pompeian era coinages (except Pompeian year 19) and the reduced module Caesarean coins of years 11 to 31 are identical in size and weight. Whilst Seleucid and Pompeian era coinages cannot generally be distinguished from one another without the date, Caesarean coinages can be distinguished by the laurel wreath which surrounds the reverse type and the longer legend. If the word $\Theta\text{Σ}$ occurs by itself to the right of the figure on the reverse, the coin belongs to the period before Caesarean year 2. The commonest coins of the reformed standard seem to be those of Pompeian year 19 (Cat. no. 13.1), immediately distinguishable from other coins of the same module by the cornucopiae symbol in front of Zeus on the reverse. Likewise coins of Caesarean year 9 and the Seleucid year 272 are distinguished by their symbols, which are not found on other coins of this size. Coins of Caesarean year 8 usually bear their own specific symbol and are generally much larger than other pre-imperial bronzes (24-27 mm.). The countermark (catalogue no. 18) on a coin would seem to indicate a date of Pompeian year 19 to Caesarean year 5. Unique reverse symbols may help to distinguish the issue to which they belong, but in many cases symbols occur over a number of years and different eras.



a) Seleucid and Pompeian eras

b) Caesarean era (reduced module)

Fig. 2: Characteristics of the Zeus head/Zeus seated type.

Smaller denominations are rather rarer than the Zeus head/Zeus seated type. Types other than those listed immediately below belong to other periods. Again the legends divide Caesarean era coins from their predecessors.

Tyche head/Tripod: Seleucid or Caesarean era (see also text below)

Tyche head/Tyche standing: Pompeian era

Zeus head/Tripod: Pompeian or Caesarean era

Artemis head/Apollo standing: Seleucid or Pompeian era

Tyche head/Poppy and ears of corn: Caesarean era (see also text below)

The Tyche head/Tripod type occurs again under Augustus with Actian dates, but in this case the legend used is that of the Caesarean era and the tripod is decorated with human faces. The date (in Actian years) on these coins occurs either side of the tripod and not in the exergue, and a laurel wreath surrounds the whole reverse type, making them quite different from those of the Seleucid or Caesarean eras (compare Plate 1, *B* with Plate 2, no. 50d).

Likewise the Tyche head/Ears of corn occurs with Actian dates, but in this case the inscription runs clockwise around the edge of the reverse and there is no poppy between the corn ears (compare Plate 1, no. 22.4c with Plate 3, no. 56c).

Augustus

The Syrian coinage of Augustus has been examined a number of times. It is important in that the introduction of new large denominations, chiefly the type with the letters SC in a wreath on the reverse, represents a break with the earlier coinage of Antioch, and appears to hail the beginning of an imperial bronze coinage for the province of Syria. The most recent and successful summary of this complex coinage of Augustus has been presented by Howgego (*NC* 142 1982). He demonstrated the very close stylistic link between certain SC coins, traditionally attributed to Syria, and some CA coins, traditionally attributed to Asia (here these coins are mainly brought together under Group 1). Stylistically one group of SC and CA coins (here Group 2) can be attributed with certainty to Antioch, since the styles of both tetradrachms, SC bronzes and 'archieratic' bronzes are virtually identical. Howgego has argued that the legate P. Quinctilius Varus was responsible for initiating the SC coinage of this group; this view is challenged here. A third group, of SC coins only, can be attributed to Syria on its frequency alone, and the style of some specimens (Plate 3, no. 59) bridges the gap between groups 2 and 3. The fourth group has been attributed to Syria, and one specimen bears a Syrian countermark of Otho (cat. no.157), although it is unlikely that these coins were struck at Antioch. There are other coins of crude style which I regard as imitations (Plate 3, A); these will not be discussed as separate groups.

Apart from those coins marked SC or CA, there are also bronzes which carry the Antiochene ethnic and sometimes bear the names of the legates of Syria, P. Quinctilius Varus, L. Volusius Saturninus, and Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus. This has led to speculation about the involvement of the legates in the provision of coinage for Syria (see section on 'authority').

Not all Augustan coinage marked SC was produced in Syria, and the style of one group points to Cyprus (M. Amandry, 'Le Monnayage Julio-Claudian a Chypre I: Auguste', *Centre d'etudes Chypriotes, Cahier* 7, pp. 25-6). I noted two examples of these coins in the Nicosia Museum. They have not been found in Syria, and they are not regarded here as Syrian coins. The existence of SC coinage outside of Syria in the reign of Augustus is, however, worth noting, and should make us hesitate before pronouncing this coinage purely 'Syrian' in the first instance.

In this section on Augustus, 'Howgego' refers to C.J. Howgego, *NC* 1982.

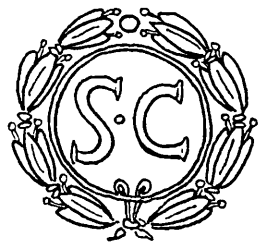
Group 1

Coinage of uncertain attribution, probably Antioch

Together with the dated tetradrachms, bronze coins of Groups 2-3 provide an almost continuous illustration of the style of Antioch from about 4 BC to AD 14. Coins of Group 1 are commonly found in the region around Antioch; it seems likely that most, if not all, were struck there. Chronologically they would fit in the period between the last issues of civic coinage catalogued in the last section, and the coinage of Group 2. Their date is perhaps c. 16 - 4 BC.

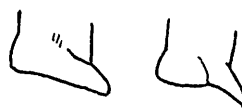
Characteristics: The coins of Group 1 share a number of characteristics with Group 2. They are often double struck on the reverse. They include both SC and CA coins. A close connection between coins with SC and CA reverses has been noted by Howgego, *NC* 1982, p. 15. Coins of both the SC and CA types listed occur as site finds at Antioch. The AVGVSTVS in wreath type is commoner in the region of Antioch than any other Syrian coinage of Augustus.

The different types are rather less cohesive stylistically than those of Group 2, with variations in the number of leaves in the reverse wreath around the SC and CA, and different wreath ties on the reverse of the large SC denomination when compared to the very distinctive ties of the medium denomination. A bare headed portrait of Augustus is common to all types; there are no smaller 'pseudo-autonomous' types as in Group 2. The different types and range of denominations may indicate that this was a coinage very much in an early experimental stage, before the CA was replaced entirely by the SC coinage (which is what occurred in Group 2).



Reverses often double struck.

Obverse bust truncation:



Group 1. Large denomination with ten bunches of leaves in wreath, medium with eight. On the medium denomination the ties of the wreath on the reverse always enter the circle within the laurel wreath, as shown. Border a continuous line.



Reverses often double struck; sections as illustrated above, as if strikings were applied twice from different angles.



Obverse bust truncation:



Early group



Later group



wreaths on 'archieratic' coins

Group 2. Some reverse wreaths have ten bunches of leaves, but most have eight. Wreath ties always outside the circle within the laurel wreath. Border a continuous line.



Group 3. Wreaths with eight bunches of leaves. Ties always inside circle within laurel wreath. Border a continuous line.

Fig. 3: Distinctive characteristics of SC bronzes of Augustus.

Large denomination, 22.91g.

38. **Obverses:** Bare headed bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IMP·AVGVST· TR·POT Border a continuous line.
Reverses: Shield, decorated with oak wreath. At top, OB, in centre of shield, CIVIS at bottom, SERVATOS. Border a continuous line.
RIC 1² 549; BMCRE 737-8
One of these was found at Antioch, Waagé no. 314.

Large denomination 2, 19.3g.

39. **Obverses:** Bare headed bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IMP·AVGVST· TR·POT Border a continuous line.
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves. Wreath ties as for Group 2 (see illustration). Border a continuous line.
Howgego 5c, p. 14

Medium denomination, 10.32g.

40. **Obverses:** Bare headed bare bust right. No legend. Border a continuous line.
Reverses: CA in circle within laurel wreath of ten bunches of leaves.
Howgego 4, p. 14
41. **Obverses:** Bare headed bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, AVGVST· TR·POT Border a continuous line.
Reverses: CA in circle within laurel wreath of eight or ten bunches of leaves. Wreath ties as illustration. Border a continuous line.
Howgego 5a, p. 14
42. **Obverses:** Bare headed bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, AVGVST· TR·POT , sometimes PO. Border a continuous line.
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of ten bunches of leaves. Wreath ties as illustration. Border a continuous line.
Howgego 5b, p. 14

Medium denomination, 9.62g.

43. **Obverses:** Bare headed bare bust right. Behind head, upwards from seven o'clock, CAESAR. Border dotted.
Reverses: AVGVSTVS in laurel wreath.
Howgego 3a, p. 3, pl. 2, 4

The exact relationships of the above coins to one another is not clear. They may represent different issues which were not all contemporary. Howgego suggests that no. 40 (no legend) may be an earlier version of no. 41 (legend). The style of obverse portraiture of 41 and 42 is virtually identical. The reverse type of no. 43 seems anomalous, but the obverse portraits found on these coins are of a similar style to those on the other types. Its relatively high frequency in Syria makes it a likely Syrian issue. It may be of a slightly different date than the other types, as the borders are dotted rather than represented as a continuous line which is found on the other types. There are, however, other coins of a very similar type but rather different style which may have been struck elsewhere (Howgego pl. 2, 2-3); to my knowledge coins of this different style have not been found in Syria. The CA coins were likewise produced at mints outside Syria, almost certainly in centres in Asia. The fact that the AVGVSTVS and CA types are known in Asia as well strengthens the association of both types with each other and within this group. Another group of CA and AVGVSTVS coins do occur in Syria (Howgego p.2, there his group 1, pl. 1), but they may not be of Syrian origin (examples were also noted by the author in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, so they may have travelled far afield from their place of origin), but such a provenance cannot be ruled out entirely. See, for example, Waagé, *Antioch*, nos. 316 and 319.

Group 2

Coinage attributable to Antioch

1) Early coinage, c. 4-1 BC

Characteristics: Reverses often double struck. Style directly related to tetradrachm issues (Howgego, p. 9). Arrangement of leaves in Augustus' laurel wreath on obverse as illustration. Bust truncation always as illustration. Wreaths on reverse always as illustration, large denomination having eight bunches of leaves, medium denomination ten bunches of leaves. Reverse border a continuous line.

The portraits on the SC bronzes of this group are stylistically very close to those on the tetradrachms and so-called 'archieratic' coins (see below, 50-53), all of which are dated. It is worth noting that the archieratic bronzes, which the SC bronzes resemble most closely, do not begin until Actian year 27 (5/4 BC), and that tetradrachms of year 27 onwards have the same portrait type. On the first tetradrachms, dated year 26, Augustus wears a slightly different type of wreath (compare Plate 2, 42 with Pl. 43, 11). This may seem a minimal difference in style, but throughout the Syrian coinage the standardisation of the number and arrangement of leaves in the laurel wreath which the emperor wears within a particular issue is usually very strict, but often very distinctive from issue to issue. On these grounds alone I would suggest that the SC bronzes of group 1 were issued concurrently with the archieratic coinage, Actian years 27 to 30, and not before.

Undated coinage

Large denomination, 16.74g.

44. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΣΕ - ΒΑΣΤΟΥ

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

Paris (Icard collection); Howgego pp. 8-9 and Plate 2, 8-12

The use of Greek for the obverse legend is exceptional. Howgego p. 8-9 thinks the style of obverse bust is cruder than that of the silver, and therefore it is not a re-used tetradrachm die as Wruck suggested, p. 24). The reverses seem cruder than those listed immediately below. Howgego is probably correct in placing it at the beginning of the SC coins in this group, though the type of wreath worn by Augustus would suggest a closer parity to tetradrachms dated Actian year 27 onwards rather than year 26 (see above).

45. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IMP·AVC̄VST· - TR·ΠΟΤ

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

Howgego p. 8-9 and Plate. 3, 1

Medium denomination, 8.75g.

46. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, AVC̄VST· - TR·ΠΟΤ

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of ten bunches of leaves.

BMC 130

47. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, AVC̄VST· - TR·ΠΟΤ

Reverses: CA in circle within laurel wreath of ten bunches of leaves.

Howgego, Plate 4, 9 places this coin with another group, here group 2. The style, however, is much closer to the above coins and the obverse portrait is undoubtedly laureate, which immediately sets it apart from group 2. This coin would seem to present firm evidence of Antioch's participation in the striking of CA coins.

Dated coinage, Actian years 25 to 30, under P. Quinctilius P. f. Varus and successor, *Ignotus*.
Varus' role as a financial expert has been discussed by Howgego, *NC* 1982, pp. 7-8, where the SC coinage is seen as a creation of Varus, along with a series of silver tetradrachms. However, the SC coinage may have begun in Actian year 27, the year in which Varus left Syria. His successor to the post of *legatus* is not known, but whoever it was, he may have been the official under whom the SC coinage began, rather than Varus.

Large denomination, 16.89g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙ

Reverses: ΑΡΧΙΕ / ΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ / ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΣ / date in Actian years; in four lines within crown of an *archiereus*.

On the reverse type, see *BMC* 167. Also Eckhel, *DNV* iii, p. 274; MacDonald, *NC* 1904 pp. 107-9; Grant, *RAI*, p. 20 n. 1.

Medium denomination, 9.04g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙ

Reverses: ΑΡΧΙΕ / ΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ / ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΣ / date in Actian years, in four lines within crown of an *archiereus*.

Vaillant p. 252

Small denomination 1, 6.88g.

Obverses: Laureate head of Zeus right. No legend.

Reverses: Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated right on rock, holding palm branch in right hand, river Orontes swimming right at feet. In field right, date in Actian years. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΕΠΙΟΥΑΡΟΥ.

MacDonald, *NC* 1904 pp. 106-7

See also no 54c below.

Small denomination 2, 4.84g.

Obverses: Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.

Reverses: Tripod, embossed with human faces. Either side of tripod, date E - K etc. To left, downwards in one line, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ; to right, downwards in two lines, ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ / ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ. All within laurel wreath.

BMC 37

This type, and the following, are normally considered coins of the Caesarean era (Vaillant p. 252, *BMC* 37-9) Although they bear no specific reference to the Actian era, and carry the title *Autonomous*, unlike other Actian era coins, they are here regarded as coins of this series. Their style is quite different from surviving specimens of the Caesarean era of similar date, and whilst coins of the same dates of the Caesarean era are uncertain, the known dates for these coins coincide exactly with coins of the small denomination 1 in the Actian era series. The use of the term '*autonomou*' need not be a deterrent to placing these pieces in this series, *contra* Newell, *NC* 4 XIX, 1919, p. 113.

Small denomination 3, 2.54g.

Obverses: Veiled turreted draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.

Reverses: Tyche standing left, holding cornucopiae in left hand and rudder in right hand. Either side in lower field, date, E - K etc. To right, downwards, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ, to left, downwards, ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ. All within wreath.

Chalcous, 1.46g.

Obverses: Anchor. Horizontally, across field, ΕΤ - ϚΚ

Reverses: Χ Α Λ Κ Ο Υ Σ clockwise around central pellet.

Hunter, Uncertain of Syria, 9

This issue, with a value inscribed on it, may correspond to the small denomination 3 above, although too few specimens are known to be certain of whether the lack of the small denomination 3 for this year means that the chalcous should fill the gap and be regarded as a coin of that denomination. The weights of the known specimens of the chalcous seem to be lower than the known specimens of the small denomination 3. These chalcoi have had a long history of misattribution. F.W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, London, 1881, p. 146 ascribed them to Agrippa I of Judaea, and in more recent times Meshorer has catalogued them under Agrippa II (Mint of Sepphoris; *Ancient Jewish Coinage, Vol II: Herod the Great through Bar Cochba*, New York, 1982, p. 279, no. 10). There is, as Macdonald pointed out in the Hunter catalogue (no. 9, p. 224), nothing specifically Jewish about them, and they are quite unlike other coins of Agrippa I. The use of the date in this manner is quite acceptable as an Actian date, and they are here included as part of this series (a similarly inscribed chalcous occurs under Nero, see below). The anchor, as a specifically Seleucid motif, does not otherwise occur on Antiochene coins of the imperial period, but Antioch's obvious connection with the Seleucids does not rule out the possibility of its use there in the Roman period.

	a) <u>Large denom.</u>	b) <u>medium</u>	c) <u>small 1</u>	d) <u>small 2</u>	e) <u>small 3</u>	f) <u>chalcous</u>	<u>Tetradrachms</u>
48. EK	-	-	BMC 57	BMC 37	Paris 81	-	-
49. ϚΚ	-	-	BMC 58	Hague 7537	-	Hunter 9	BMC 131
50. ZK	BMC 133	BMC 135	BMC 59	BMC 38	Hunter 44	-	BMC 132
51. HK	BMC 138	Paris 106	-	-	-	-	BMC 137
52. ΘΚ	BMC 141	BMC 143	-	-	-	-	BMC 140
53. Λ	BMC 145	-	-	-	-	-	BMC 144

For the tetradrachms, see section on silver coinage. It was under Varus, in year 26, that the first emission of silver tetradrachms occurred. Note the apparent separation between the bronzes struck under Varus, Actian years 25-7, all of small denominations, and the later large denominations, years 27-30. If we are to attach the issues to the initiative of the Syrian legates, then it seems likely that Varus' successor, *Ignotus*, who took up office in Actian year 27 (5/4 BC), should be credited with the creation of the archieratic series, as suggested by MacDonald, *NC* 1904, p. 109. The stylistic differences between the tetradrachms of year 26 and the later ones, when compared with the SC bronzes, suggests that the SC bronzes are also contemporary with the archieratic bronzes and the tetradrachms of year 27 onwards, and are not earlier. The evidence for Varus creating the Group 2 SC coinage is, in my opinion, somewhat slim, and it seems more likely that Varus' successor initiated the SC coins in this group.

Mionnet, V, p. 158, no. 95, gives a specimen of the archieratic coinage dated year 31. If such a coin does exist it simply strengthens the connection between the issue of archieratic bronzes and tetradrachms, which were also struck in year 31 (see MacDonald, *NC* 1904 p. 108).

2) Later coinage

Coins dated Actian year 35, under L. Volusius Q. f. Saturninus.

Large denomination, 16.35g.

54.a **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, monogram Α beneath bust. Bust truncation as illustration. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, Ι Μ Ρ Α Β Ο Υ Σ Τ · - Τ Ρ · Ρ Ο Τ

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

BMC 126; Howgego p. 9; very similar style to teradrachms dated Actian year 36.

On the interpretation of Α as a date, see Bellinger, *Dura V*, p. 147, *contra* Grant *FITA*, p. 100

Medium denomination, 9.53g.

- 54.b **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Bust truncation as illustration. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΑΥΣΥΣΤ· - ΤΡ·ΡΟΤ
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.
Paris CB 1474

Small denomination 1, 7.31g.

- 54.c **Obverses:** Laureate head of Zeus right. No legend.
Reverses: Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated right on rock, holding palm branch in right hand, river Orontes swimming right at feet. In field right, ΕΛ. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΟΡΝΙΝΟΥ / ΟΥΟ ΛΟ
BMC 60; MacDonald NC 1904 p. 109

Small denomination 2, 5.33g.

- 54.d **Obverses:** Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.
Reverses: Tripod, embossed with human faces. Either side of tripod, date Ε-Λ. To left, downwards in two lines, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ / ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ to right, downwards, in one line, ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ. All within laurel wreath.
SNG (Cop.) 94

Coins dated Actian year 42-44, under Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus

MacDonald *NC 1904*, p. 110-111 dated the first type listed below to Actian year 36, under P. Sulpicius P. f. Quirinius, on account of the appearance of the same monogram on tetradrachms of that date. The monogram is, however, found on later tetradrachms of Antioch as well, so the argument for placing it earlier than the other dated issues of year 42, listed below, is not a strong one, and I have regarded it as being part of the same group.

Small denomination 1, 7.15g.

- Obverses:** Laureate head of Zeus right. No legend.
Reverses: Ram running right, looking back, above, star. Around, clockwise from twelve o'clock, variously arranged, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ Beneath ram, monogram ΧΤ or date BM.
MacDonald, *NC 1904*, p. 110-12
See also nos. 57 - 58 below. The meaning of the monogram is not certain, perhaps reading ΑΥΤ(ΟΝΟΜΟΥ) or ΑΝΤ(ΙΟ)Χ(ΕΩΝ). It also occurs on the tetradrachm coinage.

Small denomination 2, 4.73 g.

- Obverses:** Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.
Reverses: Tripod, embossed with human faces. Either side of tripod, date Β-Μ. Downwards, in field, either side, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ/ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ / ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ.
All within laurel wreath.
Seyrig (Sami Hadad)

Small denomination 3, 2.81g.

- Obverses:** Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.
Reverses: Three ears of corn. Either side at bottom of stalks, Β-Μ. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ.

	a) small denom	b) small denom 2	c)small denom 3
55. Monogram	<i>BMC 68</i>	-	-
56. BM	<i>BMC 62</i>	Seyrig (Sami Hadad)	Hunter 65

Small denomination 1, 7.15g.

Obverses: Laureate head of Zeus right. No legend.

Reverses: Ram running right, looking back, above, star. Around, clockwise from five o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΕ ΠΙΣΙΛΑΝΟΥ. Beneath ram, date.
MacDonald, *NC* 1904 pp. 113-117

57. Γ Μ *BMC* 63
58. Δ Μ *BMC* 65

Group 3

Coinage attributed to Antioch

These coins, apparently of a single denomination only, appear to be the commonest surviving SC coins of Augustus in the Antioch region. Some specimens appear to show stylistic traits of Group 2 (compare Plate 3, no. 54.a, with no. 59.i). They probably represent the last issues of the mint at Antioch under Augustus, and are more frequently countermarked than other coins of Augustus.

Large denomination, 14.52g.

59. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock,

Reverses: SC in circle within wreath of eight bunches of leaves, as illustration.

i) no dot. Paris 135

ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC. Paris 136

iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC. Berlin (v. Germann)

iv) dot at six o'clock below SC. *BMC* 129

v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC. Antakya 20690

Howgego p. 9, pl. 3, 5

Group 4

Coinage of uncertain attribution

Amandry has pointed out a similarity between a unique coin in Paris with SC and the very rare ΛΤ coins which may belong to Syria (Howgego, p. 16-18). Grant suggested Sidon as a mint for the ΛΤ coins (Howgego, p. 17). One of these coins was, however, countermarked with an Antiochene countermark of Otho (Howgego p. 18, Hunter 297). The meaning of ΛΤ is not clear; it is unlikely that it represents a date. Their metrology suggests that they are contemporary with the reign of Augustus, and are not a posthumous issue, even though the specimen countermarked by Otho had not circulated a great deal.

Medium denomination, 9.49g.

60. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΑΥΓΥΣΤ·-ΤΡΡΟΤ.

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

Paris 133

61. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΑΥΓΥΣΤ·-ΤΡΡΟΤ.

Reverses: CA, ΛΤ above, in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

Howgego pp. 16-18, no. 7, and Plate 6, nos. 1-22

Imitations (?)

Various crude styles of SC coinage, usually of the medium denomination. The coins discussed by Howgego (p. 15 and pl. 5, 4-5; a specimen illustrated here, plate 3, A) seem to imitate coins of Group 1. Other examples imitate Group 2.

For other groups of coins of Augustus present at Antioch, see section on site finds and appendix of coins in the Antakya Museum.

As Howgego has noted, the issue and circulation of CA coins in Syria would make a nonsense of the interpretation of CA as *Comune Asiae*. This is perhaps not the place to discuss interpretations of the letters CA, but its appearance as some sort of counterpart to the letters SC means that a reference to some form of authority comparable to a *senatus consultum* cannot be ruled out. It is not yet known whether the SC and CA coins are of different metals. The SC coins are certainly of bronze. CA coins from mints in Asia seem also to have been made of orichalcum, but none of the CA issues associated with Antioch have yet been analysed.

The Augustan SC coins were probably struck at more than one mint, in Syria and Cyprus. Howgego suggests that the initiative to strike these new coins was taken by Varus during his office as governor of Syria, 6-4 BC, but if they were struck in Cyprus as well, the initiative may have come from above Varus, perhaps from the emperor himself. Furthermore the exact date of the earliest Group 2 SC bronzes, which can be firmly attributed to Antioch, cannot be gauged with any certainty and it does not necessarily coincide with Varus' term of office there. The only comparison can be drawn from portraits on the dated tetradrachms and bronzes. The dated bronzes do not begin until Actian year 27, possibly after Varus' term of office. The tetradrachms begin in 26, but the portraits on these are not as similar to the SC bronzes as coins of 27-30. A date for the introduction of the Group 2 SC bronzes later than the governorship of Varus could therefore be construed. A series of small bronzes is certainly contemporary with Varus, and the tetradrachm series began under him, but no other Antiochene coins can be securely dated to his term of office. It seems quite possible that Varus' unknown successor initiated the larger archieratic and SC denominations. This bronze coinage seems to have come to a halt at about the time that Gaius Caesar was given *imperium* in the east, and no Antiochene coinage was struck for certain until Volusius Saturninus became *legatus* in AD 4.

In the sample of coins from Antakya the number of coins of Augustus was very small, too small to provide any useful data about output. The archieratic coins were very poorly represented. Of the undated coins only the Group 1 AVGVSTVS and Group 3 coins are at all significant in numbers. There seems to have been a relatively large output of Zeus / seated city goddess at the beginning of the issue, and for the last two years of the Zeus / ram issue.

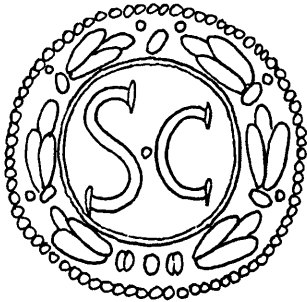
If the coins of Groups 1-3 were struck at Antioch, then countermarks and frequency may provide a clue as to their chronological order. Group 3 are among the commonest of the three groups; these are most frequently countermarked with later (Antiochene) countermarks, and it would seem likely that they belong to the later part of Augustus' reign. Group 2 can be securely dated to c.4-1 BC; by comparison with tetradrachms which run later we can see how this style continued at Antioch. Group 1 may be the earliest of the three groups, assuming that it was produced at Antioch. It is the least consistent in types, with a variety of denominations and a higher proportion of CA coins than Group 2, perhaps indicative of a mint which had not yet organised itself properly. Perhaps this is the SC coinage of Quinctilius Varus.

alternative terminal >⋈<



other letter forms described in catalogue

Tiberius. Civic bronze in the name of Silanus.



Obverse busts. Laurel wreath usually contains pellets between bunches of leaves.

SC bronzes. The civic coins struck in the name of Flaccus have similar obverse/reverse elements. Wreaths usually contain six bunches of leaves. The shape of the wreath ties and leaves varies; sometimes the circle inside the wreath consists of dots rather than a continuous line.

On some specimens wreath terminates in star >⋈<



Obverse bust type on early issues.



Obverse bust type on later issues.

Claudius. Reverse type for SC bronzes remains virtually unchanged until Vespasian's issues. Circle within laurel wreath sometimes barely visible, but always present.

Fig. 4: Distinctive characteristics of SC and related bronzes of Tiberius and Claudius.

Tiberius

Tiberius' coinage can be much more closely dated than that of Augustus. The only coins which cannot with certainty be attributed to Antioch are the so-called Commagene dupondii. Their fabric is slightly different from the SC bronzes, but the latter were struck ten years later, and many are countermarked with stamps that are otherwise exclusive to Antiochene coinage and some of which were likely to have been applied at Antioch.

Group 1

Coinage attributed to Antioch

Early issue, dated year one of Tiberius and 45 of Actium, August - November AD 14

Large denomination, 15.15g.

62. **Obverses:** Bare headed bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

Reverses: Α/ΕΠΙΣΙ/ΛΑΝΟΥ/ΑΝΤΙΟ/ΧΕΩΝ/ΕΜ in six lines, in circle within laurel wreath, as illustrated. Letter form Ϟ also encountered.

Vaillant p. 282

Medium denomination, 8.88g.

63. **Obverses:** Bare headed bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ϞΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ϞΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

Reverses: Α/ΕΠΙΣΙ/ΛΑΝΟΥ/ΑΝΤΙΟ/ΧΕΩΝ/ΕΜ in six lines, in circle within laurel wreath, as illustrated.

There was a similar issue at Seleucia Pieria two years later (no. 38). Note the different letter forms used on the different denominations. One specimen of the medium denomination, Paris 147, lacks the date A on the reverse.

Later issues, TRP XXXIII (AD 31/2) and Caesarean year 82 (AD 33/4)

Large denomination, 15.09g.

64. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, variously arranged, ΤΙ·ΚΑΕΣΑΡ· ΑΥΓ·ΤΡ· ΡΟΤ· ΧΧΧΙΙΙ.

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of six bunches of leaves, as illustration.

i) no dot *BMC* 155

ii) dot in field at twelve o'clock above SC *BM G* 0918

iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC no coin

iv) dot in field at six o'clock below SC *BMC* 154

v) dot in field at nine o'clock to left of SC *BM* 1937

Medium denomination, 7.93g.

65. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΤΙ·CΑΕΣΑΡ·ΑΥΓ·ΤΡ·ΡΟΤ·ΧΧΧΙΙΙ.
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of six bunches of leaves, as illustration.
i) no dot *BMC* 158
ii) dot in field at twelve o'clock above SC Berlin (Löbbecke)
iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC no coin
iv) dot in field at six o'clock below SC Berlin (Löbbecke)
v) dot in field at nine o'clock to left of SC *BMC* 160

Grant, *RAI*, p. 64, considers this issue 'to have emanated from more than one mint, and to have been struck in very large quantities'. This is an unnecessary complication of the matter. There appear to be two styles, which are more likely to divide issues or officinae than mints. Both denominations are known for both styles. One is characterised by a broad, large portrait head in low relief on the obverse, with the circle which surrounds the SC on the reverse forming a continuous line (Plate 4, nos. 64 and 65). The other has a smaller obverse portrait head and the SC on the reverse is surrounded by a circle formed of dots (Plate 4, no. 64*bis*). They are not distinguished here as separate groups and die studies may well show that the two do not separate out into well defined issues, and Grant's evidence that they occur 'in different parts of the Levant' would hold well for any major issue of SC coinage. He attributes their issue to a half-centenary celebrating Tiberius' success in the East in 20 BC.

Large denomination, 13.92g., under L. Pomponius Flaccus

66. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.
Reverses: ΕΠΙ / ΦΛΑΚΚΟΥ / ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ / ΑΝΝΒΓ in four lines in circle within laurel wreath of six bunches of leaves, as illustration.
Vaillant p. 253; *BMC* 161

Medium denomination, 7.62g.

67. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.
Reverses: ΕΠΙ / ΦΛΑΚΚΟΥ / ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ / ΑΝΝΒΓ in four lines in circle within laurel wreath of six or eight bunches of leaves, as illustration.
BMC 162

Group 2

Coinage of uncertain attribution, AD 20-21

These coins, the so-called 'Commagene' dupondii, are generally attributed to that district (Cohen 8, *BMC* p. cxli, *RIC* p. 89, 100) on the basis of their type, a caduceus between a pair of crossed cornucopiae, though this is by no means a type peculiar to Commagene (and, indeed, only appears as a type on coins of Commagenian coinage which appear to imitate similar issues from the mint at Rome - see below, under 'Coinage Probably Produced at Rome for Circulation in Syria'). The case for Commagene is further weakened by the reverse type of the *as*, which has no connection with Commagenian types at all. Why should Commagene have such an important coinage, with a wider circulation than any other Commagenian issue? Grant, *RAI*, p. 57-8, argued against the attribution of the entire issue to Commagene, but complicated matters by suggesting that they came from more than one mint. These coins were hoarded with SC Bronzes of Antioch (G. Brunk, *ANSMN* 25, 1980, pp. 63-76), and were countermarked with stamps otherwise found only on coins of Antioch. The date of the coinage has been questioned; are the imperial acclamations correct (H. Gesche, *Chiron* 2 (1972), pp. 339-48; P. A. Brunt, *ZPE* (1974), p. 177)?

Large denomination, 14.19g. Edges of flans bevelled.




68. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, TI·CAESAR·DIVI·AVCVSTI·F·AVCVSTVS.
Reverses: Caduceus between crossed cornucopiae. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, PONT·MAXIM·COS III·IMP VII TR·POT XX I.
69. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, TI·CAESAR·DIVI·AVCVSTI·F·AVCVSTVS.
Reverses: Caduceus between crossed cornucopiae. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, PONT·MAXIM·COS III·IMP VII TR·POT XX II.

Medium denomination, 8.35g.

70. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, TI·CAESAR·DIVI·AVCVSTI·F·AVCVSTVS.
Reverses: Caduceus, either side of which, two corn ears, all bound together at base. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, PONT·MAXIM·COS III·IMP VII TR·POT XX II.
RN 1911, p. 429, no. 17 (weight incorrect); *RAI* pl. 1, 9; *BNC* 171; *RPC* 3870

Countermarks

The following countermarks appear to be exclusive to the SC coinage and the 'Commagene dupondii'. Few of the types have particularly Antiochene associations, but since they were applied to the Syrian coinage they are best included here. Howgego, *GIC* p. 126 suggests that some of them (here nos. 71-75) may have been applied under Gaius, but they appear to be absent from the Tiberian SC coinage as well, and may belong to the reign of Tiberius. Nos. 76-77 may not be Antiochene; note remarks by Howgego, *GIC* p. 134. Although no. 78 appears to parallel a similar countermark on coins of Trajan (see below, in section 'Coinage Probably Produced at Rome for Circulation in Syria'), the only identifiable pieces are SC coins of the reign of Augustus. It is therefore probably not much later than the reign of Tiberius. No. 79's altar is redolent of later Antiochene small denominations. Some countermarks seem to appear only on the Commagene dupondii; others may be exclusive to SC bronzes.

71. Laureate (?) head right in irregular shaped incuse. *GIC* 111.i; on Augustus SC and Commagene dupondii. Howgego suggests that the head on this countermark, and nos. 72 and 74-5, might be Gaius, but if so, it is strange that none have been found on the prolific SC coinage of Tiberius, struck towards the end of his reign.
72. Bare head right in irregular shaped incuse. *GIC* 111.ii; on Commagene dupondii.
73. Bare (?) head left in circular incuse. *GIC* 152; on Commagene dupondii.
74. Laureate (?) head right in circular incuse. *GIC* 111.iii; on Augustus SC and Commagene dupondii.
75. Laureate bust right in circular incuse. *GIC* 111.iv; on Commagene dupondii.
76. Bearded head right in circular incuse. *GIC* 112; on Augustus SC and Commagene dupondii.
77. Bearded head left in circular incuse. *GIC* 151; on uncertain SC bronzes and Commagene dupondii. Perhaps 76-77 are countermarks of Edessa.
78. Bucranium in circular incuse. *GIC* 295; on Augustus SC and uncertain SC.
79. Lighted altar with legs, two dots below, all within circular incuse. *GIC* 367; on Commagene dupondii.
80. Eagle's head (?) right in oval incuse. *GIC* 501.1; on a Commagene dupondius.
81. Cornucopiae in cornucopiae-shaped incuse. *GIC* 401; on Augustus SC and Tiberian dupondii.
82. Swastika in square incuse. *GIC* 468; on Augustus and Tiberius SC.
83.  in oval incuse. *GIC* 500; on Commagene dupondii.
84. Head (?) right, caduceus before, all within oval incuse. *GIC* 501; on a Commagene dupondius.
85.  in square incuse. *GIC* 506; on Tiberius SC.
86.  in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 549; on uncertain, and Commagene dupondius.
- 86a. HK in rectangular incuse. Private collection, USA; on Tiberius SC.
- Note also *GIC* 76, Male (?) head right in oval incuse, found on an AVGVSTVS as.

Gaius

No bronze coinage was issued for Gaius at Antioch, but SC coins of Augustus and Tiberius were countermarked for every year of his reign except the first. The countermarks occur on SC bronzes of Augustus and Tiberius and Commagene dupondii.

Year 2, October AD 37- October AD 38

87. $\begin{matrix} \Gamma^A \\ \text{B} \end{matrix}$ in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 521

Year 3, October AD 38- October AD 39

88. $\begin{matrix} \Gamma^A \\ \Gamma \end{matrix}$ in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 522

Year 4, October AD 39- October AD 40

89. $\begin{matrix} \Gamma^A \\ \Delta \end{matrix}$ in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 523

Year 5, October AD 40- January AD 41

90. $\begin{matrix} \Gamma^A \\ \text{C} \end{matrix}$ in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 524

Claudius

There were two main issues of coinage under Claudius, both connected with issues in the names of legates, dated Year 90 and 96 of the Caesarean era (AD 41/2 and 47/8). Eckhel, *d.n.v.* iii, p. 280 gives a coin of Cassius dated 94 with the obverse legend IMP TI CLAVDIVS AVG! The second issue under Cassius, although large, was probably not struck over a very long period; at least one specimen (HS 1972/1341-21) was countermarked with a stamp of his own regnal year 12. Even coins issued in the name of legates with Greek reverse legends have Latin obverse legends; dies may have been shared, as on later issues (see under Galba).

Early issues, under P. Petronius P. f.

Large denomination, 14.83g.

91. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, as illustration. Around, clockwise, from one o'clock, IMP·TI·CLAVD·CAE - AVG·GER·
Reverses: ΕΠΙ/ΠΕΤΡΩ/ΝΙΟΥΑΝΤ/ΙΟΧΕΩΝ/Υ in five lines in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves. Border of dots.
Vaillant p. 253
92. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, as illustration. Around, clockwise, from one o'clock, IMP·TI·CLAVD·CAE - AVG·GER·
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, as illustration.
i) no dot Paris 161
ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC no coin
iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC Berlin (Fox)
iv) dot at six o'clock below SC Lanz München Auction 44, lot 496
v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC ANS (N)

Intermediate issue (?), possibly contemporary imitations

These coins, of which several specimens are known, are of a divergent style and bear both the earlier and later obverse legends.

Large denomination, 11.78g.

93. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IMP·TI·CLAVD·CAE - AVG·GER·
Reverses: SC, dot above and below, within circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.
Berlin (Morel)

Medium denomination, 6.98g

94. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IMP·TI·CLAVD·CAE - AVG·GER·
Reverses: SC, dot above and below, within circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.
Israel Museum 11188

Large denomination, 16.29g

95. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IM·TI·CLAVD·CAE·A [].
Reverses: SC, dot above and below, within circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.
Berlin (Fox)

Later issues, under C. Cassius C. f. Longinus

Large denomination, 14.36g.

96. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, as illustration. Around, clockwise, from one o'clock, IM·TI·CLA·CAE - AV·GER·
Reverses: ΕΠΙ / ΚΑΣΣΙ / ΟΥ / ΑΝΤΙΟΧ / ΕΩΝ ΕΤ / ϙ in six lines in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves. Border of dots.
Vaillant p. 253
97. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, as illustration. Around, clockwise, from one o'clock, IM·TI·CLA·CAE - AV·GER·
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, as illustration.
i) no dot Paris 165
ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC BMC 167
iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC Berlin (Löbbecke)
iv) dot at six o'clock below SC BMC 166
v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC Berlin 1907

Medium denomination, 7.29g.

98. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, as illustration. Around, clockwise, from one o'clock, IM·TI·CLA·CAE - AV·GER·
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.
i) no dot Paris Berlin (Löbbecke)
ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC ANS (N)
iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC no coin
iv) dot at six o'clock below SC Paris 172
v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC no coin

Later issue, with reverse wreath terminating in star

The following coins are only distinguishable from the preceding pieces, nos. 91-92, by the use of a star at the terminus of the laurel wreath on the reverse.

Large denomination, 14.64g.

99. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise, from one o'clock, IM·TI·CLA·CAE - AV·GER·
Reverses: SC within circle in laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in star of eight rays.
i) no dot Berlin (Löbbecke)
ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC ANS (1938)
iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC no coin
iv) dot at six o'clock below SC Berlin 1895
v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC ANS (G)

Medium denomination, 7.02g.

100. Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise, from one o'clock,

IM·TI·CLA·CAE - AV·GER·

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in star.

i) no dot no coin

ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC Spink stock, 1990

iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC no coin

iv) dot at six o'clock below SC Berlin (v. Rauch)

v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC no coin

Issues of uncertain date

Large denomination

These coins are normally dated to the reign of Claudius. Their fabric is otherwise only found on SC coins from the reign of Claudius, and is unlike those of Tiberius or Nero. It is unclear whether they belong to the earlier or later issue. Downey (p. 197) followed Grant (*RAI*, pp. 75-6) and suggested that the coins of Germanicus were issued to coincide with the 25th anniversary of Germanicus' death in AD 44, but this seems fanciful. It is just possible, given the nature of Gaius' coinages elsewhere, that this issue was struck under Gaius, not Claudius. This is the first portrait other than that of an emperor to appear on Antiochene coinage.

101. Obverses: Laureate bare bust of Germanicus right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,

[]GERMANICVSCAESAR.

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves. Border of dots.

BM 1970 12-8-1

Large denomination, 14.4g.

Unlike the other issues of Claudius, these coins have bevelled flans. The use of the lituus placed before the portrait on the obverse anticipates the issues of Nero.

102. Obverses: Laureate bare bust right, lituus before neck. Around, clockwise from one o'clock,

IMP·TI·CLAVD·CA - AVCC·ER·

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

i) no dot Berlin (v. Rauch)

ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC no coin

iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC no coin

iv) dot at six o'clock below SC Paris 171

v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC no coin

Countermarks

Year 11, October AD 50 - October AD 51






103. $\begin{matrix} \text{K}^\wedge \\ \text{I}^\wedge \\ \text{A} \end{matrix}$ in oval incuse. *GIC* 546; on Tiberius SC.

Year 12, October AD 51- October AD 52

104. $\begin{matrix} \text{K}^\wedge \\ \text{I}^\wedge \\ \text{B} \end{matrix}$ in circular incuse. *GIC* 547; on Tiberius, under Silanus.

Undated

105. Snake facing right, behind which, club (?). All within rectangular incuse. *GIC* 352; although found on a single coin, this may be an Antiochene countermark of Nero. A similar snake occurs before Nero's neck on his coinage; see below.

106. Star of six or eight rays in circular incuse. *GIC* 454; Howgego records two examples, both on Claudian SC bronzes. They may bear some relationship to the above issue of SC coinage with the star on the reverse.
107. Bird (dove?) standing right on branch, within rectangular incuse. *GIC* 352; on Tiberius and Claudius SC bronzes, and Commagene dupondii.
108.  in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 606; on SC coin of Claudius or Nero.
109.  in circular incuse. *GIC* 607; on SC coins of Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius.
110.  in oval incuse. *GIC* 675; on SC coins of Tiberius and Claudius.
111.  or  in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 718; on SC coins of Augustus and Claudius.

Output for Claudius appears to have been much greater than any reign until Trajan. Unfortunately the poor state of most of the coins examined in the Antakya Museum and in Princeton made it impossible to distinguish between the 'Petronius' SC coinage and the 'Cassius' issue, but the 'Cassius' issue of SC bronzes appears to have been the greater. Bellinger, *Dura*, p. 203 suggests that the high incidence of coins of Claudius at Dura may have been due to 'the expedition of the governor of Syria in 49 AD which brought the Parthian pretender Meherdates as far as Zeugma on his ill-fated expedition to gain the throne'. The evidence from the vicinity of Antioch shows, however, that this high number of Claudian coins is a much more widespread phenomenon, and is probably a reflection of the high number originally produced.

Nero

Nero's coinage at Antioch is equally as complex as that of Augustus, but has received considerably less attention, standing as it does in a well-established series of Antiochene coinages. The historical background to the issues is discussed in the chapter on production. SC bronzes predominate among the larger denominations, with only a few rare pieces in the names of legates. Several issues of small civic coins were struck. The pattern of types and denominations for the civic coins established under Nero continued up to the last issues of this coinage under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The groupings given here are almost certainly chronological.

Group 1

Characteristics: Flans not bevelled, as under Claudius. Young portraits of Nero.

Undated

Medium denomination, 7.74g.

This seems to be the earliest of the SC bronzes in the name of Nero. The portrait is virtually identical to that used for Claudius, and worn specimens are very difficult to distinguish from medium bronzes of Nero's predecessor. They are very like the dated bronzes of year 104 in the name of the legate Quadratus (nos. 115-6, below).

- 112. Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, *IM·NER·CLAV·*
- *CAESAR*. Sometimes ends CAESA; one specimen appears to end CA.
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.
i) no dot. ANS (N)

Large denomination, 15.05g.

These coins have a slightly later portrait than the previous ones, comparable to Nero's silver coins dated year 105.

- 113. Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, *IM·NER·CLAV·*
CAE·AVG·GER·, variously divided.
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.
i) no dot. Berlin
ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC. ANS (N)
iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC. No coin
iv) dot at six o'clock below SC. NF Auction, Nov. 82, lot 196
v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC. No coin
Waagé 347

Medium denomination, 7.63g.

It is not clear whether these coins were intended to be part of the same issue as the previous, but apart from the snake before the bust of Nero, they are stylistically very similar.

- 114. Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, coiled snake before neck. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, *IM·NER·CLAV·* - *CAESAR*
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

- i) no dot. Paris 236
 - ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC. Oxford
 - iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC. No coin
 - iv) dot at six o'clock below SC. NF Auction, Oct. 89, lot 443
 - v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC. No coin.
- Waagé 351

Dated Caesarean year 104 (AD 55/6)

Large denomination, 16.63g.

115. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IM·N[].
Reverses: ΕΠΙΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΟΥΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΔΡ in five lines in circle within laurel wreath.
 ANS (N)

Medium denomination, 7.84g.

116. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IM·NER·CLAV·
 - CAESAR·
Reverses: ΕΠΙΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΟΥΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΔΡ in five lines in circle within laurel wreath.
 BMC 186

Small denomination 1, 5.82g.

Obverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. Around, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ.

117. **Reverses: 1)** Ram running right, head turned. Above, star. Below, ΔΡ. Around, ΕΠΙΚΟΥΑ
 ΔΡΑΤΟΥ.
 Paris 177

118. **2)** As previous, but star and crescent above ram. ΕΤΔΡ.
 SNG (Cop.) 100

Weber 7960, Tyche/Altar for year 104, is in fact year 114 (no. 134 below).

Small denomination 2, 3.74g.

119. **Obverses:** Laureate bust of Apollo right. No legend.
Reverses: Laurel branch. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ·ΔΡ·.
 Two specimens in Berlin have *omega* form Ω.
 SNG (Cop.) 105
120. **Obverses:** Laureate bust of Apollo right. No legend.
Reverses: Tripod. In exergue, ΔΡ. To right, downwards, ΑΝΤΙΟ, to left, downwards,
 ΧΕΩΝ.
 Paris 182

Dated Caesarean year 105 (AD 56/7)

Small denomination 1, 5.51g.

121. **Obverses:** Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. Around, ANTIOXEON.
Reverses: Ram running right, head turned. Above, star and crescent. Below, date. Around, ΕΠΙΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΟΥ / ΕΤΕΡ.
SNG (Cop.) 101

Dated Caesarean year 106 (AD 57/8)

Small denomination 1, 5.61g.

122. **Obverses:** Veiled turreted draped bust of city goddess right. Around, ANTIOXEON.
Reverses: Ram running right, head turned. Above, star and crescent. Below, date. Around, ΕΠΙΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΟΥ / ΕΤΕΡ.
Paris 187

Group 2

The following coins, both dated and undated, all form a homogenous group and were probably issued around Caesarean year 108 (AD 59/60). It is difficult to be certain how large the original issue of SC bronzes originally was; the survival rate for these coins may be low.

Characteristics: Bevelled flans for large and medium denominations, young portraits of Nero with symbol before bust. Small denomination civic coins do not have bevelled flans.

Undated

i) With snake before bust

Large denomination, 12.32g.

123. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, snake before neck. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ·IM·NER·CLAV - CAESAR·
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.
i) no dot. ANS (N)
ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC. Berlin (Löbbecke)

Medium denomination, 7.64g.

124. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, snake before neck. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IM·NER·CLAV - CAESAR·
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.
i) no dot. ANS (AAR)

ii) With lituus before bust

Large denomination, 14.81g.

125. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, lituus before neck. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IM·NER·CLAV - CAESAR·

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

i) no dot. Paris 226

ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC. ANS (Ho)

iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC. No coin

iv) dot at six o'clock below SC. Paris 227

v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC. No coin

Waagé 348

Medium denomination, 7.74g.

126. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, lituus before neck. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IM·NER·CLAV - CAESAR·

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

i) no dot. ANS (N)

ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC. Berlin (Löbbecke)

Waagé 349

iii) With simpulum before bust

Large denomination, 15.12g.

127. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, simpulum before neck. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IM·NER·CLAV - CAESAR·

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

i) no dot. Weber 7966

Dated Caesarean year 108 (AD 59/60)

Small denomination 1, 5.85g.

128. **Obverses:** Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise, from one o'clock, ANTI·OXE·N·

Reverses: Garlanded altar. In exergue, ET·HP

i) no dot. Paris 194

ii) dot between legs of altar. Paris 193

Waagé 336

Small denomination 2, 3.71g.

129. **Obverses:** Laureate or diademed draped bust of Apollo right. No legend.

Reverses: Lyre (chelys). Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ANTI·OXE - ET·HP·

i) no dot. Paris 190

ii) dot above lyre Seymour de Ricci

iii) dot below lyre Seymour de Ricci (under Otho)

Waagé 337-8

Group 3

The coins of this group, consisting only of SC bronzes, are very rare indeed. It is difficult to date this particular group. They bear an older portrait of Nero, but like the last group of SC bronzes, there is a symbol before the bust.

Characteristics: Bevelled flans, older portrait of Nero.

Undated

Large denomination, 16.4g.

130. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, simpulum before neck. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, *IM·NER·CLAV - CAESAR·*
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.
i) no dot. Paris 231

Medium denomination, 5.49g.

131. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, simpulum before neck. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, *IM·NER·CLAV - CAESAR·*
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.
i) no dot. No coin
ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC. Fitzwilliam, general coll.
Possibly Waagé 352 refers to a coin of this type.

Group 4

This group is unusual in that no large denomination pieces are known. The civic coinage includes the famous denomination inscribed 'chalcous'.

Characteristics: Flans not bevelled, older portraits of Nero.

Undated

Medium denomination, 7.23g.

132. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, *IM·NER·CLAV - CAESAR·*
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath.
i) no dot. Paris 239
ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC. *SNG (Cop.)* 161
iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC. *ANS (N)*
iv) dot at six o'clock below SC. Paris 238
v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC. No coin
Waagé 353

Dated Caesarean year 114 (AD 65/6)

Amandry (*RPC*) and Waagé 340 recorded coins with the date AIP (111, AD 62/3). I am uncertain as to whether these are misreadings of ΔIP, and I have seen no specimens that clearly read AIP. I have therefore assigned all coins of this group to year 114, but it is possible that coins of year 111 do exist, perhaps forming a civic coinage for the SC issues of Group 3.

Medium denomination, 7.48g.

133. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IM·NER·CLAV
- CAESAR·

Reverses: ΕΠΙ ΚΕ ΣΤΙ ΟΥΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΔΙΡ in five lines in circle within laurel wreath.

BMC 201

Some of the coins, eg. Waagé 339, lack the date on the reverse. There can be no doubt that the dated and undated pieces belong to the same issue.

Small denomination 1, 5.69g.

134. **Obverses:** Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. Around, ANTIΟΧΕΩΝ.

Reverses: Garlanded altar. In exergue, ΕΤ· ΔΙΡ

i) no dot. Paris 213

ii) dot on exergual line, or just above it. ANS (N)

135. **Obverses:** Laureate head of Zeus right. Around, ANTIΟΧΕΩΝ.

Reverses: Garlanded altar. In exergue, ΕΤ· ΔΙΡ.

i) no dot. Paris 214

Small denomination 2, 3.62g.

Obverses: Laureate or diademed draped bust of Apollo right. No legend.

136. **Reverses:** 1) Lyre (chelys). Above, ΔΙΡ. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ANTIΟΧΕ ΕΤ.

i) no dot. *SNG (Cop.)* 109

ii) dot below lyre. Berlin (Imhoof)

Waagé 342

Paris 204 appears to read AIP but is probably ΔIP.

137. 2) Laurel branch. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ANTIΟΧ[]ΕΤ·ΔΙΡ·
Paris 216

Chalcous, 2.46g.

138. **Obverses:** Draped bust of Artemis (?) right.

Reverses: Bow and quiver. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ ΔΙΡ.

Paris 217

One specimen, ANS (N), has legend running anti-clockwise from five o'clock.

Group 5

The final group of bronzes for Nero at Antioch is extraordinary in that it reverts to a young portrait. It seems hard to believe that these coins, with their crude, young portraits of Nero, could have been produced a year after coins with a much older and finer portrait. The dies may be re-used from the issue of identical style some seven years earlier. The other coins of the coinage of year 115 are also of cruder style than the previous, and no tetradrachms were issued during this year. Perhaps the die engraver(s) of the previous year were simply not available to produce this issue, although it seems likely that tetradrachms of the following year were produced by the same hand(s) as those of year 114.

Characteristics: Bevelled flans for large and medium denominations, young portraits of Nero. Small denominations do not have bevelled flans.

Dated Caesarean year 115

Large denomination, 13.83g.

139. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, snake before neck. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, *IM·NER·CLAV - CAESAR·*

Reverses: *ΕΠΙΓΑΙΟΥΚΕΣΤΙΟΥΕΤΕΙΡ* variously arranged in five lines in circle within laurel wreath.
BMC 202

Medium denomination, 6.22g.

140. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, lituus before neck. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, *IM·NER·CLAV - CAESAR·*

Reverses: *ΕΠΙΓΑΙΟΥΚΕΣΤΙΟΥΕΤΕΙΡ* variously arranged in four lines within laurel wreath.
Paris 218

Small denomination 1, 5.48g.

141. **Obverses:** Laureate head of Zeus right. Around, *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΟΝ*.

Reverses: Female figure (the Boule of Antioch?), wearing chiton and peplos, dropping pebble into voting urn. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, *ΕΤΟ - ΕΙΡ*.

i) no dot. *Paris 221*

ii) dot in field. *Paris 220*

Waagé 343-4

Letter form *ε* sometimes *E*. A similar reverse type occurs at Aspendus in Pamphylia; *BMC 81*, and *SNG Von Aulock 4598*.

Small denomination 2, 3.8g.

Obverses: Laureate or diademed draped bust of Apollo right. No legend.

142. **Reverses:** 1) Lyre (chelys). Exact reading of legend uncertain: *ΕΙΡ*.
Antakya 18311

143. 2) Laurel branch. Around, clockwise, from one o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧ - ΕΤΕΙΡ
or ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ - ΩΝΕΙΡ.
i) no dot. Paris 222
ii) dot below laurel branch. ANS (N)
iii) dot in field to left of olive branch. Fitzwilliam, general coll.
Waagé 345-6

Countermarks

144. PRO in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 600; perhaps related to the western countermark PROB on coins of Claudius. See *GIC* p. 224, and R. Kenyon, 'The Countermark PROB on Coins of Claudius I from Britain', *NC* 1988, pp. 53-61.
145. NE in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 651; Howgego interprets it as NE[RO].

Galba and Otho

Antioch was one of the few provincial mints striking coins during the brief reigns of Galba and Otho. The coins of both emperors were probably struck in Caesarean year 117. Obverse dies of SC bronzes are shared with the civic coins in the name of the legate C. Licinius Mucianus.

Coins bearing Galba's portrait

The coinage of Galba appears to be much rarer than that of his successor Otho. The portraits closely resemble tetradrachms of Galba dated year two of his reign, October AD 68 - January AD 69.

Characteristics: Bevelled flans.

Large denomination, 14.05g.

146. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, *IM·SER·SVL·GALBA·CAE.*

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

i) no dot. Paris 251

ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC. ANS (N)

iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC. No coin

iv) dot at six o'clock below SC. Trade, U.S., 1989

v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC. No coin

The circle on the reverse may be indistinct on some specimens, but it is always present.

147. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, *IM·SER·SVL·GALBA·CAE.*

Reverses: variously arranged in five or six lines in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, *ΕΠΙΜΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥΑΝΤΙΟΥΧΕΩΝΕΤΖΙΡ.*

i) no dot. Paris 245

ii) dot at top of circle, above legend. ANS (N)

Medium denomination, 0.00g.

148. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, *IM·SER·SVL·GALBA·CAE.*

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

i) no dot.

Coins bearing Otho's portrait, January - April AD 69

The nature of the coinage of Otho has been obscured by numerous fakes, since the issues are highly desired amongst collectors as the only bronze coins of this emperor to bear Latin legends, and consequently have attracted the attentions of the forger more than any other coin from the mint of Antioch. Two coins of very similar style, one in the BM (*BMC* 207) and the other in Paris (261) have reverses identical to those of Domitian as Augustus. The flans are also the same as Domitian's coins, and unlike all other known examples of Otho's coins which have bevelled edges. The obverse legend, *IMP. OTHO CAES. AVG.*, is also otherwise unknown on other Antiochene coins of Otho. They are not obviously tooled, but I suspect that they are false. Another coin in Paris (Seymour de Ricci) has been tooled from a group 3 SC bronze of Augustus. Berlin 1245/1912, ironically, is tooled from a much rarer denomination of Nero (no. 113 above). However, there are a few pieces which appear to be contemporary imitations of Otho's coins (Plate 54, A). For the first

time on the SC coinage of Antioch, the obverse legends change direction and run anti-clockwise.

Coins with obverse legend running clockwise.

Characteristics: Bevelled flans. The portraits in this group more closely resemble Galba than those with anti-clockwise legends. On coins of this group Otho tends to have a hooked nose, and the wreath ties often float out behind the head as is generally the pattern for the coinage of Galba. Tetradrachms of Otho without a crescent on the reverse are in the same style.

Large denomination, 14.92g.

149. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IMP·M·OTHO CAE·AVG.

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

- i) no dot. Paris 268
- ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC. No coin
- iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC. No coin
- iv) dot at six o'clock below SC. Oxford
- v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC. ANS (N)

150. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IMP·M·OTHO CAE·AVG.

Reverses: ΕΠΙΜΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΕΤΖΙΡ in five lines in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

- i) no dot. Waddington 7260 (Paris 759)
- ii) dot in field above inscription. Berlin (Fox)

Medium denomination, 6.88g.

151. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IMP·M·OTHO CAE·AVG.

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

- i) no dot. Paris 271

152. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, IMP·M·OTHO CAE·AVG.

Reverses: ΕΠΙΜΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΕΤΖΙΡ variously arranged in five lines in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves. Dot in centre of flan.

- i) no dot. No coin
- ii) dot in field above inscription. Paris 260

Coins with obverse legend running anti-clockwise

Characteristics: Bevelled flans. In this group Otho's portraits tend to have straight noses, and the wreath ties likewise fall straight to the shoulder. Tetradrachms of Otho with a crescent on the reverse are in the same style.

Large denomination, 15.5g.

153. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, anti-clockwise from nine o'clock, IMP·M·OTHO CAE·AVG.

Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

- i) no dot. Paris 262
- ii) dot at twelve o'clock above SC. Paris 266
- iii) dot at three o'clock to right of SC. No coin
- iv) dot at six o'clock below SC. Fitzwilliam, general coll.
- v) dot at nine o'clock to left of SC. No coin

Medium denomination, 7.98g.

154. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, anti-clockwise from nine o'clock, IMP·M·
OTHO CAE·AVG.
Reverses: SC in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.
i) no dot. Oxford
ii) dot in field at twelve o'clock above SC. Paris 267

Countermarks

Two of the following countermarks have obvious associations with the civil wars following the death of Nero, with declarations for the Roman People and the ruling emperor.

155. ⚡ or ⚡ in circular incuse, = ? lighted torch. *GIC* 502; on SC coins of Tiberius and Galba. Perhaps much later than Galba. Howgego gives it a context on the Syrian *limes*, *GIC* p. 200.
156. CA in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 580; on an SC coin of Otho.
157. ΜΟΘΟ in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 593; on Augustus CA, Group 4, Claudius and Otho SC. Countermark at Tripolis (*GIC* 594).
158. PR in square or rectangular incuse, various sizes, some letters retrograde. *GIC* 599; on SC coins of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, civic legate issue of Nero, and Antiochus IV of Commagene. Perhaps related to similar countermarks on western imperial coinage. See *GIC*, p. 224.

Coins without an imperial portrait, under Galba and/or Otho, Caesarean year 117

Small denomination 1, 5.38g.

159. **Obverses:** Laureate head of Zeus right. Around, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ.
Reverses: Garlanded altar, many different forms. In exergue, ΕΤΖΙΡ.
i) no dot. Paris 247
ii) dot above exergue line. ANS (N)
iii) dot in field to right of altar. Berlin (v. Rauch)
160. **Obverses:** Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. Around, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ.
Reverses: Garlanded altar, many different forms. In exergue, ΕΤΖΙΡ.
Seymour de Ricci

Small denomination 2, 3.58g.

161. **Obverses:** Laureate draped bust of Apollo right. No legend.
Reverses: Laurel branch. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΕΤ - ΖΙΡ,
or ΙΖΡ
SNG (Cop.) 106
A coin in Paris of this denomination (rev. lyre) is in fact a coin of year 108, struck under Nero.

Vespasian

No coinage appears to have been struck at Antioch for Vitellius, which is hardly surprising, considering the turn of events which followed. Tetradrachms commenced in Vespasian's regnal year one, July - November AD 69, and were struck in considerable numbers down to year five, AD 72 - 73. In contrast the bronze coinage was not struck again until AD 72 at the earliest, and even this appears to have amounted to nothing more than a single issue struck from a few obverse dies. However, a bronze coinage seems to have been struck in Rome for issue at Antioch, which may account for the relative lack of locally produced bronze at this time. The Rome coinage is catalogued below, under the section 'Coinage Probably Produced at Rome for Circulation in Syria'.

The SC coinage from Vespasian's reign onwards (with two exceptions, under Marcus Aurelius and Elagabalus) lacks a circle within the laurel wreath, which was a feature of all previous coinage of this type.

Issue 1

Coinage dated by Vespasian's fourth consulship, AD 72-74.

Characteristics: Flans not bevelled. Style of portrait very close to contemporary 'eagle on altar' tetradrachms (see section on tetradrachms).

Large denomination, 15.15g.

162. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, IMPCAESVESAV - GPMCOS IIII.

Reverses: SC in laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, as illustration.

i) no dot. Paris 302

Issue 2

These coins would appear to be roughly contemporary with the tetradrachms of Cyprus which were probably struck at Antioch, and the obverse busts are often in a very similar style to the Cypriot tetradrachms. The coins were probably issued intermittently over a number of years, since one coin of Vespasian is dated to his fifth consulship (AD 74), and others bear the Caesarean date 125 (AD 76/7), but there are no apparent stylistic divisions between them. A coin of Titus in the name of the provincial legate Ulpius Traianus (*BMC* 239) shares an obverse die with an SC coin of Titus (Paris 308). The medium denomination coins in the name of Domitian are very numerous, more so than any of the other Antiochene coins of Vespasian's reign. If this were a reflection of output it is rather inexplicable. It might, however, be the result of coins of Vespasian and Titus being melted down under Domitian to produce his issue as emperor, whilst issues in his name as Caesar were left untouched. There seems to be no significance in left facing or right facing busts, which occur on both large and medium denominations.

Obverses: (*Vespasian*)

Laureate bare bust right. Paris 303

Laureate bare bust left. Paris 304

IMPCAESVESPAVGPMCOSV variously divided; IMPCAESARVESPASIANAVG.

(*Titus*)

Laureate bare bust right. *BMC* 235

TCAESARIMP P O N T variously divided, sometimes ending IMP PO.

(Domitian)

Laureate bare bust right. Antakya 18317

Laureate bare bust left. Berlin (Löbbecke)

DOMITIANVS CAESAR, sometimes retrograde.

Large denomination, 14.26g.

163. Reverses: 1) SC in wreath of eight leaves terminating in pellet.

	<u>a) Vespasian.</u>	<u>b) Titus</u>	<u>c) Domitian</u>
i) no dot	Paris 304	Paris 308	Paris 311
ii) dot at 12	Berlin (v. Rauch)	ANS (N)	Paris 310
iii) dot at 3	-	SBF	SBF
iv) dot at 6	-	-	-
v) dot at 9	Paris 303	Oxford	-

164. 2) ΕΠΙΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΒΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΡΝΕΤΕΚΡ variously divided in five lines in wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in pellet.

	<u>a) Vespasian</u>	<u>b) Titus</u>	<u>c) Domitian</u>
i) no dot	Lanz München Auction 22, 641	BMC 239	-

Medium denomination, 7.17g.

165. Reverses: 1) SC in wreath of eight leaves terminating in pellet.

	<u>a) Vespasian.</u>	<u>b) Titus</u>	<u>c) Domitian</u>
i) no dot	ANS (N)	Paris 313	Paris 312
ii) dot at 12	-	ANS (N)	ANS (N)
iii) dot at 3	-	Berlin	ANS (N)
iv) dot at 6	-	-	-
v) dot at 9	ANS (N)	-	ANS (N)

166. 2) ΕΠΙΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΒΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΡΝΕΤΕΚΡ in five lines in wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in pellet.

<u>a) Vespasian</u>	<u>b) Titus</u>	<u>d) Domitian</u>
-	Hunter 139	-

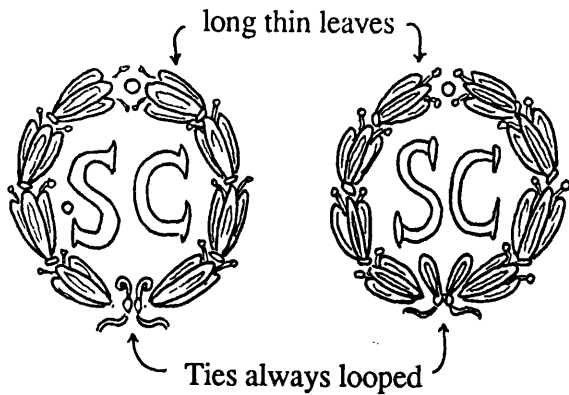
Small denomination 1, 5.34g.

Obverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. Around,

Reverses: Garlanded altar, date in exergue. Letter forms E and € encountered.

167. ET EKP BMC 95

168. ET €KP BMC 97



Obverse bust type for Domitian Caesar, facing left or right. Simple wreaths, with ties often trailing over shoulder.

Issues struck under Vespasian. Wreaths always consist of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in pellet. No circle within wreath.

leaves tend to be broader than for earlier issues



Obverse bust type for Domitian Augustus. Wreath ties simplified, pellets between bunches of leaves in wreath.

Ties simplified; no distinct loops

Issues struck in Domitian's reign. Wreaths consist of eight bunches of leaves, often terminating in small circle.

Fig. 5: Distinctive characteristics of Flavian SC bronzes. The main problem which arises when identifying Flavian SC bronzes is the differentiation between coins of Domitian Caesar, struck under Vespasian, and Domitian Augustus, struck in his own reign. On specimens where the obverse legend is completely preserved no confusion should arise. Other distinctive traits which divide the issues are illustrated here. Some coins of Domitian Augustus have numeral letters; these marks are not found on the issues of Domitian Caesar. All coins of Titus were struck under Vespasian.

Domitian

Detailed die studies may help to prove whether Domitian's SC coinage divides into more than one issue. The coins were probably all struck before Domitian adopted the title Germanicus in AD 83. Domitian's reign is marked by the first appearance of numeral letters on the Antiochene coinage, placed under the SC on the reverse of the coins. At this point the system of dots, placed at points in the reverse field, comes to an end; therefore it would seem likely that the numeral letters replaced the system of dots. Their purpose, however, is obscure (see Appendix 0).

Characteristics: Flans sometimes bevelled, sometimes not. Same obverse die may be used for a bevelled or non-bevelled flan.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. *BMC* 240

Laureate bare bust left. *BMC* 245

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, or one o'clock, IMPDOMITIANVSCAES

AVG variously divided.

Reverses: SC in wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in pellet or circle, sometimes with numeral letter beneath SC.

a) Large denomination, g.

b) Medium denomination, g.

No numeral letter

169. i) no dot	Paris 327	Oxford
ii) dot at 12	Oxford	-
iii) dot at 3	SBF	-
iv) dot at 6	<i>SNG (Cop.)</i> 178	-
v) dot at 9	ANS (Ho)	Berlin (Löbbecke)


With numeral letter

170. A	<i>BMC</i> 243	-
171. B	Paris 335	-
172. Γ	-	-
173. Δ	Paris 336	-
174. €	<i>BMC</i> 245	-
175. Ϝ	-	-
176. Z	Berlin (Löbbecke)	Fitzwilliam, general coll.
177. H	ANS (N)	-
178. Θ	Paris 333	-

Countermarks

179. Athena (Minerva) standing right with spear and shield, in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 245; This countermark was used extensively on the SC bronzes, and is discussed in the section on circulation. Its association with Domitian is obvious. It was probably applied at Antioch.

180. Figure standing left with spear or sceptre in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 280; on SC coins of Nero and Domitian. Not certain whether it is merely a variant of the previous countermark.

181.  in oval incuse. *GIC* 503; on SC coins of Nero and Domitian. Perhaps applied on the *limes*.

182. Cornucopiae containing two bunches of grapes, in circular incuse. *GIC* 402; on SC coins of Nero and Domitian.

Nerva

A group of SC bronzes of Nerva, dated by his third consulship (AD 97), are probably contemporary with an issue of small civic bronzes dated Caesarean year 145 (AD 96/7). The SC bronzes survive in large quantities. Some coins do not bear a numeral letter, but no dots have been noted among the specimens examined.

Characteristics: Flans sometimes bevelled, sometimes not.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, IMP CAESAR
NER - VA AVG III COS.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter below within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves,
terminating in circle.

	a) <u>Large denomination</u> , 13.75g.	b) <u>Medium denomination</u> , 7.2g.
183. No numeral letter	Paris 349	ANS (71.193.24)
184. A	Paris 350	Paris 351
185. B	Paris 352	Hunter 161
186. Γ	Paris 353	Oxford
187. Δ	Paris 354	Paris 355
188. €	Paris 356	Waagé 383
189. Ϟ	Paris 357	ANS (N)
190. Z	Paris 358	Paris 359
191. H	Paris 360	Antakya 18266
192. Θ	Paris 361	Paris 362
193. I	Paris 363	Paris 364
194. K	Paris 365	Paris 366

Stylistically the coins without a numeral letter are closer to the coins with the low numeral letters, and accordingly they have been placed at the beginning of the sequence.

Small denomination 2, 3.6g.

Obverses: Laureate or diademed (?) draped bust of Apollo right or left.

195. **Reverses:** 1) Laurel branch. Around, anti-clockwise from eleven o'clock, ANTIOXENNETEMP
(one reverse die, Paris 341 and 635G, with retrograde legend).
Waagé 378

196. 2) Lyre (chelys). Around, clockwise from seven or one o'clock, variously divided
and abbreviated, ANTIOXENNETEMP.
Paris 343

Trajan

Trajan's SC bronze is marked by a transition from Latin obverse legends to Greek. The impetus for this change may have been already provided by the ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΖ ΥΠΙΑΤ Β and ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΚ issues from the mint of Rome itself (see below, under Coinage Probably Produced at Rome for Circulation in Syria), which were issued earlier and were themselves in Greek. There are two groups of SC coins, one with the title Dacicus, which is much commoner than the second, an issue struck after Trajan's acquisition of the title Optimus, *circa* AD 114. The first group may actually represent more than a single issue. A context during the Parthian War seems highly likely for the second group, if not the first as well.

There was also an issue of orichalcum asses and semisses from Rome for probable use in Syria, towards the end of Trajan's reign. This is catalogued in the section mentioned above.

The issues of Trajan at Antioch were the most significant in terms of the number surviving, and therefore probably of output, since the reign of Claudius. Like Claudius' coinage, Trajan's Antiochene issues do not include any small civic bronzes, which had normally been struck alongside the SC bronzes since the reign of Nero.

Issue 1

Characteristics: Flans sometimes bevelled, more often not.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙΤ ΚΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΚΕΒΓΕΡΜΔΑΚ.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter below, in laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

	a) <u>Large denomination</u> , 13.98g.	b) <u>Medium denomination</u> , 7.21g.
197. No numeral letter	Berlin (Löbbecke)	Antakya 18139
198. Α	Paris 383	Baldwin
199. Β	Paris 385	SNG (Cop.) 197
200. Γ	Paris 386	SNG (Cop.) 198
201. Δ	Paris 387	-
202. Ε	Paris 388	ANS (N)
203. Ϛ	Paris 389	ANS (N)
204. Ζ	Paris 391	Waagé 407
205. Η	Paris 392	Paris 394
206. Θ	Paris 395	Paris 396
208. Ι	ANS (N)	ANS (N)
209. ΑΙ or ΙΑ	Paris 398	-
210. ΒΙ or ΙΒ	Paris 399	MZ Auction 65, 319
211. ΓΙ or ΙΓ	Paris 401	Paris 402

Issue 2

Characteristics: Flans occasionally bevelled, more often not.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Oxford

Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. ANS (N)

Laureate draped bust right. ANS (N)

Radiate bare bust right. Berlin (v. Knobelsdorf)

Radiate draped bust right. ANS (N)

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙΤ ΚΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΔΚΑΠΙΤΤΣΕΒ ΓΕΡΔΑΚ (ΠΑΡΘ), variously abbreviated.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter below, in wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

	a) <u>Large denomination</u> , 14.6g.	b) <u>Medium denomination</u> , 8.16g.
212. No numeral letter	ANS (N)	Antakya 18207
213. A	Oxford	-
214. B	-	-
215. Γ	Antakya 18250	-
216. Δ	-	Paris 403
217. €	Paris 408	-
218. Ϛ	-	-
219. Z	-	-
220. H	Washington	-
221. Θ	-	-
222. I	Paris 404	-
223. IA	Antakya 17860	-
224. BI	ANS (N)	ANS (N)
225. ΓI	-	-
226. BΔ	ANS (N)	-
227. X	Paris 405	-
228. AΓ or ΓA	Oxford	-
229. €K	Paris 407	Antioch exc. C5502

Hadrian

The first group of Hadrianic coins at Antioch bears an early portrait, presumably related to Hadrian's early imago as seen on his Roman coinage at the beginning of his reign. This style is also found on denarii and tetradrachms from Antioch (see section on silver). To this group belong all of the large SC bronzes, and, probably, the tiny SC coins which are unique to this reign. The other group includes a group of civic coins dated Caesarean year 177 (AD 128/9). The coins of this second group can be further divided according to differences in obverse bust types and legends, which consistently separate two groups of coins, but it is extremely difficult to decide whether there is a chronological division or whether the differences are merely of engravers and officinae.

Group 1

Characteristics: Coins never have bevelled flans. Hadrian's portrait typically has a long neck, and on larger denominations is usually cuirassed.

Large denomination, 13.99g.

Obverses: Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right. ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΘΤΡΠΥΙΘΝΕΡΥΙΩΤΡ
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒ(ΑΣ) = ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΕΡΟΥΑ
ΥΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter below, within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

230. AB	Paris 446
231. ΓΔ	Paris 448
232. ΕϚ	Paris 451
233. Ζ	Paris 440
234. Η	Paris 441
235. Θ	Paris 442
236. Ι	Paris 444

Why the first six letters of this sequence should appear in pairs is not clear. ANS (Ho), 14.12g (12), may read ΙΔ, but it is more likely to be ΓΔ.

Countermarks

The first two countermarks seem to be found only on large denomination coins of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian. One or two earlier coins may have been countermarked (*GIC* p. 177), but these are not clear. Either the countermark was specifically applied to relatively new coins, or the earlier coins may have become demonetised at Antioch, where the countermarks were probably applied. The third countermark may be from outside the region.

237. Laurel branch in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 378; on SC bronzes, Nerva to Hadrian, orichalcum asses of Trajan struck at Rome, for Syria, and a coin of Caesarea in Cappadocia.

238. Laurel branch in oval incuse. *GIC* 379; on SC bronzes of Trajan and Hadrian, and orichalcum asses of Trajan struck at Rome for circulation in Syria.

239. Laureate bare bust of Hadrian right, in square incuse. *GIC* 132; on 12 SC bronzes of Domitian. Howgego, *GIC* p. 130, suggests that it might be Phoenician.

Small denomination 3, 1.08g.

Obverses: Laureate draped cuirassed bust of Hadrian to front right. No legend.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter below, in wreath of many leaves, terminating in circle.

240. A	BMC 290
241. B	Antakya 17677
242. Γ	Paris 457
243. Δ	Paris 489 (under Antoninus Pius)
244. €	ANS (1951.61.94)
245. Ϛ	Antakya 21089 (not clear)
246. Z	Paris 458
247. H	Waagé 438
248. Θ	Paris 460

Uncertain coinages

Three coins dated year 175, which appear to be Antiochene, are recorded below, but their attribution is not certain. Coins bearing other dates, attributed to Antioch, are probably of other cities. A coin in Paris, no. 414, 2.28g (5), has a bust of Apollo right on the obverse and a lyre on the reverse, and bears the reverse legend ETOY - POB (not very clear).

Coins dated year 175

The following three coins may not be of Antioch on the Orontes. Only the third one of them carries normal Antiochene types; this may be a coin of year 177 misread.

249. **Obverse:** Laureate head of Zeus right. Legend, if present, illegible.
Reverse: Tripod in wreath. Legend off flan except for date, downwards to right, within wreath, €OP.
Oxford, 3.25g (3)
250. **Obverse:** Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess left.
Reverse: Lyre. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, €ΤΟΥ-€ΟΡ, numeral letter Γ above.
AUB, 2.88g (12); Seyrig cast in Paris.
251. **Obverse:** Bust of Apollo right. Around, ANTIOX€ΩΝ.
Reverse: Lyre. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, €Τ€ - ΟΡ.
Seyrig cast, 1.53g (6); Probably ETO-[Z]OP.

Group 2

The second group of Antiochene issues consists of a range of denominations, including civic bronzes dated Caesarean year 177. For other coins probably struck at Antioch along with this group, see section titled 'Small Coins with Antiochene Types'.

Characteristics: Flans never bevelled. No large denomination bronzes known for this group.

Medium denomination, 6.31g.

Style A

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙΤΡΙΑΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟCCΕΒ.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter below, all within wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

252. No numeral letter ANS (N)
 253. A BMC 289
 254. B BMC 291

Style B

Obverses: Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided, ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΣΤΡΑΙΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒ; ΑΥΤΟΚΡΚΑΙΤΡΑ - ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒ.
Reverses: SC, numeral letter below, within wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

255. No numeral letter ANS (N)
 256. Γ BMC 293

Small denomination 1, 4.55g.

With Hadrian's bust: Style A

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΚΑΙΣΤΡΑΙΑΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒ(ΑΣ).
Reverses: Veiled turreted draped bust of city goddess right, numeral letter before neck. Around, clockwise from or seven o'clock,

257. No numeral letter Paris 435
 258. A Paris 436
 259. B Paris 428

The obverse of Berlin (Löbbecke), type 257, is shared with Berlin (B. Friedlander), type 258.

With Hadrian's bust: Style B

Obverses: Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΣΤΡΑΙΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒ.
Reverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right, numeral letter Γ before neck. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ.

260. No numeral letter ANS (N)
 261. Γ Paris 439

Without Hadrian's bust: Style A

Obverses: Veiled turreted draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ

Reverses: 1) Garlanded altar, in exergue, ΕΤΖΟΡ, numeral letter to left.

262. No numeral letter Oxford
 263. A Paris 424
 264. B Paris 426

One specimen in Oxford, 4.48g (12), lacks the date in the exergue, but the style is distinctly that of this particular issue.

Reverses: 2) Ram running right, crescent and star above, ΕΤΖΟΡ below, numeral letter behind ram.

265. No numeral letter No coin
 266. A Paris 415
 267. B Paris 417

MacDonald, NC 1903 gives Δ for this type. Probably a misreading of A.

Obverses: Laureate head of Zeus right. Around, clockwise from or seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ.**

Reverses: Boule (?) seated left on chair, dropping pebble into urn. In exergue, **ΕΤΖΟΡ**, numeral letter in field as shown.

268. A Berlin (Fox)
269. B CB 1665

Without Hadrian's bust: Style B

Obverses: Veiled turreted draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ.**

Reverses: Garlanded altar, in exergue, **ΕΤΖΟΡ**, numeral letter in field as shown.

270. Γ Paris 427

There is an obverse die link between this type, Berlin (Imhoof), and the following Tyche/Ram type, Berlin (Löbbecke).

Reverses: Ram running right, crescent and star above, **ΕΤΖΟΡ** below, numeral letter behind ram.

271. Γ Paris 418

Obverses: Laureate head of Zeus right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ.**

Reverses: 1) Boule (?) seated left on chair, dropping pebble into urn. To left, upwards, **ΕΤΖΟΡ**, numeral letter in field.

272. Γ Paris 430

Reverses: 2) Altar, as on no. 270.

273. Γ Antakya 20713

Small denomination 2, 3.03g.

Style A

Obverses: Laureate draped bust of Apollo right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ.** Paris 419

Laureate draped bust of Apollo left. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ.** Paris 431

Reverses: 1) Lyre (chelys), around, clockwise from one or seven o'clock, **ΕΤΟΥΣΖΟΡ**, numeral letter above.

274. A Paris 419
275. B Paris 420

Reverses: 2) Laurel branch, around, clockwise from one or seven o'clock, **ΕΤΟΥΣΖΟΡ**, numeral letter in position as shown.

276. |A Paris 432
277. B ANS (N)
278. B at end of legend Paris 433

Obverse die of Berlin (Imhoof), type 275, shared with Berlin (Fox), type 276.

Style B

Obverses: Laureate draped bust of Apollo right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,

Laureate draped bust of Apollo left. Around, clockwise from one o'clock,

Reverses: 1) Lyre (chelys), around, clockwise from seven o'clock, numeral letter above.

279.  Paris 422

Reverses: 2) Laurel branch, around, clockwise from seven o'clock, numeral letter as shown.

280.  ANS (N)

Obverse die of type 279, Berlin (v. Rauch) shared with type 280, Berlin (v. Knobelsdorf).

The denominational structure of Hadrian's coinage seems to be as follows:

Large denomination: 13.99g

Medium denomination: 6.31g

Small denomination 1: 4.55g

Small denomination 2: 3.03g

Small denomination 3: 1.08g

This seems to represent an ascending ratio, from small denomination 3, of 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 8, as under Nero.

Antoninus Pius

The coinage of Antoninus Pius at Antioch has hardly been studied at all, except briefly, by MacDonald (Hunter, pp. 167-70), Dieudonné (*RN* 1929, pp. 19-22), and Waagé (pp. 42-6). This is rather surprising, since the coinage survives in large quantities, and consists of several quite distinct groups of issues. The reign also marks the first significant decline in the size and weight of the SC bronzes, a reduction which was mirrored at various other mints in northern Syria. MacDonald noted that the large output of small denomination coins in AD 145-147 was contemporary with a similar emission at Hierapolis (Hunter, p. 167).

The SC coinages have caused considerable problems for the compilers of catalogues. There appear to be five groups, three of which include portraits of Marcus Aurelius. Some catalogues have confused them by listing coins in order of obverse bust variants, all right facing busts and then all left facing, etc., which in this case are of no obvious significance, and then listing all the coins of Marcus Aurelius, as Caesar and Augustus, under another heading. The groups appear to be separated chronologically. Their sequence is difficult to determine, but the metrology of the various denominations goes some way towards sorting them out. Dorothy Waagé was probably correct when she stated that all of the SC bronzes with a numeral letter beneath the SC were of one denomination only (Waagé p. 44), although I have found that this category consists of three separate groups, not one, as in her catalogue.

The organisation of this complex coinage can only be understood in relation to the metrology of the civic bronzes and the metrology of earlier and later SC bronzes. It is necessary to summarise some points about the weights of the Antiochene coinages here, but see also the chapter 'Metrology and Denominations'. Under the Julio-Claudians, the largest of the SC denominations had been struck at about 15g., and the medium denomination SC bronze at about 7.5g. The weights of these two denominations had fallen slightly by the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, to about 14g. and 6g. After the reign of Antoninus, the large issues of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus were struck on a consistent standard of about 9g. for the larger SC coin and about 4.5g. for the smaller. Several issues of SC bronzes were accompanied by issues of smaller denomination civic coinage. One of these small denominations was simply a half of the medium SC bronze, and a quarter of the larger SC bronze. The other, however, was a fraction which does not turn out to be a simple division of an SC bronze; it is three-quarters the weight of the medium SC bronze, and 1.5 times the weight of the smaller civic coin. I suggest in the chapter 'Metrology and Denominations' that all the denominations are translatable in terms of chalcoi, a chalcous being a small unit which was very rarely issued in the Roman period because of its very low value. The small civic denominations were usually struck as 2 and 3 chalcoi, and the SC bronzes as 4 and 8 chalcoi. Tabulated, the metrology of various Antiochene coinages before and after Antoninus Pius demonstrates a fairly constant ratio of 2 : 3 : 4 : 8, with a fairly dramatic loss of weight for all denominations between Hadrian and Lucius Verus.

	<u>2 chalcoi</u>	<u>3 chalcoi</u>	<u>4 chalcoi (SC)</u>	<u>8 chalcoi (SC)</u>
AD 69	3.58	5.38	7.15	14.98
Vespasian	-	5.34	7.17	14.26
Nerva	3.60	-	7.20	13.75
Hadrian	3.03	4.55	6.31	13.99
Verus	-	-	4.33	8.89
Commodus	-	3.67	4.64	-

Mean weights of various Antiochene bronze denominations, in grammes.

Against this neat framework of denominations, the SC coinages of Antoninus Pius seem chaotic. None of the sequences of issues produced in earlier studies helps to sort the matter out. Wroth, writing the *BMC Galatia etc.*, recognised three issues: 1) Reverse SC and numeral letter; 2) Reverse SC, numeral letter above, eagle below; 3) Reverse bust of Marcus Aurelius between SC, numeral letter below (*BMC*, pp. 187-191). Dieudonné recognised the same three basic types, and included coins of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar among the groups 1 and 2 (*RN* 1929, pp. 19-20). Since the third group names Marcus Aurelius as *consul designatus*, and the first and second groups

call him consul, the third group was dated to AD 139, and the other groups placed later (Hunter, p. 170). Waagé proposed four groups: 1) Numeral letter beneath SC; 2) Numeral letter above SC, star below, 3) Numeral letter above SC, eagle below; 4) Marcus Aurelius between SC, numeral letter below (Waagé, p. 44).

All of these groupings cause enormous problems when studying denominational structure and metrology. Waagé's issue 2, star below SC, is rare, and the metrology suggests that, in spite of its type, it is probably a medium denomination which accompanies one of the other issues. This reduces the basic types to the following:

- 1) Obverses: Antoninus Pius. Reverses: Marcus Aurelius as *consul designatus*.
- 2) Obverses: Antoninus, or Marcus (as consul). Reverses: SC, numeral letter below.
- 3) Obverses: Antoninus, or Marcus (as consul). Reverses: SC, numeral letter above, eagle below.

The weights of the last group are much lower than for those of the preceding groups. Since there is quite clearly a large denomination and a medium denomination for this group, its limits seem well defined. This leaves groups 1 and 2. Group 1 consists of a single denomination, of a weight comparable to the later coinages struck under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Again, this group seems well defined. The residue of coins are thrown together in group 2, which Waagé suggests are of a single group, comprising one denomination. This cannot be. There are quite clearly two denominations, distinguished by size, one at about 14g., which was the mean weight for large SC bronzes of Trajan and Hadrian, and the other at about 9-10g., the mean for the coinage of Marcus Aurelius and Verus. The smaller of these two denominations is much too heavy to have been a half of the larger, and therefore they must be different issues, both intended to represent the largest SC denomination, the 14g. one struck early in the reign, and the 9-10g. denomination struck later. This would seem to produce four groups, and a satisfactory relative chronology:

- 1) Reverses: SC, numeral letter below. Portraits of Antoninus Pius only, large denomination only, on the weight standard of Trajan and Hadrian.
- 2) Reverses: Marcus Aurelius between SC, numeral letter below. Struck AD 139 (Marcus *consul designatus*). Large denomination on weight standard of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.
- 3) Reverses: SC, numeral letter below. Portraits of Antoninus and Marcus, Marcus consul. Large denomination on weight standard of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.
- 4) Reverses: SC, numeral letter above, eagle below. Portraits of Antoninus and Marcus, Marcus consul. Large denomination on even lighter standard.

Unfortunately, there are yet further complications. First, it is apparent that group 3, which I have just demonstrated can be separated from group 1, divides into two further groups, on the basis of style and fabric of flan. One is of fine style, and bears portraits of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius; the other has portraits of Antoninus Pius only, and is of very crude style. This produces five groups:

- 1) Reverses: SC, numeral letter below. Portraits of Antoninus Pius only, large denomination only, on the weight standard of Trajan and Hadrian. Fine style.
- 2) Reverses: Marcus Aurelius between SC, numeral letter below. Struck AD 139 (?). Large denomination on weight standard of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Fine style.
- 3) Reverses: SC, numeral letter below. Portraits of Antoninus and Marcus. Large denomination on weight standard of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Fine style.
- 4) Reverses: SC, numeral letter above, eagle below. Portraits of Antoninus and Marcus. Large denomination on even lighter standard. Crude style.
- 5) Reverses: SC, numeral letter below. Portraits of Antoninus Pius only. Large denomination only, on weight standard of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Very crude style and rough fabric.

The metrology of these groups allows us to date some of them. Dated civic coins were struck in Caesarean years 194-195 (AD 145-7) and 207 (AD 158/9). Those of 194 and 195 are on a lower weight standard than those of 207. As I have shown, the metrology of civic and SC bronzes always produces a ratio of 2 : 3 : 4 : 8. The civic bronzes of Caesarean years 194-5 suit only one group of SC bronzes, those of group 4 above. Therefore it seems likely that group 4 was struck *circa* AD 145-7. These coins name Marcus Aurelius as consul. However, in 145-7 Marcus was consul for the second time, not the first, which begs the question as to whether the coins of group 2, which name him as *consul designatus*, belong to AD 144 (cos. des. ii) rather than 139. This problem unfortunately cannot be resolved here. If the *consul designatus* coins of group 2 were struck in 139, it would seem likely that coins of group 1, on the old weight standard, were issued in the first year of Antoninus' reign, AD 138-9, since it is unlikely that they were issued later, after the introduction of the new standard. Coins naming Marcus Aurelius as consul could belong to either of his two consulships under Antoninus Pius, or both. Since issues of civic coinage were generally accompanied by issues of SC bronze, there ought to have been SC issues for Caesarean year 207. Their weights would suit either group 2 or 5, but their fine style would seem peculiar alongside the

crude products of group 5, and the group 2 portraits of Marcus Aurelius are unbearded; and Marcus has a distinct, if short, beard from his second consulship. The issue of 207 may represent an occasion on which civic bronzes were issued without SC coins. Further detailed studies, including die studies, may help to resolve matters of chronology, and may demonstrate that the present groups separate into yet further groups. Although this need not be regarded as final, the possible chronology of the groups I have identified is as follows:

- 1) Reverses: SC, numeral letter below. Antoninus Pius only, large denomination on old standard, AD 138-140 (?), fine and crude styles.
- 2) Reverses: SC, numeral letter below. Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, Marcus cos., reduced standard, AD 140-143 (?). Fine style.
- 3) Antoninus Pius with Marcus Aurelius on reverse, Marcus cos. des. [ii], reduced standard, AD 144. Crude style.
- 4) Reverses: SC, numeral letter above, eagle below. Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, Marcus cos. [ii], further reduced standard, AD 145-7. Civic bronzes on same standard. Crude style.
- 5) Reverses: SC, numeral letter below. Antoninus Pius only, reduced standard restored. Uncertain date. Very crude style.
- 6) Civic bronzes only, AD 158/9. Fine style.

Since this arrangement cannot be proven, the catalogue presented below lists the SC coinages first, in the above order, and then deals with the dated civic issues.

Small denomination 3 coins, '2/3 chalque', cited by Dieudonné, *RN* 1929, p. 20, are in fact coins of Hadrian (see nos. 240-248 above).

Group 1

Characteristics: Large flans, on weight standard used by Trajan and Hadrian. Portraits of Antoninus Pius only.

Large denomination, 13.82g.

Obverses: (*Antoninus Pius*)

- Bare headed bare bust right. Antakya
- Laureate bare bust right. Paris 467
- Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Paris 481
- Laureate draped cuirassed bust left. Paris 483
- Radiate bust right. Berlin (no number)

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, sometimes continuous, or variously divided, and variously abbreviated: ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙ ΤΙΤΑΙΛΑΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CΕΒΕΥCΕΒ.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter below, all within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle containing pellet.

281. A	Paris 483
282. B	Paris 484
283. Γ	Paris 469
284. Δ	Paris 481
285. €	Paris 470
286. Ϝ	Paris 485
287. Z	Paris 482
288. H	Paris 486
289. Θ	<i>SNG (Cop.)</i> 218
290. I	Paris 476

Group 2

Characteristics: Smaller flans than last, on reduced standard. Portraits of Antoninus Pius and young, beardless Marcus Aurelius.

Large denomination, 8.9g.

Obverses:(Antoninus Pius)

Laureate bare bust right. Paris 472

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. CB 1637

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, sometimes continuous, or variously divided, and variously abbreviated: ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΣΤΙΤΑΙΛΑΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕΒΕΥCΕΒ.

(Marcus Aurelius)

Bare headed draped bust right. Paris 490

Bare headed draped bust left. Antioch excavations.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated,

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟCΚΑΙC CΕΒΑΕΥCΕΥΙΟCΥΠΑΤΟC.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter below, all within wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle containing pellet.

	i) <u>Antoninus Pius</u>	ii) <u>Marcus Aurelius</u>
291. No numeral letter	-	Waagé 510
292. A	Berlin (Fox)	Paris 490
293. B	CB 1637	Waagé 506 (misread as having star above SC)
294. Γ	SNG (Cop.) 213	-
295. Δ	ANS (Noe)	Oxford
296. Ε	Antakya 18201	Paris 491
297. Ϝ	Paris 485	-
298. Z	SBF	Antakya 18316
299. H	Paris 474	ANS (N)
300. Θ	Paris 475	Paris 492
301. I	Oxford	Paris 480

Paris 490 (Aurelius, numeral letter alpha) shares an obverse die with 491 (epsilon).

Medium denomination, 4.85g.

This denomination would seem to belong to either group 2 or group 3. Waagé, p. 44 and 45, no. 478, places it in a category of its own, but it was certainly intended as the medium denomination for one of these two groups.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Paris 480

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙCΤΙΑΙΛΑΔΡ - ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CΕΒΕΥC.

Reverses: SC, star below, numeral letter sometimes above, all within wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle containing pellet.

302. No numeral letter	Paris 480
303. A	Waagé 478

Group 3

Characteristics: Small flans, reduced standard. May share obverse dies with group 2, but I have been unable to find any links.

Large denomination, 9.59g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust of Antoninus Pius right. Paris 463

Laureate bare bust of Antoninus Pius right, drapery on far shoulder. Hunter 222

Laureate draped cuirassed bust of Antoninus Pius right. Paris 462

Radiate bare bust of Antoninus Pius right. Paris 464

Radiate draped cuirassed bust of Antoninus Pius right. Paris 465

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided, ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΤΙΤΑΙΑΑΔΡΙ
ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕΒΕΥCΕ. Omega forms Ω and ω.

Reverses: Bare headed draped bust of Marcus Aurelius left, numeral letter below. S - C
either side of bust. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟCΚΑΙCCEBEYCEYIOCYΠAΠOΔ.

304. A	Paris 462
305. B	<i>SNG (Cop.)</i> 224
306. Γ	Paris 464
307. Δ	Paris 465
308. Ε	Antakya 18313
309. Ϝ	-
310. Ζ	-
311. Η	<i>BMC</i> 334
312. Θ	-
313. Ι	SBF

Waagé 496 is a coin of Cyprus.

Group 4

This group is probably contemporary with the small denominations dated Caesarean years 194 and 195, which would provide a range of four denominations, all of which would be metrological divisions of one another. The civic bronzes are catalogued in a later section. One of the most notable variables in this group is the presence or absence of a star, sometimes on the obverse, sometimes on the reverse, sometimes on both sides. Unfortunately it has proved impossible to catalogue the variants with and without stars properly, since the coins are usually badly struck and the details are often missing. They are, however, listed in Appendix 2. The stars and no stars coins may be contemporary, but one should bear in mind a later example, under Philip the Arab, where a star is found on a second issue which otherwise is of the same type as the previous. The weights of both denominations are considerably less than for groups 1 and 2. There are no known medium denominations for Marcus Aurelius.

Characteristics: Small flans, very light weight. Portraits of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

Large denomination, 8.09g.

Obverses: (Antoninus Pius)

N.b. A star is often present before the neck.

Laureate bare bust right. Paris 495

Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. ANS (N)

Laureate bare bust left. Paris 502

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously abbreviated and divided,

ΑΥΤΚΑΙΤΙΑΙΑΑΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕΒΕΥC.

Lettering variants, Ω and ω.

(Marcus Aurelius)

N.b. A star is sometimes present before the neck.

Laureate bare bust right. Paris 511

Laureate bare bust left. ANS (N)

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously abbreviated and divided,

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟCΚΑΙCCEBEYCEYIOCYΠAT.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter above, eagle below. Eagle sometimes holds animal thigh in its talons. Star in field to left or right of eagle, in which case the eagle's head is usually turned away from star. Whole within wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle containing pellet.

Medium denomination, 3.46g.

Obverses:(Antoninus Pius)

N.b. A star is sometimes present before the neck.

Laureate bare bust right. Paris 494

Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. Paris 498

Radiate bare bust right. Paris 493

Radiate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. Paris 508

Laureate bare bust left. Paris 502

Laureate bare bust left, drapery on far shoulder. Paris 501

Radiate bare bust left. Paris 504

Radiate bare bust left, drapery on far shoulder Paris 510

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously abbreviated and divided,

ΑΥΤΚΑΙΤΑΙΛΑΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCEΒΕΥC.

Lettering variants, Ω and ω.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter above, eagle below. Eagle sometimes holds animal thigh in its talons. Star in field to left or right of eagle, in which case the eagle's head is usually turned away from star, but in at least one case (Paris 493) eagle faces star. Whole within wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle containing pellet.

i) Antoninus Pius

a) large

b) medium

ii) Marcus Aurelius

a) large

b) medium

314. No numeral letter	Howgego coll.	Paris 510	-	-
315. A	ANS (N)	Paris 494	Paris 511	-
316. B	Paris 502	SNG (Cop.) 202	ANS (N)	-
317. Γ	Paris 493	BMC 322	SBF	-
318. Δ	-	BMC 323	-	-
319. Ε	ANS (N)	Paris 496	Paris 512	-
320. Ϝ	BMC 324	BMC 326	-	-
321. Z	-	Paris 505	-	-
322. H	Paris 506	Paris 498	Gaziantep coll.	-
323. Θ	Paris 499	Waagé 485	Waagé 507	-
324. I	Antakya 18275	Paris 500	-	-

SNG (Cop.) 202 seems to have a star above SC, but this is probably a badly-engraved numeral letter.

Group 5

This group is often confused with group 2, to which it bears a superficial similarity. The flans are smaller than those of group 2, are of a single denomination only and they appear to have been struck in the name of Antoninus Pius only. The similarity of the two groups probably led Waagé to assume that there was only one denomination for Antoninus Pius, since the flans of this group sometimes fall between the large and medium denominations of groups 1 and 2. Group 5 portraits are much cruder than those of group 2 and the name 'Antoninus' is spelled ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC rather than ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC.

The relationship of group 5 to the other groups is unclear. It is unlikely that they were part of the same issue as group 2, and the coins are too homogenous as a group and too common to suppose that they are merely imitations of the group 2.

The frequency of group 5 coins in museum collections is misleading. They are quite common at Antioch, but rare in collections. They were presumably rarely selected by collectors because of their poor style and general ugliness.

Characteristics: Small, badly struck flans. Very crude style. Portraits of Antoninus Pius only.

Large denomination, 10.11g.


Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Paris 466.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΤΙΑΙΑΑΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCEBEYC.

Reverses: SC, large numeral letter below, all within wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

325. No numeral letter	Antakya 18312
326. A	Paris 466
327. B	Paris 468
328. Γ	Antakya 18305
329. Δ	Antakya 18319
330. Ε	Antioch excavations
331. Ϛ	Antakya 18167
332. Z	Antakya 18313
333. H	Antioch excavations
334. Θ	Antakya 18302
335. I	Paris 477
336. IA	Paris 478
337. IB	Paris 479

Countermarks

338. Unintelligible design in square incuse thus:  Antioch excavations, on SC bronze of Antoninus Pius, group 5. Perhaps related to countermark 440, *GIC* 717 (see below).

339. Laureate bust in oval incuse. *GIC* 130; none of the coins countermarked are actually identifiable. Howgego identifies them as SC coins of this period on the basis of the fabric and other countermarks with which it occurs.

Small denominations dated Caesarean year 190 (?)

MacDonald, *NC* 1903, gives a coin of this date with the numeral letter *theta*. Other examples are listed below, but it appears that they are misread coins of other dates.

There is also a Seyrig coin in Paris which was read by him as year 185. I am not certain about this reading.

Small denomination 1

340. **Obverses:** Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right.
Reverses: Ram running. Below, ΕΤΡΡ. Numeral letter Γ in field.
Seyrig notes, not confirmed

Small denomination 2

341. **Obverses:** Laureate draped bust of Apollo right. No legend.
Reverses: Laurel branch. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ANTIOX - ΕΤΡΡ.
Dot in field to left.
Paris 513, 3.95g. Much too heavy for Antoninus Pius, probably a coin of Nero dated year 115

342. **Obverses:** Laureate draped bust of Apollo right.
Reverses: Caduceus. Around, anti-clockwise from ten o'clock, ΕΤΟΥC-ΡΡ.
Antakya 18214; probably misreading of ETOY-EΡΡ

Small denominations dated Caesarean years 194-195, AD 145-7

The standardised coinage of Antioch for once presents an unusually large array of reverse types. The coins of these years are very probably contemporary with the SC issues of group 4.

Small denomination 1, 2.61g.

Obverses: Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right, ram jumping right at point of bust. ANS (N)
 Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess left, ram jumping left at point of bust. ANS (N)
 Around, clockwise from seven o'clock or anti-clockwise from six o'clock, variously divided, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ.

Reverses: 1) Garlanded altar, date in exergue, numeral letter in field to right. Star above in field of one coin (Seyrig notes, with numeral letter B). ΕΤ (ΟΥΣ) ΔΡΡ (ΕΡΡ).

2) Ram running right (Paris 516) or left (Paris 515), star and crescent above, date below, numeral letter behind. ΕΤ ΔΡΡ (ΕΡΡ).

3) Daphne standing facing, arms raised, her lower half transformed into a laurel tree. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΕΤ - Δ ρ [Ρ].

Dated Caesarean year 194, AD 145/6 ΕΤΔΡΡ.

	a) <u>Reverse 1</u>	b) <u>Reverse 2</u>	c) <u>Reverse 3</u>
343. No numeral letter	Seyrig cast	Seyrig cast	SBF
344. Α	Paris 514	Oxford	-
345. Β	SNG (Cop.) 123	ANS (N)	-
346. Γ	SNG (Cop.) 122	Paris 515	-
347. Δ	Waagé 455 (?)	Paris 516	-
348. Ε	-	-	-
349. Ϛ	-	AUB	-
350. Ζ	-	-	-
351. Η	-	Leake	-
352. Θ	-	-	-
353. Ι	-	Berlin (Imhoof)	-

Dated Caesarean year 195, AD 146/7 ΕΤΕΡΡ.

354. No numeral letter	ANS (N)	Seyrig cast
355. Α	-	-
356. Β	Seyrig notes	KB coll.
357. Γ	Seyrig cast	-
358. Δ	ANS (N)	-
359. Ε	Paris 525	-
360. Ϛ	-	-
361. Ζ	Paris 526	-
362. Η	-	Paris 528
363. Θ	-	-
364. Ι	-	-

Small denomination 2, 1.83g.

Obverses: Laureate draped bust of Apollo right. Paris 515
 Laureate draped bust of Apollo left. Paris 519
 Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ.

Reverses 1) Lyre (chelys). Around, variously arranged and abbreviated, ΕΤΟΥC - ΔΡΡ (ΕΡΡ).

2) Laurel branch. Around, variously arranged and abbreviated, ΕΤΟΥC - ΔΡΡ (ΕΡΡ).

3) Caduceus. Around, variously arranged and abbreviated, ΕΤΟΥC - ΔΡΡ (ΕΡΡ).

4) Artemis standing right, with bow in left hand and sceptre (?) in right hand.
Around, anti-clockwise from six o'clock, ΕΤΟΥC - ΔΡΡ.

Dated Caesarean year 194, AD 145/6 ΕΤ ΔΡΡ.

	a) <u>Rev 1</u>	b) <u>Rev 2</u>	c) <u>Rev 3</u>	d) <u>Rev 4</u>
365. No numeral letter	Seyrig cast	Berlin (Fox)	HS 39	Athens 6098
366. A	ANS (17697)	-	-	-
367. B	-	-	-	-
368. Γ	-	-	-	-
369. Δ	SBF	-	-	-
370. Ε	-	-	-	-
371. Ϛ	-	-	Seyrig cast	-
372. Z	-	Waagé 446	-	-
373. H	Paris 517	-	-	-
374. Θ	-	-	-	-
375. I	ANS (N)	-	Weber 7963	-

Dated Caesarean year 195, AD 146/7 ΕΤ ΕΡΡ.

	a) <u>Rev 1</u>	b) <u>Rev 2</u>	c) <u>Rev 3</u>
376. No numeral letter	Seyrig cast	Paris 523	Paris 518
377. A	Seyrig cast	-	Brera 3517
378. B	-	-	ANS (N)
379. Γ	-	-	Baldwin
380. Δ	CB 1668	-	Waagé 455
381. Ε	SBF	-	-
382. Ϛ	ANS (N)	-	SNG (Cop.) 124
383. Z	-	Seyrig cast	Seyrig cast
384. H	Seyrig cast	-	-
385. Θ	-	Seyrig notes	Waagé 461
386. I	-	-	Seyrig notes

Small denominations dated Caesarean year 207, AD 158/9

MacDonald, *NC* 1903, gives the numeral letter A for coins of this date, but none of the specimens known to me bear any numeral letters.

Small denomination 1, 3.84g.

Obverses: Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΜΗΤΡΩ.

387. Reverses: 1) Ram running right, head turned, crescent and star above. In field above, variously abbreviated, clockwise and anti-clockwise ΕΤΟΥC, below ram, ΖC.
SNG (Cop.) 126

388. 2) Eagle standing on garlanded altar, wings spread. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΕΤΟ(ΥC)·ΖC·.
BMC 124

Small denomination 2, 2.62g.

Obverses: Laureate draped bust of Apollo right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock,
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΝΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟ, *BMC* 125

Laureate draped bust of Apollo left. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΝΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟ. Paris (Seyrig cast)

389. Reverses: 1) Tripod with faces, between olive or palm branch and caduceus. Around,
clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided, ΕΤΟ(ΥC) ΖC.
Paris 534 (branch on left, caduceus on right); *BMC* 125 (caduceus left, branch right)

390. 2) Draped bust of Artemis right, quiver behind shoulder. Around, clockwise from
seven o'clock, variously abbreviated and divided, ΕΤΟ(ΥC) ΖC.
SNG (Cop.) 127

Paris 534 (reverse 1) shares an obverse die with Antakya 17849 (reverse 2).

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus

This coinage is remarkably badly preserved, and even uncorroded specimens are often so badly struck as to render them virtually illegible. Although they were struck in considerable numbers, major museum collections (for example, the British Museum) possess remarkably few specimens, no doubt reflecting the preference of collectors for the attractive, earlier coinages. The weight standard remained at the level introduced under Antoninus Pius. There seem to be more coins portraying Lucius Verus than Marcus Aurelius. The first type listed would seem to imply that he was the more important emperor, perhaps because he spent much of his reign at Antioch.

The groups listed here may be in rough chronological order. The first two groups have a laurel wreath on the reverse, composed of eight bunches of leaves, the normal arrangement for Antiochene SC bronze since the Julio-Claudian period. The second two groups have a laurel wreath of ten bunches of leaves. The numeral letters on these coins run from A to EI, 1 to 15, which scotches MacDonald's theory that the numeral letters represent months, usually running 1 to 12, but sometimes with a thirteenth intercalary month (*NC* 1903, pp. 105-110).

It is not possible to distinguish the two emperors on the basis of portraits alone. Waagé, p. 48 suggested that the 'characteristic eye' of Marcus Aurelius helped to distinguish his portraits from those of Lucius Verus; but in reality the die engravers appear to have been unconcerned with making a distinction between the two emperors, other than identifying them by their accompanying legends. Portraits that look like Marcus Aurelius turn out to be identified by the legend as Lucius Verus, and vice versa. I have therefore not sought to attribute any coins to one of these emperors unless they are identified by their obverse legends.

Uncertain groups

So poor are collections of Antiochene coins for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus that some types exist in one or two badly preserved specimens. It is not clear whether the following types represent individual groups or issues, or whether they were issued concurrently with one or more of the other groups.

Large denomination, 9.69g.

The following type would seem to imply that Lucius Verus was regarded as the more important emperor, perhaps because of his presence at Antioch, though without further specimens such speculation is worthless.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust of Lucius Verus right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, [] ΚΛ ΑΥΡΗΛ - [].

Reverses: Radiate bare bust of Marcus Aurelius right, between S - C. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, [] - ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ.

392. No numeral letter (?) Paris 544

Large denomination, 11.12g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust of Lucius Verus right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΡΑ ΑΥΡΗΛ - [] ΣΕΒ.

Reverses: Togate figures of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, standing facing one another, clasping hands. Either side of figures, S - C. Numeral letter in exergue. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ - ΣΕΒΑΚΤΩΝ.

393. ⚡ Berlin (Old Collection; under 'uncertain mints')

Large denomination, 10.31g.

Obverses: Laureate draped (?) bust of Marcus Aurelius right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡΗΛ - [].

Reverses: SC, eagle (?) below, within wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

394. Oxford

Large denomination, 8.34g.

Obverses: Laureate bust of Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus right. Legend illegible.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter above, field below SC illegible, all within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

395. Z Antioch excavations Cb1425 = Waagé 522

Group 1

Large denomination, 9.92g.

Obverses: (*Marcus Aurelius*)

Laureate bare bust right. ANS (N)

Radiate bare bust right. Fitzwilliam, General collection

ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡΗΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒ.

(*Lucius Verus*)

Laureate bare bust right Paris 546

Radiate bare bust right. Antioch excavations C 4740

ΑΥΤΚΛΑΥΡΗΛΟΥΗΡΟCCΕΒ.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter(s) below, within wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in pellet, as illustration.

Medium denomination, 4.33g.

Obverses: (*Marcus Aurelius*)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Antioch excavations

ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡΗΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒ.

(*Lucius Verus*)

Laureate bare bust right. Paris 547

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. KB collection

Radiate bare bust right. Paris 554

ΑΥΤΚΛΑΥΡΗΛΟΥΗΡΟCCΕΒ.

i) Aurelius

a) large

b) medium

ii) Verus

a) large

b) medium

396. A	Fitz. General	-	BM	KB coll.
397. B	Antakya 18256	Antioch exc.	-	-
398. Γ	-	-	-	-
399. Δ	-	-	Paris 551	BM G 0928
400. Ε	Antakya 18304	-	Paris 546	Paris 554
401. Ϛ	Antioch exc.	SBF	Paris 548	-
402. Z	-	Antioch exc.	Antioch exc.	Oxford
403. H	Leake	-	SBF	Paris 547
404. Θ	Antakya 18187	-	ANS 71.193.31	-
405. I	ANS (N)	-	Antakya 18249	-

406. IA (IA)	Antioch exc.	ANS (N)	Antioch exc.	Paris 549
407. IB	BM	-	Fitz. General	ANS (N)
408. IΓ	-	-	-	KB coll.
409. ΔI	-	-	SBF	Antioch exc.

Group 2

Large denomination, 8.23g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust of Lucius Verus right. Paris 545

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,

Radiate draped cuirassed bust of uncertain ruler right. Legend illegible. Waagé 520

Reverses: SC, A below, in circle within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

Medium denomination, 3.12g.

Obverses: (*Marcus Aurelius*)

Laureate bare bust right. MZ Auction 54, March 1985, lot 404

ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡΗΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒ.

(*Lucius Verus*)

Laureate bare (?) bust right. BM cast

ΑΥΤΚΛΑΥΡΗΛΟΥΗΡΟCCΕΒ.

Reverses: SC, A below, in circle within laurel wreath of six bunches of leaves.

	i) <u>Aurelius</u>		ii) <u>Verus</u>	
	a) <u>large</u>	b) <u>medium</u>	a) <u>large</u>	b) <u>medium</u>
410. A	-	MZ Auc. 54, 404	Paris 545	BM cast

Group 3

Large denomination, 8.08g.

Obverses: (*Marcus Aurelius*)

Laureate bare bust right. Paris 543

Radiate bare bust right. ANS 74.226.206

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡΗΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒ.

(*Lucius Verus*)

Laureate bare bust right. Paris 550

Radiate bare bust right. Lindgren 1990

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΛΑΥΡΗΛΟΥΗΡΟCCΕΒ.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter below, two stars above, within laurel wreath of ten bunches of leaves terminating in circle of dots containing pellet.

	a) <u>Aurelius</u>	b) <u>Verus</u>
411. A	-	ANS (N)
412. B	BM G 0927	Antakya 18185
413. Γ	-	-
414. Δ	SBF	-
415. Ε	SBF	Leake
416. Ϛ	-	Antakya 18317 (emperor not certain)
417. Ζ	-	-
418. Η	Antakya 18249	-
419. Θ	-	SBF
420. Ι	BM 1980 6-21-4	BM 1975 4-11-170

421. AI	-	-
422. BI	Paris 543	Paris 550
423. ΓI	BMC 342	Oxford
424. ΔI	SBF	-

Group 4

The palm branch on the reverse was interpreted as a symbol of Lucius Verus' eastern victories by Waagé (p. 49, no. 535). However, it may have a more prosaic (and non-military) meaning, relating to athletic competitions. The letters K - A occur again on SC bronzes of Elagabalus. Their meaning is uncertain, but they may also relate to athletic contests.

Large denomination, 9.33g.

Obverses:(*Marcus Aurelius*)

Laureate bare bust right. Paris 541

Laureate bare bust left. Lindgren 1988

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΗΜΑΥΡΗΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒ.**

(*Lucius Verus*)

Laureate bare bust right. ANS (N)

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΗΛΑΥΡΗΛΟΥΗΡΟCCΕΒ.**

Reverses: SC, numeral letter(s) below, K - A either side of SC, palm branch above SC, all within laurel wreath of ten bunches of leaves, terminating in pellet, as illustration.

	a) <u>Aurelius</u>	b) <u>Verus</u>
425. A	-	ANS 74.226.207
426. B	-	-
427. Γ	-	-
428. Δ	-	-
429. Ε	-	ANS (N)
430. Ϟ	Berlin (Morel)	-
431. Z	SBF	Waagé 535 (misread as Ϟ)
432. H	-	-
433. Θ	Paris 541	BM G 0929
434. I	Paris 542	-
435. AI	-	BM
436. BI	Waagé 518	-
437. ΓI	-	Waagé 536
438. ΔI	-	-
439. ΕI or ΙΕ	Lindgren 1988	-

This group is the worst recorded of the four major groups of SC bronzes under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and a few coins suggest that there might be further variants. One specimen, Berlin (Morel), with numeral letter Ϟ, of Marcus Aurelius, lacks the letters K - A on the reverse. A second specimen, of Lucius Verus, Waagé 538, numeral letter absent or illegible, seems likewise to lack the K - A. It is not clear whether these coins represent a separate issue.

Countermarks

440. $\overset{\wedge}{\Gamma}\overset{\wedge}{\Lambda}$ in square incuse. *GIC* 717, where an unclear specimen was read CA/ΓΛ; on obverse of an SC bronze of Aurelius or Verus. A better preserved specimen in SBF, on obverse of a coin of either Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, group 1, or Antoninus Pius, group 5.

441. CA in rectangular incuse. On obverse of a coin of group 1, in SBF. Probably related to the previous countermark.

Coins dated Caesarean year 212, AD 163/4

Small denomination 1, 3.1g.

442. **Obverses:** Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΝ[].

Reverses: Eagle standing on garlanded altar, wings spread. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, [] Β - Ι C.

Oxford

443. **Obverses:** Laureate head of Zeus right. Around, clockwise from seven (?) o'clock, []

ΤΗC ΜΗΤ[].

Reverses: Garlanded altar. In exergue, ΕΤΒΙ C.

SNG (Cop.) 128, misread as year 215.

Small denomination 2, 2.46g.

Obverses: Laureate draped bust of Apollo right. Around, clockwise from seven or one o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΝΤ(ΗC)ΜΗΤΡΟΠ(ΟΛΕΩC).

444. **Reverses:** 1) Laurel branch. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΕΤΟΥC - ΒΙ C.

Waagé 497

Hunter 224 has ΒΙ[?] in field (reading not certain).

445. 2) Tripod with serpent coiled around it. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,

ΕΤΟ[] ΒΙ C.

Waagé 500

446. 3) Draped bust of Artemis right, quiver behind shoulder, in field to right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΕΤΟΥC - C ΒΙ C.

Paris 536

Marcus Aurelius and Commodus

In Caesarean year 226 (AD 177/8) there was a final issue of small civic bronzes at Antioch on the old pattern. This was accompanied by an issue in the name of Lucilla. These coins are notable for the letters *delta-epsilon*, a common feature of later Antiochene coinage, which appears here for the first time. A rare group of SC coins portray a young, beardless Commodus, who was elevated to the rank of Augustus with his father in this year. They are rather different from coins of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and have an unusual wreath surrounding the SC on the reverse. One specimen, Antakya 18318, even has a Latin obverse legend. The denominations of these SC bronze are also unusual. One appears to be a medium denomination, on the standard of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; the other is of much smaller module and weight, although the latter coins are blundered and may be imitations. After this emission no bronze coinage was struck at Antioch for about forty years.

Coins dated Caesarean year 226

Small denomination 1, 3.67g.

447. Obverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right, ram jumping right at point of bust. Δ - Ε variously arranged in field around base of bust. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧ - ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ.

Reverses: Garlanded altar, ΔΕ between legs. Around, clockwise from eight o'clock, ΕΤΟΥΣ
ϞΚϚ.

Waagé 471

The obverse die of two specimens, ANS (N) and KB collection, was used as the reverse die for one of the undated coins of Lucilla, Antakya 18466.

448. Obverses: As previous.

Reverses: Eagle standing on garlanded altar, wings spread, ΔΕ between legs of altar. Around, clockwise from eight o'clock, ΕΤΟΥΣ ϞΚϚ.

Waagé 472

Undated issues

These following type, apparently in the name of Lucilla only, is the first notice of a female member of the imperial household on the bronze coinage of Antioch, which otherwise only portrays emperors and their heirs until the reign of Severus Alexander. Seyrig dated these coins (he knew only of the Paris specimen) 'probablement en 164 ou 165' (Seyrig notes), but the reverse die for one specimen, Antakya 18466, was employed as the one of the obverse dies for the civic issues dated year 226, so it is likely that this type was struck at about the same time. Elsewhere, at other mints, coins were struck for Lucilla long after her husband's death.

Small denomination 1, 3.67g.

449. Obverses: Draped bust of Lucilla right. Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, ΛΟΥΚΙΛΛΑΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

Reverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right, ram running right at point of bust. Δ - Ε variously arranged in field before head or under the bust. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧ (Ε) - ΜΗΤΡΟ(ΠΟΛ).

CB 1664

SC bronzes issued in the name of Commodus

Medium denomination (?), 4.64g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Antakya 18313

Laureate cuirassed right. Antakya 18312

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Paris 556

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ[] ΚΟΜΟΔΟΝ,
or [] ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΜ - ΜΟΔΥΣΑΥΓ[] .

Reverses: SC, numeral letter below, all within wreath, usually of six bunches of leaves, usually terminating in circle containing pellet.

Small denomination 3 (?), 1.6g.

Obverses: Laureate bare (?) bust right. Antioch excavations

All legends illegible.

Reverses: SC, numeral letter below, all within wreath of variable number of leaves, terminating in circle sometimes containing pellet.

	i) <u>Medium denomination</u>	ii) <u>Small denomination</u>
450. A	Paris 555	Waagé 557
451. B	ANS (N)	-
452. Γ	Antakya 18127	-
453. Δ	ANS (N)	-

Caracalla

There are no known bronze coins of Antioch from either the sole reign of Commodus or the reign of Septimius Severus. The next Antiochene issue was struck in the sole reign of Caracalla. It is not clear whether the two SC denominations now issued were intended to be the same as those that had been struck in previous reigns. They bear what appear to be numeral letters, but it is possible that the letters represent denominational marks. The groupings given below are probably the correct sequence of issues.

Group 1

The first group is issued on a standard heavier than that used for the subsequent issues of Macrinus and Elagabalus, and lacks the letters delta-epsilon, common to the later coins. It has accordingly been placed before the second group. Die links between the types with a numeral letter only, a numeral letter and eagle, and an eagle only, strongly suggesting that they are all part of the same issue. The numeral letters seem specific to particular denominations, A for the smaller, and B for the larger. Their metrology, when compared with later coinages of Antioch, indicates that whatever the purpose of numeral letters on earlier coinages had been, these marks A and B may have been intended to indicate denominations (see chapter 'Metrology and Denominations').

Large denomination, 7.42g.

454. Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\Delta\Upsilon\Gamma\cdot\text{K}\cdot\text{M}\cdot\text{A}\Upsilon$ - $\text{A}\text{N}\text{T}\omega\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}$ ($\text{C}\epsilon\text{B}$); $\Delta\Upsilon\Gamma\cdot\text{K}\cdot\text{A}\text{I}$ - $\text{A}\text{N}\text{T}\omega\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}$ (C).

Reverses: SC, B below, all within laurel wreath.

Antakya 18139

455. Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, $\Delta\Upsilon\Gamma\cdot\text{K}\cdot\text{M}\cdot\text{A}\Upsilon$ - $\text{A}\text{N}\text{T}\omega\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}$ ($\text{C}\epsilon\text{B}$); $\Delta\Upsilon\Gamma\cdot\text{K}\cdot\text{A}\text{I}$ - $\text{A}\text{N}\text{T}\omega\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}$ (C).

Reverses: SC, below which, eagle with wings spread on left, B to right, all within laurel wreath.

Paris 600

456. Obverses: As previous.

Reverses: SC, eagle below with wings spread, all within laurel wreath, sometimes wreath ties terminate in vine-leaves either side of eagle (Oxford).

Paris 597

Obverse die of Berlin (5150 JF), eagle only, shared with Berlin (Morel), eagle + B.

Medium denomination, 3.66g.

457. Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\Delta\Upsilon\text{T}\text{O}\text{K}\cdot\text{M}\cdot\text{A}$ $\text{A}\text{N}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N}\text{I}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}$; $\Delta\Upsilon\Gamma\cdot\text{K}\cdot\text{M}\cdot\text{A}$ - $\text{A}\text{N}\text{T}\omega\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}$ ($\text{C}\epsilon\text{B}$).

Reverses: SC, A below, all within laurel wreath.

Paris 594

458. Obverses: As previous.

Reverses: SC, eagle below with wings spread, all within laurel wreath.

Antakya 17894

Antakya 17894 shares an obverse die with Antakya 18275 (numeral letter A).

Group 2

Coins with *delta epsilon* or *delta* on the reverse. This issue is marked by a slight reduction in weight. The medium denomination coins are sometimes misattributed to Elagabalus (eg *BMC* 442-3; Lindgren 2003 and A2003A), but well preserved specimens show that every known obverse die is intended to portray an adult, bearded Caracalla.

Large denomination, 7.23g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. ANS (N)

Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC* 357

Around, clockwise from one or seven o'clock, ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ - ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ.

459. **Reverses:** 1) S^Δ_€C, or S[€]_ΔC, all within laurel wreath.
Paris 596

460. 2) SC, Δ below, all within laurel wreath.
Berlin (Imhoof)

Medium denomination, 2.99g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Berlin

Radiate bare bust right. ANS (N)

Radiate bare bust left. Lindgren 2003

Around, clockwise from eight o'clock, ΑΥ(Τ)Κ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ

or clockwise from one o'clock, ΑΥΤΚ - ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ.

461. **Reverses:** 1) SC, € above, Δ below, all within laurel wreath.
SNG (Cop.) 232

462. 2) SC, Δ below, all within laurel wreath.
BMC 442

Dies are frequently shared between the two previous types.

Macrinus

There was a very large output of coinage for Macrinus at Antioch. All the coins appear to be of a single denomination only. Metrologically it falls between the large and small bronzes of Caracalla. It was probably a reduced large bronze, which had by now sunk to half the weight of this denomination under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. This weight and size for the denomination continues until the last issues of SC bronze under Philip.

Two styles, one rather fine, and one rather untidy, seem to have no significance to the pattern of minting, since obverses and reverses of the two styles can be found coupled with each other. They probably reflect different styles of engravers working at the same time, and some of these styles continue into the reign of Elagabalus. Nor does there seem to be any apparent sequence in the reverse types, all of which carry on into the reign of Elagabalus. Different reverses may share the same obverse die. The use of a star or a disk at the terminus of the wreath may be connected in some way with the use of the star and crescent on coins of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander.

Some of the variants are probably die engravers' errors; retrograde letters on the reverse are not uncommon. Some of the variants are illustrated on plate 16.

SC Denomination, 4.31g.

Obverses: (*Macrinus*)

Laureate bare bust right. *SNG (Cop.)* 233

Laureate cuirassed bust right. Fitzwilliam, General collection

Laureate cuirassed bust right, drapery on far shoulder. Fitzwilliam, General coll.

Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right. Lindgren 1997

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Lindgren 1996

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{AY}(\text{TO})\cdot\text{K}(\text{AI})\cdot\text{M}\cdot\text{O}\cdot\text{C}(\text{E})\cdot\text{M}\text{AK}\text{E}\text{I}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}(\text{C}\text{E})$.

(*Diadumenian*)

Bare headed bare bust right. Antakya 17386

Bare headed cuirassed bust to front right. *BMC* 408

Bare headed cuirassed bust to front right, drapery on far shoulder. *SNG (Cop.)* 235

Bare headed draped cuirassed bust to front right. Lindgren 1999

Bare headed draped cuirassed bust to front right, between S - C. *BMC* 413

Bare headed draped cuirassed bust left. Hunter 247

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{KAI}(\text{C})\cdot\text{M}\cdot\text{O}(\text{PI})\cdot\Delta(\text{IA})\cdot\text{ANTONINOC}(\text{C}\text{E})$, sometimes $\text{AVTRKM}\text{O}\Delta\text{ANTONINOC}(\text{C})$.

Reverses: 1) SC, Δ above, E below, all within wreath terminating in star.

a) Macrinus b) Diadumenian

463. *SNG (Cop.)* 233 *SNG (Cop.)* 235

Reverses: 2) SC, Δ above, E below, all within wreath terminating in pellet, or circle containing pellet.

a) Macrinus b) Diadumenian

464. *BMC* 383 Paris 622

Reverses: 3) SC, Δ E above, eagle with wings spread below, all within wreath terminating in star.

a) Macrinus b) Diadumenian

465. *BMC* 389 *BMC* 412
Obverse die links between 463 and 465: Paris 621 = Paris 624 (Diadumenian)

466. Obverses: Busts of Macrinus, as for types 463-5.

Reverses: Bare headed draped cuirassed bust of Diadumenian to front right, between S - C.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΚΑΙ·Μ· Ο·ΔΙΑ·ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΥ (C).

BMC 406

Obverse die links: BMC 403 (Macrinus and Diadumenian) with BMC 359 (Type 465 above); Paris 617 (Macrinus and Diadumenian) with Seymour de Ricci (Type 463 above). No reverse die links of the above type noted with obverses of Diadumenian of any of the previous types, even ones with S - C either side of the bust.

Elagabalus

Under Elagabalus there was a major change in the coinage of Antioch. The SC coinage was struck as under Macrinus, but a new series of denominations was introduced, naming Antioch as a Roman colony. It is not clear from the coinage whether the SC bronzes were struck for the most part before the colonial coinage began, or whether they were contemporary. A possible solution is provided by the subsequent coinage of Severus Alexander, where the first comparable denomination of that reign is of types 472-3 only. Although no attempt has been made here to classify types 472-3 with the colonial coinage, it is not impossible that types 472-3 were contemporary with the colonial pieces, and that the other types were earlier, being a direct continuation of the coinage of Macrinus. The metrology of the SC denomination remained the same, and it was clearly regarded as a quarter of the largest denomination. This was the last substantial issue of SC bronzes; the coins were only struck again under Severus Alexander and Philip, in increasingly diminishing numbers.

In *BMC*, nos. 447-450, with the reverse type of a wreath containing the letters *delta-epsilon* and a star, are catalogued as issues of Antioch. These coins all have Latin obverse legends. Others, such as Bellinger, gave them to Laodicea ad Mare (*Dura* p. 156). Waagé, p. 57, disagreed, and gave them to Antioch. Only five were recovered from the excavations at Antioch, and I found only two in the sample from the Antakya Museum. In contrast, 57 were found at Dura, and they are also quite common on Cyprus (*BMC* 450 is from Amathus). Other site finds in Syria suggest that they are much more frequent further south than in the environs of Antioch. Stylistically and typologically they are an anomaly at Antioch. At Laodicea, the civic coinage of Elagabalus has a similar style, with Latin obverse legends, and the *delta-epsilon* and star marks on the reverse. Although this is not the place to discuss the attribution of this series, it is enough to say that there is no reason at all to attribute any *delta-epsilon* coins of Elagabalus, or of Severus Alexander, to Antioch, and they have not been included in this catalogue.

SC coinage

SC Denomination, 4.66g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. *SNG (Cop.)* 244

Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. Paris 648

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Antakya 18136

Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right. Antakya 18285

Radiate bare bust right. *SNG (Cop.)* 245

Radiate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. Paris 650

Radiate draped cuirassed bust to front right. Fitzwilliam, General coll.

Laureate bare bust left. *NNM* 85, no. 178

Laureate bare bust left, drapery on far shoulder. *SNG (Cop.)* 246

Radiate bare bust left. Antakya 18303

Around, clockwise from one or seven o'clock, variously abbreviated and divided, $\Delta Y T K A I M A P A V P A N T \Omega N E I N O C C E$, sometimes $\Delta N T \Omega N I N O C C$, or $\Delta Y T K A I M A V P C E A N T \Omega N I N O C C$ and variants. The use of the name 'Severus' is rare, but attested, for Elagabalus; see Bellinger, *Tetradrachms*, pp. 53-4.

467. Reverses: 1) SC, Δ above, ϵ below, all within laurel wreath terminating in star.

BMC 440

468. Reverses: 2) SC, Δ above, ϵ below, all within laurel wreath terminating in pellet, or circle containing pellet.

BMC 439


469. **Reverses:** 3) SC, Δ € above, eagle below. Eagle sometimes on animal thigh. All within wreath terminating in star.

BMC 430

Marthaler reads the date €C below the eagle on no. 6 of the Levante Hoard, but these marks are actually the wreath ties, rendered >C- C<

470. **Reverses:** 4) SC, Δ € above, eagle below. Eagle sometimes on animal thigh. All within laurel wreath terminating in circle containing pellet.

BMC 426

One specimen, Antakya 18153 has the reverse arranged thus: 

SC Denomination, 4.03g.

This type, with its reverse letters K - A, tends to be struck on smaller flans than the previous pieces. It is not clear whether it was intended to be a fraction of the commoner SC coins, and its weight would argue against it. The use of the letters K - A is presumably related to the letters found on SC bronzes of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. *BMC 444*

Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. Antakya 18310

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΗΜΑΥΤ-ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC.

471. **Reverses:** SC, K above, A below, all within circle within laurel wreath.

BMC 444

SC Denomination, 4.68g.

This SC coinage, struck on large flans, is in the 'angular' style of the colonial coinage, and was probably contemporary with the colonial issues, even if the other SC types were not.

Obverses: Radiate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. *BMC 445*

Radiate bare bust left, drapery on far shoulder. *BMC 446*

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΗΜ (ΑΥ) ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC

472. **Reverses:** SC, ram jumping right below, Δ in field above, € in field below, all within laurel wreath terminating in star or circle containing pellet.

BMC 445

473. **Reverses:** as previous, but ram jumping left.

BMC 446

Colonial coinage

The new colonial coinage consisted of two denominations, larger than the SC bronzes. This coinage represents an important monetary reform at Antioch, and throughout northern Syria. Notable is the decision to abandon the old system, with the largest denominations being composed of SC bronzes and the smaller denominations consisting of civic coinage. The SC denominations were continued, but they comprised the smallest denomination, the new larger denominations being altogether more civic in appearance, using an ethnic and types specific to Antioch. The introduction of this coinage was marked by another important change; the die sharing between cities in northern Seleucia and Commagene which was to persist down to the reign of Trebonianus Gallus. Under Elagabalus four cities share obverse dies: Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, Zeugma, and Samosata. For the coinages of these other cities, see catalogue, under the relevant cities. In one case a die is shared between all four. There are a number of considerations, the complex network of die links, the similarity in style of reverse types, identical flans, metrology and metal composition, that strongly suggest that Antioch was the mint for all of these coinages and that this was merely the beginning of a trend which led to Antioch's domination of city coinage production in northern Syria (see Butcher, *NC* 1988, pp. 63-75).

The coins have been grouped according to distinct styles of portraiture. These may represent

nothing more than individual engravers, but if so it would appear that the engraver(s) of the obverses also made the reverse dies to go with their obverses, since there is rarely, if ever, a cross over of styles on a single coin. This strongly suggests either a temporal division or segregation into officinae. The three principal groups, 'angular', 'square head', and 'fine', die link with Seleucia, Zeugma and Samostata. A crescent, a star or no symbol may be present on the reverse. This would appear to have no relevance to officinae since coins with different symbols share obverse dies.

Angular

Crude renderings of the bust. Head usually small, with childish features. Chest often almost at right angle to neck. Lettering awkward and badly spaced. *Omega* typically rendered thus: Ω. Waagé thought that the angular style portraits looked younger (and therefore earlier) than the later fine style, but the whole coinage is so stylised that it is difficult to be certain of this.

Large denomination, 18.01g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. *SNG (Cop.)* 251
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously abbreviated,
ΑΥΤΚΜΑΑΥΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒ.

Reverses: 1) The Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated left on rock, holding corn ears and resting left hand on rock. Above, ram jumping left, head turned; below, river god swimming left. Sometimes three or six dots are present in the exergue. In field either side of Tyche, Δ - Ε / Σ - C (the SC is usually much larger than the delta-epsilon). Symbol usually in field before Tyche, or (occasionally) above ram. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΩΝΙ.

474.	a) <u>no symbol</u> Paris 699	b) <u>star</u> Paris 670	c) <u>crescent</u> -
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Paris 699 (no symbol) shares an obverse die with 670 (star).

2) Similar, but Tyche seated right.

475.	a) <u>no symbol</u> BMC 463	b) <u>star</u> -	c) <u>crescent</u> -
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Medium denomination, 10.46g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. *NNM* 85, no. 171
Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Paris 685
Laureate bare bust left, drapery on far shoulder. *NNM* 85, no. 172
Around, clockwise from one or seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated,
ΑΥΤΚΜΑΑΥΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕ.

Reverses: 1) The Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated left on rock, holding corn ears and resting left hand on rock. Below, river god swimming left. In field either side of Tyche, Δ - Ε / Σ - C (the SC is usually much larger than the delta-epsilon). Symbol sometimes in field before Tyche. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΩΝΙ (One specimen from the Antioch excavations, Waagé 602, lacks the title ΚΟΛΩΝ, but this is probably in error and does not have any constitutional significance).

476.	a) <u>no symbol</u> BMC 464	b) <u>star</u> -	c) <u>crescent</u> -
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2) Similar, but Tyche seated right.

477.	a) <u>no symbol</u> <i>NNM</i> 85, no. 173	b) <u>star</u> -	c) <u>crescent</u> -
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Fine styles

Young head

A small group of bronzes portray a rather juvenile head of Elagabalus in a much finer style than the previous 'angular' coins.

Large denomination, 18.01g.

Obverses: Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Paris 662

Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right. Paris 661

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ
ΣΕ**.

Reverses: The Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated left on rock, holding corn ears and resting left hand on rock. Above, ram jumping left, head turned; below, river god swimming left. In field either side of Tyche, **Δ - Ε / Σ - Γ** (the SC is usually much larger than the delta-epsilon). Symbol sometimes in field before Tyche. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΝΙ**.

478.	a) <u>no symbol</u> Paris 661	b) <u>star</u> -	c) <u>creascent</u> <i>BMC 457</i>
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Medium denomination, 9.56g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. ANS (N)

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ
ΣΕ**.

Reverses: The Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated left on rock, holding corn ears and resting left hand on rock. Above, ram jumping left, head turned; below, river god swimming left. In field either side of Tyche, **Δ - Ε / Σ - Γ**. Symbol in field before Tyche. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΝΙ**.

478.1	a) <u>no symbol</u> ANS (N)	b) <u>star</u> -	c) <u>creascent</u> -
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Elegant

A large group of bronzes portray a rather more mature Elagabalus, often with a light beard.

Large denomination, 18.01g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. *BMC 451*

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously abbreviated and divided,

ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΡΚΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝΤΑΝΕΙΝΟΣΣΕ

Radiate bare bust left. *BMC 455*

Around, clockwise from one o'clock, **ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΣΕ -
ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ**.

Reverses: The Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated left on rock, holding corn ears and resting left hand on rock. Above, ram jumping left, head turned; below, river god swimming left. In field either side of Tyche, **Δ - Ε / Σ - Γ** (the SC is usually much larger than the delta-epsilon). Symbol sometimes in field before Tyche. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΝΙ**.

479.	a) <u>no symbol</u> Paris 678	b) <u>star</u> Paris 672	c) <u>creascent</u> Paris 664
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Medium denomination, 10.46g.

Obverses: Radiate draped cuirassed bust left. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, **ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΡΣΕ - ΑΝΤΑΝΕΙΝΟΣ.**

Reverses: The Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated left on rock, holding corn ears and resting left hand on rock. Below, river god swimming left. In field either side of Tyche, Δ - Ε / Σ - Κ (the SC is usually much larger than the delta-epsilon). Symbol sometimes in field before Tyche. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΔΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΚΟΛΔΝΙ.**

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 480. | a) <u>no symbol</u>
- | b) <u>star</u>
McClellan 9396 | c) <u>crescent</u>
- |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|

Square head

Large square heads, usually with a thicker neck than found on coins of other styles.

Large denomination, 18.01g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Paris 676

Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder? *SNG (Cop.) 250*

Laureate cuirassed bust right. Oxford

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Paris 663

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΝΤΑΝΕΙΝΟΣΣΕ.**

ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΝΑΝΤΑΝΕΙΝΟΣΣΕ.

Reverses: The Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated left on rock, holding corn ears and resting left hand on rock. Above, ram jumping left, head turned; below, river god swimming left. In field either side of Tyche, Δ - Ε / Σ - Κ (the SC is usually much larger than the delta-epsilon). Symbol sometimes in field before Tyche. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΔΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΚΟΛΔΝΙ.**

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 481. | a) <u>no symbol</u>
Antakya 18181 | b) <u>star</u>
BMC 458 | c) <u>crescent</u>
Paris 676 |
|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|

Medium denomination, 10.46g.

Obverses: Bare headed draped bust of Severus Alexander as Caesar, right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΜΑΡΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ - ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ.**

Reverses: The Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated left on rock, holding corn ears and resting left hand on rock. Below, river god swimming left. In field either side of Tyche, Δ - Ε / Σ - Κ (the SC is usually much larger than the delta-epsilon). Symbol sometimes in field before Tyche. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΔΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΚΟΛΔΝΙ.**

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 482. | a) <u>no symbol</u>
SBF | b) <u>star</u>
Paris 701 | c) <u>crescent</u>
- |
|------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|

Severus Alexander

In *NC* 1988 I proposed a sequence of three issues for Severus Alexander, following Wroth and Bellinger. However, I was rather unhappy with this arrangement, since my first issue had both young and older portraits of Alexander, and this was supposed to be followed by an issue with young portraits only (note my reservations, *NC* 1988, p. 65-6). I can now revise this arrangement. There were four, not three issues, the last two of which share obverse dies. They are as follows:

Group 1: Portraits of young Alexander only. Reverses: Tyche seated, as on issues of Elagabalus.

Large and medium denominations.

Group 2: Portraits of young Alexander only. Reverses: Tyche and between emperor and second Tyche (large denomination); Tyche in portable shrine (medium denomination).

Group 3: Portraits of mature Alexander, and Julia Mamaea. Reverses: as for group 1. Large denomination only.

Group 4: Portraits of mature Alexander, and Julia Mamaea. Reverses: bust of Tyche. Large denomination only.

These groups were accompanied by two issues of SC bronze, one with a young portrait, and therefore contemporary with groups 1 and 2, and the other with a mature portrait, or a portrait of Julia Mamaea, and therefore contemporary with groups 3 and 4. Coins of Severus Alexander with *delta-epsilon* and star in a wreath on the reverse are *not* coins of Antioch; see section on Elagabalus above.

Group 1

Young portraits of Alexander.

Large denomination, 18.63g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. Fitzwilliam, General coll.

Laureate cuirassed bust to front right. Paris 695

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Lindgren 2010

Laureate draped cuirassed to front right. Paris 692

Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. Antakya 18322

Laureate bare bust left. Antakya 18269

Laureate draped cuirassed bust left, spear over right shoulder, shield at left shoulder. Paris 697.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated,

ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΜΑΡΚΑΥΡΣΕΩΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΣΕ.

Reverses: The Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated left on rock, holding corn ears and resting left hand on rock. Above, ram jumping left, head turned; below, river god swimming left. In field either side of Tyche, Δ - Ε / Σ - Κ (the SC is usually much larger than the delta-epsilon). Symbol sometimes in field before Tyche. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΝΙ.**

	a) <u>no symbol</u>	b) <u>star</u>	c) <u>crescent</u>
483.	Paris 699	Seymour de Ricci	Paris 691

Paris 669 (no symbol) shares an obverse die with Seymour de Ricci (star)

Reverses: Similar, but Tyche seated facing.

	a) <u>no symbol</u>	b) <u>star</u>	c) <u>crescent</u>
484.	<i>NNM</i> 85, no. 184	-	-

Medium denomination, 10.71g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. UK trade, 1985

Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. ANS (N)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. ANS (N)

Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. Paris 699

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΡΕΟ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ**
ΣΕ.

Reverses: The Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated left on rock, holding corn ears and resting left hand on rock. Below, river god swimming left. In field either side of Tyche, **Δ - Ε / Σ - Γ** (the SC is usually much larger than the delta-epsilon). Symbol sometimes in field before Tyche. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΝ**.

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| | a) <u>no symbol</u> | b) <u>star</u> | c) <u>crescent</u> |
| 485. | CB 1485 | BMC 473 | - |

Small denomination, 4.3g.

This type may be contemporary with coins of group 2, but has been included here since, like the larger denominations of group 1, it is a continuation of the types of Elagabalus.

Obverses: Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. Oxford

Radiate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. Antakya 18142

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡΕΑΛΕΞΑΝ(ΔΡΟC)CΕΒ.**

486. **Reverses:** 1) SC, ram jumping right below, **Δ** in field above, **Ε** below, all within laurel wreath.
Oxford
487. **Reverses:** 2) SC, ram jumping left below, **Δ** in field above, **Ε** below, all within laurel wreath.
Antakya 18142

Group 2

The reverse type for the large denomination of this group has been discussed on several occasions. It is unique to the coinage of Alexander, and was imitated at Nicopolis Seleucidis (see catalogue under that city, below). The medium denomination likewise introduced a new type, which was revived under Trajan Decius (see below), and from this point onwards the denominations at Antioch were distinguished by different reverse types. Notable are the appearance of value marks, eight for the large denomination and four for the smaller. The larger denomination corresponds to coins of Seleucia Pieria which were probably struck at Antioch contemporaneously with this group, since the styles of obverse busts are often identical, although no die links are known. The coins of Seleucia are marked OB Θ, which is interpreted as '9 obols' (see section 'Metrology and Denominations', and also under Seleucia, below).

Large denomination, 18.32g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. *SNG (Cop.)* 256

Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. BM

Laureate cuirassed bust right, drapery on far shoulder. Antakya 17911

Laureate draped cuirassed right, crescent and star before bust. Paris 706 (No symbol on reverse)

Laureate draped cuirassed to front right. Leake

Radiate bare bust right. Antakya 18230

Radiate cuirassed right. Paris 704

Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. Antakya 18231

Laureate cuirassed bust left. Paris 709
 Laureate draped cuirassed bust left, spear over right shoulder, shield at left shoulder.
 BMC 483
 Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated,
 ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΜΑΡΑΥΡΕΘΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΣΕ.

Reverses: The Tyche of Antioch seated facing on rock, river god swimming to front at her feet. To left, standing figure of second Tyche, holding rudder and cornucopiae; to right, figure of the Emperor (?) in military attire, crowning Tyche of Antioch with a wreath. Variously arranged in field; Δ - ε / Σ - C, H in exergue. Symbol usually in field to left or in field above. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝΙ.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 488. | a) <u>no symbol</u>
Paris 704 | b) <u>star</u>
- | c) <u>crescent</u>
Leake |
|------|----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|

Medium denomination, 10.6g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Oxford
 Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated,
 ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΥΡΕ - ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΣΕ.

Reverses: Tyche of Antioch, seated facing on rock, river god swimming to front at her feet, all within distyle or tetrastyle portable shrine. Variously arranged in field; Δ - ε / Σ - C, Δ sometimes in exergue. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ(ΩΝ)ΜΗΤ(ΡΟ)Κ(ΩΛ).

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 489. | a) <u>no symbol</u>
CB 1483 | b) <u>star</u>
- | c) <u>crescent</u>
- |
|------|--------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|

Older portraits

Group 3

Mature portraits of Severus Alexander, portraits of Julia Mamaea. Die links with group 4

Large denomination, 19.85g.

Obverses: (Severus Alexander)
 Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. NNM 85, no. 190
 Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated,
 ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΜΑΡΑΥΡΕΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΣΕΒ.

Reverses: The Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated left on rock, holding corn ears and resting left hand on rock. Above, ram jumping left, head turned; below, river god swimming left. In field either side of Tyche, Δ - ε / Σ - C (the SC is usually much larger than the delta-epsilon). Symbol sometimes in field before Tyche. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝΙ.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 490. | a) <u>no symbol</u>
Paris | b) <u>star</u>
BMC 472 | c) <u>crescent</u>
- |
|------|------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|

Obverses: (Julia Mamaea)

Diademed draped bust to front right. *NNM* 85, no. 191
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΙΟΥΛΙΑΜΑΜΑΕΑ - ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ**.

Reverses: The Tyche of Antioch, veiled and turreted, seated left on rock, holding corn ears and resting left hand on rock. Above, ram jumping left, head turned; below, river god swimming left. In field either side of Tyche, **Δ - Ε / Σ - C** (the SC is usually much larger than the delta-epsilon). Symbol sometimes in field before Tyche. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝΙ**.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 491. | a) <u>no symbol</u>
BMC 490 | b) <u>star</u>
BMC 491 | c) <u>crescent</u>
- |
|------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|

Obverse die links between this group and group 4: Paris 693 (group 3) - Paris 690 (group 4); BM (group 3) - (group 4).

Small denomination, 5.67g.

These SC coins, which include portraits of Julia Mamaea, could also belong to the issues of group 4.

Obverses: (Severus Alexander)

Laureate, draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΥΓΕ - ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ. BMC 468

(Julia Mamaea)

Diademed draped bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΟΥΛΙΑΜΑΜΑΕΑ - ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. (sic). Paris 688

Reverses: SC, **ΔΕ** above, eagle below, all within wreath terminating in star.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 492. | a) <u>Alexander</u>
BMC 468 | b) <u>Mamaea</u>
Paris 688 |
|------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|

Group 4

Mature portraits of Alexander; portraits of Julia Mamaea. Obverse dies shared with group 3.

Large denomination, 17g.

Obverses: (Severus Alexander)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *NNM* 85, no. 190
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated,
ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΥΓΕΟ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΣΕΒ.

(Julia Mamaea)

Diademed draped bust right. *NNM* 85, no. 193
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΙΟΥΛΙΑΜΑΜΑΕΑ - ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ**.

Reverses: Veiled, turreted draped bust of Tyche right, between **Δ - Ε / Σ - C**. SC larger than **ΔΕ**. Above, ram jumping right, head turned. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝ**.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 493. | a) <u>Alexander</u>
BMC 484 | b) <u>Mamaea</u>
BMC 492 |
|------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|

For obverse die links with this group and group 3 (Older portraits), see under group 3.

Philip

No bronze coinage was struck at Antioch under Maximinus Thrax, the emperors of AD 238, or Gordian III (for forgeries of Balbinus, Gordian III and Tranquillina, see Butcher, *NC* 1988, p. 66, n. 13). Under Philip two distinct issues were struck, both consisting of three denominations. The first issue was quite small in comparison to the second. The reasons for dating the first issue to AD 244-6 and the second to 247-9 have been discussed elsewhere (Butcher, *NC* 1988, pp. 63-75); the first group must predate Philip Junior's elevation to co-emperor in 246.

First issue

Large denomination, 17.88g.

Obverses: (*Philip I*)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC* 528

Radiate cuirassed bust right. *NNM* 85, no. 195

Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC* 524

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜ(Α)ΙΟΥΛΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΣΕΒ**

(in one case **ΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛ.**.)

(*Philip I and Otacilia Severa*)

Jugate busts of (nearest) Philip I, laureate draped cuirassed right, and (furthest away) Otacilia diademed, draped on crescent right. *BMC* 539

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΑΙΟΥΛΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΣΕΒ.**

(*Otacilia Severa*)

Diademed draped bust on crescent right. *BMC* 544

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΜΑΡΩΤΑΚΙΛΣΕ(Ο)ΗΡΑΝΣΕ(Β).**

(*Philip II*)

Bare headed draped bust to front right. *BMC* 564

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΜΑΡΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡ.**

Reverses: Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right, between **Α-Ε/Σ-Σ**. Above, ram jumping right, head turned. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ-ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩ.**

494.	a) <u>Philip I</u> <i>BMC</i> 524	b) <u>Philip and Otacilia</u> <i>BMC</i> 539	c) <u>Otacilia</u> <i>BMC</i> 544	d) <u>Philip II</u> <i>BMC</i> 564
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Medium denomination, 9.5g.

Obverses: (*Philip I*)

Radiate bare bust right. *BMC* 533

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΑΙΟΥΛΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΣΕΒ.**

(*Philip II*)

Bare headed draped cuirassed bust right. Paris 794

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΜΑΡΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡ.**

Reverses: 1) Apollo standing facing, head left, holding lyre in left hand and phiale in extended right hand. In field, Δ-ϵ / S - C . Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΝΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΛ**.

495. a) Philip I b) Philip II
 BMC 533 Paris 794

Reverses: 2) Tyche standing facing, head left, holding cornucopiae in left hand and rudder in right. In field, Δ-ϵ / S - C . Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΝΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΛ**.

496. a) Philip I b) Philip II
 Leake -

Small denomination, no weight available.

Obverses: (Philip II)

Bare headed draped bust to front right. SBF
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, [] ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΚΕΣΑΡ.

Reverses: SC, Δϵ above, eagle below, all within laurel wreath.

497. a) Philip I b) Philip II
 - SBF

Second issue

The second issue is much commoner than the first. An important feature of this coinage is the obverse die sharing that links this issue at Antioch with Cyrrhus, Hierapolis, Zeugma, Samosata and Philippopolis in Arabia. The link with Philippopolis, a city about five hundred miles from Antioch, in the province of Arabia, gives the die-sharing phenomenon a personal touch - Philippopolis was the Emperor's reputed birthplace, and inscriptions confirm an immense amount of building activity at the site during his reign. As under Elagabalus, it appears that Antioch was the mint producing the coins for these other cities. The coinage of Laodicea ad Mare may also have been produced at Antioch. Die studies of this coinage shows that reverse dies were shared randomly amongst a large number of obverse dies, and between obverse dies portraying different persons. Although officina marks begin to appear on the tetradrachms during this period, it is likely that the bronze was confined to a single officina where such complex die sharing activity could occur.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the portraits of Philip I and his son on the coins of this issue, especially when the coins are worn. The elder Philip tends to have 'worry lines' on his brow and a light beard (often not visible on worn coins), but there is a wide variation in the range of portrait styles.

Large denomination, 15.75g.

This coinage is identical in style to the tetradrachms dated to Philip's third and fourth consulships. A slight change in style can be seen on tetradrachms of the two consulships, and as this change can also be seen on the bronzes, the issue may have extended over a long period. There was also a slight change in the style of the reverses. Those reverses associated with earlier style obverse bust types in this issue tend to be in lower, flatter relief. On those with later obverse bust types the head of the city goddess is smaller and the relief higher. A number of reverses are partly or entirely retrograde. That this occurs on a number of dies seems to make a die engraver's error an unlikely explanation, but there is no other satisfactory interpretation that would make the design deliberate.

Obverses: (Philip I)

Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. Hague
Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Lindgren 2017
Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right. SBF
Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right, left arm of cuirass showing. *SNG (Cop.)* 272
Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. SBF
Laureate bust left, wearing consular robes. SBF
Laureate cuirassed bust to front left, drapery on far shoulder. Hague
Radiate cuirassed bust to front left, drapery on far shoulder. *NC* 1988, pl. 20, 21
Radiate draped cuirassed bust to front left, right arm of cuirass showing. *SNG (Cop.)* 271
Radiate draped cuirassed bust left, holding spear and shield. SBF
Radiate draped cuirassed bust left, spear over right shoulder, shield at left shoulder ornamented with figure of horseman spearing fallen foe. Private coll., Paris
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΝΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΕΒ.**

(Philip I and Philip II)

Jugate busts of (nearest) Philip I, laureate draped cuirassed right, and (furthest) Philip II, radiate draped cuirassed right. *BMC* 538
Jugate busts of (nearest) Philip I, radiate draped cuirassed right, and (furthest) Philip II, laureate draped cuirassed right. *BMC* 537
Facing busts of Philip I (on left), laureate draped cuirassed right, and (on right) Philip II, radiate draped cuirassed bust left. *BMC* 535
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΝΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΙΣΕΒ.**

(Otacilia Severa)

Diademed draped bust right on crescent. Vienna
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΜΑΡΟΤΑΚΙΑΣΕΩΝΗΡΑΝΣΕΒ.**

(Philip II)

Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. *SNG (Cop.)* 278
Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Paris 802
Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right. SBF
Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right, left arm of cuirass showing. SBF
Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. Paris 803
Laureate cuirassed bust to front left, spear over right shoulder, shield at left shoulder. Paris 804
Radiate cuirassed bust to front left, right arm of cuirass showing. SBF
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΝΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΕΒ.**

Reverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right, between **Α-Ε / Σ-Θ**. Above, ram jumping right, head turned. Beneath bust, star. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝ**. Legend usually ends **ΚΟΛΩΝ**, but at least one die reads **ΚΟΛΩ**. A few dies are partly or entirely retrograde.

498. a) Philip I b) Philip I and II c) Otacilia d) Philip II
 BMC 532 *BMC* 535 *BMC* 543 Paris 804

Medium denomination, 7.31g.

Obverses: (Philip I)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC* 534
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΝΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΕΒ.**

Reverses: Apollo standing facing, head left, lyre in left hand and phiale in right, coiled serpent at feet to left. In field, **Α-Ε / Σ-Θ**. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝ**.

499. a) Philip I b) Philip II
 BMC 534 -

Small denomination, 4.6g.

Obverses: (*Philip I*)

Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. Hague

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΗΙΟΥΝΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΣΕΒ.**

(*Philip II*)

Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. NF Auction, Nov. 82, lot 208

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΗΙΟΥΝΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΣΕΒ.**

Reverses: SC, **ΔΕ** above, eagle below, all within laurel wreath.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|--|
| 500. | a) <u>Philip I</u>
Hague | b) <u>Philip II</u>
NF Nov. 82, 208 |
|------|-----------------------------|--|

Trajan Decius

Both issues of Trajan Decius are much scarcer than those of Philip or Trebonianus Gallus. The first is quite rare. It was probably struck in 250, before Decius' adopted name 'Traianus' was given precedence of order over 'Decius'. For the sequence, see Butcher, *NC* 1988, pp. 63-75. The second issue seems to be struck on a heavier weight standard than the first. Under Philip the weight standards had dropped; they were now restored to something like their original weights under Elagabalus and Severus Alexander. The small size of these issues allows us to see how frequently reverse dies were shared among three or four obverse dies.

First issue

Large denomination, 15.6g.

Obverses: (*Trajan Decius*)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right. *SNG (Cop.)* 283

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΚΓΜΙΕΚΥΔΕΚΙΟΣΤΡΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒ.**

(*Herennia Etruscilla*)

Diademed draped bust on crescent right. *BMC* 609

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΑΣΕΒ** (sic!).

This blundered obverse legend also appears on tetradrachms.

Reverses: Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right, between Δ - Ε / Σ - Κ. Above, ram jumping right, head turned. Beneath bust, star. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝ.**

501.	a) <u>Decius</u> <i>SNG (Cop.)</i> 283	b) <u>Etruscilla</u> <i>BMC</i> 609
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Second issue

The type introduced for the large denomination remained the sole type until the end of the Antiochene provincial issues under Valerian. It appears to depict an *agalma* of the Tyche of Antioch in a portable shrine. Carry-bars are often depicted at the base of the shrine. The unusual roof may be intended to show that the shrine was circular in plan. On some coins it appears that the roof is formed of beams bound together at the top.

Large denomination, 19.16g.

Obverses: (*Trajan Decius*)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC* 600

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΚΓΜΙΕΚΥΤΡΙΑΝΟΣΔΕΚΙΟΣΣΕΒ.**

(*Herennia Etruscilla*)

Diademed draped bust right on crescent. *Paris* 855

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΑΣΕΒ.**

(*Herennius Etruscus*)

Bare headed draped bust right. *BMC* 623

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΕΡΕΝΝΕΤΡΟΥΜΙΕΚΥΔΕΚΙΟΣΚΕΣΑΡ.**

(*Hostilian*)

Bare headed draped bust right. *SBF*

Bare headed draped bust to front right. Paris 857

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΣΤΙΛΙΑΝΜΕΚΥΙΝΤΟΚΕΣΗΡ**.

BMC 625 (G 0937) with obverse bust of Etruscus and reverse bust of Hostilian is false. The obverse is exactly the same as BMC 623, from which it was presumably cast. Both coins are from the Townley collection. There is another example, in the Hunter collection.

Reverses: Tetrastyle portable shrine, ram jumping right above. Within shrine, Tyche of Antioch seated facing, river god swimming to front at her feet. Carry bars are usually depicted at the base of the shrine. Either side of roof, **Δ - Ε**, in exergue, **Σ Κ**. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝ**.

	a) <u>Decius</u>	b) <u>Etruscilla</u>	c) <u>Etruscus</u>	d) <u>Hostilian</u>
502.	<i>BMC 600</i>	Paris 855	<i>BMC 623</i>	<i>BMC 628</i>

One reverse die is found shared between two different obverse dies of Trajan Decius (both KB coll.), and obverse dies of Herennia Etruscilla (SBF) and Herennius Etruscus (Paris 856). Another reverse die is shared between Herennia Etruscilla (Hague) and Hostilian (Paris Seymour de Ricci Y 20263).

Medium denomination, 7.31g.

Obverses: (Trajan Decius)

Laureate bare bust right. *BMC 603*

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΚΤΜΕΚΥΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥΣΑΕΚΤΙΟΚΕΒ**.

Reverses: Tyche standing left, turreted, holding cornucopiae in left arm and rudder in right, between **Δ - Ε / Σ - Κ**. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝ**.

503.	<i>BMC 603</i>
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Trebonianus Gallus

There were two issues under Trebonianus Gallus, marked by changes in style of portraiture and the positioning of the mark *delta-epsilon* on the reverse of the larger denomination. This is paralleled on the tetradrachm coinage where there are also changes of style and positioning of various elements on the reverses. The first issue of this bronze coinage is much scarcer than the second. At least one obverse die from the first issue was carried over into the second issue.

First issue

Large denomination, 17.56g.

Obverses: (*Trebonianus Gallus*)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC* 655

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΡΟΥΙΒΤΡΕΒΓΑΛΛΟΣΣΕΒ**.

(*Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian*)

Facing busts of Trebonianus Gallus (on left), laureate draped cuirassed to front, and Volusian (on right), radiate draped cuirassed left. Paris 892

Facing busts of Trebonianus Gallus (on left), laureate draped cuirassed, and Volusian (on right), radiate draped cuirassed to front left. *BMC* 656

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΡΑΤΡΕΒΓΑΛΛΟΣΚΗΝΙΟΥΟΛΟΥ
ΣΣΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒ(Β)**.

(*Volusian*)

Radiate draped cuirassed bust to front right. McClean 9427

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΡΑΦΙΝΓΑΛΟΥΕΝ(Δ)ΟΥΟΛΟΥ
ΣΣΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒ**.

Reverses: Tetrastyle portable shrine, ram jumping right above. Within shrine, Tyche of Antioch seated facing, river god swimming to front at her feet. Carry bars are usually depicted at the base of the shrine. Either side of shrine, **Δ - Ε**, in exergue, **Σ C**. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝ**.

	a) <u>Gallus</u>	b) <u>Gallus and Volusian</u>	c) <u>Volusian</u>
504.	<i>BMC</i> 655	<i>BMC</i> 656	Paris 899
<i>One obverse die (Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, Paris 895) was also used on the next issue (SBF).</i>			

Medium denomination, 8.18g.

This coin is in the same style as the large bronzes of the first issue and has accordingly been placed with it.

Obverses: (*Trebonianus Gallus*)

Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. Paris 891

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΡΟΥΙΒΤΡΕΒΓΑΛΛΟΣΣΕΒ**.

Reverses: 1) Apollo standing facing, head left, phiale in outstretched right hand, lyre (kithara) in left hand, all between **Δ - Ε** **Σ - C**. At feet to right, coiled serpent. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝ**.

505.	Paris 891
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2) Tyche standing facing, head left, rudder in right hand, cornucopiae in left. In field, Δ - Ε, in exergue, SC. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝ.**

506. Waagé 710

Second issue

Large denomination, 17.73g.

Obverses: (*Trebonianus Gallus*)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC* 653

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΡΟΥΙΒΤΡΕΒΓΑΛΛΟΣΣΕΒ.**

(*Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian*)

Facing busts of Trebonianus Gallus (on left), laureate draped cuirassed, and

Volusian (on right), radiate draped cuirassed to front left. *BMC* 625

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΡΟΥΙΒΤΡΕΒΓΑΛΛΟΣΚΑΙ ΟΥΟΛΟΥΣΣΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒ; ΑΥΤΟΚΚΡΑΤΡΕΒΓΑΛΛΟΣΚΑΙΟΥΟΛΟΥΣΣΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒ(Θ).**

Although at least one obverse die used for the first issue was employed for this second issue, new dies with joint portraits of Gallus and Volusian were engraved. The style of the second issue is very apparent on these obverses, which are quite different from those of the first issue.

(*Volusian*)

Radiate draped bust to front right. *BMC* 665

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΡΑΦΙΝΓΑΛΟΥΕΝΔΟΥΟΛΟΥ ΣΣΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒ.**

Reverses: Tetrastyle portable shrine, ram jumping right above. Architrave of shrine always arched, top of shrine often depicted in perspective as if seen from above. Within shrine, Tyche of Antioch seated facing, river god swimming to front at her feet. Carry bars are usually depicted at the base of the shrine. Either side of roof, Δ - Ε, in exergue, Σ C . Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝ.**

507. a) Gallus
BMC 653

b) Gallus and Volusian
BMC 625

c) Volusian
BMC 665

Valerian

The final issue of provincial bronze at Antioch is also one of the smallest. Two obverse dies are known for Valerian, but their infrequency compared with dynastic coins of Philip with his son, or Trebonianus Gallus with Volusian (which themselves were not struck from an immense number of dies), implies that the issue was small even for two obverse dies. The style of portraiture accords well with radiates of Antioch dated to early in Valerian's reign.

Large denomination, 17.48g.

Obverses: Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC 667*

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΤΟΥΒΛΙΚΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΝΟΣ**
ΣΕΒ.

Reverses: Tetrastyle portable shrine, ram jumping right above. Architrave of shrine always arched, top of shrine in perspective as if seen from above. Within shrine, Tyche of Antioch seated facing, river god swimming to front at her feet. Carry bars are usually depicted at the base of the shrine. Either side of roof, **Α - Ε**, in exergue, **Σ C**. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝ.**

508. *BMC 667*

Small Coins with Antiochene Types

The following coins are all of very small module. Some of them seem to bear dates but on the specimens examined these were illegible. A few comparable types and denominations have been listed above among the dated issues. Most of these coins are probably second century, though a few may belong to the third century. The Ram/Scales type seems very third century in style, rather like the coinage of Philip at Antioch. Many of the coins listed below may not have been struck at Antioch at all. Since other cities of northern Syria, such as Zeugma and Hierapolis, imitate Antiochene types, some of these coins may have been issued at cities inland. Further study and systematic collection of well-preserved examples, preferably from secure archaeological contexts, are necessary before any conclusions can be drawn about the status of these 'minute' coins.

Since many of the coins exist as a single specimen, and their denominations are quite uncertain, their weights are usually given after the catalogue description. Numbers in brackets refer to the die axes.

- 1. Obverses:** Diademed draped bust of Artemis right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, $\Delta\text{N}[\]$.
Reverses: Lyre (chelys). Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\epsilon\tau\circ - [\]$. Above, Λ .
Seyrig cast = AUB. Seyrig cast no. 519.
- 2. Obverses:** As previous.
Reverses: Lyre (chelys). No legend.
 Æ 9 mm. Seyrig cast no. 650.
- 3. Obverses:** Turreted draped bust of Tyche right.
Reverses: Caduceus.
Paris
- 4. Obverses:** Bust of Apollo left.
Reverses: Laurel branch. No legend.
Antakya 18322
- 5. Obverses:** Laureate draped bust of Apollo right.
Reverses: Diademed draped bust of Artemis left, quiver behind shoulder.
BM 'Uncertain'
- 6. Obverses:** Bust of Artemis (?) right.
Reverses: Bow and quiver. No legend.
BM uncertain tray 9. Townley 1.25g. (11); Seyrig cast (no wt.)
- 7. Obverses:** Veiled turreted draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.
Reverses: Caduceus between crossed cornucopiae. No legend.
 Æ 9 mm. Seyrig cast no. 653.
- 8. Obverses:** Bucranium facing. No legend.
Reverses: Three ears of corn. No legend.
BM uncertain trays 11, 1920 8-5-1726; Antakya
The reverse type was used on small denomination Antiochene coins of the first century BC.
The obverse type is analogous to the countermark listed below, found on coins of Trajan struck at Rome for circulation in Syria.
- 9. Obverses:** Lyre (kithara). Border of dots.
Reverses: Tripod. To left, downwards, $\Delta\text{N}(?)$, to right, upwards, $\tau\iota\circ\times(?)$.
Delepierre 2132 'Reliquat', attr. to Zacynthus. 0.73g. (12)
Attribution to Antioch or Syria very uncertain indeed.

10. **Obverses:** Helmeted draped bust of Athena right. No legend.
Reverses: Caduceus between crossed cornucopiae. No legend.
 Æ 9 mm. Seyrig cast no. 655.
11. **Obverses:** As previous.
Reverses: Unintelligible design, possibly a degenerate form of previous type.
 Æ 9 mm. Seyrig cast no. 654.
12. **Obverses:** Ram jumping left, head turned, no legend.
Reverses: Pair of scales.
 BM uncertain trays 10, 1947 6-6-1277. 2.71g. (12)
 Attribution uncertain. Two specimens in the ANS were attributed by Newell to Commagene, though for no very clear reason. The style of the obverse coin is very similar to that of third century Antiochene coins, although given the rather general nature of Zodiacal types this may simply be coincidence. The patina of the BM coin, however, would make Syria a likely provenance.

Probably struck at Antioch

Small denomination, 3.08g.

13. **Obverses:** Head of Asclepius right. No legend.
 Head of Asclepius left. No legend.
Reverses: Serpent-entwined staff. Numeral letter sometimes in field to right or left as illustrated.
- i) No numeral letter. Seymour de Ricci
 - ii) **A** KB coll.
 - iii) **B** Paris 1069
 - iv) **r** Paris 1071

These coins were originally attributed to Pergamum. They are, however, quite common at Antioch, and it seems likely that they were struck there, especially since they bear numeral letters. One is tempted to place them under Hadrian, where civic coins of Antioch have numeral letters running from A to Γ and two similar styles are apparent. A temple to Asclepius was apparently constructed on the slopes of Mount Silpius in the reign of Domitian; Malalas 263, 11-17, Downey, p. 208.

Coinage Probably Produced at Rome for Circulation in Syria

The coinages listed below were probably struck at Rome for issue in Syria. Antioch may have been the place of issue; some of the coins of Trajan listed below bear Antiochene countermarks, which are otherwise found only on SC bronzes. To suggest that they relate to any attempts to reform the coinage of Syria is hazardous; possibly Vespasian was tampering with the *status quo* by issuing denarii at Antioch and then striking coins at Rome for issue there, but a more or less contemporary issue of bronze and tetradrachms at Antioch itself makes a reform rather unlikely. For silver coins produced at Rome under Trajan and Philip, see section on silver coinage.

Vespasian

The following coins have been identified as probable issues of the Rome mint by Carradice and Cowell, *NC* 1987, pp. 26-50. They are usually referred to as orichalcum asses, semisses etc. Their weights correspond to Antiochene denominations. These coins all have six o'clock die axes, whereas Antiochene coins of this period are at twelve o'clock.

BMCRE gives the series a long period of issue, but the early dates of AD 70-71 seem to be supported only by the absence of consulships on the coins in question. The series would seem to belong to AD 73-4, with Vespasian cos. v, Titus cos. iii, and Domitian cos ii, although the different denominations and types may represent separate issues.

'Commagene dupondii'

The following coins, of a single denomination only, have been classed as coins of Commagene on the analogy of Tiberian issues of the same type (see catalogue, under Antioch and Syrian coinage). Whether this type should be assigned to Commagene or to Syria in general remains debatable; studies of find spots are not sufficiently advanced enough to be able to discern any helpful pattern. Under the circumstances, it seems wisest to include them as part of general Syrian coinage. At any rate, it is doubtful if any of them were actually produced in Commagene.

Large denomination, 11.86g.

Obverses: (*Vespasian*)

Laureate bare bust right.

Laureate bare bust left.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, IMPCAESARVESPASIANAVG
or IMPCAESARVESPASIANVSAVG

1. **Reverses:** Crossed cornucopiae, between which, winged caduceus. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, PON MAX TR POT PP (COS V CENS).
BMCRE 886

(*Titus*)

Laureate bare bust right.

Laureate bare bust left.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, T CAESAR IMP PONT

2. **Reverses:** Crossed cornucopiae, between which, winged caduceus. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, TR POT COS III CENSOR.
BMCRE 891

(*Domitian*)

Laureate bare bust left.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, CAESAR AVGVSTI F

3. **Reverses:** Crossed cornucopiae, between which, winged caduceus. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, DOMITIANVS COS II.
BMCRE 883

Other issues

Whilst there appear to be two SC denominations of the Rome style under Vespasian, I suspect there was only intended to be a single denomination. An apparent difference lies in there having been two sizes of obverse die in use. This is because obverse dies used to strike the smaller ANTIOCHIA denomination were sometimes used for the SC denomination (note the die link for Vespasian, illustrated in the plates). The reverse dies, however, are all of the same module, and the mean weights are virtually the same for those coins with a large obverse die and those with a small obverse die. Therefore I have not made a distinction between two denominations for the SC coins, since I do not believe that there is one.

The die link between the SC and ANTIOCHIA coins is fortuitous, and strongly suggests that this group should be viewed as a single issue, made for distribution at Antioch.

The coins are discussed by M. Grant, *Asses of Orichalcum*, pp. 292-3.

Medium denomination, 6.49g.

Obverses: (Vespasian)

Laureate head right. Petrie (ANS)

Laureate head left. *BMC 219*

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, IMP CAESAR VESP AVG,
or IMP VESP AVG P M T P

4. **Reverses:** SC in laurel wreath.
BMC 219

(Titus)

Laureate head right. Oxford

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, T CAES IMP TR POT,
or T CAESAR IMP PON TR POT

5. **Reverses:** SC in laurel wreath.
Oxford

(Domitian)

Laureate head left. *SNG (Cop.) 176*

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, CAESAR DOMIT COS II

6. **Reverses:** SC in laurel wreath.
SNG (Cop.) 176

Small denomination 1, 4.32g.

Obverses: (Vespasian)

Laureate head right. ANS (N)

Laureate head left. ANS (N)

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, IMP VESP AVG P M T P

7. **Reverses:** Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ANTIOCHIA.

(Titus)

Laureate head right. *SNG (Cop.) 175*

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, T CAES IMP TR POT

8. **Reverses:** Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ANTIOCHIA.

(Domitian)

Laureate head left. ANS (N)

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, CAESAR DOMIT COS II

9. **Reverses:** Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ANTIOCHIA.

Small denomination 2, 3.08g.

Obverses: *(Vespasian)*

Laureate head left. Oxford

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, IMP VESP AVG

10. **Reverses:** Winged caduceus. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, P M TR POT PP.
Oxford

(Titus)

Laureate head right. Oxford

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, T CAESAR IMP or T CAES - IMP

11. **Reverses:** Winged caduceus. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, PON TR - POT.
Oxford

(Domitian)

Laureate head left. Oxford

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, CAES - AVG F

12. **Reverses:** Winged caduceus. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, DOMIT - COS II
Oxford

Trajan

A number of issues were struck at Rome for issue in Syria under Trajan. It is not clear whether they were all produced for issue at Antioch, but the nature of the types makes this likely.

Koinon of Syria

The obverse bust type is typical of Trajan's early coinage at Rome. It may be later than the demarc. ex upat B bronzes, but is probably no later than his third consulship, AD 100.

Medium denomination, 4.9g.

13. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΣ
ΝΕΠΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ.**
Reverses: Veiled, turreted draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΚΟΙΝΟΝ - ΣΥΡΙΑΣ.**
BMC p. 103, 1

Demarc. ex. upat. B

Large denomination, 12.74g.

14. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙΣ
ΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΤΕΡΜ.**
Reverses: **ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΥΠΑΤΒ** in two lines in laurel wreath.
BMC p. 57, 91, under Caesarea Cappadociae

Medium denomination, 6.38g.

15. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙΣ
ΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΤΕΡΜ.**
Reverses: **ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΥΠΑΤΒ** in two lines in laurel wreath.
BMC p. 58, 100, under Caesarea Cappadociae

Small denomination 1, 3.10g.

16. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΝΕΡ
ΤΡΑΙΑΝΣΕΒΤΕΡΜ.**
Reverses: Winged caduceus. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΔΗΜΑΡΧ - ΕΞ
ΥΠΑΤΒ.**
BMC p. 58, 107, under Caesarea Cappadociae

Small denomination 2, 1.7g.

17. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΝΕΡ
ΤΡΑΙΑΝΣΕΒΤΕΡΜ.**
Reverses: Bow, flanked by quiver and olive branch. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΔΗΜΑΡΧ - ΕΞΥΠΑΤΒ.
BMC p. 59, 110, under Caesarea Cappadociae

Quadrantes, perhaps issued for Syria

See J.M.C. Bowsher, *NC* 1987, pp. 166-168, also van Heesch, p. 56 and pp. 58-9. Hill dated these coins to AD 101 (*Undated coins of Rome*, p. 132). Although the coins are quite common in Syria, there seems to be no obvious Syrian connections to the types. Heracles and a boar are known types for Laodicea, but a connection with these coins and that city is tenuous to say the least. Their distribution seems to cover the whole of the Levant.

Quadrans (?), 2.58g.

18. **Obverses:** Laureate bust of Heracles right, lion skin knotted about neck. Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, **IMPCAESTRAIANAVGGERM.**
Reverses: Boar standing right, SC in exergue. No legend.
BMCRE 1062

SC bronzes

These coins have been dated by Metcalf to the period following Trajan's twentieth renewal of tribunician power on December 10, AD 115 'A note on Trajan's Latin *Aes* from Antioch' *ANSMN* 22 (1977), pp. 68-70. The coins are so obviously Roman in appearance - 'subtly but unmistakably foreign to the regular practice of the Roman mint' as Mattingly states in *BMCRE* III (Introduction, p. 108) - that they have been catalogued as 'Roman Imperial' for some time. The mint is usually described as Antioch or Cyprus in earlier catalogues, the Cypriot attribution springing from the similarity of these pieces to coins of Trajan from Cyprus, which were also likely to have been struck at Rome. Grant, *Asses of Orichalcum*, p. 294, was undecided as to whether they were struck in the east or at Rome, but preferred the east on the grounds that it 'was not very practical to *mint* large quantities of *aes* coinage at Rome, and then to transport them to the east'. Metcalf suggested Antioch as the mint, but the similarity between these coins and true Antiochene SC bronze is superficial. I believe it would be no more or less practical to send coins than dies or mint staff to the east, and that these orichalcum 'asses' and 'semisses' were made at Rome. Their presence in Syria is confirmed by site finds and countermarks, though a not inconsiderable number of the 'asses' made their way to northern Europe, including Britain (D.R. Walker, *Roman Coins from the Sacred Spring at Bath*, p. 289 and 314, mistakenly called *semisses*; also J. van Heesch, pp. 70-109).

Obverses: Radiate draped bust right. *BMCRE* 1093

Radiate draped cuirassed bust to front right. *BMCRE* 1095

Radiate bare bust to front right, drapery or aegis on far shoulder. *BMCRE* 1090

Medium denomination, 'as', 8.09g.

19. **Obverses:** Types as above. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, IMPCAESNER
TRAIANOOPTIM(O)AVGGERMDACPARTHICO.

Reverses: SC in laurel wreath, surrounded by PMTRPOTXXCOSVIPP, clockwise from seven o'clock.

BMCRE 1096

20. **Obverses:** Types as above. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, IMPCAESNER
TRAIANOOPTIM(O)AVGGERM.

Reverses: SC in laurel wreath, surrounded by DACPARTHICOPMTRPOTXXCOSVIPP.

BMCRE 1090

Small denomination, 'semis', 6.1g.

21. **Obverses:** Types as above. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, IMPCAESNER
TRAIANOOPTIM(O)AVGGERMDACPARTHICO.

Reverses: SC in laurel wreath, surrounded by PMTRPOTXXCOSVIPP, clockwise from seven o'clock.

BMCRE 1105

22. **Obverses:** Types as above. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, IMPCAESNER
TRAIANOOPTIM(O)AVGGERM.

Reverses: SC in laurel wreath, surrounded by DACPARTHICOPMTRPOTXXCOSVIPP.

BMCRE 1100

Countermarks

23. Bucranium in circular incuse. *GIC* 294

For other countermarks found on this coinage, see catalogue under Antioch, nos. 237 and 238.

Small denomination 3, 'uncia', 1.18g.

These tiny coins of Trajan have sometimes been regarded as 'unciae', fractional denominations struck at Rome for general circulation. Their type and presence in Syria suggests that they are the counterpart of Hadrian's tiny SC coins which were struck at Antioch (although these too have sometimes been attributed to Rome, even though their style is Antiochene, *eg. BMCRE 1833*). See comments by van Heesch, p. 57 and 60; Strack 496; *RIC* 443. They are made of copper according to van Heesch, but no analyses have been performed on these coins.

24. Obverses: Laureate draped bust of Trajan right. No legend.

Reverses: SC in laurel wreath. No legend.

BMCRE 1075

Hadrian

These coins were recognised as probable eastern issues by Grant, *Asses of Orichalcum*, pp. 295-6. The types are closely connected by obverse die links. Like the above SC coins of Trajan these coins are not unknown in the west, although sitefinds in the east confirm that they are much commoner there. Van Heesch, pp. 133-151, gives the distribution of this class of coin: 8 from the Rhine-Danube, 2 from Greece, and 10 from Syria (Antioch and Dura). To the Syrian material I can add 11 from the Antakya Museum sample, 6 seen in trade from Syria, and 2 in a Turkish collection, formed mostly of coins found at Doliche. The Lyre has obvious associations with Apollo; and this type is commonest among the Syrian site finds of this issue. Roma had already occurred on silver struck at Rome for issue in Syria under Trajan (see section on silver). It is a little surprising that Mattingly and Sydenham, when writing *RIC*, did not recognise the Tyche of Antioch, which was described as 'Woman ... resting left elbow on stork' (!). The reverse types of Lyre, Tyche, Roma and griffin, in both denominations, have all been found in Syria. A direct link with the mint of Rome is provided by some rare hybrids with obverse dies of normal asses and dupondii of Rome, coupled with the smaller module reverses of this coinage: van Heesch pp. 150-1, nos. 10a-b.

Obverses: Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMCRE 1350*

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, HADRIANVS - AVGVSTVS

Medium denomination, 'as', 7.95g.

25. Reverses: 1) Lyre (kithara). Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, COS III. In field,

S - C.

BMCRE 1354

26. 2) Tyche of Antioch seated left on rock, veiled, turreted, holding corn ears in right hand and resting left hand on rock, river god swimming left before. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, COS III. In field, S - C.

BMCRE 1350

27. 3) Roma, helmeted, seated left on throne, holding spear in left hand and Nike in right, shield at side of throne. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, COS III. In exergue, SC.

van Heesch, p. 146, no 1

28. 4) Griffin, seated left, right forepaw raised. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, COS III. In exergue, SC.

BMCRE 1353

29. 5) Griffin, leaping left. In field above, COS, below griffin, SC; III in exergue.
RIC 682
30. 6) Griffin, leaping right. In field above, COS, below griffin, SC; III in exergue.
RIC 681.

Small denomination, 'semis', 4.2g.

31. **Reverses:** 1) Lyre (kithara). Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, COS III. In field, S - C.
BMCRE 1359
32. 2) Tyche of Antioch seated left on rock, veiled, turreted, holding corn ears in right hand and resting left hand on rock, river god swimming left before. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, COS III. In field, S - C.
BMCRE 1358
33. 3) Roma, helmeted, seated left on throne, holding spear in left hand and Nike in right, shield at side of throne. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, COS III. In exergue, SC.
BMCRE 1356
34. 4) Griffin, seated left, right forepaw raised. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, COS III, SC in exergue.
van Heesch, p. 150, no. 8

NORTHERN SELEUCIS

Seleucia Pieria

Seleucia, founded by Seleucus I and named after himself, may have been intended to function as the central capital of his empire, before Antioch gained precedence. The city was granted *asylia* in about 144 BC, probably by Demetrius II (Seyrig, *Notes on Syrian Coins*, p. 21 n. 49), and freed by Antiochus Grypus in September 109 BC (Bellinger, 'End of the Seleucids', p. 69, and n. 47). In the late Seleucid period it frequently served as a base for opponents of the government at Antioch. Seleucia struck a series of silver tetradrachms down to 83 BC, when the city closed its doors to the hinterland and refused to recognise Tigranes who had gained control of the Seleucid state. As Seyrig suggests, Laodicea may have profited from this cessation of silver production. Seleucia gained considerably from Pompey for having resisted Tigranes. The third century coinage of Seleucia is rather different from that of most other mints in northern Syria. A coinage was struck for Septimius Severus, of a quite different type from that of Laodicea or even nearby Alexandria ad Issum. Coinage for the sole reign of Caracalla is similar to that of Antioch and Rhodus. The involvement of the mint of Antioch, as at other cities in the region, began in the reign of Elagabalus. Under Severus Alexander, Seleucia was the only city for which Antioch produced coins other than for itself; curiously there were no further issues for the city, especially at the times when the mint at Antioch was providing coinages for other cities in the region, under Philip and Trebonianus Gallus.

The era normally used on the coinage of Seleucia was that of the city's autonomy, from 109 BC. The Actian era, also used at Antioch, and the regnal year of Tiberius, occurs on Tiberius' coins.

The site of Seleucia Pieria occupies an area between the modern villages of Çevlik, Kapısuyu and Mağaracık, near Samandag, in the Turkish province of Hatay.

Types

The principal types relate to the main cults of the city, centred on the worship of Zeus in two main forms, Zeus Casius, and Zeus Ceraunius. Zeus Casius was a mountain god, and the focus of the cult was on the mountain which dominates the horizon to the south of Seleucia, Mount Casius, the modern Keldag or Jebel Akra. The main centre of worship was probably the shrine on the mountain itself, sufficiently important to be visited by several Roman emperors (Souda, s.v. Kasion; Vita Hadr. 14; Amm Marcell 22, 14.4). Zeus Ceraunius, the 'Thunderer', seems to be connected with a story surrounding the foundation of the city. Appian records that Seleucus founded a cult to thunder because a clap of thunder had preceded the foundation ceremony (Syr. 58). The head of Zeus occurs on a number of the early coins, as does the head of the city's Tyche. A few small denominations of the first century BC have a head of Apollo on the obverse and a tripod on the reverse.

Principal types:

a) *Shrine containing baetyl*. The shrine appears to be a portable type, square in plan, with a pointed roof. It is often depicted at a slight angle to give some perspective and show the rear columns. Within is a conical baetyl. The baetyl seems to be a mountain image, like that on coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia, or Emisa in Syria, and not merely a sacred stone. That this device is directly connected with the cult of Zeus Casius is implied in no uncertain terms by the legend on the coins which usually accompanies it. Sometimes the baetyl appears to be embossed with figures sacrificing, and has a niche in its upper part, perhaps for receiving libations, or, if a mountain image, perhaps representing a cave. On one specimen (*SNG (Cop.)* 410), struck under Elagabalus, the shrine is depicted as having rocks below it. The image does not occur as a coin type until the reign of Trajan. The baetyl has attracted some comment; H. Seyrig, *Ant. Syr.* 82, *Syria* 40 (1963), pp. 17-19; L. Lacroix, 'Note sur les monnaies de Séleucie de Piérie', *Annuaire de l'Institut*

b) *Thunderbolt on cushion placed on throne.* The symbols of Zeus Ceraunius, as evidenced by some of the reverse legends which accompany it. The thunderbolt usually has a prominent handle, and fillets hang down from it. Under Caracalla, Elagabalus and Severus Alexander the throne is draped.

c) *Tyche seated on throne, holding rudder and cornucopiae.* This type appears to be a representation of Seleucia's own city goddess.

Autonomous coinage to Tiberius

The earlier coins listed below belong to the Seleucid period, and the types continued without change into the period of Roman denomination. The larger denomination copies the types of the autonomous silver tetradrachms. Year 20, the year in which a large amount of autonomous bronze appears to have been struck, saw the last issue of royal Seleucid coinage, in bronze, bearing the portrait of Demetrius III. The issues of years 20-25 are contemporary with Demetrius and Philip Philadelphus, 31-34 with Tigranes, and 44 with Antiochus XIII and Pompey's arrival in Syria. This early autonomous coinage of Seleucia seems to have been much more sporadic than comparable emissions at Antioch, Laodicea or Apamea, the other three sister cities of the tetrapolis.

Large denomination, 7.06g.

Obverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. Palm branch sometimes over right shoulder.

Reverses: Thunderbolt with fillets, placed on throne. Between legs of throne, date. Letters sometimes to left and/or right of throne. Right hand letter sometimes outside, sometimes inside fillet. Above, in two lines, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ / ΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ, below, in two lines, ΚΑΙ / ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ.

Small denomination, 2.22g.

Obverses: Laureate head of Apollo right, bow and quiver over shoulder. No legend.

Reverses: Tripod, with date in field either side. To right, downwards in two lines, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ / ΤΗΣ to left, downwards, ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ.

a) Large denomination

b) Small denomination

Year 17, 92/1 BC

1. ⌘ [ZI] ⌘ Waagé 735

Year 20, 89/8 BC

2. ^M [K] Γ Fitzwilliam (Hart)

3. ^N [K]_{vac.} Seyrig Y 23.879, 64
(possibly Γ unclear)

4. ^N [K] Γ Seyrig cast. N perhaps
mistake for M; Seyrig
reads Δ for Γ

Year 21, 88/7 BC

5. ^{vac.} \overline{AK} _N Vatican 6; Seyrig cast

Year 24, 85/4 BC

6. ^M \overline{AK} _N ANS (N)

Year 25, 84/3 BC

7. ^E \overline{EK} _N Berlin 28796

Year 28, 81/80 BC

8. \overline{HK} _N ANS (N)

Year 29, 80/79 BC

9. ^Δ \overline{OK} _N Seyrig Y 23.879, 65

10. ^Δ \overline{OK} _N ANS (N). Right hand letter sometimes outside, sometimes inside, fillet

11. ^{Δ^I} \overline{OK} _N Seyrig Y 23.879, 66

Year 31, 78/77 BC

12. ^Δ \overline{AK} φ Berlin (Morel)

13. ^A \overline{AK} φ Paris (De Clercq)

Year 33, 76/5 BC

14. \overline{AK} φ Seyrig notes

15. \overline{AK} _H Seyrig notes

16.

Year 34, 75/4 BC

17. ^Z \overline{AK} φ Seyrig cast

Year 35, 74/3 BC

18. ^A \overline{EK} φ KB coll.

Year 44, 65/4 BC

19. ^Δ \overline{AM} _A ANS (N)

20.1 ^{IΔ} \overline{AM} _A Berlin (Imhoof)

20.2 \overline{AM} _A Berlin (Imhoof)

Year 45, 64/3 BC

21. ^{vac.} \overline{EM} _A ANS (N)

Year 51, 58/7 BC

22. $\Delta \overline{AN}^i \Delta$ SBF
23. $\Delta \overline{AN}^{vac.}$ Seyrig notes (perhaps misreading of previous type)

Year 53, 56/5 BC

24. $\Phi \overline{FN} \Delta$ Seyrig notes

Year 55, 54/3 BC

25. $^{vac.} \overline{EN} \Delta$ Seyrig cast

Year 58, 51/50 BC

26. $\parallel \overline{HN}^{vac.}$ Seyrig cast

Year 69, 40/39 BC

27. $\hat{i} \overline{O\Xi} \Delta$ Seyrig Y 23.879,67

Year 73, 36/35 BC

28. $^M \overline{FO}^A$ BMC 27
29. $^M \overline{FO}^H$ Paris (De Clercq)
30. $^M \overline{FO}^A$ ANS

Year 82, 27/6 BC

31. $A \overline{BN}^H$ Baldwin

Year 85, 24/3 BC

32. $^{vac.} \overline{EN} \parallel$ SBF (date not clear)

Year 92, 16/7 BC

33. $\approx \overline{B\eta}^H$ Hunter 22

Year 104, 4/3 BC

34. $\parallel \overline{AP} \parallel$ Antakya 18304

Other types

During the years in which the previous types were struck, some other large denomination pieces were issued, with different types. For the first type, the readings are not very clear, but the second type exists as several well-preserved specimens. Another specimen of the first type in New York (Newell), with bevelled edges, seems to be rather earlier, and bears the letter E, which may be a date (105/4 BC?).

Type 1

Obverses: Laureate head of Zeus right. No legend.

Reverses: Thunderbolt. Above, in two lines, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ / ΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ, below, in two lines, ΚΑΙ / ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ. Date in field as shown.

Year 41, 68/7 BC

35.  SBF (reading not clear)

Year 45, 64/3 BC

36.  ANS (N)

Type 2

Year 92, 17/6 BC

37. **Obverses:** Laureate head of Zeus right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ. All within bead and reel border.
Reverses: Veiled turreted draped bust of city goddess right, monogram ΓΑ behind, Β9 / κ before.
BMC 28

Tiberius

The large denomination is clearly intended to parallel a similar issue by Silanus at Antioch (see catalogue, under Antioch, above). It is Seleucia's first imperial portrait coinage; but note that the smaller denominations continue the earlier types. The large denomination is remarkable for its otherwise unparalleled use of dates expressed in regnal years (year 3) and Actian years (year 47).

Large denomination, 15.43g.

Obverses: Bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡ.

Reverses: ΕΠΙΣΙ / ΛΑΝΟΥ / ΣΕΛΕΥ / ΚΕΩΝ / ΖΜ in five lines, regnal year above, all within circle inside laurel wreath.

38. a) dot after gamma b) no dot after gamma
BMC 33 BMC 34

The dot after the regnal year may have the same meaning as that found on Antiochene tetradrachms of Nero dated by Caesarean and regnal years. See p. x.

Small denomination 1, 4.55g.

39. **Obverses:** Head of Zeus r.

Reverses: Thunderbolt. Above, in two lines, across field, ΣΕΛΕΥ / ΚΕΩΝ, below, ΕΠΙΣΙ / ΛΑΝΟΥ. Α - Ζ either side of throne.
SNG (Cop.) 400

Small denomination 2, 1.86g.

40. **Obverses:** Head of Apollo r., quiver and bow (?) at shoulder.

Reverses: Tripod. In four lines, vertically downwards, two each side of tripod: ΣΕΛΕΥ / ΚΕΩΝ / ΕΠΙΣΙ / ΛΑΝΟΥ; Α - Ζ in field.
Seyrig Y 28045.1339a

Countermarks, first century AD (?).

41. Rectangular incuse containing thunderbolt. *GIC* 473.

A single example was noted by Howgego on an issue of Tiberius, no. 38 above. The thunderbolt is a standard symbol for Seleucia.

42. Circular punch containing star of eight rays with large globular body. *GIC* 455.

Found twice on a coin of Tiberius in Berlin, type no. 38 above. The countermark may not be of Seleucia; it may not even be an official countermark.

Vespasian

Hunter 23 (Tyche/Thunderbolt on throne) seems to read year 180, AD 71/2, but in all respects it is otherwise identical to no. 31 (year 82) above. I suggest that the reading should be emended from ΠΠ to ΒΠ, and that there were no issues struck at Seleucia under Vespasian.

Titus, under L. Ceionius Commodus

For the identification of the legate L. Ceionius Commodus (Cos. AD 78) and the date of this issue see A. Dieudonné, *RN* 1909 pp. 182-7. Squared lettering is characteristic of this issue. These coins would seem to be among the commonest surviving pieces of Seleucia. They are dated year 188 (AD 79/80).

Small denomination, 6.57g.

43. **Obverses:** Veiled, turreted draped bust of Tyche right, palm branch over shoulder. Around, clockwise, from one o'clock, ΕΠΙΚΟΜΟΔΟΥ - ΗΠΡ.

Reverses: Thunderbolt on throne. In four lines across field, two above and two below:

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ / ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ / ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΘ / ΜΟΥ.

Waagé 744.

44. **Obverses:** Veiled, turreted draped bust of Tyche left, palm branch over shoulder. Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock: ΕΠΙΚΟΜΟΔΟΥ - ΗΠΡ.

Reverses: As previous.

Waagé 743.

Trajan

The coinage of Trajan represents the most substantial output of coinage at Seleucia during the Roman period. The pattern is set for all subsequent issues, with two main reverse types, the shrine and the thunderbolt. The use of the title 'aristos' indicates that the issue belongs to the later part of Trajan's reign, c. AD 114 and after, and the style of portrait is very close to similar coinages issued at Chalcis, Beroea, and Cyrrhus. The following types, reverses 1 and 2, and probably 3, were issued contemporaneously, and 1 and 2 share obverse dies.

Large denomination, 11.18g.

Obverses: (Trajan)

Laureate bare bust right.

Around, clockwise, from six o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΚΑΙ (C)ΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΟCΑΡΙCΤ(OC)
ΣΕΒΓΕΡΜΑΝ; ΓΕΡΜΔΑΚ.

The Hunter catalogue gives ΓΕΡΜΔΑΚ on a number of coins.

Medium denomination, 5.85g.

Obverses: (Trajan)

Laureate bare bust right.

Around, clockwise, from six o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΚΑΙ (C)ΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΟCΑΡΙCΤ(OC)
ΣΕΒΓΕΡΜΑΝ; ΓΕΡΜΔΑΚ.

(Tyche)

Veiled, turreted draped bust right or left.

Around, clockwise, from one o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ - ΙΕ - ΡΑCΥΛ.

Reverses: 1) Thunderbolt on throne. Above, in one line, CΕΛΕΥΚΕ(ΩΝ)
below, ΠΙΕΡΙΑC. Numeral letter between legs of chair.

	<u>a) large denomination (Trajan)</u>	<u>b) medium (Trajan)</u>	<u>c) medium (Tyche)</u>
45. Α	ANS (N)	CB 1310	-
46. Β	AUB	-	-
47. Γ	Seyrig cast	-	-
48. Δ	ANS (N)	CB 1304	Paris 1388
49. Ε	SBF	Hunter 24	HS Y 23879 68
50. Ϛ	BMC 35	Hunter 32	Antakya 20700
51. Ζ	-	-	-

2) Three quarter view of shrine of Zeus Casius with pointed roof, eagle on top, baetyl within. Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, CΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΠΙΕΡΙΑC.
Below shrine, ΣΕΥC / ΚΑCΙΟC. Numeral letter to right.

	<u>a) large denomination (Trajan)</u>	<u>b) medium (Trajan)</u>	<u>c) medium (Tyche)</u>
52. Α	BMC 36	Hunter 33?	-
53. Β	BMC 37	-	-
54. Γ	BMC 38	SNG (Cop.) 403	BM
55. Δ	BMC 39	-	-
56. Ε	BMC 40	BM?	Paris 1386
57. Ϛ	BMC 41	BMC 44	-
58. Ζ	SNG (Cop.) 405	-	-
59. Ϝ	BMC 43	-	-

An obverse die link between a 'shrine' coin of Trajan with the numeral letter (BMC 41) and a 'thunderbolt' coin with the same numeral letter (BMC 35) would favour the two types being issued contemporaneously. Furthermore the dies were not unique to a single numeral letter; an obverse die with the bust of Tyche was used for a 'shrine' coin with the numeral letter Γ (BMC 29) and a 'thunderbolt' coin with the letter Ϛ (Antakya 20700).

3) Tyche seated left on throne, holding rudder and cornucopiae.

60. Numeral letter illegible. Large denomination. Antioch exc.

This type, on the analogy of a similar type under Septimius Severus, would seem to belong to Seleucia. The obverse bust style is correct, and the coin bears a Seleucian countermark, no. 73.

Antoninus Pius

The coins of Antoninus Pius from Seleucia are somewhat rarer than those of Trajan, but follow the same pattern. As at Antioch and Cyrrhus the emperor's designated successor Marcus Aurelius is also honoured.

Large denomination, 10.35g.

Obverses: (Antoninus Pius)

Laureate bare bust right. BMC 46

Laureate draped cuirassed bust left. BMC 47

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΑΙΤΑΙΛΑΔ(ΡΙΑ)ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCEBEΥ.

(Marcus Aurelius)

BMC 48, a bronze of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar, is a coin of Seleucia ad Calycadnum.

Reverses: 1) Thunderbolt on throne. Above, ΣΕΥΣ/ΚΕΡΑΥ, star in field to r. Either side of stool, variously arranged in two horizontal lines, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ. Below stool, ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ. Numeral letter between legs of chair.

	<u>a) Pius</u>	<u>b) Aurelius</u>
61. A	HS Y 23879 69	-
62. B	-	-
63. Γ	-	-
64. Δ	CB 1311	-
65. Ε	Berlin (Imhoof)	-
66. ς	BMC 46	-

2) Three quarter view of shrine of Zeus Casius with pointed roof, eagle on top, star in field to right of eagle. Within shrine, baetyl of Zeus Casius. Around, clockwise, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ - ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ. Below shrine, ΣΕΥΣ / ΚΑΣΙΟΣ, numeral letter to right.

	<u>a) Pius</u>	<u>b) Aurelius</u>
67. A	-	BM 1920 11-4-2
68. B	BMC 47	-
69. Γ	Antakya 18187	-
70. Δ	ANS (N)	-
71. Ε	Antakya 18175	-
72. ς	Antakya 18260	-

The use of the star on the reverses of these coins may be connected with its use on the obverses and reverses of Antioch bronzes. See catalogue for Antioch, above.

Countermarks, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (?).

73. Rectangular incuse containing laureate bust facing right (*GIC* 136) or left (*BMC* 47).

74. Rectangular incuse containing two laureate heads facing each other. *GIC* 49.

Seleucia did not strike coins for Aurelius and Verus. Most of the other mints in the group were operating during this period, and it is tempting to follow Howgego's suggestion that countermark 74 was issued for the joint rulers, and to include the single portrait countermarks in this issue as well. Both occur on coins no later than Antoninus Pius.

Commodus

A single small denomination appears to have been struck under Commodus during his sole reign. There are no numeral letters. Coins of similar size were issued at Hierapolis in this reign.

Small denomination, 3.02g.

Obverses: Laureate draped cuirassed bust right, with full beard.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated,

ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥ - ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ; ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥ - ΚΟΜΟΔΟΝ.

Reverses:

75. 1) Thunderbolt on throne. Around, clockwise, ΣΕΛΕΥ, variously divided. All within wreath terminating in disk.
Waagé 755-6.

76. 2) Three quarter view of distyle shrine of Zeus Casius with pointed roof, baetyl of Zeus Casius within. Around, clockwise, CEAEYKEΩM , variously broken and abbreviated. Waagé 757-9, Hunter 43, Lindgren 2128 *SNG(Cop.)* 406.

77. 3) Bust of the Tyche of Seleucia r., veiled, turreted and draped. Around, clockwise, CEAEYKEΩNΠIEPIAC , Waagé 760-61, Hunter 42.

Septimius Severus

This coinage includes portraits of all principal members of Septimius' family, Caracalla, Geta and Julia Domna. It was issued between AD 198 and 209.

Large denomination, 13.14g.

78. **Obverses:** Draped bust of Julia Domna right. $\text{IOYΛΙΑ - ΔΟΜΝΑCCΕΒ}$.
Reverses: Tyche seated l. on throne, holding rudder and cornucopiae. Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, $\text{CEAEYKEΩNΠIEPIACIE}$ variously arranged and divided, two or three dots in exergue.
HS Y 28045.1395a

Medium denomination, 7.19g.

Obverses: (Septimius Severus)

Laureate bare bust right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, $\text{AYTOKPAKAICAOYCEΠTIMCEOYHPONTE}$.

(Caracalla)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided, $\text{AYTOKKMAY ANTONINOC}$.

(Geta)

Bare headed draped bust right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{AOYKICEΠTI - ΓETA []}$.

Reverse: 1) Thunderbolt on throne. $\text{CEAEYKEΩNΠIEPIAC (ZEYCKEPAYNIOC)}$. variously abbreviated and arranged, sometimes around, from six or seven o'clock, sometimes with ZEYC between legs of throne, or sometimes arranged in four lines across field.

a) Severus

b) Caracalla

d) Geta

79. BMC 49

BMC 53

-

2) Tetrastyle shrine containing baetyl of Zeus Casius, eagle on top of roof. Dot sometimes placed in pediment, sometimes above baetyl. Around, from seven o'clock, $\text{CEAEYKEΩNΠIEPIACZEYCKACIOC}$ and abbreviations, or: around, from seven o'clock, $\text{CEAEYKE - ΩNΠIEPIAC}$, below shrine, ZEYC / KACIOC .

a) Severus

b) Caracalla

d) Geta

80. BMC 50

BMC 52

Paris 1406

The thunderbolt and shrine coins would appear to be more or less contemporary, Paris 1391 (Severus, thunderbolt) sharing an obverse die with Paris 1394 (shrine).

Countermarks, sole reign of Caracalla (?)

81. Rectangular incuse containing AVII or IIVII. GIC 721, Antakya 18323.

82. Oval incuse containing AYP. Antakya 18244. On an issue of Septimius, no. 80a, above.

83. Uncertain bust right in rectangular incuse. GIC 137. On two coins of Septimius.

Caracalla, sole reign

Large denomination, 12.02g.

84. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously abbreviated, $\text{AV}\cdot\text{K}\cdot\text{M}\cdot\text{A}\cdot\text{AV}$ - $\text{ANT}\omega\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\text{OC}$ (CE).
Reverses: Draped bust of Julia Domna to front right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{CE}\text{ΛEYKIA}\text{C}-\text{ΠI}\epsilon\text{P}\text{I}\text{A}\text{C}\cdot\text{I}\cdot$ or $\text{ΠI}\epsilon\text{P}\text{I}\text{A}\text{C}\cdot\text{I}\cdot\Delta$ (or I A).
BMC 51
Imhoof suggests that I stands for Iulia, which seems a plausible explanation, although it is unusual for a name to be so abbreviated. It might also stand for I(EPAC) A(CYΛOY)

Medium denomination, 8.4g.

- Obverses:** Laureate bare bust of Caracalla right.
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, AVTKAI - $\text{ANT}\omega\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\text{OC}$ - CE ; $\text{AVT}\cdot\text{K}\cdot\text{M}\cdot\text{A}\cdot\text{YP}$ - $\text{ANT}\omega\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\text{OC}\text{CE}$.
85. **Reverses:** 1) Thunderbolt on draped throne. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{CE}\text{ΛEYKIA}\text{ΠI}\epsilon\text{P}\text{I}\text{AZ}\epsilon\text{V}\text{C}\text{K}\epsilon\text{P}\text{AY}\text{N}\text{I}\text{OC}$.
BMC 56
86. 2) Tetrastyle shrine containing baetyl of Zeus Casius. Eagle in pediment. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{CE}\text{ΛEYKIA}\text{ΠI}\epsilon\text{P}\text{I}\text{AZ}\epsilon\text{Y}\text{C}$. In exergue, KACIOC .
Berlin (v. Knobelsdorf)

Elagabalus

There were two distinctly different coinages issued for Elagabalus at Seleucia. One was probably of local issue, and the other was in all likelihood struck at Antioch.

Group 1 Coinage of local issue

Large denomination, 12.52g.

- Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder.
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{AVT}\text{K}\text{M}\text{A}\text{ANT}\omega\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\text{OC}\text{CE}$.
87. **Reverses:** 1) Thunderbolt on draped throne, star in field above. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{CE}\text{ΛEYK}\epsilon\text{I}\text{A}\text{C}\text{ΠI}\text{A}\text{I}\text{P}\text{I}\text{A}\text{C}$.
Paris 1401
88. **Reverses:** 2) Tetrastyle shrine containing baetyl of Zeus Casius, eagle standing on roof.
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{CE}\text{ΛEYK}\epsilon\text{I}\text{A}\text{C}\text{ΠI}\text{A}\text{I}\text{P}\text{I}\text{A}\text{C}$.
Paris 1403
Both types, 87 and 88, frequently share obverse dies.

Medium denomination, 6.09g.

89. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder.
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{AVT}\text{K}\text{M}\text{A}\text{ANT}\omega\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\text{OC}\text{CE}$.

Reverses: Bust of city goddess, draped, turreted, veiled, in distyle shrine with pointed roof. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \kappa \epsilon \iota \alpha \varsigma \tau \iota \alpha \iota \rho \iota \alpha \varsigma$, sometimes spelled $\kappa \alpha \iota \iota \alpha \varsigma$. Paris 1398

This type is easy to mistake for a similar issue at Laodicea, BMC 99-103. The coins of Seleucia are, however, much larger than those of Laodicea, and worn specimens can be distinguished by their size alone.

Small denomination, 3.79g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕ}$.

90. **Reverses: 1)** Thunderbolt on draped throne. $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \kappa \epsilon \iota \alpha \varsigma \tau \iota \alpha \iota \rho \iota \alpha \varsigma$.
Berlin (Löbbecke)

91. **2)** Tetrastyle shrine containing baetyl of Zeus Casius, eagle on roof. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \kappa \epsilon \iota \alpha \varsigma \tau \iota \alpha \iota \rho \iota \alpha \varsigma$.
Berlin (Imhoof)

All specimens of nos. 90 and 91 seem to be struck from a single obverse die.

Group 2

'Antioch' coinage

All of the obverse dies used for this group were also used for the coinage of other cities. The centre of production was almost certainly Antioch. The main styles of Antiochene coinage, 'elegant' bust; 'square head', and 'angular', all occur on these coins of Seleucia.

Large denomination, 16.43g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. *SNG (Cop.)* 408

Laureate bare bust right. *SNG (Cop.)* 410

Radiate bare bust left. Trade, 1985

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock or one o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, $\text{ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕ}$, or ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC .

Dies shared with Antioch, Zeugma, Samosata.

92. **Reverses: 1)** Thunderbolt on draped throne, dot between thunderbolt and drapery. Around, clockwise from six o'clock, $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \kappa \epsilon \omega \nu \tau \tau \iota \epsilon \rho \iota \alpha \varsigma$ or $\tau \iota \alpha \iota \rho \iota \alpha \varsigma$.
Paris 1407

93. **Reverses: 2)** Tetrastyle temple containing baetyl of Zeus Casius, eagle on roof. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \kappa \epsilon \omega \nu \tau \tau \iota \epsilon \rho \iota \alpha \varsigma$ or $\tau \iota \alpha \iota \rho \iota \alpha \varsigma$.
SNG (Cop.) 410

Severus Alexander

Although no die links between Seleucia and Antioch are known for Alexander, the style is so close to his group 3 bronzes of Antioch that it seems likely that the coins were struck there. An interesting feature is the use of the abbreviation $\text{OB } \Theta$ in the exergue of the reverse of the Seleucia coins, making a connection between this mark and the value mark H on coins of Antioch likely. For the interpretation of this mark as 'nine obols', see section on denominations and metrology.

Large denomination, 13.33g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder.

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΡΣΕΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΣΕ.

94. **Reverses:** 1) Thunderbolt on draped throne. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ(ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ)ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ; in exergue, O - B/Θ or OΒΘ.

Paris 1409

95. 2) Tetrastyle shrine containing baetyl of Zeus Casius, eagle on roof. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ(ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ)ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ. In exergue, O - B/Θ or OΒΘ.

SNG (Cop.) 411

Countermark, second quarter of third century (?)

96. Rectangular incuse containing Σελ. GIC 563.

The obvious interpretation of this countermark is Sel[eukeia]. It is impossible to determine when this countermark was applied, in view of the absence of further coinage from Seleucia after Severus Alexander. As earlier under Aurelius and Verus, Seleucia was not included in the general bonanza of coin production under Philip, when Antioch struck coins for other cities in the northern group, and it is possible that the countermark was applied during this period, or even later, under Trebonianus Gallus.

Rhosus

The coinage of Rhosus (modern Arsuz or Uluçınar, in the Turkish province of Hatay) has been discussed in detail recently by Levante, *NC* 1985, pp. 237-243. There is clearly some uncertainty as to whether it lay in Cilicia or Syria. Levante places it in Cilicia in his *SNG (Switzerland)*, but is more cautious in the *NC* article. The question is a rather esoteric one, since eastern Cilicia was part of the province of Syria for much of the first century AD. Geographically it lies on the northern side of the Amanus, which would favour Cilicia, but it also lies in the region of Pieria, which was probably Syria. Malalas (8.14) says it was founded by the legendary Cilix, son of Agenor, rather than Syros, which strengthens its Cilician identity. Rhosus may have lain on the border of Cilicia and Syria; an edict of Octavian found at Arsuz, outlining privileges and confirmation of the rights of Rhosus, was to be registered by the city authorities of Tarsus and Antioch, the *metropoleis* of Cilicia and Syria, and in the Byzantine period it was subordinate to the two nearest Cilician and Byzantine *metropoleis*, Anazarbus and Antioch.

The era of Rhosus appears to begin in 42/1 BC, supposedly dated from the grant of autonomy by M. Antonius, although the precise date of 42/1 BC is based on the uncertain grounds that the reverse of a dated coin, no. 25 below, represents Crispina, and therefore is appropriate for the marriage of Commodus and Crispina in 178 (Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes* 4, 1953, p. 98 ff.). There are numerous types on the coins and countermarks. Little is known of the cults of Rhosus, and the meaning of many of the types is unclear. The main types suggest cults of Zeus/Hadad, Athena (=Allat), and Artemis. A common type is a mummiform cultus statue of Zeus/Hadad, on a basis flanked by kneeling bulls, with caps of Dioscouri (?) above each bull. The deity holds a thunderbolt, an ear of corn, a bunch of grapes, or a pomegranate (For a fuller discussion of the type, see Levante, *loc cit.*, p. 239). A head of Zeus occurs on some coins. The Tyche of Rhosus is a seated figure, holding an aphlaston, the latter a device which appears by itself on some coins. Malalas relates in a rather garbled account that the Tyche of Antigoneia was transferred to Antioch by Seleucus I, and later to Rhosus. A mountain appears on a coin of Commodus. It may be a representation of Mount Pieria, or Mount Casius. At the summit is a small seated figure, perhaps Zeus. Artemis is sometimes represented by a bust on a crescent, and sometimes by a quiver.

References are all to the article by Levante, *NC* 1985, pp. 237-243.

Before 42 BC

Large denomination, 7.64g.

Obverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.

Reverses: Cultus-statue of Zeus/Hadad, holding various attributes, between two bulls, caps of Dioscouri above each bull. To right, downwards in two lines, ΡΩΣΕΩΝ / ΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ to left, downwards, ΚΑΙΑΣΥΛΟΥ.



Medium denomination, 3.64g.

Obverses: Circular shield, on which, wolf or dog standing right. No legend.

Reverses: Cultus-statue, as before. ΡΩΣΕΩΝ / ΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ / ΚΑΙΑΣΥΛΟΥ.

a) Large denomination

b) Medium denomination

- | | | |
|--|--------------|---------------|
| 1.  | Levante 1-7 | Levante 20 |
| 2.  | Levante 8-13 | Levante 14-19 |

Countermark

3. Aphlaston in rectangular incuse. Levante p. 240.

After 42 BC

Some of the following coins are dated, probably according to an Antonian era beginning in 42/1 BC. The exact sequence of some of the coins, and their relationship to issues with imperial portraits, is not clear.

Large denomination, 7.23g.

Obverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.

Reverses: Cultus-statue of Zeus/Hadad, holding various attributes, between two bulls, caps of Dioscouri above each bull. To right, downwards in two lines, ΡΩΣΕΩΝ/ΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ to left, downwards in two lines, ΚΑΙΑΣΥΛΟΥ/ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝ.

4. $\overline{\text{CI}} \text{€} = \text{Year 15, 27/6 BC? Levante 21-22.}$

5. $\overline{\text{I}} \text{€} = \text{Year 16, 26/5 BC? Levante 23-26.}$

6. $\overline{\text{EIS}} \cdot \text{OB} = \text{Year 72, AD 30-1? Levante 27-39}$

Medium denomination, 4.83g.

Obverses: Circular shield, on which, wolf or dog standing right. No legend.

Reverses: Cultus-statue, as previous. ΡΩΣΕΩΝ / ΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ / ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝ.

7. Date illegible. Levante 40.

Small denomination, 2.43g.

8. **Obverses:** Head of Zeus right. No legend.

Reverses: Quiver with fillets. Either side, downwards in two lines, ΡΩΣΕΩΝ
ΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ.

Levante 54

Tiberius (?)

Large denomination, 8.76g.

9. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙ [].

Reverses: Wolf or dog standing left. Above, horizontally across field, ΡΩΣΕΩΝ.

In exergue, ΕΤΑ[?].

Levante 59

Levante restores the date as ET AΞ or AO, AD 19/20 or 29/30, although it could conceivably be a regnal year.

Claudius

Large denomination, 9.85g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock,

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟ - Σ - ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

10. **Reverses:** 1) Tyche standing left, holding rudder in right hand and cornucopiae in left hand. To right, downwards, ΡΩ Ε Ω Ν . To left, horizontally in two lines, ΕΤ / ΩΠ .
Levante 60-61
11. 2) City goddess, veiled, turreted, seated right on rock, holding aphlaston in right hand. Behind, clockwise, upwards, ΡΩΣΕΩΝ . In field to right, horizontally in two lines, ΕΤ / ΩΠ .
Levante 62-69

Trajan

Issue 1, dated year 139, AD 98 (?)

Large denomination, 10.23g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided, ΚΑΙΣΑΡΝΕΡΟΥΑΤΡΑΙΑΝΟϚ .

12. **Reverses:** 1) Tyche standing left, holding rudder in right hand and cornucopiae in left hand. To right, clockwise, downwards, ΡΩΕΩΝ . In field to left, horizontally in two lines, ΕΤ / ΘΑΡ .
Levante 70-71
13. 2) Diademed draped bust of a goddess (Artemis?) left. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΡΩΕΩΝΕΤΘΑΡ .
Levante 72-74

Medium denomination, 6.58g.

14. **Obverses:** Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.
Reverses: Cultus-statue of Zeus/Hadad, holding various attributes, between two bulls, caps of Dioscouri above each bull. To right, downwards in two lines, ΡΩΕΩΝ / ΤΗΕΙΕΡΑϚ to left, downwards in two lines, ΚΑΙΑΕΥΛΟΥ / ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝ . Date in exergue?
Levante 53

Although the only surviving specimen of this coin bears no clear date, the style strongly suggests that it is part of this issue, and it fits neatly into the denominational structure.

Small denomination, 2.52g.

15. **Obverses:** Helmeted bust of Athena, left. Before bust, clockwise, upwards, ΕΤΘΑΡ .
Reverses: Wolf or dog standing left. Above, clockwise from eleven o'clock, ΕΤΘΑΡ .
Levante 41-42

Issue 2, dated year 148, AD 106/7?

Small denomination, 2.25g.

16. **Obverses:** Helmeted bust of Athena, left. Before bust, clockwise, upwards, ΕΤΘ·ΗΜΡ .
Reverses: Aphlaston, pomegranate (?) to right. To left, downwards, ΡΩΕΩΝ .
Levante 43-46

Small denomination 2, 1.51g.

17. **Obverses:** Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess left. Before bust, ΕΤΟ·ΗΜΡ.
Reverses: Harpe. To left, upwards, ΡΝΣΕ, to right, upwards, ΩΝ.
Levante 47-52

Countermarks

18. Eagle standing left, head right, wings spread, in rectangular incuse. *GIC* 342. On one coin of Claudius and one of Trajan (large denominations).
19. Gorgoneion (?) facing, in square incuse. *GIC* 194. On one coin of Claudius and one of Trajan (large denominations).
Both countermarks may have been specific to the denomination, which was not issued at Rhosus except under Claudius and Trajan. Howgego, GIC p. 141 suggests that no. 19 may represent Hadad rather than a gorgoneion, which would be appropriate for Rhosus.

Coinage of uncertain date, possibly reigns of Antoninus Pius or Commodus

Medium denomination, 7.17g.

20. **Obverses:** Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. No legend.
Reverses: Cultus-statue of Zeus/Hadad, holding various attributes, between two bulls, caps of Dioscouri above each bull. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΡΩC ΕΩΝ
ΙΕΡΑCΑCΙΛΟΒΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ.
Levante 57-58

Small denomination, 5.77g.

21. **Obverses:** Laureate head of Zeus right. No legend.
Reverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΡΩC ΕΩΝ - ΙΕΡΑΣ.
Levante 56

Antoninus Pius

Medium denomination, 7g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΑΝΤΩΝ - CΕΒΑCΤΟΥ.

22. **Reverses:** 1) Diademed draped bust of goddess (Artemis?) right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΡΩC ΕΩΝΙΕΡΑC.
Levante 75-76
23. 2) Cultus-statue of Zeus/Hadad, holding various attributes, between two bulls, caps of Dioscouri above each bull. ΡΩC [].
Levante 77

Commodus

Coins dated year 219 (= AD 177/8?).

Large denomination, 14.72g.

24. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust of young Commodus, to front, right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ - ΚΟΜΟΔΟΝΣ.
Reverses: Diademed draped bust of goddess, crescent behind shoulders. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΡΩΓΕΩΝΙΕΡΑCΕΤΘΙC.
Levante 78-79

Medium denomination, 7.94g.

25. **Obverses:** As previous.
Reverses: Female figure (Aphrodite or Crispina?) seated right on rock (?), holding mirror in left hand. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΡΩΓΕΩΝΙΕΡΑCΕΤΘΙC.
Levante 80

The known specimen of no. 25 is struck from the same obverse die as no. 24, although the size of the reverse die strongly suggests that no. 25 was intended to be a smaller denomination.

Small denomination, 4.39g.

26. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, [] - ΚΟΜΟΔΟ[].
Reverses: Mountain, on which, small seated figure (Zeus?). Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΡΩΓΕΩΝ ΕΤΟCΘΙC. (sic).
Levante 81

Caracalla

Coins dated year 256, (= AD 214/5?).

Large denomination, 18.36g.

27. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡCΕΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝCΕ.
Reverses: Draped bust of Julia Domna right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΔΟΜΝΑΝCΕΒ. In exergue, in two lines, ΡΩΓΕΩΝ ΕΤΟΥCΕΝC.
Levante 83

Medium denomination

28. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡCΕΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝCΕ.
Reverses: Diademed draped bust of goddess right, on crescent. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΡΩΓΕΩΝ - ΕΤΟΥCΕΝC.
Levante 82

Nicopolis Seleucidis

Appian claimed that Nicopolis (modern Islahiye in the Turkish province of Gaziantep) was founded by Seleucus I (*Syr.* 57). Ancient authors seem to have been a little confused about the exact position of the city (Jones, *Cities*, p. 452 n. 24). Ptolemy and Strabo place it in Cilicia, but geographically its position on the eastern side of the Amanus puts it in Syria. Its title on coins implies that it was considered to be in 'Seleucis', but it may once have been included in Commagene, if Appian's claim that it was 'in Armenia, very near Cappadocia' carries any weight - Commagene originally being considered part of Armenia.

The coinage of Nicopolis is very rare indeed. It is very Cilician in fabric and style. Some of the types are common to Cilician coins. The figures of Dionysus, and particularly the bust of this god, found on the coins of Nicopolis, also occur in a similar fashion on coins of Hierapolis Castabala and Epiphaneia (Levante, *SNG (Switzerland)*, nos. 1589 and 1819). The relative proximity of Nicopolis to these cities may indicate a common cult of Dionysus. The recurrent type from Septimius Severus to Philip is a figure of Nemesis in a shrine. Much less intelligible is a scene on some coins of Philip, depicting two female (?) figures in short dresses, a river god, and Eros with a torch; the whole scene may relate to a local legend. Other types seem to copy the coinage of Antioch or Seleucia Pieria. Most important of all, the third century coinage carries a series of intelligible value marks, which appear to be expressed in terms of obols and chalcoi (see section on metrology and denominations). On the coinage of Caracalla these range from the smallest coin marked \surd ⌘ (one obol and four chalcoi?) to six (obols). The large denomination issues of Severus Alexander carry the numeral *theta* in the exergue on the reverse (nine obols?); and coins of Philip of a lesser module bear the letter *eta* (eight obols?).

There are no dates on the coins of Nicopolis.

Commodus, sole reign

Large denomination, 13.32g.

Obverses: Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΜΑΡΑΥΡΗ - ΚΟΜΟΔΟΣΑΝ.

1. **Reverses:** 1) ΝΕΙ / ΚΟΠΟΛ / ΕΙΤΩΝΤ / ΗΣΣΕΛΕΥ / ΚΙΔΟΣ
in laurel wreath.
Seyrig Y 23879/80

2. 2) ΝΕ / ΙΚΟΠ / ΟΛΕΙ / ΤΩΝ in wreath, around which, ΤΗΣΣΕΛΕΥΚΙ
ΔΟΣΙΕΡΑΣ.

Fitzwilliam (Leake)

Seyrig Y 23879/80 shares an obverse die with Fitzwilliam (Leake).

Medium denomination, 7.6g.

Obverses: Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front left. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, [] ΚΟΜΟ - ΔΟΣΑΝΤΩ.

3. **Reverses:** 1) Dionysus standing left, holding thyrsus in left hand, uncertain object to right at feet (panther?). ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙ - Τ - ΩΝΤΗΣΣΕΛΕ.
Berlin 8111
4. 2) Bust of Dionysus right, wreathed with ivy, thyrsus before bust. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΤΗΣΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΔ - ΟΣ.
SBF
5. 3) Two figures advancing left, uncertain object to left at feet (river god?).
Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, ΝΕΙΚΟ[]ΣΣΕΛ.
Winterthur (Seyrig cast)
- The reverse type may be the same as that found under Philip, no. 17, below. All three of the above types appear to have been struck from a single obverse die.*

Septimius Severus

Large denomination, 18.28g.

6. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, []ΣΕΠΤΙ - [].
Reverses: ΝΕΙΚΟ/ΠΟΛΕΙ/ΤΩΝ in wreath, around which, ΤΗΣΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΔΟΣΙΕΡΑΣ.
BMC 1

Medium denomination, 7.32g.

Obverses: (Geta)

Bare headed draped bust right. BM 1979
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΛΟΥΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΝΓΕΤΑΝ.

Reverses: Draped bust of Dionysus right, wreathed with ivy, thyrsus over left shoulder.
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΝΕΙ - ΚΟΠΟ - ΛΕΙΤΩΝ.

a) Septimius

b) Caracalla

c) Geta

7. - - BM 1979

Caracalla, sole reign

Large denomination, 'six', 21.74g.

8. **Obverses:** Radiate draped cuirassed bust to front right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡΕΟΥ - ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝ[].
Reverses: City goddess seated left on rock, holding ear of corn (?) in right hand, river god swimming at feet. in field to left, Ψ, around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΝ - ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΔΟΣ.
ANS 73.191.158

Medium denomination, 'three', 9.49g.

9. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΗΜ
ΑΥΡΕΟΥ-ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝ[].
Reverses: Bust of Dionysus right, wreathed with ivy (?), thyrsus over left shoulder. In
field to left, Γ, around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ·ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΔΟΣ.
Berlin (v. Rauch)

Small denomination, √ x̂, 5.15g.

10. **Obverses:** Draped bust of Julia Domna right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ - ΔΟΜΝ[].
Reverses: Emperor, in military attire, holding wreath in raised right hand. In field to left,
√, in field to right, Δ / X̂. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤ[]
ΙΔΟΣ.
BM 1979

Elagabalus

Large denomination, 25.1g.

11. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΑΥΤΚ[]ΑΥΡΕΟΥ - ΑΝΤ[].
Reverses: Nemesis standing right, griffin with wheel to right at feet, all within distyle
arched shrine with spirally fluted columns. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΝΙ[]Ν - ΣΕΛ[].
Seyrig Y 23879/81

Severus Alexander

Large denomination, 18.46g.

Obverses: Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC 2*
Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. Berlin (v. Knobelsdorf)
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΣΕΩΥΗΡΟΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΣΕ.
or ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡΕΥΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΣΕ, variously divided and
abbreviated.

Both radiate and laureate obverses share reverse dies (see plates).

12. **Reverses:** Nemesis standing right, griffin with wheel to right at feet, all within distyle
arched shrine with spirally fluted columns. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ - ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΔΟΣ. In exergue, Θ.
BMC 2
13. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right. Around, clockwise from seven
o'clock, ΑΥ[]-ΑΝΔ[].
Reverses: City goddess seated facing, on rock, river god swimming at feet. To left,
Tyche standing, holding rudder and cornucopiae. To right, emperor (?) in military attire,
crowning city goddess. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛ[].
BM 1980

The above type appears to copy Severus Alexander's issues at Antioch.

Medium denomination, 14.02g.

14. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, [] - ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ Ε.
Reverses: Uncertain object on draped throne or table. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛ[] ΛΕΥΚΙΑΟΣ.
ANS (N), under 'Uncertain'

The above type perhaps imitates the coinage of Seleucia Pieria.

Countermark

15. Nike flying left, holding wreath and palm, in oval incuse. *GIC* 263. On coins of Caracalla (2), Elagabalus (1), and Severus Alexander (9). Not specific to a single denomination.

Philip

Large denomination, 15.72g.

Obverses: Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC* 3
Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. Lindgren A2110A
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚ(Μ)ΙΟΥΛ(ΙΟΥ)ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥΣ Ε(Β).

16. **Reverses:** 1) Nemesis standing left, altar to right, griffin with wheel to left at feet, all within distyle shrine with spirally fluted columns. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided, ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΟΣ. In exergue, Θ or ↻ ?
Lindgren A2110A

17. 2) Two female figures, each dressed in a short chiton, advancing right. In field to right, Eros flying right, holding torch; below, river god swimming. In field to right, Η, Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΝΕΙΚΟ - Π - ΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΟΣ.
BMC 3

Paris (Chandon) 1091A, 'Philip II', is a coin of Geta from Nicopolis in Epirus: M. Karamesine-Oikonomidou, 'He nomismatokopia tes Nikopoleos', Athens, 1975, p. 130, no. 4 (same dies).

Countermark

18. Bull standing right in oval incuse. *GIC* 296. On a coin of Severus Alexander, and a coin of Philip.

Chalcis

The classical Chalcis (modern Qinnasrin, near Aleppo, in Syria) was probably a Seleucid military colony on an earlier town (Jones, *Cities*, p. 246). P. Monceau and L. Brosse, 'Chalcis ad Belum', *Syria* (1925), p. 339.

S. Ronzevalle ('Helioseiros', *Aréthuse* 7 (1930), pp. 6-17) sought to attribute coins bearing the legend ΦΛ·ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ to Chalcis sub Libano, but Seyrig argued that these belonged to a northern Syrian mint, simply because their flans and styles were similar to those of Beroea and Cyrrhus, and also because he found them in bazaars in Aleppo, but not in Damascus or Beirut (*Syria* 12, 1931). It is, however, ironic that one of the coins of Hadrian, in a private collection, appears to have been overstruck on a coin of Agrippa II of Judaea. Jones, *Cities*, considers the coins of Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, were struck at this Chalcis and not Chalcis sub Libano. That Aristobulus was king of the Iturean Chalcis is more likely, though in the absence of any find spots it cannot be proved or disproved. I have not included the coins of Aristobulus here.

There are three groups of coins that can be attributed to Chalcis ad Belum. The pattern of coinage is very similar to that of neighbouring Beroea. The coins of Trajan are identical in style to those of Seleucia Pieria, Beroea and Cyrrhus. The letters KE found on coins of Trajan and Hadrian may be a date. If so, since they appear on coins of Trajan and Hadrian it is clear that the year 25 must fall in AD 117, which would give a date of c. AD 92 for the beginning of the era, possibly when Chalcis was liberated from a dynasty, though the dynast was probably not Aristobulus, as Jones suggests. Chalcis may have adopted the title 'Flavia' at the same time as its 'liberation'.

The main types are the standard 'legend in wreath', bearing the city ethnic, and a standing figure of a deity, sometimes within a *naiskos* with a pointed roof. The links between the 'legend in wreath' and the other type show that they cannot be from different mints, as suggested by Wroth (*BMC*, introduction, p. 55). The deity, who is radiate and holds a palm branch and a spear and small shield, is named on coins as Helioseiros. Ronzevalle suggests that 'seiros' is a Greek rather than Syrian word, and links it with Sirius - a star does occur on coins with this type. A similar deity occurs at Rabbathmoba, a so-called 'Ares' (Spijkerman, *Coins of the Decapolis*, p. 264 no. 1). Price and Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, p. 166, identify the deity of Chalcis as Helios Hieros and point to the similar deities at Dium, Rabbathmoba, and the 'Phanabal' of Ascalon, suggesting that the Chalcis deity is a universal sky god of Eastern Religion. Ronzevalle, *loc. cit.* p. 9, says: 'Hélioseiros serait un dieu solaire, de conception apparentée à celle de Resaph, dont le caractère guerrier ... s'accommodait sans peine d'attributs pacifiques, et qui accordait des faveurs à ses adorateurs, tout comme Hadad, qui présidait à la fertilité du sol, bien qu'il lançât la foudre et déchaînât la tempête'.

Trajan

Large denomination, 12.07g. and medium denomination, 5.13g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΣ ΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤ (ΟΣ) ΣΕΒΓΕΡΜΔΑ (ΚΤΑΡΘ).

Reverses: 1) ΦΛΧΑΛ/ΚΙΔΕΩΝ/ + numeral letter, in three lines within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

	a) <u>large denomination</u>	b) <u>medium denomination</u>
1. A	<i>BMC</i> 1	Paris 1754
2. B	<i>BMC</i> 5	-
3. Γ	-	-

4. Δ	Paris 1753	-
5. KE	BMC 6	-

2) Helioseiros standing facing, radiate, with palm in right hand and shield and spear in left hand. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΦΛΧΑΛΚΙΑ(ΕΩΝ), numeral letter in exergue, or letters KE either side of figure. Star sometimes in field to left.

	<u>a) large denomination</u>	<u>b) medium denomination</u>
6. A	-	-
7. B	-	-
8. Γ	-	-
9. Δ	ANS	-
10. KE	Paris 1751	-

3) Three quarter view of naiskos of four columns with pyramidal roof, within which is a figure of Helioseiros standing facing with palm branch in right hand and shield and spear in left hand. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΦΛΧΑΛΚΙ - ΔΕΩΝ. Numeral letter at end of legend.

	<u>a) large denomination</u>	<u>b) medium denomination</u>
11. A	BM 1974 4-16-2	-

Hadrian

Large denomination, 12.41g. and medium denomination, 6.62g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. BMC 7
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙΤΡΑΙΑ - ΝΟCΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC.

Reverses: 1) ΦΛΧΑΛ/ΚΙΑΕΩΝ / numeral letter in three lines within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

	<u>a) large denomination</u>	<u>b) medium denomination</u>
12. A	Washington	ANS 74.226.193 (reading not certain)
13. B	BMC 7	-
14. Γ	-	-
15. Δ	Paris 1762	-
16. KE	Paris 1756	-

The letters KE appear to have been erased from the reverse die of one coin (Paris 1763), and the letter delta engraved in their place. This does not necessarily mean that the KE coins precede those marked with delta, since the date KE (if it is a date) could have been appropriate for the whole period of issue. One of these coins (numeral letter illegible), 11.52g, 12 o'clock die axis, Lampinen collection, is overstruck on a coin of Agrippa II of Judaea, struck under Titus in AD 82, Meshorer 115.

2) Helioseiros standing facing, radiate, holding palm branch in right hand and shield and spear in right hand. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΦΛΧΑΛΚΙΑΕΩΝ ΗΑΓΟCΕΙΡΟC. Numeral letter or KE at end of legend.

	<u>a) large denomination</u>	<u>b) medium denomination</u>
17. KE	Hebrew University 3614	Lindgren 1929

Antoninus Pius

Large denomination, 12.84g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, []ANTΩNE - []

Reverses: 1) ΦΛΧΑΛ / ΚΙΔΕΩΝ / numeral letter in three lines within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 18. A | a) <u>large denomination</u>
BMC 9 | b) <u>medium denomination</u>
- |
|-------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|

2) Helioseiros standing facing, radiate, holding palm branch in right hand and shield and spear in right hand. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΦΛΧΑΛΚΙΔ []. Numeral letter in exergue.

- | | | |
|-------|---|------------------------------------|
| 19. A | a) <u>large denomination</u>
Seyrig cast | b) <u>medium denomination</u>
- |
|-------|---|------------------------------------|

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus

Large denomination, 11.27g.

Obverses: (*Marcus Aurelius*)

Laureate bare bust right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΜΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ - ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝΣΕΒ.

(*Lucius Verus*)

Laureate bare bust right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΑΙΛΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ - ΟΥΗΡΟΝΣΕΒ.

Reverses: 1) ΦΛΧΑΛ / ΚΙΔΕΩΝ / numeral letter in three lines within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 20. A | a) <u>Aurelius</u>
- | b) <u>Verus</u>
Paris 1766 |
| 21. B | Paris 1764 | - |

2) Helioseiros standing facing, radiate, holding palm branch in right hand and shield and spear in left hand, numeral letter in field to left. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΦΛΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ - ΗΛΙΟΣΕΙΡΟΣ. Star sometimes in field to right.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 23. A | a) <u>Aurelius</u>
ANS (N) | b) <u>Verus</u>
Paris 1767 |
| 24. B | BM 1909 | - |

One 'legend in wreath' coin (Paris 1764) shares an obverse die with a Helios coin (HS 1972/993)

Beroea

Beroea, modern Halab or Aleppo, is an extremely ancient settlement. Its Macedonian name undoubtedly derives from a Seleucid colony. During the first century BC it appears in historical records under the control of various dynasts, although there is no indication of when the city was 'freed'.

The coinage of Beroea was struck under Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and in many respects its pattern conforms to that of the other 'legend in wreath' issues of northern Syria. Only one issue does not have the ethnic in a wreath as the reverse type; a unique bronze coin of Trajan shows a cultus statue of Zeus/Hadad, flanked by small figures of uncertain animals which Seyrig suggested were the same as those which occur singly on tetradrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus, also attributed to Beroea. The animals on the coin of Trajan, if that is what they are (their position either side of the cultus figure suggests that they are animals), appear not to be bulls, the creatures usually associated with Hadad. Bellinger was undecided about the animal on the tetradrachms; on closer inspection I am not sure that the object on the tetradrachms is an animal, or that the objects either side of the statue of Hadad on the bronze coin are the same as that on the tetradrachms. The Zeus/Hadad statue otherwise holds a staff in each hand, one of which is topped by a figure of Nike. The single coin bearing this type is unfortunately too badly preserved to discern the nature of the second object held in the other hand of Zeus.

The coinage of Beroea is undated.

Uncertain date

The following coins may belong to the reign of Antoninus Pius. The lettering of the reverse legend is similar to Pius' coins with the numeral letter A and unlike Trajan's, which always have seraphed letters. They would appear to approximate to the small denomination struck under Hadrian, but are unlikely to date to his reign since they are lighter and have thinner flans.

Small denomination 3, 0.84g.

1. **Obverses:** Turreted draped veiled bust of city goddess right. No legend.
Reverses: ΒΕ in wreath terminating in circle. Paris 1590
2. **Obverses:** Turreted draped veiled bust of city goddess right. No legend.
Reverses: ΒΕ / ΡΟΙ / Α in three lines in laurel wreath. BMC 1

Trajan

Trajan's 'legend in wreath' coinage at Beroea is in the same style as those of Seleucia Pieria, Cyrrhus and Chalcis.

Large denomination, 11.92g. and medium denomination, 6.2g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously abbreviated, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙΟΝΕΡΤΡΙΑΝΟCΑΡΙCΤCΕΒΓΕΡΜΑΔΑΚΠΑΡΘΙ.

Reverses: 1) ΒΕΡΟΙ / ΑΙΩΝ / numeral letter in three lines within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in small circle.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 3. A | <u>a) large denomination</u>
BMC 2 | <u>b) medium denomination</u>
BMC 3 |
| 4. B | BMC 5 | Paris 1596 |

5. Γ	<i>BMC 7</i>	Fitzwilliam (Leake)
6. Δ	SNG (Cop.) 39	-
7. Ε	-	-
8. Ϛ	-	-
9. Ζ	-	-
10. Η	<i>BMC 10</i>	Paris 1603

The medium denomination was produced in much smaller quantities than the larger. A single obverse die was used for the medium denomination coins with numeral letters Β, Γ, and Η.

2) Male cultus statue to front, wearing tall calathus, holding in each hand a long sceptre, one surmounted by a figure of Nike and the other by an uncertain object. Either side at feet of statue, a small animal standing facing. Around, anti-clockwise from nine o'clock, Β Ε Ρ Ο Ι - Α Ι Ω Ν. Numeral letter absent or illegible.

11. Paris R 2326

On this type, see Seyrig, 'Antiquités Syriennes, 84; Zeus de Bérée', *Syria* XL, 1963, pp. 28-30. The obverse portrait is of a slightly different style to the 'legend in wreath' types and may be a different issue.

Hadrian

The coinage of Hadrian at Beroea seems to be composed of a single tiny denomination only, rather like the small pieces that were also struck at Antioch for this emperor. Similar sized coins were produced under Hadrian at Hieropolis.

Small denomination 3, 2.11g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. No legend.

Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from six o'clock, variously abbreviated, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΣ - ΤΡΑΙΑΔΡΙΑΝ.

12. **Reverses:** 1) Laurel branch, between Β - Ε, all within wreath. Paris 1605

13. **Reverses:** 2) Laurel branch, around, clockwise from three o'clock, Β Ε Ρ Ο Ι - Α Ι Ω Ν.
BMC 11

Antoninus Pius

Large denomination, 9.5g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. *BMC 14*

Laureate bare bust l. *BMC 12*

Radiate bare bust r. *BMC 18*

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously abbreviated, ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΤΙΑΙΑ
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕΒΕΥCΕΒ.

Reverses: Β Ε Ρ Ο Ι / Α Ι Ω Ν / numeral letter in three lines within wreath of eight bunches of leaves terminating in circle.

14. A *BMC 12*

15. B *BMC 15*

Cyrrhus

The site of ancient Cyrrhus lies close to the modern Turkish town of Kilis in Gaziantep province, on the right bank of the river Afrin, just over the modern border in Syria. Jones, *Cities*, p. 244 thought that the name might be a Hellenisation of an earlier native name. Cyrrhus lay on an important route to Mesopotamia between Antioch and Zeugma. The *Legio X Fretensis* was stationed there from at least AD 17/8 (Tacitus *Ann.* II.57), until 57, and the campaigns of Corbulo, after which it was sent to Judaea. The large number of tombstones recovered from the site suggests that some sort of military force remained at Cyrrhus. The city was likely to have been one of the centres for a concentration of troops prior to Trajan's Armenian expedition in 114, and Cyrrhus was an important centre in the revolt of Avidius Cassius, who was a native of the city. As a military base and stronghold, the city may have lost some of its importance in the later second century and third century with the construction of the road between Beroea and Hierapolis under Septimius Severus, which effectively connected Antioch directly with Mesopotamia via Hierapolis, making the latter city a key defensive post. The pacification of the Syrian desert may also have led to the Hierapolis crossing of the Euphrates becoming more popular with merchants, but the route via Zeugma is likely to have remained an important one for trade and communications with Mesopotamia. For a discussion of the site and its history, see M.E. Frézouls, 'Recherches sur la ville de Cyrrhus', *Annales archéologiques de Syrie* IV/V (1954/5), pp. 89-128.

The only types to appear on the coinage of Cyrrhus are the 'legend in wreath', typical of the second century, and the figure of Zeus Katabaites, seated on a rock, holding a thunderbolt, usually with an eagle at his feet. The cult of Zeus Katabaites was widespread in the eastern provinces. On the coinage of Elagabalus and Philip the deity appears seated in a temple. On this god at Cyrrhus, see Frézouls, *loc. cit.*, pp. 96-7 and 105.

Trajan

Trajan's coinage is very much like that of neighbouring Chalcis and Beroea, and was probably struck at about the same time, during the Parthian campaigns.

Large denomination, 12.01g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙCΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΟCΑΡΙCΤCΕΒΓΕΡΜΔΑΚ(ΠΑΡΘΙ).

Reverses: 1) ΚΥΡΡΗC / ΤΩΝ / + numeral letter in three lines within wreath of ten bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

- | | |
|------|------------|
| 1. A | Paris 1618 |
| 2. B | Paris 1619 |

2) Zeus Katabaites seated left on rock, holding sceptre in left hand and thunderbolt in right hand. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, sometimes divided, sometimes continuous, ΔΙΟCΚΑΤΑΙΒΑΤΟΥΚΥΡΡΗCΤΩΝ.
Numeral letter in exergue.

- | | |
|------|------------|
| 3. A | Paris 1622 |
| 4. B | Paris 1623 |

The two types were probably struck at the same time. Paris 1619 shares an obverse die with Paris 1623.

Medium denomination, 6.05g.

Reverses: ΚΥΡΡΗC/ΤΩΝ / + numeral letter in three lines within wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

5. A BMC 3
6. B BMC 7

Antoninus Pius

Large denomination, 10.28g.

Obverses: (*Antoninus Pius*)

Laureate bare bust right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡΚΕCΑΡ
ΤΙΤΕΑΙ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC CΕΒΕΥC.

(*Marcus Aurelius*)

Laureate bare bust right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided, ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟCΟΥΗΡΟC CΕΒ
ΥΙΟC.

Reverses: 1) ΚΥΡΡΗC/ΤΩΝ / + numeral letter in three lines within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves.

	<u>a) Pius</u>	<u>b) Aurelius</u>
7. A	-	-
8. B	Paris 1626	Paris, 'duplicates'

2) Similar to previous, but eagle to left or right of numeral letter.

	<u>a) Pius</u>	<u>b) Aurelius</u>
9. A	Paris 1635	Paris
10. B	Oxford	-

3) Zeus Katabaites seated left on rock, holds sceptre in left hand and thunderbolt in right hand, eagle before at feet. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΔΙΟCΚΑΤΕΒΑΤΟΥ - ΚΥΡΡΗCΤΩΝ. Numeral letter in field to left, or in exergue.

	<u>a) Pius</u>	<u>b) Aurelius</u>
11. A	Paris 1628	Paris 1627
12. B	Paris 1630	Paris 1632

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus

Large denomination, 9.67g.

Obverses: (*Marcus Aurelius*)

Laureate bare bust right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΑΥΤ(Ο)Κ(ΑΙ)ΜΑΥΡΗ(Α)ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC CΕΒ.

Reverses: (*Lucius Verus*)

Laureate bare bust right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, various divisions and abbreviations,

ΑΥΤΚΛΑΥΡΗΛ - ΟΥΗΡΟCCEB.

Reverses: 1) ΚΥΡΡΗC/ΤΩΝ / + numeral letter in three lines within laurel wreath of ten bunches of leaves.

	<u>a) Aurelius</u>	<u>b) Verus</u>
12.1 vac.	-	BMC 24
13. A	Paris 1634	Paris 1640

2) Zeus Katabaites seated left or right (CB 1373) on rock, sceptre in left hand and thunderbolt in right, eagle before. Around, clockwise from one or seven o'clock, sometimes divided, sometimes continuous, ΔΙΟCΚΑΤΕΒΑΤΟΥΚΥΡΡΗCΤΩΝ.
Numeral letter in exergue.

	<u>a) Aurelius</u>	<u>b) Verus</u>
14. vac.	Oxford	-
15. A	Paris 1639	Paris 1642

Obverse die links between BMC 19 (Zeus reverse) and 24 ('legend in wreath').

Marcus Aurelius and Commodus

The distinction between coins of Marcus Aurelius belonging to this group and those of the previous one can only be seen in a change of style and the attitude of the seated Zeus on the reverse (see plates). The flans of this issue tend to be smaller than for the earlier one.

Large denomination, 10.66g.

Obverses: (*Marcus Aurelius*)

Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock,

ΑΥΤ(Ο)Κ(ΑΙ)ΜΑΥΡΗ(Λ) - ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCEB.

(*Commodus*)

Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock,

ΑΥΤ(Ο)ΚΡΑ)Κ(ΑΙ)Λ(ΟΥ)ΑΥΡΗΛ)ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΝ.

Reverses: Zeus Katabaites seated left on rock, holding sceptre in left hand and thunderbolt in right, eagle before. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided, ΔΙΟCΚΑΤΕΒΑΤΟΥΚΥΡΡΗCΤΩΝ. Numeral letter in field to left, or in exergue.

	<u>a) Aurelius</u>	<u>b) Commodus</u>
16. A	Paris 1636	Paris 1645
17. B	Berlin	Paris 1644
18. Γ	BMC 15	Paris 1647
19. Δ	BMC 17	BMC 28

Reverse die link between BMC 26 (Commodus) and BMC 13 (Aurelius).

Elagabalus

The coinage of Elagabalus at Cyrrhus seems to have been independent of Antioch, which produced most of the other coinages for cities in this region during his reign. The bull above the temple on the reverse is probably a zodiacal sign connected with the foundation of the city; on well-preserved specimens it is clearly a bull and not a ram as described in *BMC*, etc.

Large denomination, 13.88g.

20. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΚΑΜΑΥΡΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ - ΣΕΒ.**
Reverses: Tetrastyle temple containing figure of Zeus Katabaites seated on rock facing left, eagle at feet. Above temple, bull jumping right? Around, clockwise from eight o'clock, **ΔΙΟΣΚΑΤΕΒΑΤΟΥ.** In exergue, **ΚΥΡΗΣΤΩΝ** (*sic*).

Philip

The coinage of Philip for Cyrrhus was probably struck at Antioch. Obverse dies are shared with Hierapolis, Zeugma and Samosata. Note the spelling of the ethnic as 'Kyreston', which is close in form to the name Cyrus, used for the city in the Byzantine period (Jones, *Cities*, p. 244).

Large denomination, 14.77g.

Obverses: (Philip I)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right.

Radiate cuirassed bust left.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,

ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΕΒ.

(Otacilia Severa)

Diademed draped bust right, on crescent.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,

ΜΑΡΩΤΑΚΙΛΣΕΟΥΗΡΑΝΣΕΒ.

(Philip II)

Laureate cuirassed bust right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,

ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΕΒ.

Reverses: Tetrastyle temple containing seated figure of Zeus Katabaites facing, eagle to left at feet. Above temple, bull jumping right or left. Around, clockwise from eight o'clock, **ΔΙΟΣΚΑΤΕΒΑΤΟΥ** In exergue, **ΚΥΡΗΣΤΩΝ** (*sic*).

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| 21. | <u>a) Philip I</u>
<i>BMC</i> 30 | <u>b) Otacilia</u>
<i>NNM</i> 85, no. 150 | <u>c) Philip II</u>
<i>BMC</i> 34 |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|

Hierapolis

The native name for Hierapolis (which appears in *BMC* as Hieropolis) was Bambyce. The city was an important centre for the worship of Hadad and Atergatis, and was the only city in the region covered by the present study to have issued coins before the Macedonian wars of the Successors. It occupied an important strategic site to the west of the Euphrates. Minting at Hierapolis remained independent of Antioch for longer than most other cities in the inland region of northern Syria.

The principal types for Hierapolis, even subsidiary devices on the usual 'legend in wreath' reverse, mostly relate to the principal deities, Hadad and Atergatis. It would appear that Atergatis was predominant, and she or her symbols certainly occur more frequently on coins than Hadad. The cult is described in Lucian's *de Dea Syria*, although this has little bearing on the types. Atergatis is sometimes represented by her animal, the lion, and Hadad by a bull. On coins of Caracalla, Severus Alexander, and Philip, Atergatis is depicted seated on a throne flanked by lions, holding various attributes, a drum or ears of corn, or else she is shown riding on the back of a lion. An extraordinary type occurs on coins of Severus Alexander: Hadad and Atergatis are shown seated facing on thrones, flanked by their respective animals, with a device between them which seems to be an ensign, a *semeion*, used for religious processions, an aniconic idol. This type is also found on some rare tetradrachms of Caracalla attributed to Hierapolis (Bellinger, *Tetradrachms*, p. 42). See Seyrig, *Ant. Syr.* 98, *Syria* 49 (1972), pp. 104-7, and B.L. Trell, 'Phoenician Greek Imperial Coins', *INJ* 6-7, p. 134. The types sometimes include star or crescent symbols, probably relating to the solar and lunar aspects of Hadad and Atergatis. Some small denominations, dated Seleucid year 457 (AD 145/6), copy the types used at Antioch for coins of similar denominations. However, the choice of Tyche and Apollo as obverse types for these small coins may have a local significance; Apollo and Tyche evidently had an associated cult at Hierapolis (Seyrig, *Ant. Syr.* 98, *Syria* 49 (1972), pp. 107-8).

It is not uncommon to encounter coins which belong to another Hierapolis included in museum collections under Syrian Hierapolis. Other coins with the reverse type of Cybele/Atergatis are also sometimes misattributed to this city.

Uncertain date

Small denominations

- 1. Obverses:** Laureate head of Apollo right. No legend.
Reverses: Bull standing right, crescent superimposed on body, star between horns.
BM Uncertain trays 11, 1947 6-6-468.
- 2. Obverses:** Veiled turreted head of city goddess right, cornucopiae before bust?
Reverses: Lion walking right.
HS Y 28630 2 1.18g.

Trajan

The coinage of Trajan is similar to the other 'legend in wreath' coinages of Chalcis, Beroea and Cyrrhus, but sufficiently different to mark it apart from these. A number of different styles are apparent, which may indicate different issues, but the quantity of coins available for study is very small and the number of obverse dies very few, so the issue(s) cannot have been great. One group, of a markedly different style than the others, has the countermark API[CTOC] applied to it; all the known obverse dies of this group lack the title. This particular issue may therefore date to the period shortly before Trajan's acquisition of this title (see under Antioch). All subsequent coins carry this title. The size of the Hierapolis large denomination tends to be larger than those of Chalcis, Beroea or Cyrrhus, and compares closely with the contemporary coinage of Antioch. The connection between Antioch and Hierapolis is further strengthened by a unique coin in the Antakya museum which, although in very poor condition, bears the reverse type SC.

Group 1

The obverse die does not appear to have been used for either group 2 or group 3 coins.

Large denomination

3. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Legend illegible.
Reverses: Large SC, above which, in two lines, ΘΕΑΣ/ΚΥΡΙΑΣ, below, ΙΕΡΟΠΟ []?
Numeral letter illegible if present.
Antakya, e.s. 11

Group 2

Coins of cruder style than group 3.

Large denomination, 15.48g.

- Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙΤΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΓΕΡΜΑΔΑ.
Reverses: ΘΕΑΣΚΥΡΙΑΣΙΕΡΟΠΟ(ΛΙ) / + numeral letter in three lines within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

4. A *BMC 3*
5. B *SNG (Cop.) 51*

Countermark

6. API in rectangular incuse. *GIC 517*. Applied to coins of group 2.

Group 3

Coins of 'Antiochene' style.

- Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. *SNG (Cop.) 51*
Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. *BMC 6*
Laureate draped bust right. Berlin (Löbbecke)
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟ(ΚΡ)ΚΑΙΤΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ
ΑΡΙΣΤΣΕΒΓΕΡΜΑΔΑΚ(ΠΑΡΘΙ).
Reverses: ΘΕΑΣΚΥΡΙΑ / ΣΙΕΡΟΠ(ΟΛΕ) / + numeral letter in three lines within laurel wreath of eight bunches of leaves, terminating in circle.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| 7. A | <u>a) Large denomination, 14.73g.</u>
<i>BMC 4</i> | <u>b) Medium denomination, 4.68g.</u>
<i>BMC 7</i> |
| 8. B | Paris 1660 | - |
| 9. Γ | Paris 1662 | - |
| 10. Δ | Paris 1663 | - |
| 11. Ε | Paris 1666 | - |
| 12. ς | Berlin (Löbbecke) | - |

Hadrian (?)

The following coin is presumably an issue of Hierapolis; the denomination is paralleled at Antioch and Beroea.

Small denomination 3, 2.11g.

13. **Obverses:** Laureate (?) bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, IMP CAE []
 VC .
Reverses: Lion standing right. Above, in field, $\Theta \epsilon \Lambda \zeta$
BM 1931 6-3-92

Antoninus Pius

The coinage of Antoninus Pius seems to have been considerably greater than that of Trajan. If it represents more than a single issue, there are no clear changes of type which make any clear distinction between groups of coins. The style of portrait on the large denomination is consistent throughout. The smaller coins, which imitate the issues of Antioch, are dated, although it is not altogether clear whether all or any of the large denomination coins are contemporary with these dated coins.

Undated

Large denomination, 9.39g.

- Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. *BMC 9*
Laureate draped bust right. Paris 1678
Laureate bare bust left. *BMC 19*
Laureate draped bust left. *BMC 21*
Around, clockwise, from five or seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, $\text{ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΤΙΤΑΙΛΑΔΡΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCEΒΕΥCΕ}$.
Reverses: $\Theta \epsilon \text{ACCYPI} / \text{ACI EPOTΘ}$ / + numeral letter in three lines within laurel wreath.

14. A	<i>BMC 9</i>
15. B	<i>BMC 12</i>
16. Γ	<i>BMC 16</i>
17. Δ	<i>BMC 19</i>
18. Ε	<i>BMC 20</i>
19. ς	<i>BMC 22</i>
20. Ζ	<i>BMC 25</i>
21. Η	<i>BMC 26</i>

Dated Seleucid year 457, AD 145/6

Several of the types listed below are imitations of the coinage at Antioch. Similar coins were struck at Zeugma (see below).

Small denomination 1, 4.19g.

Obverses: Veiled turreted draped bust of city goddess right. Forepart of bull (?) sometimes jumping right at point of bust. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ .

Reverses: 1) Bull standing right, crescent above. In exergue, ZNY. Numeral letter in field to right.

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 22. no letter | Winterthur cast |
| 23. A | BMC 2 |

- 2) Bull running right, crescent superimposed on its body, star above. In exergue, ZNY. Numeral letter beneath bull.
24. A ANS (N)
- 3) Garlanded altar with legs. In exergue, (ετ)ZNY. Numeral letter in field to right.
25. A Paris coll.
26. B Paris 1656
27. Γ Paris 1657

Small denomination 2, 1.54g.

Obverses: Laureate draped bust of Apollo right. Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.
Reverses: Lyre (chelys). Around, clockwise, variously arranged, ετ(ογ)ZNY or ZYN. Numeral letter in field above lyre, or to right or left of lyre.

28. A Fitzwilliam (Leake)
29. B ANS (N)
30. Γ ANS (N)

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus

The star and dot devices found on the reverses of certain coins below may be connected with the solar aspects of the main deities of Hierapolis. The palm branches found on certain coins perhaps parallel those found on certain Antiochene coins of the same emperors.

Large denomination, 8.85g.

Obverses: (Marcus Aurelius)

Laureate bare bust right. *BMC* 28
Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Paris 1687
Radiate bare bust right. Paris 1685
Laureate bare bust left. Paris 1688
Around, clockwise from one, three, or seven o'clock, variously abbreviated, ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΣΜΑΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΔΟCCEB.

(Lucius Verus)

Laureate bare bust right. *BMC* 43
Radiate bare bust right. *BMC* 32
Radiate bare bust right, laurel or palm branch under bust. Fitzwilliam (Leake)
Laureate bare bust left. *BMC* 33
Around, clockwise from one, three, or seven o'clock, variously abbreviated, ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙCΛΟΥΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΗΡΟCCEB.

Reverses: ΘΕΑCΣΥΡΙ / ΑCΙΕΡΟΠ(ο) / numeral letter in three lines within laurel wreath; other devices in field within wreath as indicated.

	<u>a) Marcus Aurelius</u>	<u>b) Lucius Verus</u>
31. A	Paris, Seymour de Ricci	<i>BMC</i> 32
32. A *	Baldwin	Paris 1694
33. B	-	Paris 1696
34. B *	Berlin 5230 JF	-
35. Γ	<i>BMC</i> 28	Paris 1699
36. Γ *	Paris 1685	-
37. Γ ⋄	-	CB 1429
38. Δ	-	<i>BMC</i> 33

39. Δ^*	-	CB 1428
40. ϵ	<i>BMC 29</i>	Paris 1693
41. ϵ^*	CB 1426	ANS (N)
42. ϵ^*	-	Berlin (Imhoof)
43. ζ	-	-
44. Z	Paris 1686	<i>BMC 43</i>
45. H	Paris 1687	Paris 1689
46. θ	<i>BMC 30</i>	<i>BMC 36</i>
47. θ°	<i>SNG (Cop.) 58</i>	-
48. I	<i>BMC 31</i>	Paris 1704
49. IA	-	<i>BMC 37</i>

Obverse die link between BMC 30 (numeral letter θ) and BMC 31 (numeral letter I), and between Paris 1704 (numeral letter I) and Paris 1705 (numeral letter IA). Most coins with a star on the reverse have a radiate bust on the obverse.

Commodus

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\Lambda \text{AI}(\Lambda) \text{AVP} \text{PHAI} \text{ON} - \text{KOM} \text{O} \Delta \text{ON} \text{CEB}$.

Large denomination, 8.89g.

50. **Reverses:** $\theta \text{EAC} \Sigma \text{Y} / \text{PIACI} \text{EP} \text{O} / \text{POL} \text{EIT} \omega \text{N} / \text{A}$ in three or four lines in wreath of sixteen or eighteen bunches of leaves.
BMC 39

Medium denomination, 6.43g.

51. **Reverses:** Bull running right, crescent above, A below. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, $\theta \text{EAC} \Sigma \text{VP} \text{IACI} \text{EP} \text{O} \text{POL} \text{EIT} \omega \text{N}$.
Paris 1708

Small denomination, 8.47g.

52. **Reverses:** Lion walking right, θEAC above, $\Sigma \text{YPIAC} / \text{A}$ below, all within laurel wreath of sixteen bunches of leaves.
BMC 38

Caracalla

An extensive coinage was struck for Caracalla during his sole reign. Tetradrachms were also issued in his name at Hierapolis (see section on tetradrachms). There seem to be two groups of bronze coins, both with identical types, but one consisting of coins of larger module and of different style to the second, much commoner group, of smaller module. However, too few specimens exist in collections to be certain about the division of the two groups, and they have not been divided in the list below, although specimens of both groups are illustrated in the plates.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. BM One die completely retrograde, bust facing left. CB 1425
 Laureate bare bust left, lion skin over right shoulder. BM
 Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. BM
 Radiate bare bust right. Paris 1715
 Around, clockwise from various positions, several blundered variants,
 ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ
 ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ Κ·Μ· ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝ
 ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΕΕ ; ΜΑΥΡΑΥΓΟΒΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ
 ΑΥΤΟ·Κ·ΤΩΡ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ (sic)
 Spelling ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ also encountered.

Large denomination, 21.39g (large module); 13.34g (smaller module).

53. **Reverses:** 1) Atergatis seated right on throne flanked by lions, sometimes holding drum in right hand, and sometimes poppy and corn ear in left hand and drum in right hand. Around, from seven or one o'clock, ΘΕΑΚΚΥΡΙΑΓΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.

BMC 46

One specimen, Berlin (Imhoof), has √Δ~ in exergue. It is not clear whether this is a numeral letter or a value mark.

54. 2) Atergatis seated right on lion walking right or left. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, end of legend in exergue, ΘΕΑΚΚΥΡΙΑΓΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.

BMC 50

See Imhoof Blumer, Gr. Munz, p. 759 no 772 for temple type, according to BMC p. liii.

Medium denomination, 8.6g.

3) ΘΕΑΚΚΥ/ΡΙΑΓΙΕΡΟ/ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ/ numeral letter in wreath of twelve bunches of leaves.

55. A Paris 1715

56. B BMC 45

57. 4) Lion walking right. Above, clockwise, from nine o'clock, ΘΕΑΚΚΥΡΙΑΓ in exergue, ΙΕΡΟΠ.

BMC 53

58. 5) Diademed draped bust of Julia Domna right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΘΕΑΚΚΥΡΙΑΓΙΕΡΟΠΟ.

Paris 1709

A coin in Paris (1725), of a young Caracalla, is a coin of Hierapolis-Castabala in Cilicia. Lindgren 1923, identified as Elagabalus, is Severus Alexander.

Severus Alexander

Large denomination, 14.38g.

Obverses: (*Alexander*)

Laureate bare bust right. Hunter 31

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. BMC 55

Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. Berlin (Imhoof)

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously abbreviated,

ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΡΕΑΛΕΤΑΝΔΡΟΣΕΒ.

(Julia Mamaea)

Diademed draped bust right. Paris 1741

Diademed draped bust right, on crescent. BMC 56

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΙΟΥΛΙΑΜΑΜΑΕΑ

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

Reverses: 1) Atergatis seated right on throne, flanked by lions, holding tympanum in left hand, and resting right arm on throne, sometimes holding corn ears and poppy (?) in right hand. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΘΕΑΣΣΥΡΙΑΣΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.

59.

<u>a) Alexander</u> BMC 55	<u>b) Mamaea</u> BMC 56
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BMC 55 (Alexander) shares a reverse die with BMC 56 (Mamaea).

2) Atergatis seated on lion walking right or left, holding long sceptre in right hand and tympanum in left. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΘΕΑΣΣΥΡΙΑΣΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.

60.

<u>a) Alexander</u> Hunter 30	<u>b) Mamaea</u> Paris 1740
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3) Seated figures of Hadad (on left), facing, on throne flanked by bulls, and Atergatis (on right), facing, on throne flanked by lions. Between, distyle shrine containing standard. Lion walking right in exergue. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΘΕΟΙΣΥΡΙΑΣΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.

61.

<u>a) Alexander</u> Berlin	<u>b) Mamaea</u> Lindgren A1924A
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The Berlin specimen for Severus Alexander shares an obverse die with types 1, Berlin (Bernhard-Imhoof), and 2, Berlin (Imhoof).

Medium denomination, 10.07g.

62. **Obverses:** Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΡΡΑΥΡΣΕΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ - ΣΕΒ.
Reverses: ΘΕΑΣΣΥΡΙΑΣΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ variously arranged in four lines in laurel wreath. CB 1439

Small denomination, 3.85g.

63. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΜΑΡΣΕ - ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ - ΣΕΒ.
Reverses: Lion walking right, ΘΕΑΣ above, ΣΥΡΙΑΣ below, all within laurel wreath. Paris 1738

Philip
The following coins were probably struck at Antioch. The coins share dies obverse with Antioch, Zeugma and Cyrrhus.

Large denomination, 16.38g.

- Obverses: (Philip I)**
Laureate draped cuirassed bust right.
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΣΕΒ.
(Philip II)
Laureate draped cuirassed bust right.
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΣΕΒ.

Reverses: Atergatis seated on lion walking right, holding sceptre in right hand. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, end of legend in exergue, **ΘΕΑ ΣΥΡΙΑΣΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.**

64. a) Philip I b) Otacilia c) Philip II
 SNG (Cop.) 63 - *SNG (Cop.) 64*

COMMAGENE

Commagene was a district separate from Seleucis (Strabo 16. ii. 2), bordering on Cilicia and Cappadocia. Its natural borders were the Taurus on the north and the Euphrates on the east. It occurs in Assyrian and Hittite records as *Kummuhu*. With the wane of Seleucid power, a royal house of mixed Seleucid and Armenian descent established itself in the region. The first king of Commagene seems to have been the Seleucid governor Ptolemy. Few of its rulers issued coins; see P.Z. Bedoukian, 'Coinages of the Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene', *ANSMN* 28 (1983), pp. 71-78). The last two rulers to issue coins were Antiochus I, builder of the famous Hierotheseion on Nemrut Dagı in Turkey, and Antiochus IV, who was deposed by Vespasian in AD 72. The coins of Antiochus I and IV are catalogued below.

Jones, *Cities*, suggests that the four principal cities of Commagene mentioned in the inscriptions of Severan date on the Cendere bridge (*IGLS* 39-44) were Samosata, Doliche, Germanicia and Perrhe. Of these only Samosata issued a substantial number of coins. Ptolemy (5. xiv. 8) lists nine cities of Commagene, which includes the four mentioned above. Zeugma was also a city of Commagene; reliefs of Antiochus I have been found there. Under Antiochus I the kingdom of Commagene may have included an area of land on the opposite side of the Euphrates, between Samosata and Zeugma.

Antiochus I

The reign of Antiochus I spans the period from the defeat of Tigranes to Actium, 69 - circa 31 BC. Throughout much of the period he maintained friendly relationships with Rome, but he seems to have supported Labienus and Pacorus in their bid for control of the east and was attacked at Samosata by Ventidius and Antonius in 38 BC, but appears to have survived this humiliation and was allowed to retain his kingdom. His coinage is quite rare; its reverse types figure the lion and the eagle, animals closely associated with Antiochus, and featured among the sculpted figures on Nemrut Dagı.

P.Z. Bedoukian, *loc. cit.* above, lists three types for Antiochus I. One of these, however, is identical in type to the first of those listed here. Bedoukian considers it a lower denomination, on account of its weight, but I believe that it is merely a lightweight example of the first type.

Large denomination, 6.28g.

- Obverses:** Head of Antiochus I right, wearing tall tiara decorated with a star flanked by two eagles. No legend.
Reverses: Lion walking right. Above, in field, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, below, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.
BMC 1
- Obverses:** As previous.
Reverses: Eagle standing right, on branch (?). Details unclear. Above, in field, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ below, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.
P.Z. Bedoukian, *loc. cit.* above, no. 26

Antiochus IV

Antiochus IV was the son of Antiochus III, who had been deposed by Tiberius in AD 17. The son was granted his ancestral kingdom by Gaius in AD 38, then deposed, and restored by Claudius in AD 41. The coinage of Antiochus may have been issued over a long period, since his reign lasted until AD 72, when he was deposed by Vespasian. The countermarks found on many of these coins are of no use for dating the issues precisely, although it is quite possible that all of Antiochus' coinage was struck before AD 69-70, after which most of the countermarks were probably applied. It should be noted that some of the coins consistently bear the title 'Epiphanes' and others do not. The general similarity of Antiochus' coinage to the SC coinages of Nero, Galba and Otho, with bevelled flans, and similar metrology, suggests a similar date for these issues.

The dependence of Antiochus on Rome landed him with an obligation to assist in the Armenian campaigns under Nero. Antiochus also gave support to Vespasian both in his war against Vitellius and the Jews (Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.81; 5.1), and it is perhaps in this light, and the observation which Tacitus attributes to Vespasian's deputy and governor of Syria, C. Licinius Mucianus, that 'money was the sinews of civil war', that some of Antiochus' remarkably extensive coinage may be understood.

The coins of various Cilician mints under Antiochus' rule have been omitted. The mint(s) for the coinage listed below is uncertain; Samosata, as the royal capital, would seem the logical choice. Some of the coins are so similar to the issues of Antioch that it is possible that some were actually produced at Antioch and sent to Commagene; as we have seen in previous sections, under Vespasian and his successors other coinages were probably produced at Antioch for places other than Antioch or Syria in general. This possibility is discussed in the section on production of bronze coinage. If they are associated with the mint of Antioch, which seems possible from their general fabric and appearance, one could draw a parallel between coins of Group 1 below, and the earlier issues of Nero at Antioch (perhaps associated with the Armenian campaigns?). The finer coins of Groups 2 and 3 are similar to the coinages of Galba and Otho, and may have been struck during the civil war of 69. Other Commagenian cities could also have participated in the issue. The coins of Lacanatis and Lycaonia, although of a slightly different style, seem to be modelled on Group 4, and are on the same weight standard (Lacanatis, large denomination 13.8g., medium, 7.66g.; Lycaonia, large denomination 15.29g., medium, 6.49g.). Lycaonian coins bear anchor countermarks, like those of Commagene. Coins with the reverse legend 'Kommagenon' were presumably intended for circulation in the Commagenian heartlands; at any rate they are very common in the area. The principal reverse types for this coinage are both zodiacal, Scorpio and Capricorn. Since they occur on issues struck outside Commagene proper, it seems likely that they relate either to the kingdom or the royal family rather than the region of Commagene itself. Capricorn was a symbol of the city of Zeugma, but Scorpio has no direct parallel among the Syrian city coinages.

There are also a group of small bronzes with various symbols, clasped hands, anchor, capricorn and Armenian tiara, all with the legend 'Kommagenon'. Wroth (*BMC*, introduction, p. 48) suggest that the coins belong to the period immediately after Antiochus IV was deposed, and that they were struck at Samosata. The legend 'pistis' (= *fides*) need not refer to any specific event, although the type of a pair of clasped hands recalls the Roman denarius types of the civil wars of AD 69. This obverse is coupled with the reverse type of an anchor, a Seleucid device which makes more sense as an oblique reference to the Commagenian royal house than a newly-formed Roman district of Commagene. Similarly the tiara found on the other type seems appropriate for a royal coinage rather than a Roman province. Since Antiochus often lent military assistance to Rome, the clasped hands type suggests *pistis* between the King and Rome. The two most obvious occasions are the Armenian campaigns or the civil war of 69.

Coins with a capricorn and scorpion, without legends (*BMC* p. 112, 4-6), have been long been reattributed to Cyprus. They are commonly found in Cyprus (several examples seen by me in the Nicosia museum), but have not been noted in Syria. For other coins which have sometimes been attributed to this class of anonymous Commagenian coins, see catalogue above, under 'Small Coins with Antiochene Types'.

The coins portray Antiochus, his wife Iotape, and his two sons Epiphanes and Callinicus.

Group 1

The style of these coins is rather like the earlier issues of Nero at Antioch, especially those Antiochene issues with symbols before the bust of Nero. Their fabric and metrology are similar to those of Antioch. However, such considerations are insufficient grounds for stating that these coins were struck there, and further analysis is necessary.

Large denomination, 12.73g. Bevelled flans.

1. **Obverses:** Diademed bare bust of Antiochus right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΜΕΓΑΝΤΙΟΧΟC ΕΠΙ.

Reverses: Scorpion, around which, clockwise, from one o'clock, ΚΟΜΜΑ - ΓΗΝΩΝ, all in circle within laurel wreath.
BMC 4

2. **Obverses:** Diademed draped bust of Iotape right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΒΑCΙΛΙCΑΙΩΤΑΠΗΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ.
Reverses: As previous.
ANS (N)

Medium denomination. Bevelled flans.

3. **Obverses:** Diademed bare bust of Antiochus right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΒΑCΙΜΕΓΑΝΤΙΟΧΟC ΕΠΙ.

Reverses: Capricorn left, star above, anchor below, around, clockwise from eight o'clock, ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΩΝ all within laurel wreath.
Hunter 103

Small denomination, 4.84g. Flans not bevelled.

4. **Obverses:** Diademed bare bust of Antiochus right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΒΑCΙ·ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟC.

Reverses: Two cornucopiae crossed; variously arranged in four horizontal lines in field, ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΩΝ.

Berlin (Imhoof)

Group 2

This group, and the following group 3, are very similar, and may be the same issue. They are very similar to the coinage of Antioch struck under Galba and Otho.

Large denomination, 14.6g. Bevelled flans.

5. **Obverses:** Diademed draped bust of Antiochus right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΜΕΓΑΝΤΙΟΧΟC·ΕΠΙΦΑ·

Reverses: Scorpion, around which, clockwise, from one o'clock, ΚΟΜΜΑΓ - ΗΝΩΝ all in circle within laurel wreath.
BMC 6

6. **Obverses:** Diademed draped bust of Iotape to front, right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΒΑCΙΛΙCΑΙΩΤΑΠΗΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟC.

Reverses: As previous.
BMC 1 (Iotape)

Group 3

Large denomination, 13.76g. Bevelled flans.

7. **Obverses:** Diademed draped bust of Antiochus right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ·ΕΠΙ.
Reverses: Scorpion, around which, clockwise, from one o'clock, ΚΟΜΜΑΓ - ΗΝΩΝ, all in circle within laurel wreath.
BMC 1
8. **Obverses:** Diademed draped bust of Iotape to front, right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock,
Reverses: As previous.
ANS photo file

Medium denomination, 7.25g. Bevelled flans.

9. **Obverses:** Diademed draped bust of Antiochus right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΒΑΣΙ·ΜΕΓ(ΑΣ)ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣΕΠΙ·
Reverses: Capricorn right, star above, anchor below, around, clockwise from eight o'clock, ΚΟΜΜΑΓ ΗΝΩΝ all within laurel wreath.
BMC 11

Group 4

This group is perhaps the commonest of all of the coinages of Antiochus IV. Stylistically it is rather similar to groups 2 and 3, but the large and medium denominations in this group do not have bevelled flans.

Large denomination, 14.63g. Flans not bevelled.

10. **Obverses:** Diademed draped bust of Antiochus right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ.
Reverses: Scorpion, around which, clockwise, from one o'clock, ΚΟΜΜΑΓ- ΗΝΩΝ, all in circle within laurel wreath.
BMC 7
11. **Obverses:** Diademed bust of Iotape to front right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΙΩΤΑ - ΠΗΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ.
Reverses: As previous.
BMC 4 (Iotape)

Small denomination, 5.36g.

12. **Obverses:** Diademed draped bust of Antiochus right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΒΑΣΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ· variously divided.
Reverses: Two cornucopiae crossed; variously arranged in field in four horizontal lines, ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΩΝ.

BMC 16

Uncertain group

The following issues may belong with the extensive group 4, for which no other medium denomination coins are known. Both of these coin types for Epiphanes and Callinicus were also issued at Lacanatis, which struck large denomination coins of the group 4 type.

Medium denomination, 7.48g.

13. **Obverses:** Epiphanes and Callinicus, in military attire, on horseback left. In exergue, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ / ΥΙΟΙ.
Reverses: Capricorn right, star above, anchor below; around, clockwise from eight o'clock, ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΩΝ.
BMC 1 (Epiphanes and Callinicus)
Letter forms Γ and Σ occur on this issue.

14. **Obverses:** Facing busts of Epiphanes and Callinicus on crossed cornucopiae, anchor between; around, clockwise from two o'clock, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ - ΩΕΥΙΘΙ.
Reverses: Armenian tiara; around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΚΟΜΜΑΓ - ΗΝΩΝ, all within laurel wreath.
BMC 8 (Epiphanes and Callinicus)

Countermarks

The following countermarks are found on coins of Antiochus IV, and seem to have been applied in Commagene.

15. Anchor in oval incuse. Paris 10 (Group 3)
16. Anchor in circular incuse. Paris De Clercq (Group 3), with cmk. of Hieropolis Castabala (?), *GIC 427*.
17. Anchor between A - N, in circular incuse. *GIC 373* (Group 4).
AN = Antiochus.
Nos. 15 and 17 above are found on SC bronzes of Antioch.
18. Crossed cornucopiae in shield shaped incuse. *GIC 403* (Group 4).
19. ☒ in rectangular incuse. *GIC 676*.

Anonymous group

These coins were probably struck under Antiochus IV, and include various royal symbols.

Small denomination, 3.68g.

20. **Obverses:** Clasped hands holding caduceus. In field, above and below in two horizontal lines, ΠΙΣ / ΤΙΣ.
Reverses: Anchor; around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΚΟΜΜΑΓ - ΗΝΩΝ.
BMC 1
21. **Obverses:** Capricorn right, star above. No legend.
Reverses: Armenian tiara. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΚΟΜΜΑΓ - ΗΝΩΝ.
BMC 7

Zeugma

Literally 'The Bridge', Zeugma was an important crossing place on the Euphrates. The site is now largely abandoned, but the modern village of Belkis, near Nizip, in the Turkish province of Gaziantep, stands on the southern edge of the site. Zeugma has been included in Commagene in this survey, though there is some question as to whether it was permanently in the province. It seems to have been in the kingdom of Commagene under Antiochus I. Strabo includes it (16. ii. 3), adding that Seleucia on the opposite bank was added to Commagene by Pompey. Ptolemy, on the other hand, includes it in his list of cities of Cyrrhastica. Jones, *Cities*, did not consider it one of the four principal cities of Commagene. It perhaps lay on the border with Seleucis and was not actually regarded as a city of Commagene proper.

The issues begin rather later than at most of the other inland cities, under Antoninus Pius. MacDonald, in the Hunter catalogue, dates one issue to the reign of Trajan, but this issue was more likely to have been struck later, like the very similar issues of neighbouring Hierapolis.

The sole reverse type found on the large denomination coins of Zeugma, apart from the standard 'legend in wreath' coins of Aurelius and Verus, depicts a tetrastyle temple at the end of what is often described as a *peribolos* containing a sacred grove (So Wroth, *BMC*; Hunter, p. 130; Lindgren, p. 101). However, it probably represents a temple on a hill (an alternative suggested by Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, p. 129) with colonnades at the base and steps up the sides, not unlike representations of Mount Gerizim at Neapolis in Samaria (this view taken by Price and Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, p. 24). The site of Zeugma is dominated by a tall hill, which is probably the feature in question. On the coinage of Antoninus Pius in particular, the object underneath the temple more closely resembles a mountain than a grove of trees. The description of 'trees' undoubtedly stems from the treatment of the object(s) on coins of Elagabalus and Philip, where the area under the temple is filled with a series of rough blobs. A comparison with the coinages of Samostata and Antioch for Elagabalus and Philip which, like the coins of Zeugma of these emperors, were struck at the same mint, shows that the rough blobs were a standard method of depicting rock (on which a city goddess sits on coins of Samostata and Antioch), so that the intention was probably to depict a hill and not a grove of trees. The figure of Zeus inside the temple on coins of Philip resembles that of Zeus Katabaites at Cyrrhus, and it is possible that the temple was dedicated to Zeus. Kadman (*Israel Numismatic Bulletin* 3-4, 1962, pp. 75-6) suggested that the temple underwent a series of alterations which could be traced on the coins, but his ideas revolved around a coin of Philip which was mistaken for a coin of Elagabalus. A capricorn occurs on the coins of Elagabalus and Philip; like Taurus at Cyrrhus and Aries at Antioch, this probably represents the zodiacal symbol under which the city was founded.

Small denominations with a bust of Tyche and an altar, or a head of Apollo and a lyre, imitate the coinage of Antioch, and the types may have no particular local significance.

Antoninus Pius

MacDonald first suggested that there was more than one issue of coins of Antoninus Pius at Zeugma, one issue with a wreath on the reverse, and another without (MacDonald, *Numerical Letters*, *q.v.*). There seem in fact to be three issues. The first of these does not have a wreath and the numeral letter is in the top left hand field of the reverse. The obverse busts are in high relief, with small, rounded portraits. This issue was subsequently countermarked with a star shaped punch. The second issue, in a similar style, has the numeral letter in the top right hand field. The temple is slightly different, without a pediment, and the emperor's name is in the accusative rather than the nominative. The third issue has the reverse type encircled by a laurel wreath, and the obverse portrait is in lower relief and of a different style.

The coins are of a single denomination only, with a mean weight of 9.2g.

Issue 1

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. *BMC* 11

Laureate draped bust right. Paris 1538

Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΤΑΙΛΑΔΡΙΑ - ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒΕΥ.

Reverses: Tetrastyle temple on hill, with structures at base of hill and up either side, crescent in field above, numeral letter in field to left. Around, anti-clockwise from ten o'clock, ΖΕΥ - ΓΜΑ - ΤΕΩΝ.

1. A	Paris 1537
2. B	Paris 1538
3. Γ	Paris 1525
4. Δ	Oxford
5. €	Paris 1541
6. ς	Paris 1528
7. Ζ	Paris 1542
8. Η	ANS (N)
9. Θ	<i>BMC</i> 11

Countermark

10. Five pointed star in star-shaped incuse. *GIC* 453. Usually applied to the neck of the obverse portrait, or just before the neck.

11. ZEV in rectangular incuse. Lampinen collection. To be expanded Zeu[gmateon].

Issue 2

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Paris 1518

Around, anti-clockwise from ten o'clock,

Laureate bare bust left. *BMC* 2

Around, clockwise from one o'clock: ΑΥΤΚΑΙ (C)Τ(Ι)ΑΙΛΑΔΡΙΑ - ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝCΕ.

Reverses: Tetrastyle temple on hill, with structures at base of hill and up either side, numeral letter in field to right. Around, anti-clockwise from ten o'clock, ΣΕΥ - ΓΜΑ - ΤΕΩΝ.

12. A	<i>BMC</i> 2
13. B	Paris 1519

Issue 3

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Lindgren 1905

Laureate bare bust left. Paris

Laureate draped cuirassed bust left. Paris

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΤΑΙΛΙΑΛΙΑΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕΒΕΥCΕΒΗC.

Various abbreviations, spelling sometimes ANTWNINOC and EYCHBAIC.

Reverses: Tetrastyle temple on hill, numeral letter in field as indicated. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΣΕΥΓΜ - ΑΤΕΩΝ, All within laurel wreath.

14. ⊥ ^Α	<i>BMC</i> 1
15. $\frac{1}{8}$	Fitzwilliam (Leake)
16. $\frac{1}{7}$; ⊥ ^Γ	<i>BMC</i> 3
17. $\frac{1}{Δ}$	Paris 1526

18. $\frac{1}{e}$ BMC 6
 19. $\frac{1}{s}$ -
 20. $\frac{1}{N}$ Paris 1530
 21. $\frac{1}{H}$ Paris 1532

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus

These dies seem to be the work of the same engravers as at Samosata. Aurelius tends to have a short beard, Verus a long one, but the engravers seem to have mixed the names and portraits on occasions. *BMC* 19 and *SNG (Cop.)* 30 (same obv. die in both cases) are coins of Lucius Verus and not Septimius Severus.

The coinage below is all of one denomination, 9.75g.

Obverses: (*Marcus Aurelius*)

Laureate bare bust right. *BMC* 13

Laureate bare bust left. Paris 1546

Laureate draped cuirassed bust left. *BMC* 12

Radiate bare bust right. *BMC* 15

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously arranged and abbreviated,

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΜΑΡΚΟΝΑΥΡΕΙΛΙΟΝΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝΣΕΒ ; ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΥΡΗΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣΣΕΒ.

Other letter forms, W and upside-down *omega*, Ω .

(*Lucius Verus*)

Laureate bare bust right. *BMC* 18

Radiate bare bust right. Paris 1552

Radiate bare bust left. *BMC* 16 (mistakenly identified as Aurelius)

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously arranged and abbreviated,

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΕΣΑΡΑΛΟΥΑΥΡΗΛΟΥΗΡΟΝΣΕΒ ; ΑΥΤΟΚΛΟΥΑΥΡΗΛΟΥΗΡΟΛΣΕΒ.

One coin, Paris 1552, reads]KMAYP-OYHP[(*sic!*)

Reverses: ΖΕΥΓΜΑ / ΤΕΩΝ in two lines, numeral letter below, symbol sometimes above, all within laurel wreath.

	a) <u>Aurelius</u>	b) <u>Verus</u>
22. A	Paris 1550	Fitzwilliam, General coll.
23. B	Paris 1557	Paris 1544
24. $\frac{1}{B}$	-	Seyrig cast
25. $\frac{1}{\Gamma}$	Paris 1545	Paris 1551
26. $\frac{1}{\Delta}$	Paris 1547	Paris 1555

The crescent on the reverse of one type listed above presumably is connected with the same symbol found on one issue of Antoninus Pius, but it is not possible to say whether the specimen of Lucius Verus belongs to a different issue or the same one as the other coins of this group.

Small denominations, Antonine period

These coins imitate the small civic denominations of Antioch. Similar coins were also struck at Hierapolis in AD 145/6, and it may be to roughly the same period that these coins of Zeugma belong.

Small denomination 1, 3.16g.

27. **Obverses:** Veiled turreted head of city goddess right. Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, ΖΕΥΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ.
Reverses: Altar. Between legs, ΗΥ, around, uncertain legend: []ΤΕ
 Paris 1516

Small denomination 2, 0.00g.

28. **Obverses:** Laureate head of Apollo right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΖΕΥΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ.
Reverses: Lyre, ἄ in field to right (?). Around, running in various directions, uncertain legend: ζ Α Η Τ Ε .
Hunter 1

The above coin was dated to the reign of Trajan by MacDonald, but it seems unlikely that there was an issue of this sort during his reign without any larger denominations being produced, and the evidence for dating it to the time of Trajan is weak.

Elagabalus

The coinage of Elagabalus at Zeugma, like those of Seleucia Pieria and Samosata, were probably struck at Antioch. The coins of Zeugma share obverse dies with Antioch, Samosata and Seleucia Pieria. For comments on styles, see section covering the coinage of Elagabalus at Antioch.

Large denomination, 18.34g.

29. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Fitzwilliam (General coll.)
Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder *SNG (Cop.) 31*
Laureate cuirassed bust right. Oxford
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated,
ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΜΑΡΥΡΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕ; ΑΥΤΚΜΑΡΥΡΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕ.

Other variants of obverse bust type may exist, but if so, they are likely to be dies also used at Antioch.

Reverses: Tetrastyle temple on rocky hill, buildings at base and colonnades or steps up the sides, capricorn right or left in exergue. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΣΕΥΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ.

Medium denomination, 10.27g.

30. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. Obverse legends as previous.
Reverses: Tetrastyle temple on rocky hill, buildings at base and colonnades or steps up the sides. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΣΕΥΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ.

Philip

Like most of the other coinages of northern Syria during this period, the issues for Philip at Zeugma probably had their origin at Antioch. A larger and more complete range of denominations is known than for the other cities of northern Syria with which Zeugma shares dies. Zeugma shares obverse dies with Antioch, Samosata, Cyrrhus, Hierapolis, and Philippopolis in Arabia. On distinguishing between the portraits of Philip I and Philip II, see section on Philip under Antioch.

Large denomination, 16.13g.

Obverses: (Philip I)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC 29*

Radiate cuirassed bust left. *BMC 43* (mistakenly identified as Philip II)

Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΚΙΜΙΟΝΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟCCΕΒ.
(*Otacilia Severa*)

Diademed draped bust right on crescent. *BMC 33*

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΜΑΡΩΤΑΚΙΛCEΟΥΗΡΑΝCEΒ.

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC* 35
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥΣΣΕΒ.**

Reverses: Tetrastyle temple containing seated statue of Zeus, facing, on rocky hill, buildings at base and colonnades or steps up the sides, capricorn right or left in exergue. Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, **ΣΕΥΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ.**

31. a) Philip I b) Otacia c) Philip II
 BMC 29 *BMC* 33 *BMC* 35

Medium denomination, 9.42g.

Obverses: (Philip I)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC* 45 (mistakenly identified as Philip II)
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥΣΣΕΒ.**

Reverses: Tetrastyle temple, sometimes containing seated statue of Zeus, facing, on rocky hill, buildings at base and colonnades or steps up the sides. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΣΕΥΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ.**

32. a) Philip I b) Otacia c) Philip II
 BMC 45 - -

Small denomination, 6.39g.

Obverses: (Philip I)

Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. *BMC* 47 (identified as Philip II)
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥΣΣΕΒ.**

Reverses: Tetrastyle temple containing seated statue of Zeus, facing, on rocky hill, buildings at base and colonnades or steps up the sides. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, **ΣΕΥΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ.**

33. a) Philip I b) Otacia c) Philip II
 BMC 47 - -

Countermark

34. Eagle standing left in oval incuse. *GIC* 340.

The countermark is impossible to date accurately, and seems to have been applied exclusively to coins of Zeugma. A high proportion of coins of Elagabalus and Philip bear this countermark.

Antiochia ad Euphratem

Antiochia ad Euphratem seems to be identical with the ancient Urima, a now abandoned site known as Rumkale, in rugged countryside up river from Zeugma. A sister city, Epiphaneia, stood on the opposite bank of the Euphrates. The coins of Antiochia ad Euphratem, like those of two other Commagenian cities, Doliche and Caesarea Germanicia, are rare. As at Doliche and Caesarea Germanicia, Antiochia ad Euphratem struck coins under only in the late Antonine period, but the issues were even more restricted. The die engraver(s) seem to be the same as at Samosata and Zeugma. The sole reverse type is a bust of Athena (=Allath?). All of the known coins are of a single denomination.

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus

Large denomination, 9.81g.

Obverses: (*Marcus Aurelius*)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Paris 1418

Laureate draped cuirassed bust left. *BMC* 1

Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΜΑΡΚΟΝ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ.

(*Lucius Verus*)

Laureate cuirassed bust right, drapery on far shoulder. Paris 1419

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΛΟΥΚΙΟΝ
(ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ) ΟΥΗΡΟΝ.

Reverses: 1) Helmeted draped bust of Athena right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ - ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ.

1.	<u>a) Aurelius</u> Paris 1417	<u>b) Verus</u> Paris 1419
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2) Helmeted draped bust of Athena left. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ - ΠΡΟΣ ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ.

2.	<u>a) Aurelius</u> Paris 1418	<u>b) Verus</u> -
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The right facing and left facing busts on the reverse share an obverse die and appear to have no chronological significance.

Samosata

Samosata, a large tell in the village of Samsat in the Turkish province of Adiyaman, now tragically lost beneath the waters of the Atatürk Dam, seems to have derived its name from the second Commagenian king, Samos, son of Ptolemy. Strabo records it as the old royal residence of the kings of Commagene (16.2.3). There appears to have been a city called Seleucia on the opposite bank of the Euphrates until the Roman absorption of Syria; like Epiphaneia opposite Antiochia ad Euphratem and Apamea near Zeugma, these sites may have become nothing more than military strongholds when the eastern bank of the Euphrates was ceded to Antiochus I by Pompey (Jones, *Cities*, p. 219). Samosata became the Metropolis of the 'province' of Commagene, and after Vespasian's annexation of Commagene in AD 72 it adopted the title 'Flavia'. The city occupied an important site on the routes from Syria to Armenia and the Black Sea, and a major highway running east-west across the Euphrates into Mesopotamia. After the dissolution of the kingdom of Commagene it became the headquarters of Legio XVI Flavia Firma (Ptol. 5.14.8).

One of the main types used on coins of Samosata shows a city goddess seated on a rock. Usually she is accompanied by the figure of a river god, but on coins of Elagabalus and Philip this is replaced by Pegasus, a device which appears on coins of the Commagenian ruler Mithridates Callinicus, 96-70 BC. It is perhaps an old royal symbol, or it may be pertinent to Samosata, indicating that the coins of Mithridates were issued there. Wroth (*BMC*, introduction, p. 50) suggests that it may be an astrological symbol. The city goddess holds corn ears, and sometimes an eagle is perched on her arm. The eagle, which occurs on several types of Samosata, was another royal device of Commagene.

On coins of Septimius Severus and Elagabalus, two facing busts of city goddesses occur as reverse types, sometimes with an eagle between. Other denominations show a single bust of a city goddess. The type of the two goddesses is rather puzzling; does it represent Samosata and one of the other major cities of Commagene, or does it symbolise Samosata and its neighbour Seleucia on the opposite side of the Euphrates? The type is not unique in the Roman world (*eg.* it also occurs on coins of Trajan Decius, struck at Rhessaena in Mesopotamia, Lindgren 2622), but the type still requires a convincing explanation.

A striding figure of a lion occurs on some of the early coins of Samosata. It was an important figure in the art of Commagene under the kings, and is given a prominent place among the sculptures around the tumulus of Antiochus I on Nemrut Dagı. The same striding lion appears on coins of Antiochus I (see catalogue above, no. 1).

A seated figure of Zeus Nicephorus occurs on some early coins, but this may simply imitate the contemporary issues of Antioch, on which many coins of Samosata were overstruck. However, a head of Zeus occurs on the first group catalogued below, so the deity may have had local significance.

A winged caduceus, which also occurs on coins of Mithridates Callinicus and Antiochus IV, is an important device on small denomination coins struck under Hadrian. Its appearance seems to be confined to this reign.

Price and Trel, *Coins and Their Cities*, p. 278, no 671, refer to a coin of Samosata in Vienna showing a temple. I have not seen this piece, but I suspect it is not really a coin of Samosata (perhaps a coin of the island of Samos?).

The era used on coins of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius cannot have begun later than AD 75, since a coin of Lucius Verus is dated year 94, which cannot have been struck later than AD 169 (the era began in the autumn of AD 71, according to Eckhel, *d.n.v.* iii, p. 252). AD 72, when the royal house of Commagene came to an end and the province was established, seems a likely date for the inception of the era of Samosata. One issue of coins under Hadrian is dated year 19, presumably a regnal year. If so, it would fall slightly later than the other coins using an era beginning in AD 72, perhaps in AD 134-5. The award of the title 'Flavia' no doubt coincides with the beginning of the era of 72; when the city gained the title of 'Metropolis' is less clear. The earliest issues to bear the title are those of Hadrian, and coins of the first century BC read 'Samosaton Poleos', not 'Metropoleos'.

Anonymous, first century BC

The eagle and lion types were used previously on coins of the kings of Sophene and Commagene (P.Z. Bedoukian, 'The Coinage of the Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene', *ANSMN* 28 (1983), pp. 71-88). The overstrike on an Antiochene civic coin of the 40's BC indicates that this coinage, or at least a large part of it, is not as late as the interregnum between Antiochus III and IV. No. 6, with its seated Zeus reverse, also copies the Antiochene reverse type of the first century BC.

Group 1, without title 'poleos'

Large denomination, 6.51g.

1. **Obverses:** Laureate head of Zeus right. No legend.
Reverses: Lion walking right. Above, $\Sigma\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}$; $\Sigma\text{A}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N}$ in exergue.
BMC 1

Group 2, with title 'poleos'

The following coins are frequently overstruck on large denomination Antiochene coins, struck 48/7-41/0 BC.

Large denomination, 11.47g.

2. **Obverses:** Lion walking right. No legend.
Reverses: City goddess seated right on rock, turreted, holding palm branch in right hand. Behind, reading upwards, $\Sigma\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\Sigma\text{A}\text{T}\text{O}$. Before, upwards, $\Pi\text{O}\text{A}\text{E}\text{T}\Sigma$.
BMC 4

BMC 6 is overstruck on a large bronze of Antioch.

Group 3, with title 'poleos', including blundered and degenerate types

The status and dating of these coins is uncertain. One specimen, ANS (AAR), is overstruck on an issue of Antioch, struck under the Seleucids or during the period of Roman occupation down to 48 BC. They may accordingly be earlier than group 2, and group 2 may have been struck in response to the reform of the denominations at Antioch. I have included in this group some much smaller pieces with the same types and blundered legends, although their date and relationship to this or other groups is far from clear.

Large denomination (smaller than medium denomination of group 2), 5.94g.

3. Types similar to no. 2 above, crude styles, legends blundered.
BMC 9 - 13, Hunter 7 - 8

Small denomination, 3.84g.

4. Similar to previous, but cruder and smaller.
BMC 14

Group 4, 'eagle' types

Large denomination

5. **Obverses:** Eagle standing right with wings open. No legend.
Reverses: City goddess seated right on rock, turreted, holding palm branch in right hand. Behind, reading upwards, $\Sigma\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\Sigma\text{A}\text{T}\Omega$. Before, upwards, $\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\text{C}$.
BMC 15

Small denomination, 3.18g.

6. **Obverses:** As previous.
Reverses: Zeus seated left on throne, holds sceptre in left hand and Nike in right. Behind, reading downwards, $\Sigma\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}$, before, downwards, $\Sigma\text{A}\text{T}\Omega$.
BMC 16

Uncertain

The following coin is of similar module to the 'small denomination 2' coinage of Antioch, Hierapolis and Zeugma during the second century AD. Spijkerman attributed it to Samosata, presumably on the strength of the reverse type.

Small denomination

7. **Obverses:** Laureate head of Apollo right. Legend, if any, illegible.
Reverses: Winged caduceus; around, anti-clockwise (?) []M[].
SBF

Hadrian

Hadrian's coinage at Samosata is quite unlike other coinages in northern Syria during this reign. It consists of two denominations, the larger at about 5g. and the smaller at about 3g.

Undated coins

These coins may be contemporary with the medium denomination coins of years 58 and 59, listed below, since no large denomination coins seem to have been issued in those years.

Large denomination, 5.1g.

8. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{A}\Delta\text{P}\text{I}\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C} - \text{C}\text{E}\text{B}\text{A}\text{C}\text{T}\text{O}\text{C}$.
Reverses: $\Phi\Lambda\text{A} / \Sigma\text{A}\text{M}\text{O} / \text{M}\text{H}\text{T}\text{P}\text{O} / \text{K}\text{O}\text{M}$ in four lines within laurel wreath.
BMC 22

The reverse legend stands for 'Flavia Samosateon Metropoleos Kommagenon'.

Medium denomination, 4.44g.

9. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{A}\Delta\text{P}\text{I}\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C} - \text{C}\text{E}\text{B}\text{A}\text{C}\text{T}\text{O}\text{C}$.
Reverses: Winged caduceus, $\Sigma\Lambda - \text{M}\text{O}$ in one line across field.
Lindgren 1899

The single specimen of this coin appears to bear no date, but it may be off the flan.

Dated year 58, circa AD 130/1

Medium denomination, 2.73g.

10. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟ(Σ).
Reverses: Winged caduceus, between C - A / Ε - Τ / Ν - Η in three horizontal lines.
Paris 1451

Dated year 59, circa AD 131/2

Medium denomination, 2.93g.

11. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ - ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ .
Reverses: Winged caduceus, between C - A / Ε - Τ / Ν - Θ (BMC 18) or Θ - Ν (BMC 17), in three horizontal lines.

Dated year 60, circa AD 132/3

Large denomination, 4.97g.

12. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ - ΣΕΒΑΣΤΕΤΞ .
Reverses: ΦΛΑ / ΣΑΜΟ / ΜΗΤΡΟ / ΚΟΜ in four lines within laurel wreath.
BMC 21

Medium denomination, 3.56g.

13. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ - ΣΕΒΑΣΤΕΤΞ .
Reverses: Winged caduceus, between Φ - Λ / C - A / ΕΤ - Ξ in three horizontal lines.
BMC 19

Dated year 19, circa AD 134/5

Large denomination, 5.48g.

14. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ - ΣΕΒ(Α)ΕΤΙΘ .
Reverses: ΦΛΑ / ΣΑΜΟ / ΜΗΤΡΟ / ΚΟΜ in four lines within laurel wreath.
Paris 1452

Medium denomination, 3.27g.

15. **Obverses:** Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ - ΣΕΒΕΤΙΘ .
Reverses: Winged caduceus, between Φ - Λ / C - A / ΕΤ - ΙΘ or C - A / Ε - Τ / Ι - Θ in three horizontal lines.
Paris 1460

Antoninus Pius

Undated

Large denomination, 9.85g.

16. **Obverses:** Laureate draped bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΤΑΙΛΑΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕΒΕΥCΕ.
Reverses: City goddess seated left on rock, holding corn ears, river god swimming to front at feet. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΦCΑΜΟCΙΕΡΑCΥΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΗΤΡΚΟΜ.
Paris 1461

Medium denomination, 4.81g.

17. **Obverses:** Laureate draped bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC - CΕΒΕΥCΕ.
Reverses: City goddess seated left on rock, holding corn ears, river god swimming to front at feet. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΦCΑΜΙΕ - ΑCΑΥ(Τ)ΜΗ(Τ)ΚΟ.
Paris 1464

Small denomination, 1.91g.

18. **Obverses:** Laureate draped bust right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΑΝΤΩΝ.
Reverses: Winged caduceus. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΦCΑ - ΜΗΚ.
Paris 1466

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus

The issue is very badly preserved, making full identification difficult; the dates are often illegible or missing from the flan.

Large denomination, 8.72g.

Obverses:(Aurelius)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. Hunter 20

Laureate draped cuirassed bust left. Oxford

Around, clockwise from one or seven o'clock, variously abbreviated and divided, ΑΚΜΑΥΡΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕΒ or ΑΥΚΜΑΥΡ(ΗΛΙ)ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒ.

(Verus)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. KB coll.

Laureate draped cuirassed bust left. Fitzwilliam (Leake)

Around, clockwise from one or seven o'clock, variously abbreviated and divided, ΑΚΛΑΥΡΗΛΟΥΗΡΟCCΕΒ or ΑΥΤΚΑΙCΛΑΥΡΗΟΥΗΡΟCCΕΒΑCΤΟC.

Reverses: City goddess seated left, holding ears of corn, river god to front at feet. Around, clockwise from one or seven o'clock, variously abbreviated, ΦCΑΜΟΙΕΡΑCΥΑΥΤΜΗΤΡΟΠ. Regardless of position in legend, the date is usually incorporated into the legend beneath or around the river god. On a few coins, however, the date is in the field.

Dated year 90, circa AD 162/3

- | | | |
|---------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 19. ΕΤΥ | a) Aurelius
ANS photofile | b) Verus
Berlin 5544 JF |
|---------|------------------------------|----------------------------|

Dated year 91, circa AD 163/4

- | | | |
|----------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| 20. ΕΤΑΥ | a) Aurelius
- | b) Verus
Fitzwilliam (Leake) |
|----------|------------------|---------------------------------|

Dated year 92, circa AD 164/5

- | | | |
|----------|------------------|------------------------|
| 21. ΕΤΒΥ | a) Aurelius
- | b) Verus
Paris 1474 |
|----------|------------------|------------------------|

Dated year 94, circa AD 166/7

- | | | |
|----------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 22. ΕΤΔΥ | a) Aurelius
Paris 1476 | b) Verus
Paris 1475 |
|----------|---------------------------|------------------------|

Medium denomination, 4.13g.

Obverses: (*Lucius Verus*)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right.

Around, []-ΟΥΗ[].

Reverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise,
...CΑΜ[]ΤΙΕΡΑCΑ.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------|---------------------|
| 23. | a) Aurelius
- | b) Verus
ANS (N) |
|-----|------------------|---------------------|

Septimius Severus

This coinage appears to be in the name of Severus only. The use of the title 'Pertinax' indicates a date early in the reign. The issues may be connected with his Mesopotamian campaigns. Wroth, *BMC* p. 119 interprets the two Tyches as representing Samosata and another Commagenian city.

Large denomination, 11.49g.

24. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust left. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΛCΕΠC ΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΖCΕΒ.

Reverses: Two veiled, turreted draped busts of city goddesses facing each other. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΦΛΑ·CΑΜΟCΑΤΕΩΝΤΗC ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ.

BMC 31

Medium denomination, 5.62g.

25. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust left. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΛCΕΠC ΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΖCΕ.

Reverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΦΛ CΑΜΟ[]ΜΗΤΡΟ.

BMC 32

Elagabalus

There are two distinct types of coin for Elagabalus at Samosata, one giving the various city titles and one with the simple ethnic 'Samosateon'. The latter type seems to have been struck at Antioch and shares dies with that city and other cities in northern Syria. The former appears to be a local product. On the division between these two coinages, see Butcher, 'Two Related Coinages of the Third Century AD: Philippopolis and Samosata', *INJ* (1986-7). There I wrote that there were coins of Caracalla from Samosata, following the description of Wroth in *BMC*. All of the coins attributed to a young Caracalla are in fact coins of Elagabalus. They are of a single group, quite different in style and fabric to the coins of Septimius Severus.

'Local' coinage

Large denomination, 11.25g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. Lindgren 1901
Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC* 35 (under Caracalla)
Radiate bare bust right. Paris 1482
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΜΑΒΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒ.

26. **Reverses:** City goddess seated left on rock, holding corn ears, eagle perched on arm. At feet, river god swimming to front. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, variously abbreviated, ΦΛCΑΜΟCΑΤΕΩΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΚΟΜΜΑΤ.
BMC 35 (under Caracalla)

Medium denomination, 6.5g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right. *BMC* 36
Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right. *BMC* 33 (under Caracalla)
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΜΑΒΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒ.

27. **Reverses:** Two veiled, turreted, draped busts of city goddesses facing each other, eagle facing with wings spread in lower field between them. Around, clockwise from one o'clock, ΦΛCΑΜΟCΑΤΕΩΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΚΟΜΜΑΤ.
BMC 33 (under Caracalla)

Small denomination, 3.42g.

28. **Obverses:** Laureate bare bust right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΜΑΒΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒ.
Reverses: Veiled, turreted, draped bust of city goddess right. Around, clockwise from twelve o'clock, ΦCΑΜΟCΑΤΕΩΝΜΗΤΚΟΜΜΑΤ.
BMC 37

'Antioch' coinage

The following coins were probably struck at Antioch. Obverse dies are shared with Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, and Zeugma. For details on the styles, see section on Elagabalus under Antioch.

Large denomination, 17.42g.

Obverses: Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. *SNG (Cop.) 22*
Laureate bare bust right. *ANS (N)*
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated,
ΑΥΤΟΚΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒ ; ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC .

29. **Reverses:** City goddess seated left on rock, holding ears of corn, eagle perched on arm.
Before, at feet, Pegasus leaping left. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock,
ΣΑΜΟCΑΤΕΩΝ .
BMC 42

Medium denomination, 11.31g.

Obverses: (Elagabalus)
Laureate bare bust right, drapery on far shoulder. *ANS (N)*
Radiate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC 41*
Radiate draped cuirassed bust left. *BMC 40*
Around, clockwise from one or seven o'clock, *ΑΥΤΚΜΑΡΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕ .*
or *ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕ .*
(Severus Alexander Caesar)
Bare headed draped cuirassed bust right. *Lindgren 1902*
ΜΑΡΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC - ΑΝCΞΑΝΔΡΟC .

Reverses: As previous.

30. a)Elagabalus b) Severus Alexander
BMC 40 *Lindgren 1902*

Philip

A dual coinage, 'local' and 'Antioch', continues under Philip, both coinages having completely different weight standards. The heavier 'local' weight standard may derive from the earlier Antiochene coinage of Elagabalus; Philip's new coinage at Antioch was issued at a lighter standard, and all of the coinages struck there for other cities were issued on the new standard. Obverse dies are shared with Antioch, Zeugma and Cyrrhus. As under Elagabalus, the 'local' coinage normally (though not invariably) gives the titles of Samosata as the Metropolis of Commagene; the 'Antioch' coinage always gives only the plain ethnic. Both coinages were struck between *circa* 246 and 249.

'Local' coinage

Large denomination, 19.1g.

Obverses:(Philip I)
Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC 44*
Laureate draped cuirassed bust to front right.
Radiate cuirassed bust right.
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, *ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΑΙΟΥΦΙΛΙΠΠΤCΕΒ*
or *ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟCCΕΒ .*
(Philip II)
Laureate draped cuirassed bust right.
Radiate cuirassed bust to front left, right arm of cuirass showing.
Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, *ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΤΟCCΕΒ .*

Reverses: City goddess seated left on rock, turreted veiled, holding ears of corn in right hand and usually supporting eagle on right wrist, Pegasus leaping left at her feet. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\Phi\Lambda\text{C}\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\text{C}\text{A}\text{T}\text{E}\text{W}\text{N}$ or $\Phi\Lambda\text{A}\text{O}\text{Y}\cdot\text{C}\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\text{C}\text{A}\text{T}\text{E}$ or $\Phi\Lambda\text{C}\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\text{C}\text{A}\text{T}\text{E}\text{W}\text{N}\text{M}\text{H}(\text{T}\text{P}\text{O}\text{T})\text{K}\text{O}\text{M}(\text{M}\text{A}\text{T})$.

31. a) Philip I b) Philip II
 BMC 44 *BMC 53*

Medium denomination, 11.77g.

32. **Obverses:** Radiate draped cuirassed bust of Philip II right. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{A}\text{Y}\text{T}\text{O}\text{K}\text{K}\text{M}\text{I}\text{O}\text{V}\text{L}\text{I}\text{F}\text{I}\text{L}\text{I}\text{P}\text{C}\text{E}\text{B}$.
Reverses: City goddess seated left on rock, turreted, veiled, holding corn ears in right hand and supporting eagle on right wrist, river god to front swimming at her feet. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, $\Phi\Lambda\text{A}\text{O}\text{V}\text{C}\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\text{C}\text{A}\text{T}\text{E}\text{W}\text{N}$ $\text{M}\text{H}\text{T}\text{P}\text{O}\text{T}\text{K}\text{O}\text{M}\text{M}\text{A}\text{T}$.
 BMC 61

A single obverse die was used to produce this denomination.

'Antioch' coinage

For the differences in portraiture between Philip I and his son, see the section on Philip under Antioch.

Large denomination, 15.65g.

Obverses: *(Philip I)*

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC 50*

Radiate cuirassed bust left. *BMC 59* (under Philip II)

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{A}\text{Y}\text{T}\text{O}\text{K}\text{K}\text{M}\text{I}\text{O}\text{V}\text{L}\text{I}\text{F}\text{I}\text{L}\text{I}\text{P}\text{P}\text{O}\text{C}\text{C}\text{E}\text{B}$.

(Philip II)

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *BMC 54*

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{A}\text{Y}\text{T}\text{O}\text{K}\text{K}\text{M}\text{I}\text{O}\text{V}\text{L}\text{I}\text{F}\text{I}\text{L}\text{I}\text{P}\text{P}\text{O}\text{C}\text{C}\text{E}\text{B}$.

Reverses: City goddess seated left on rock, turreted, veiled, holding corn ears, eagle sometimes but not frequently present on wrist, Pegasus jumping left at feet. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{C}\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\text{C}\text{A}\text{T}\text{E}\text{O}\text{N}$.

33. a) Philip I b) Otacilia c) Philip II
 BMC 50 - *BMC 54*

Medium denomination, 9.13g.

Obverses: *(Philip II)*

Laureate draped cuirassed bust right. *SNG (Cop.) 24*

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, $\text{A}\text{Y}\text{T}\text{O}\text{K}\text{K}\text{M}\text{I}\text{O}\text{V}\text{L}\text{I}\text{F}\text{I}\text{L}\text{I}\text{P}\text{P}\text{O}\text{C}\text{C}\text{E}\text{B}$.

Reverses: As previous.

34. a) Philip I b) Philip II
 - *BMC 55*

Caesarea Germanicia

When the ancient town of Marash (the modern Turkish provincial capital of Kahramanmaras) received its Roman name is not clear. Jones, *Cities*, p. 264 and p. 458, quotes Head, *Hist. Num.* on the coins of Germanicia, stating that there are coins from AD 38, and therefore received its classical name under Gaius, but these must be misidentified coins of another city, and no era appears upon the coins of this Germanicia. The reverse types, a city goddess, or the ethnic and title of the city, with or without a wreath, are not particularly informative, save that the title Kom[magenon] confirms Germanicia as one of the cities of the 'province' of Commagene.

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus

The legends and types are badly preserved on this issue and it is difficult to be certain which emperor is represented on some of the coins. There seem to have been about four obverse dies used for the large denomination, three of which are laureate and facing right, but only one of these right facing dies is legible amongst the specimens seen by me.

Large denomination, 10.36g.

Obverses: (*Marcus Aurelius*) Laureate bare bust of Marcus Aurelius right.

Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΥΡΗΛ - ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ
ΟΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ.

(*Lucius Verus*)

Laureate bare bust of Lucius Verus left.

Around, clockwise from nine o'clock, ΑΥΤ - ΚΑΙΛΟΥ[]ΑΥΡ - ΟΥΗΡΟΣ.

Reverses: 1) Wreath terminating in circle or disk, within which is ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕ(ΩΝ)
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΕΚΟΜ variously arranged and abbreviated in three lines, numeral letter A
below.

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. | <u>(a) Marcus Aurelius</u>
Oxford | <u>(b) Lucius Verus</u>
Berlin (Löbbecke) |
|----|--------------------------------------|--|

2) City goddess seated left on rock, holding corn ears (?), river god swimming to front at her feet, numeral letter A to right in field, or at end of legend. Around, clockwise from seven or one o'clock: ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕ(ΩΝ)ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΕ(ΩΝ)ΚΟΜΛ; ΚΕΣΑΡΙΕ [].

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------------------------------|
| 2. | <u>(a) Marcus Aurelius</u>
Paris 1424 | <u>(b) Lucius Verus</u>
Paris 1425 |
|----|--|---------------------------------------|

Medium denomination, 3.6g.

Obverses: (*Marcus Aurelius*)

Laureate head of Marcus Aurelius right.

Around, clockwise, []ΥΤΟΚ . []Τ[]ΝΙΝ[]

Reverses: ΚΑΙ / ΣΑΡΕΑ / ΓΕΡΜΑ / ΝΙΚΕΩ/[] in four lines, in wreath terminating in circle.

- | | | |
|----|--|------------------------------|
| 3. | <u>(a) Marcus Aurelius</u>
Paris 1423 | <u>(b) Lucius Verus</u>
- |
|----|--|------------------------------|

Large denomination, 8.8g.

Obverses: Laureate draped bust r., with long beard. Around, clockwise, from seven o'clock, ΑΥ(Τ)Κ(ΑΙ)Α(ΥΡ) - ΚΟΜΟΔΟΝΣΕ.

4. **Reverses:** 1) Wreath terminating in circle or disk, within which is ΚΑΙΣ(Α)/ΓΕΡΜΑ ΝΙΚΕΩΝ / ΚΟΜΑ variously divided and abbreviated, in three lines, ending with numeral letter Β or Β.

Paris 1428

Paris 1428 appears to have q instead of a numeral letter, but this may be a misreading of a retrograde Β rather than a date.

5. 2) City goddess seated left on rock, holding corn ears (?), river god swimming to front at her feet. Around, clockwise from seven o'clock, variously divided and abbreviated, ΚΑΙΣΓΕΡ - ΜΑΝΙΚΑΙΩΝ.

Paris 1429.

Paris 1429 (reverse city goddess) shares an obverse die with Paris 1428 (wreath).

Antiochia ad Taurum

Jones identifies Antiochia ad Taurum with Perrhe, modern Pirin, just north of the Turkish provincial capital of Adiyaman, and suggests that it was one of the 'four cities of Commagene' mentioned in dedications to Septimius Severus and his family (*Cities*, pp. 263-4). It was presumably named after one of the Commagenian kings, perhaps Antiochus IV (Jones, *Cities*, p. 264). There are no known coins of this city, even though one might have expected them. A single coin of Septimius Severus in Paris purports to be an issue of this Antioch. It is actually a coin of Tyana, which used the words 'pros to Tauro' on its coinage. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 653, quotes a coin of this city, but it too is misread; see *BMC Galatia etc.*, introduction, p. 49, note.

Abbreviations

- ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.
ANSMN American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes.
ANSNNM American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Notes and Monographs.
- BGCH S.P. Noe, *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York, 1937.
- BMC Galatia etc. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria*, London 1899.
- CH *Coin Hoards*.
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- FITA M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, Cambridge, 1954.
- GIC C.J. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks*, RNS Special Publication no. 17, London, 1985.
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- Howgego Imperial C.J. Howgego, 'Coinage and Military Finance: The Bronze Coinage of the Augustan East', *NC* 142 (1982), pp. 1-20.
- IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*.
- IGLS *Inscriptiones grecques et latines de la Syrie*.
- IGCH M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, C.M. Kraay, *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York, 1973.
- INJ *Israel Numismatic Journal*.
- JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*.
- Mionnet T.E. Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques, Grecques et Romaines*, 10 vols., Paris, 1806-1838.
- MRSC D.R. Walker, *The Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage*, BAR Supplementary Series, 1976-1978.
- NC *Numismatic Chronicle*.
- NCirc. *Spink's Numismatic Circular*.
- Seleucid Antioch E.T. Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, New York, 1918.
- NZ *Numismatische Zeitschrift*.
- QI *Numismatica ed Antichità Classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi*.
- RAI M. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues: An exploratory study of the numismatic and medallic commemoration of anniversary years, 49 BC - AD 375*, Cambridge, 1950.

- RIC* *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 9 vols., various authors, London, 1923 - . All references to coins, Augustus to Vitellius, refer to the revised edition of volume 1, by C.H.V. Sutherland, 1984 (unless otherwise stated).
- RN* *Revue Numismatique*.
- RPC* A.M. Burnett, M. Amandry, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. i, London, forthcoming.
- RRC* M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge, 1974.
- RSN* *Revue Suisse de Numismatique*
- SCMB* Seaby Coin and Medal Bulletin.
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- SMACA* M. Grant, *The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus*, Edinburgh, 1953.
- SNG (Cop.)* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Royal Danish Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum. Vol. 36: Syria: Cities*, Copenhagen 1959.
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- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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Plates

For bronze coins, see Catalogue. Numbers in the plates for bronze coins correspond to those in the Catalogue. Bronze coins used for comparanda, without Catalogue numbers, are listed below.

Bronze issues

Plate 1

- A. Antioch, Seleucid era, large denomination bronze
- B. Antioch, Seleucid era, medium denomination bronze
- C. Antioch, Seleucid era, small denomination bronze

Plate 4

- A. Imitation of SC bronze of Augustus

Plate 16

- A. Antioch, SC bronze of Lucius Verus, Group 4 (?). Lacks letters K-A. Waagé 538

Plate 24

- A. Seleucia Pieria, small denomination, first century BC, uncertain year

Plate 54

- A. Imitation of SC bronze of Otho. Antakya Museum
- B. Imitation of Antonine SC bronze. Antioch excavations
- C. Imitation of SC bronze, uncertain date (fourth century AD according to Waagé). Antioch excavations

Silver and gold issues

Plate 42

- 1. Philip Philadelphus, tetradrachm
- 2. Aulus Gabinius, tetradrachm, Antioch
- 3. Cleopatra and M. Antonius, tetradrachm, uncertain mint
- 4. M. Antonius, drachm, Antioch
- 5. Cleopatra and M. Antonius, denarius, uncertain mint
- 6. 'Posthumous Philip' tetradrachm, Antioch, Caesarean year 31, 19/8 BC
- 7. Aradus, tetradrachm, year 195 of autonomy
- 8. Laodicea, tetradrachm, year 21 of autonomy, 61/60 BC
- 9. Laodicea, tetradrachm, Caesarean year 21, 28/7 BC

Plate 43

- 10. Augustus, Antioch, tetradrachm, rev. Zeus Nicephorus
- 11. Augustus, Antioch, tetradrachm, rev. Tyche, Actian year 26
- 12. Gaius, Antioch, tetradrachm, regnal year 2
- 13. Claudius, 'Zeus' tetradrachm, uncertain mint
- 14. Claudius, Antioch, tetradrachm
- 15. Claudius, Antioch, didrachm, with portrait of Nero
- 16. Claudius, Antioch, didrachm, with portraits of Nero and Agrippina
- 17. Nero, Antioch, tetradrachm, regnal year 3
- 18. Nero, Antioch, didrachm, regnal year 3
- 19. Nero, Antioch, drachm, regnal year 3
- 20. Nero, Antioch, tetradrachm, regnal year 8, Caesarean year 110
- 21. Nero, Antioch, tetradrachm, regnal year 10, Caesarean year 111
- 22. Nero, Antioch, drachm
- 23. Nero, Antioch, tetradrachm, regnal year 10, Caesarean year 112

Plate 44

- 24. Nero, Antioch, tetradrachm, Caesarean year 116
- 25. Galba, Antioch, tetradrachm, regnal year 1
- 26. Galba, Antioch, tetradrachm, regnal year 2
- 27. Otho, Antioch, tetradrachm, regnal year 1

28. Otho, Antioch, tetradrachm, regnal year 1 (crescent on reverse)
29. Vespasian, Antioch, tetradrachm (group 1), regnal year 1 (crescent on reverse)
30. Vespasian, Antioch, tetradrachm (group 1), regnal year 2
31. Vespasian, Antioch, tetradrachm (group 1), regnal year 2 (crescent on reverse)
32. Vespasian, Antioch, tetradrachm (group 2), regnal year 1
33. Vespasian, Antioch, tetradrachm, 'eagle on altar', regnal year 5
34. Vespasian, Antioch, aureus
35. Vespasian, Antioch, denarius
36. Vespasian, uncertain mint, denarius

Plate 45

37. Vespasian, Cyprus, tetradrachm, regnal year 8
38. Titus, under Vespasian, Cyprus, didrachm, regnal year 9 of Vespasian
39. Domitian, under Vespasian, Cyprus, didrachm, regnal year 9 of Vespasian
40. Vespasian, 'Alexandria', tetradrachm for Syria, regnal year 2
41. Vespasian, 'Alexandria', Egyptian tetradrachm, regnal year 2
42. Vespasian, 'Alexandria', aureus
43. Vespasian, 'Alexandria', aureus
44. Vespasian, 'Alexandria', tetradrachm for Syria, regnal year 3
45. Vespasian, Alexandria, Egyptian tetradrachm, regnal year 3
46. Vespasian, 'Alexandria', aureus
47. Vespasian, 'Caesarea in Samaria', tetradrachm
48. Vespasian, 'Caesarea in Samaria', aureus
49. Titus, under Vespasian, 'Caesarea in Samaria', aureus
50. Vespasian, Caesarea in Cappadocia, didrachm, struck at Rome (?)
51. Vespasian, Caesarea in Cappadocia, didrachm, struck at Caesarea (?)

Plate 46

52. Domitian, 'Alexandria', tetradrachm for Syria, regnal year 2
53. Domitian, Alexandria, Egyptian bronze coin, regnal year 3
54. Domitian, 'Alexandria', tetradrachm for Syria, regnal year 8
55. Domitian, Alexandria, Egyptian tetradrachm, regnal year 6
56. Domitian, 'Alexandria', tetradrachm for Syria, regnal year 9
57. Domitian, Alexandria, Egyptian tetradrachm, regnal year 8
58. Domitian, Antioch (?), tetradrachm, regnal year 11
59. Domitian, Tarsus, tetradrachm
60. Nerva, 'Alexandria', tetradrachm for Syria, regnal year 1
61. Nerva, Alexandria, Egyptian tetradrachm, regnal year 1
62. Trajan, 'Alexandria', tetradrachm for Syria, regnal year 2
63. Trajan, Alexandria, Egyptian bronze coin, regnal year 2 (same obverse die as previous coin)

Plate 47

64. Trajan, 'Rome', tetradrachm for Syria, *cos ii*, rev. Melkart
65. Trajan, 'Rome', tetradrachm for Syria, *cos ii*, rev. Eagle
66. Trajan, 'Rome', tridrachm for Syria, *cos ii*, rev. 'Zeus'/Hadad
67. Trajan, 'Rome', didrachm for Syria, *cos ii*, rev. 'Hera'/Atergatis
68. Trajan, 'Rome', didrachm for Caesarea in Cappadocia, *cos ii*
69. Trajan, Rome, aureus, *cos. ii*
70. Trajan, Caesarea in Cappadocia, native style, *cos ii*
71. Trajan, Caesarea in Cappadocia, native style, *cos ii*
72. Trajan, 'Rome' tetradrachm for Syria, *cos iii*, rev. Melkart
73. Trajan, 'Rome', tridrachm for Syria, *cos iii*, rev. Roma
74. Trajan, 'Rome', tridrachm for Syria, *cos iii*, rev. Melkart
75. Trajan, 'Rome', didrachm for Syria, *cos iii*, rev. 'Tyrian' eagle
76. Trajan, Rome, denarius, *cos iii*
77. Trajan, 'Rome', hemidrachm for Cyrenaica, *cos iii*

Plate 48

78. Trajan, 'Alexandria', tetradrachm for Syria, regnal year 12
79. Trajan, Antioch, tetradrachm, *cos. v*, rev. Tyche
80. Trajan, Antioch, tetradrachm, *tr.p. xviii cos. vi*, rev. Melkart
81. Trajan, Antioch, tetradrachm, *tr.p. xvi cos. vi*, rev. eagle
82. Trajan, 'Antioch', cistophorus for Asia, *tr.p. xvii cos. vi*
83. Trajan, 'Antioch', cistophorus for Asia, *tr.p. xvii cos. vi*
84. Trajan, 'Antioch', drachm for Arabia
85. Trajan, 'Antioch', drachm for Crete
86. Hadrian, Antioch, tetradrachm, *cos.*
87. Hadrian, Antioch, tetradrachm, *cos ii*
88. Hadrian, Antioch, tetradrachm, *cos iii*
89. Hadrian, Antioch, 'denarius', rev. ADOPTIO
90. Hadrian, Antioch, 'denarius', rev. Tyche

Plate 49

91. Hadrian, Antioch, 'denarius', rev. Tyche
92. Marcus Aurelius, Antioch, tetradrachm
93. Commodus, Antioch, tetradrachm
94. Pescennius Niger, Antioch, tetradrachm
95. Pescennius Niger, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. BONAE-SPES
96. Pescennius Niger, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. CERER-FRV[]
97. Pescennius Niger, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. FELI-CITASTEMPOR
98. Pescennius Niger, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. FORTVNA-EREDVCI
99. Pescennius Niger, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. INVICTOIMPTROPAE
100. Pescennius Niger, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend undated; rev. IOVIPR-A-EORBIS
101. Pescennius Niger, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend undated; rev. CELERI-FRVGIFE
102. Pescennius Niger, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend undated; rev. FORTVN-A-ERED
103. Pescennius Niger, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend undated; rev. MINER-VICTRIC
104. Septimius Severus, Antioch, aureus, obv. legend undated; rev. FORTVNA-ER-EDVCI
105. Septimius Severus, Antioch, aureus, obv. legend undated; rev. LEGXIII-GEM-M.V. TRPCOS (obverse die as next coin)
106. Septimius Severus, Antioch, aureus, obv. legend undated; rev. VIC-T-A-VG (obverse die as previous coin)
107. Septimius Severus, Antioch, aureus, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. IOVI-PR-A-EORBIS
108. Septimius Severus, Antioch, aureus, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. LIBERA-L-AVG
109. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSI; rev. FORTVN-AEREDVCI (obverse die as next coin)

Plate 50

110. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSI; rev. MONET-A-EAVG (obverse die as previous coin)
111. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSI; rev. MON-E-TAVG
112. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSI-I (final I under bust); rev. MIN-E-RVICT
113. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII (last I engraved on point of bust); rev. BONA-ESPEI (obverse die as next two coins)

114. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. FORTV-NEREDVCI (obverse die as previous and following coins)
115. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. VICTORIVSTAVG (obverse die as previous two coins)
116. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending IICO; rev. BONAE-SPEI
117. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending IICO; rev. INVICTOIMPTROPAEAI
118. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. FELICITASTEMPOR
119. Julia Domna, Antioch, denarius; rev. FELICITTEMPOR
120. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. FELICITTEMPOR
121. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. FORTVN-R-EDVC
122. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. IOVIP-R-A-EORBIS
123. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. LEGXIII-GEM-M.V. TRPCOS
124. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. TRPIIIIMPVCOSII
125. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending COSII; rev. TRPIIIIMPVCOSI I
126. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending IMPI; rev. FORT-R-EDVC
127. Septimius Severus, Antioch, aureus, obv. legend ending IMPII; rev. VI-CT-O-RIAVG
128. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending IMPII; rev. SAECVLIFELICI
129. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending IMPVIII; rev. BONI-EV-ENTVS
130. Septimius Severus, Antioch, denarius, obv. legend ending IMPVIII; rev. FORT-R-EDVC
131. Septimius Severus, 'Laodicea' (=Rome?), denarius, obv. legend ending IMPVIII; rev. PMTRP-V-COSIIPP
132. Septimius Severus, 'Laodicea' (=Rome?), denarius, obv. legend ending IMPVIII; rev. PMTRPV-COSIIPP
- Plate 51**
133. Septimius Severus, Antioch, tetradrachm, rev. eagle
134. Septimius Severus, Antioch, tetradrachm, rev. Tyche
135. Septimius Severus, Laodicea ad Mare, tetradrachm
136. Caracalla, 'Antioch', tetradrachm, type 2
137. Caracalla, 'Antioch', tetradrachm, type 5
138. Caracalla, 'Emisa', tetradrachm
139. Macrinus, 'Antioch', tetradrachm
140. Diadumenian, 'Antioch', tetradrachm
141. Elagabalus, Laodicea/Antioch, regular tetradrachm, draped bust
142. Elagabalus, Laodicea/Antioch, regular tetradrachm
143. Elagabalus, irregular tetradrachm
144. Elagabalus, irregular 'tetradrachm'
- Plate 52**
145. Elagabalus, eastern denarius, Moesia (?)
146. Julia Maesa, eastern denarius, Moesia (?)
147. Elagabalus and Julia Maesa, Moesia, Marcianopolis, bronze coin
148. Gordian III, Antioch, tetradrachm, first issue
149. Gordian III, Antioch, radiate
150. Gordian III, Caesarea in Cappadocia, tridrachm
151. Gordian III, Antioch, tetradrachm, second issue

152. Philip I, Antioch, tetradrachm, first issue
153. Philip I, Antioch, radiate, first issue
154. Philip I, Rome, tetradrachm, 'MON VRB'
155. Philip I, Antioch, tetradrachm, 'ANTIOXIA'
156. Otacilia Severa, Antioch, tetradrachm, 'ANTIOXIA'

Plate 53

157. Philip II, Antioch, tetradrachm, 'ANTIOXIA'
158. Philip II, Antioch, tetradrachm, 'ANTIOXIA' (obv. only)
159. Philip I, Antioch, radiate, later issue
160. Philip II, Antioch, radiate, later issue
161. Jotapianus, uncertain mint, radiate
162. Trajan Decius, Antioch, tetradrachm, first issue
163. Trajan Decius, Antioch, tetradrachm, second issue
164. Trajan Decius, Antioch, tetradrachm, third issue
165. Trajan Decius, Antioch, tetradrachm, third issue (eagle facing)
166. Hostilian, Antioch, tetradrachm
167. Trajan Decius, Antioch, radiate
168. Trebonianus Gallus, Antioch, tetradrachm, first issue

Plate 54.

169. Volusian, Antioch, tetradrachm, first issue
170. Trebonianus Gallus, Antioch, radiate, first issue
171. Trebonianus Gallus, Antioch, tetradrachm, second issue
172. Trebonianus Gallus, Antioch, radiate, second issue
173. Uranius Antoninus, Emisa, tetradrachm
174. Uranius Antoninus, Emisa, silver unit
175. Uranius Antoninus, Emisa, aureus
176. Valerian, Antioch, radiate, first issue, AD 253/4



A



B



C



9.1a



1b



5c



13.1a



13.2b



15.3



18



19.1



30.2 a



22.2b



22.4 c





38



39



41



42



43



44



45



46



47



51a



50b



48c



50d



50e



49f





54a



54b



54c



55a



56a



56c



58



59i



59ii



59iv



A



61



60





62



63



68



69



64i



64v



64ii



65v



66



67



74



91



92 i



95



94



96



97 iv



99 i



100 ii



101



102 iv





115



116



117



118



119



120



112



112



113 i



113 ii



114 i



114 ii



128



129 i



129 iii





123 i



124 i



127 i



125 i



126 ii



130



130



131 ii



133



133



134 i



136 i





138



132 iv



139



140



141 i



143 iii



147



146 i



141 i



148 i



150



149 i



151 i





152 ii



153 i



153 ii



154 ii



159 i



159 i



161



161



162 i



163 i) a



167



168



163 v) a





163v)a



163v)b



163v)b



163v)c



164b



165v)a



165iii)b



165v)c



166b



169i)a



169i)b



170a



173a



176b





196



187a



194b



197a



200a



204a



203b



213a



217a



212b



231



232





254



256



257



261



240



246



249



267



262



268



274



275



276



282



285



288



298 i



292 ii



295 ii



300 ii



302



305





314i)a



315 ii)a



316i)a



324i)a



324 i)b



325



330



333



334



351b



343b



345a



343c



365d



373a



376b



365c



380c



387



388



388





PLATE 14: ANTIOCH



420a



422b



422a



A



430b



434a



449



449



449



447



448



450i



451i



453i



450ii



457



455



456



458



OBV. = Pl. 38
No. 29
(Zeugma)



474b



478a



478a



481b



481b



479



474a



479



478.1a



482b



472



473





483c



485a



485c



486



487



OBV= Pl. 19,
No. 493a



490a



491a



492a



492b



488a



488a



489a



489a



489a



OBV. =
Pl. 18,
no. 490a



493a



493b



494a



494a



494b



494d



495a



495b



494c



496a



497b



498a



498a





498a



498b



498b



498c



498a



498b



498d



498d



498d



498d



499a



501a



501b





502a



502b



502c



503



502d



504a



504a



504b



504c



505



507a



507b





507c



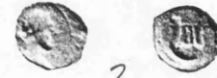
508



1



2



2



2



13i



9



4



13iii



11



5



13iv



12



1



2



3



4



PLATE 22: ANTIOCH,
SMALL COINS, ROME



PLATE 23: ROME



19



19



22



22



23



24



25



26



27



28



31



32



33



4



19



7



PLATE 24: ROME, SELEUCIA



A



20.26



35



38b



39



40



41



43



44



50a



56a





45b



57b



50c



54c



60



61a



68a



75



76



77



78



79a



80a



79b



80c



81



84



85



86



87



88



89



90



91



92



93



94



95



PLATE 27: SELEUCIA



2a



2b



9



6



10



11



12



12



13



15



16



17



20





22



24



25



26



27



28



1



3



6



7c



8



9



10



PLATE 29: RHOSUS,
NICOPOLIS



PLATE 30: NICOPOLIS, CHALCIS



15a



16a



12b



18a



21a



20b



24a



23b



1



3a



5b



11



PLATE 31: CHALCIS,
BEROEA



13



13



12



14



2



1



6



4



10a



9b



12a



11b



12.1b



PLATE 32: BEROEA,
CYRRHUS



14a



15b



18a



18b



19b



20



21a



21a



21c



2



3



4



7a



7b



PLATE 33: CYRRHUS,
HIERAPOLIS



13



14



15



20



26



23



24



30



36a



37b



41b



46a



50



51



52



54
(large module)



54
(smaller module)





53



53



55 (large module)



55 (smaller module)



58



57



60a



59a



61a



59b



62



63





64a



64c



ANTIOCHUS I



1

ANTIOCHUS IV



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



9





10



11



12



14



13



20



21



27



28



5



10



12



16



22



PLATE 37: COMMAGENE, ZEUGMA

OBV. =
Pl. 17,
no. 481b



29



29



30



31a



31b



31c



32a



33a



2a



1a



1b



PLATE 38: ZEUGMA,
ANTIOCHIA AD EUPHRATEM



1



2



3



4



5



6



8



10



11



11



15



12



13



16



17



18

PLATE 39: SAMOSATA



21b



22b



23



24



25



26



27



28



29



29



30a





31a



31b



31b



32



33a



33a



33c



34b



2



2



3



3





PLATE 42: CAESAREA GERMANICIA
SILVER COINAGE



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23





24



25



26



27



28



29



30



31



32



33



34



35



36





37



38



39



40



41



42



43



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