

# *Delta-epsilon* issues of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander\*

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Bronze coins bearing on the reverse the large letters in Greek ΔΕ were struck for Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, born Varius Avitus Bassianus, commonly known as Elagabalus, emperor in AD 218–222, and his successor, Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, originally Marcus Iulius Gessius Bassianus Alexianus, designated Caesar in AD 221 with the official name Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, emperor in AD 222–235 [Figs 3–4]. Several specimens have been discovered in Dura-Europos and there is good reason to believe that they were issued in Syria. Nonetheless, a large number of finds recorded in Cyprus, Kourion in particular, suggests a Cypriote origin.

Obverse: Laureate bust bare or with drapery on left shoulder looking right;

Elagabalus:	IMP C M AVR ANTONINVS AVG;
Severus Alexander:	IMP C M A S ALEXANDR AVG IMP C M A SE ALEXAN[DER?] IMP CAE ALEXAND... IMP CAES ALEXANDER AVG ...ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ (?)....

Reverse: ΔΕ above star within laurel wreath.

The number of registered specimens, 265, indicates the actual size of the *delta-epsilon* issues. Moreover, it was differentiated to judge by the surviving specimens. Full information could not be obtained for all the coins regarding weight, die-axis position, dimensions, shape of flan, individual features and style of the representation. Some coins were misstruck [Fig. 4]. Personal examination of each and every coin was not possible. Despite these deficiencies, it still seemed justified to present the material, giving the opportunity to consider coins found in excavations in a broader aspect, perhaps even helping to locate the place of issue.

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\*As a member of the Polish Archaeological Mission at Kato Paphos (Maloutena) working under the direction of Professor Wiktor Andrzej Daszewski, I was constantly encouraged by him to publish coins discovered during the excavations. Prof. Daszewski's 75th birthday anniversary is an excellent opportunity to dedicate to him this modest numismatic contribution in acknowledgement of his longstanding scientific research and dedication to Cyprus and Cypriote archaeology.

## Flans

Most of the *delta-epsilon* coins are circular. The nearly squared flan, which is so characteristic of imperial bronzes, is demonstrated by only a few specimens, especially one coin of Severus Alexander [Table VIII:3] and less distinctly a few coins of Elagabalus [Table I:18].

A personal examination of some *delta-epsilon* coins reveals their different physical characteristics. The edges are straight, slightly rounded or beveled. Cross sections vary from rectangular [Table I:3, 19–24] through rhomboid [Table I:5, 8, 11, 26, 31], trapezoid [Table I:16] to ellipsoidal with flattened surfaces [Table I:5; III: 13]. The thickness of examined specimens ranges from 1.1 to 3.7 mm and is not the result of wear. Some specimens feature an uneven thickness, e.g. 1.7–2.4 [Table I:23], 1.8–2.1 mm [Table I:30], 2.1–3.0 mm [Table I:12].

Beside specimens of a pale golden-yellow color [Table I:26, 31–32; VI: 2], there are ones that are the color of copper/orange with reddish tinge, dark red, dark bronze and nearly black [Table I:2, 5, 12, 25, 26]. It may be due to different conditions of deposition, but it is also strongly possible that the alloys of copper used for minting were characterized by different proportions of components, which in turn could be attributed to the coins being struck in different mints or workshops.

The diameter of Elagabalus *delta-epsilon* coins ranges from 14 to 24 mm, those of Severus Alexander from 15 to 19 mm, and those of coins belonging to one or the other from 14 to 23 mm.

## Weight and size

The discrepancy both in weight and size of *delta-epsilon* coins bearing the portrait of Elagabalus is higher than in the case of coins attributed to Severus Alexander. The reason for this may be the limited number of surviving and identified specimens of the latter of the two emperors. The weight of coins of Elagabalus ranges from 2.32 g to 10.32 g, those of Severus Alexander from 2.94 g to 5.87 g, and coins belonging to one or the other from 1.12 g to 7.71 g [Tables I–VIII]. The average weight of *delta-epsilon* coins is 5.34 g for Elagabalus (sample of 105 specimens), 4.14 g for Severus Alexander (sample of 10 specimens), and 4.16 g for coins struck by one of them (sample of 19 specimens). The average weight of *delta-epsilon* coins calculated for 134 coins of the two emperors is 5.08 g. The question, however, is should all the *delta-epsilon* coins be considered as a single homogenous group.

The collected *delta-epsilon* coins demonstrate considerable irregularity. Specimens with the largest diameter are not always the heaviest. Most specimens are from about 2.5 g to about 8 g, with a diameter of 15–23 mm [see Figs 5–6]. Several specimens weighed less than the lightest Severan Cypriote coins (Parks 2004: 119, Fig. 59, Iulia Domna, 7.00–7.99 g; 121, Fig. 61, Caracalla-Geta, 7.00–7.99 g; 126, Fig. 64, Caracalla, 9–9.99 g).

Bronze units struck on Cyprus in the name of Septimius Severus and members of his family are considered as equivalent to Roman denominations: *sestertii*, *dupondii* and *asses*. *Delta-epsilon* coins may be described as medium and small denominations, compared with Roman *asses*, of reduced weight in this period, *semisses* and/or *quadranses*, although at this time the production of these units had ceased (Howgego 1995: 122; Bland 1996: 64).

Syrian issues were naturally quite differentiated, although the main mints produced primarily the larger denominations (Butcher 2004: 207, 212–213, 288). The weight of Antiochene SC coins declined from the rule of Caracalla to that of Severus Alexander. Small SC bronzes, weighing an average of 3.66 g and 2.99 g in the reign of Caracalla, were not issued anymore (Butcher 2004: 212–213). In the rule of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander the lightest coins from this mint with an average weight of 4.66 g and 4.49 g respectively, were identified by K. Butcher as “small SC bronze (1 obol?)” (Butcher 2004: 213, Fig. 62). The weight is somewhat lower than the average weight for *delta-epsilon* coins. The question returns, however, should the *delta-epsilon* specimens be considered as a single homogenous group.

The official designation of the *delta-epsilon* coin denomination remains unknown. D.B. Waagé and A.R. Bellinger classified the *delta-epsilon* coins as *semisses* (Waagé 1952: No. 1827; Bellinger 1949: 156 No. 1827). D. Parks also supposed that they were probably *semisses* with a standard weight from 2.45 g to 8.06 g for Elagabalus and from 3.46 g to 5.87 g for Severus Alexander (Parks 2005: 131–132, 237–238). Ph. Grierson estimated them to be *quadranses* (Grierson 1958: 64 No. 16). R. McAlee divided the *delta-epsilon* coins of Elagabalus into two Roman denominations: *asses* (21 mm) and possibly *semisses* (16 mm); he proposed to qualify the coins of Severus Alexander as *as-saria* (McAlee 2007: 298 Nos 799–801 with notes 189–190; 314 No. 856). O. Callot did not specify the denomination, but noted that some specimens found in Salamis (one of Severus Alexander and another one of uncertain attribution) were smaller than others and described them as “petit module” [Table II:6] and “demi-unité” [Table III:18]. B. Kapossy observed the small diameter of one *delta-epsilon* coin from the Righetti Collection [Table VII:55].

## Die-axis position

Of the collected specimens 28 have the die-axis on 6 o'clock (Elagabalus 25, Severus Alexander one and a single specimen belonging to one or the other). The number of coins with die-axis position at 12 o'clock is also high: 21 specimens (Elagabalus 14; Severus Alexander three; four specimens belonging to either one or the other). Frequent variations of the die-axis position close to 6 or 12 o'clock, that is, 12.30, 1, 1.30, 5, 6.30, 7, 11 o'clock, may be interpreted as imprecise positioning of what was intended to be 6 or 12 o'clock respectively. Greater deviations from the 12 or 6 o'clock axis-position are rare: two specimens showing the die-axis on 8 o'clock, one on 3 o'clock.

The 6 o'clock die-axis orientation was common for Cypriot coins, but a "trend towards mixed axes" was observed under the Severan rulers and the 12 o'clock axis was also noted (Parks 2005: 126, cf. 117, 121). For Syrian coins the 6 or 12 o'clock axis was a standard (Butcher 2004: 130–131).

## Obverse legend

The legible coins of Elagabalus indicate that the legend on the obverse of all recorded specimens is the same: IMP C M AVR ANTONINVS AVG, although the poor preservation of several specimens prevents full confirmation. D. Cox's reading with AVS instead of AVG (Cox 1959: 109) seems to have been a mistake. The title AVG ending the legend on the obverse was frequently placed below the bust and could be off flan on coins that had not been struck centrally. D. Parks omitted AVG in her reading (IMP CAE ALEXAND...) presumably because of this (Parks 2005: 132, 237).

The *delta-epsilon* coins of Severus Alexander demonstrate a few variants of the obverse legends, which can be divided into two groups. The first one, like the issues of Elagabalus, gives imperial titles and all the assumed names of the emperor: IMP C M A S ALEXANDR AVG [*Table VIII:1*] and IMP C M A SE ALEXAN[DER?] [*Table VIII:2*]. The second group consists of a legend giving only one name, that of Alexander: IMP CAES ALEXANDER AVG [*Table II:3,6*], IMP CAES ALEXAN... [*Table VIII:3*], IMP CAE ALEXAND... [*Table II:7–25*].

The obverse legends on *delta-epsilon* coins of both emperors can be confronted with legends on their imperial coins. They contained the same elements, but the adopted abbreviations could be different. The legend on the coins of Elagabalus is very close to the legend which appeared in Rome already in AD 218: IMP CAES M AVR ANTONINVS AVG (*RIC* IV/2: 28 No. 2) and which was also adopted for coins originating from Laodicea ad Mare (e.g. *SNG Copenhagen* 370–374).

Two Roman legends, IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG and IMP CAES M AVR SEV ALEXANDER AVG, dated to AD 222–228 and 221–229 respectively (*RIC* IV/2: 71 Nos 1 and 2), are close to Severus Alexander's obverse legends from the first group.

Some of the legend variants on coins of Severus Alexander have been confirmed by single specimens only. Although this could be due to error or chance, it cannot be excluded — in the face of the small number of legible coins of Severus Alexander — that the material is not representative. All the variants may have been used, but it is equally possible that the poor state of preservation of surviving specimens and/or the non-centric striking prevent proper reading, as in the case of a coin from Soloi discovered by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition [*Table II:4*]. The reading "...AND...; below XX", given by A. Westholm (1936: 100 No. 308; Westholm 1937: 495 No. 308), can probably be corrected as follows: ...AND[ER] AVG; AVG below the imperial bust (the specimen itself could not be accessed and only a photograph of the coin was examined). This arrange-

ment of the legend was a frequently adopted practice, demonstrated by different Syrian and Cypriot issues as well.

The Greek lettering, ... ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ ... , read on a specimen belonging to the Lindgren Collection [*Table VIII:5*], was questioned by McAlee (2007: 314 No. 856). The inscription, in Greek(?) on this specimen seems strange. The lettering on *delta-epsilon* coins was usually quite regular and well formed, while this specimen demonstrated uneven lettering, different in style, with characteristic serifs. Examination of a photograph of the coin instead of the coin itself naturally precludes detailed observations.

## Portraiture

Elagabalus' portraits on the *delta-epsilon* coins demonstrate several variations [*Figs 2–4*]. These images may be confronted with representations on Syrian coins, which K. Butcher grouped into four principal stylistic types (Butcher 2004: 386–389). The portrait with a round head and boyish features is definitely predominant [e.g. *Tables I:16, 18; VI:2; VII:5, 8, 10*]. It resembles the “young head” type, which according to K. Butcher was not popular in Syria. A large oval head and characteristic fleshy lips are featured in only a few portraits [e.g. *Table VI:4*], bringing the image closer to Butcher’s “elegant” type. Characteristically thick lips are sometimes also present in the “young head” style [e.g. *Tables I:4; VII:8, 23*]. Few of the *delta-epsilon* coins show Elagabalus in the Syrian “square” convention [*Table VII:42*]. One of the apparently “square head” representations evinces youthful features [*Table VII:49*]. Some portraits appear to merge features of the “square” and “angular” styles. The poor condition of representations on some coins make it difficult to determine whether they approach the “angular” or the “elegant” group, or perhaps a completely different type [e.g. *Table I:25*]. They are more delicate than the “angular” style images, which feature a large oval head on a massive neck and tight curls of hair. Another image is a narrow oval head on a long slender neck without any distinguishing facial features [*Table VII:54*]. Therefore, despite similarities, representations of Elagabalus on *delta-epsilon* coins quite frequently do not match the characteristics of the four groups mentioned above on Syrian colonial coinage.

A shared characteristic of all portraits of Elagabalus on *delta-epsilon* coins is the form of the bust and the arrangement and knotting of the ribbons of the wreath. Each of the four types of Syrian representations described by K. Butcher has a different form of the bust with robes draped in a different way or entirely without robes, with differently tied ribbons of the wreath. On the *delta-epsilon* coins the bust and ribbon knot are practically always the same, corresponding to the “angular” style of the representations. The bust is truncated in a wavy line and most often a narrow part of the drapery can be seen on the left shoulder. The laurel wreath is always tied in the same kind of bow. The long ribbons hang by the neck in the same way as in the “angular” style, that is, one end fluttering and the other one trailing over the shoulder. This design of bust truncation and tying of the laurel wreath into a bow with two long ribbons is similar to some

representations originating from Laodicea ad Mare. The same characteristics may also be observed on Caracalla's Cypriot coins.

On *delta-epsilon* coins of Elagabalus there are three leaves from the laurel wreath sticking straight up above the emperor's forehead. Three dots above the leaves can be interpreted as an element of the wreath. On some well preserved specimens they occur between AVT and ANTONINVS [e.g. *Tables I:2, 18, 22, 32, 34; VII:5, 7, 64*]. It is impossible to be sure that this detail was applied on all specimens, because on some coins it could have been off flan or been effaced.

Three dots looking like the ending of the leaves of a wreath are also visible on Elagabalus' silver tetradrachms with an eagle on the reverse, attributed to different mints, including Antioch (e.g. *SNG Copenhagen 236–237, 239, 241; Sear 3096; Prieur, Prieur 2000: 48 No. 251*), Laodicea ad Mare (Prieur, Prieur 2000: 48 Nos 257–258), Carrhae (Prieur, Prieur 2000: 48 No. 254–254a) and on colonial bronzes from Phoenicia, the mint in Sidon, bringing military standards on the reverse (e.g. *Sear 1982 3115*), as well as on coins with Kadmos on the prow (*BMC Phoenicia 236 var.*) and a table with agonistic urns (*BMC Phoenicia 280*). Three dots are present also on issues of Caracalla (cf. e.g. *SNG Copenhagen 230*) and Philip I (*SNG Copenhagen 268*). The motif can thus be assumed as a typical element of Eastern issues, frequently adopted by Elagabalus' die engravers.

It is an open question how to interpret the differences in Elagabalus' portraiture: were they characteristic of one of the mints, dependent on the die engraver's cut or simply portraits from different years? The "young" style may have shown Elagabalus at his youngest (cf. *Butcher 2004: 387*), while the "elegant" or "square head", resembling the large head representations of Caracalla, could have been prepared for a more mature ruler. On the other hand, the strongest resemblance to Caracalla's portraits would have been logical at the very beginning of Elagabalus' rule, serving the same purpose as the name of Antoninus which Elagabalus adopted in order to underscore dynastic continuity.

An examination of photographs of the innumerable preserved coins of Severus Alexander does not support a generalization, but it justifies the conviction in the case of the relatively well preserved specimens that the representation of the emperor may have been modeled on the portraiture of Elagabalus [*Fig. 3*]. There is some resemblance to the "young head" type of representation [*Table VIII:1*] and perhaps also the "square head" [*Table II:4*]. One of the coins presents a portrait which apparently combines the general shape of the head resembling the "square head" style with a profile in the "young head" style, although the mouth seems to be bigger [*Table VIII:3*]. A coin in the Lindgren Collection [*Table VIII:5*] demonstrates features, resembling a portrait of Elagabalus on a tetradrachm bearing an eagle (rather unusual style of design) on the reverse; this coin seems official and is "the result of engravers' blunder" (Prieur, Prieur 2000: 48 No. 261A).

The modeling of Severus Alexander's portrait on the images of his predecessor may have created identification difficulties for modern numismatists, but it could have been intentional. Just as well it could have suggested an authentic resemblance between cousins or been the effect of the same artisans cutting individual dies.

The bust truncation, drapery, bow-tie and arrangement of the ribbons of the wreath are similar, including the coin from the Lindgren collection; and resemble the respective elements on the coins of Elagabalus.

## ΔΕ

The large letters ΔΕ, often with a well visible dot in between, are placed in the field of the coin, within a wreath. They are thick as a rule. Exceptions are rare [*Tables I:18, 49; VII:2, 18*]. The positioning of the letters can be said to be careless: Ε is leaning [*Tables VII:10, 64; VIII:5*], the lower edge of Ε is below the lower edge of Δ [*Tables I:8, 18; VI:4; VII:24, 42, 46*].

The interpretation of the meaning of the letters on the reverse is controversial. A fairly common reading has ΔΕ standing for Δημαρχικῆς Εξουσίας, equivalent of *tribunitia potestas* (see Westholm 1936: 135; 1937: 530; Hill 1972: 235 note 3, Elagabalus; Lichocka 1999: 176–177; Amandry 1993: 17; Parks 2005: 132; Pitsillides 2004: 40 No. 77).

Indication of tribunal power in abbreviated form, TR P, TR POT was common on Roman imperial coins, but ordinarily with a numeral to express successive resumptions of office. For the first year the numeral was omitted (see *RIC* IV/2: 27–42, 69, 71–80, 90–91). Although omission of the numeral on coins struck also after the first regnal year, for example, on the obverses of bronzes of Vespasian (*RIC* II: 66), has been noted, it should be emphasized that the title appeared always together with other titles of the emperor as part of the legend.

The composition of coins of the ΔΕ type is similar to the composition of Antioch coins of the SC type. D. Waagé noted the similarity in fabric and style of ΔΕ and SC types (Waagé 1949: 57). It could have been a conscious reference to issues which at least theoretically referred to the Senate's decision, assuming of course that SC was meant to denote *Senatus Consulto* (Kraft 1962: *passim*; Butcher 2004: 235, 385; McAlee 2007: 288). H.R. Baldus believed this similarity of composition to be of significance for the interpretation of the letters ΔΕ, which are also present additionally on the SC coins and could have meant acceptance by local authority, e.g., Δ(όγμα) Ἐ(κκλησίας) or Δ(ήμω) Ἐ(δοξεν) (Baldus 1973: 446–447).

E. Meyer's opinion that the letters ΔΕ refer to the four Syrian eparchies of imperial cult (Meyer 1991: 69–70) was shared by K. Butcher (2004: 233–235; 2005: 148, note 27) and by R. McAlee (2007: 5–6, 266, 289). An inscription from Gerasa dated to AD 119/120 attests to the use of the Greek term “four eparchies” and mentions Antioch as their metropolis (“ἱερασάμενος τῶν τεσσάρων ἐπαρχειῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μητροπόλει”, Meyer 1991: 69). Issues from Tarsus in Cilicia could favor the interpretation that ΔΕ stands for “four eparchies”. The title of metropolis of three eparchies, granted to the town in AD 198/199, was recorded on the town's coins in partial abbreviation: TAPCON ΜΗΤΡΟ ΤΩΝ Γ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΩΝ (Meyer 1991: 72). But was ΔΕ actually an abbreviated recording of “four eparchies” in Greek terms?



Laodicea ad Mare had been the rival of Antioch, *metropolis* of Syria Coele, for years. During the struggle for power between Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger Antioch had supported the latter and was punished for this by Septimius Severus in AD 194 by losing its colonial status and the title of *metropolis* in favor of Laodicea ad Mare. It was now subordinate as a city with no autonomy, κώμη (Ziegler 1978: 494–495; Butcher 2004: 41, cf. 220–221; Aliquot 2010: 64). In AD 197/198 Antioch was restored to the status of a colony, but Laodicea ad Mare retained the title of *metropolis*. In AD 198 Laodicea ad Mare was declared a *colonia* with *ius Italicum* (Meyer 1991: 60–61). Both cities issued coins bearing inscriptions that identified each one of them as *colonia* and *metropolis*.

In the reign of Elagabalus Antioch struck coins with the reverse bearing a representation of a city-goddess seated on the rock and the legend ANTIOXEΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ, SC ΔΕ in the field (*SNG Copenhagen* 250–253; *BMC Galatia* 451–454) and under the rule of his successor, Severus Alexander, the city continued the issue of coins (smaller denomination) with a legend including the name of the city and the title *metropolis*, SC and ΔΕ in the field (*SNG Copenhagen* 254–255, cf. 256).

The reverse of bronze coins produced in Laodicea ad Mare in the reign of Septimius Severus bore the following inscription: COLONIA SEPTIMIA LAODICEA SEVERIANA METROPOLIS. Those of Caracalla had the following: COLONIA SEPTIMIA LAODICEA SEVERIANA METROPOLIS, COL METR (or METRO) IIII (Meyer 1991: 62, 64, cf. 72–73, 76). During the reign of Elagabalus, coins were issued with an image of Tyche, the legend COL LAOD METROPOLEOS and ΔΕ to the right and left of the goddess' image (*SNG Copenhagen* 370, cf. Meyer 1991: 71). The same legend and ΔΕ in the field appeared on coins with an eagle within a temple (*SNG Copenhagen* 371; *SNG Glasgow* 3228). Small bronzes bore an image of two wrestlers with the ethnic LAODICEON around and ΔΕ in exergue (*SNG Copenhagen* 372–373). Later issues, including those of Philip the Arab, also had the Latin inscription: COL LAOD METROPOLEOS around the representation and the letters Δ Ε to the right and left or in the exergue. These compositions reveal the reverses of imperial coins with the letters SC in the field, on either side of the representation or in the exergue.

The letters ΔΕ occurred in Antioch issues earlier than on coins of Laodicea ad Mare. In the times of Caracalla Antioch struck bronzes with the letters Δ beneath and Ε above SC within a laurel wreath (e.g. *SNG Copenhagen* 232). Macrinus continued the type (e.g. *SNG Copenhagen* 233–235). Under Elagabalus a new composition appeared with the ΔΕ placed variably above or below a large SC, sometimes with an eagle or a ram as well (*SNG Copenhagen* 242–247; Butcher 2004: 384–385; McAlee 2007: 266, 288–289). Small letters ΔΕ can be seen on reverses of bronzes of another type: an eagle with open wings and holding a wreath in its beak (e.g. *SNG Copenhagen* 236–241).

A large ΔΕ in the field most likely meant the same as a small ΔΕ in different contexts, also in addition to the letters SC on coins struck in Antioch in the same period. The striking similarity of the composition of ΔΕ and SC coins could suggest that ΔΕ issues were intended as competing, supplementing or replacing SC issues. Therefore,



the letters  $\Delta\epsilon$  need not indicate issues on behalf of four eparchies, but following the assumption proposed by H.R. Baldus, could evince the privileges or acceptance of local authority. Issues with the large letters  $\Delta\epsilon$ , modeled on the SC type, could have manifested the special status of an entitled town or office.

## Wreath and star

The laurel wreath contains eight [*Tables I:5; VIII:2*] or ten [e.g. *Tables I:2, 6; IV:4; VII:10, 18, 29, 46, 61*] bunches of leaves, seldom twelve [*Table VIII:5*]. At the top the wreath terminates with a rosette, occasionally containing a pellet [*Table VII:1, 8, 28*]. On some examples the drawing of the rosette is oval in shape [*Tables VI:4; VII:6, 46, 54, 61*].

The star below  $\Delta E$  may be connected with religious cults (cf. Butcher 2004: 238; Schlösser 2000: 725). Both Elagabalus and Severus Alexander were priests of the Syrian sun-god Elagabalus. Before them, the office of high priest had been held by their great-grandfather, the father of Iulia Maesa. A star was also depicted on other coins, including tetradrachms struck for Elagabalus by the Antioch mint, with the reverse bearing an eagle accompanied by the legend  $\Delta\text{E}\text{M}\text{A}\text{P}\text{X}\text{E}\Xi\text{Y}\text{I}\text{I}\text{A}\text{T}\text{O}$  and a Greek numeral indicating the regnal year (e.g. *SNG Copenhagen* 236–241). It should be noted, however, that the motif of a star was common on coins and frequently in no relation to the solar cult propagated by Elagabalus.

Many a time the form of the star is rather crude. The shape of the star and pellet variations, as well as differences in the size and arrangement of leaves in the wreath can differentiate series and possibly also workshops.

## Mint

W. Wroth (*BMC Galatia* 447–450) and D.B. Waagé attributed the *delta-epsilon* coins to Antioch. R. Bellinger believed that they were struck most likely in Laodicea ad Mare and on Cyprus but did not indicate a specific mint. With regard to Cyprus, he followed C. Bosch who was the first to suggest a Cypriot origin for the Alexander Severus *delta-epsilon* coin (Westholm 1937: 530 No. 308; cf. Hill 1972: 235 note 3, Elagabalus). As for Laodicea ad Mare, he floated this idea taking into consideration Newell's observation about the Laodicea ad Mare bilingual issues (Bellinger 1949: 85 and 156 No. 1827). D.H. Cox also supposed that *delta-epsilon* coins may have been local issues of Laodicea ad Mare and Cyprus (Cox 1959: 109 No. 145). A Cypriot origin was accepted by Ph. Grierson, who also followed C. Bosch's suggestion (Grierson 1958: 61). I. Carradice associated this type with Cyprus or Syria (Carradice 1988: 187, Fig. 9). I. Nicolaou, in her publication of coins from the House of Dionysos in Nea Paphos, attributed the *delta-epsilon* issues to Antioch (Nicolaou 1990: 185 Nos 23–25, 27–28); dealing later with coins from the tombs at Amathus, she suggested the possibility of their being struck

in Cyprus (Nicolau 1994: 181, 187). According to M. Amandry, a Cypriot origin of the *delta-epsilon* coins cannot be excluded (Amandry 1993: 18; 1995: 14). D. Parks considered the *delta-epsilon* coins as Cypriot issues (Parks 2004: 237–239, cf. 158), but simultaneously expressed some reserve, describing them as “part of a large series struck in several mints [...] perhaps including Cyprus” (Parks 2005: 132). O. Callot located the *delta-epsilon* issues in Cyprus without indicating a mint (Callot 2003: 321; 2004: 38, 132). Emphasizing that Antioch never struck coins with a legend in Latin, K. Butcher suggested that the *delta-epsilon* issues were produced in Laodicea ad Mare for four eparchies and considered it as “somewhat surprising” that so many *delta-epsilon* coins had been found on Cyprus (Butcher 2005: 173, 384). According to R. McAlee, “Laodicea seems the most likely mint for these coins” (McAlee 2007: 289). The attribution of the coins to Antioch was repeated in many older publications. Most recently, J. Goddard (*SNG Glasgow* 3219) spoke out in favor of Laodicea and such an attribution is also accepted in the American Numismatic Society on-line Database.

Assuming Laodicea ad Mare, which had the title of *metropolis IIII provinciarum* (Meyer 1987/1988: 72), struck the *delta-epsilon* coins for “four eparchies”, manifesting this distinctly by the abbreviation ΔΕ on the reverse, then one cannot but wonder why most of the *delta-epsilon* coins have been found outside those “four provinces” (Syria, Phoenicia, Commagene, Syria Coele) for which they were supposedly intended.

## Distribution of coin finds

*Delta-epsilon* coins occurred in Syria in five cities situated at considerable distances from one another [*Fig. 1*]. Until now the biggest number, 57 coins, was uncovered in Dura-Europos, an important military center on the eastern *limes* [*Table IV:8–64*]. The archaeological context of most specimens is not given in detail. Two coins belonged to the eight and ninth hoards, which were actually one hoard hidden under the floor of a house (Bellinger 1939: No. 23; 1939: 85 No. 1827, 156, commentary). Seven specimens belonged to the Burbules Hoard discovered in Kifrin, containing about 60 coins from the 1st through 3rd centuries AD, mainly from Edessa and Hatra (letter from K. Butcher, indicating three or four *delta-epsilon* coins; see also Butcher 2004: 173; according to McAlee 2007: 298 note 189, seven specimens). Only five coins were found in Antioch. One specimen was recorded in Palmyra, in the area later occupied by the Camp of Diocletian (oral information from A. Krzyzanowska and M. Gawlikowski on the coin and the provenience respectively). A single specimen was registered in Apamea. The portrait on this coin was described as “post 222 ?” (Callu 1979: 20 No. 79; *Table V:1*). Severus Alexander became ruler in April 222, thus assuming it is indeed his portrait, then the specimen from Apamea would be the only one struck for this ruler and found in Syria. The portraits of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander could have been very similar to one another, hence whenever the coin is worn and the legend illegible, it is virtually impossible to provide an unquestioned identification. The weight of this specimen,

7.71 g, would rather point to an Elagabalus issue. The heaviest *delta-epsilon* specimen attributed undoubtedly to Severus Alexander weighs 5.87 g [Table II:1], while another coin found in Cyprus and attributed, but without certainty, to this emperor has 7.02 g [Table III:1].

In the Roman province of Palestina four *delta-epsilon* coins have been recorded. A single specimen was recovered during excavations of a residential house known to have been a place of stationing for the *Legio VI Ferrata* at Legio (the site of Kefar 'Otnay, to the south of Tel Megiddo). Two coins came from a domestic context in Lod. One more specimen originated from the area immediately close to the synagogue site of Deir 'Aziz in the Golan Heights (D. Ariel, communication about coin identified by N. Ahipaz found during excavations conducted by H. Ben-David and Z.U. Ma'oz). All Roman provincial coins found at this site were minted in Syria and Palestina and N. Ahipaz, in a letter to the author, attributed the *delta-epsilon* coin to a Syrian mint, too.

The total count of *delta-epsilon* coins presently known from the Syrian provinces is 72, compared to the 119 specimens from Cyprus, found in the island during excavations at eight sites, mainly on the southern coast, in different archaeological contexts: public spaces (temple, theater, odeon, baths, forum), private houses and tombs [Tables I–III]. The archeological context of some specimens is unknown.

Most of the *delta-epsilon* coins (62) were excavated in Kourion; 56 specimens were collected by the University of Philadelphia mission. Unfortunately, in her publication of coins from this site D.H. Cox did not provide information about individual find spots and no verification was possible. Six coins were found later by a Cypriot mission

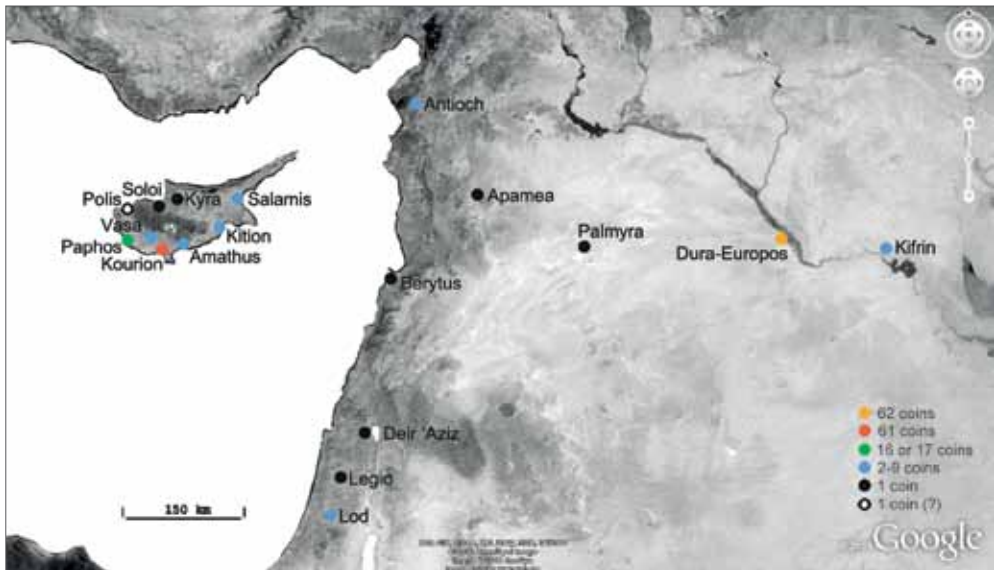


Fig. 1. Provenience of *delta-epsilon* coins

directed by D. Christou (coins studied by A. Destrooper-Georgiades). They were discovered in the Roman forum, the Baths and the Basilica situated near the shore. Cypriot excavations in the Paphos Odeon yielded five *delta-epsilon* coins of Elagabalus. One SC specimen from these excavations was listed mistakenly by D. Parks in a list of *delta-epsilon* coins (Parks 2004: 238 No. 586 = Nicolaou 1990: 78 No. 586).

Excavations conducted in Kato Paphos (*Maloutena*) by a Polish team directed by W.A. Daszewski permitted the list to be extended by eight coins (Lichocka 1999: 176). These were found mainly in the area of the Villa of Theseus; one coin came from below the level of the Villa of Theseus room [*Table III:2*]. Two coins were found together with a coin of Probus struck in the imperial mint of Antioch [*Table I:19, 27*]. Imperial coins struck under Elagabalus and Severus Alexander have also been confirmed in the material from Cypriot excavations in Kourion. An Australian mission working in the Kato Paphos Theater found five more *delta-epsilon* coins (under study by A. Destrooper-Georgiades). Two more specimens are registered in the Paphos District Museum, one from the area of Paphos and the other either from the area of Paphos or possibly Polis [*Table I:16, 24*].

Nine examples were discovered in Salamis, in various constructions. Seven coins were registered at tombs in Amathus, four in Vasa (*Bomboli*) on the southern slopes of the Troodos, two in Kition and one each in temple E in Soloi and in a Hellenistic-Roman tomb in Kyra [*Tables II–III*].

Thus, the total number of *delta-epsilon* coins recorded in excavations in Cyprus is 102: 37 of Elagabalus, 26 of Severus Alexander and 39 of one or the other.

The find spot of a large number of *delta-epsilon* coins in different collections remains unknown. They attest to the commonness of the type, occasionally suggesting the possibility of having originated from a given region; a coin in Anamur Museum is presumed to be a local find(?) [*Table VII:54*]. Coins from the A. Pitsillides Collection are generally speaking provenanced from Cyprus and for this reason they were included in *Tables I–II*. D. Parks published one specimen attributed to Severus Alexander from this collection [*Table II:1; non vidi*] and the present author has had the opportunity to examine another eleven *delta-epsilon* specimens, all bearing Elagabalus' portrait. Moreover, a specimen in the Museum of the Pancyprian Gymnasium at Nicosia could be connected with Cyprus as well [*Table I:2*]. Only one of the specimens in the W. Schulze Collection came from Cyprus [*Table I:22*]. Coins from the N. Molinari Collection could be associated broadly speaking with the East. According to owner's letter they were purchased "from a dealer [...] who usually gets his coins from Lebanon, Syria or Turkey".

The scarcity of Severus Alexander coins is striking. They are not present in Syria, possibly with one exception from Apamea [*Table V:1*]. The collected material demonstrated that the Elagabalus *delta-epsilon* issues were more abundant than those of Severus Alexander, and, in view of the find spots, that the coins of Severus Alexander were not distributed outside Cyprus.

## Final remarks

The present study of *delta-epsilon* coins has brought probably more questions than answers.

The demand for medium and small change in Syria could have been satisfied by several types of bronze coins produced in the reigns of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, but in the case of Cyprus the *delta-epsilon* coins would have been unique local issues struck for the province in this period.

The bilingual inscriptions link the *delta-epsilon* coins with a mint in Laodicea ad Mare, where such a practice was adopted also under Elagabalus. The use of Latin is not attested in Cypriot minting under the Severan emperors, although a Latin legend has been recorded for the Julio-Claudian dynasty (*RPC I* 3904–3926; Parks 2004: 36–68). In the reign of Claudius, Latin on the obverse has been associated with an inscription in Greek, referring to κοινὸν Κυπρίων on the reverse (*RPC I* 3927–3933; Parks 2004: 68).

The absence of any references to the authority of *Koinon Kypriou* and no religious connections with the main Cypriot religious cults, such as the worship of Aphrodite in Palaipaphos or Zeus in Salamis, stand against the attribution of *delta-epsilon* coins to a Cypriot mint. They do not carry any individual or even symbolic elements that could suggest Cypriot origin, as was the case of some of Caracalla's silver tetradrachms, for example, which bore the reverse legend ΔΕΜΑΡΧ ΕΞ ΥΠΙΑΤΟ Δ and an eagle. It is considered that the specimens bearing an eagle standing on a wheat-ear were struck in Cyprus, because a wheat-ear was depicted earlier on some Flavian issues (Bellinger 1981: Nos 382–385; Parks 2005: 127–131; Prieur, Prieur 2000: 173). This interpretation has been questioned strongly (see Amandry 2008). Caracalla's silver tetradrachms have not been attested on any of the Cypriot sites which have yielded a good representation of *delta-epsilon* coins.

The discovery of a considerable number of coins of a given type in a specific area is always a weighty argument in favor of their local origin. The total number of *delta-epsilon* coin finds on Cyprus may even suggest Cypriot origin. Nonetheless, it is always necessary to take into consideration other factors, like the lack of excavations in a given spot or the opposite, a diversity of undertaken explorations and the contexts in which the coins were found. Frequently disturbed contexts, from which the coins originated preclude binding conclusions regarding their circulation (see Destrooper-Georgiades 2000: 713). Speaking strongly for Cyprus are local discoveries of *delta-epsilon* coins struck for Severus Alexander. A type with the reverse bearing letters standing for “four eparchies” would have no justification in Cyprus and its wide circulation would probably not have been possible. Meanwhile the large number of Δ€ coin finds attests to the circulation of this type in the island.

The *delta-epsilon* coins struck in Syria could have been shipped easily into Cyprus and *vice versa*. Coin flow between Cyprus and Syria and Palestina in both directions has been confirmed for the times of the Severan dynasty by finds belonging to different issues. Hoards from Dura-Europos included nine coins struck in Cyprus for Septimius

Severus, Iulia Domna and Caracalla (Bellinger 1949: 90 Nos 1900–1903). Another example to be cited are two specimens with a representation of the Aphroditic temple on the reverse from Israel (IAA 74192, Septimius Severus; 29641, Caracalla, Bijovsky 2010: 102 No. 6). Some SC bronzes struck in Antioch were found in excavations at Kourion, but in lesser numbers than the ΔC coins (Cox 1959: 24, 111–112 Nos 175–180, 24 coins; see Butcher 2004: 172); they have also been recorded at Paphos (Nicolaou 1990: 185, 26; Kato Paphos-*Maloutena*, No. 252) and Salamis (Callot 2004: Nos 242–247).

The marked concentration of *delta-epsilon* coins, actually the biggest number of a single type, in Kourion is difficult to explain. A similar group of these coins, although lesser in number, was excavated in Dura-Europos. No other site in Syria has yielded more than a few examples. In Cyprus, the biggest collection of these coins outside Kourion comes from Nea Paphos (16 or 17 coins, *Tables I–III*). It remains an open question whether this was the effect of regular circulation or special supply in some cases. A variety of factors, civilian and/or military, could have stimulated circulation.

There is no evidence of military troops on Cyprus in this period. Intensive building works may have taken place in Kourion, as earlier in the times of Septimius Severus. Coins found in the forum, under the floor or in foundation trenches [*Table I:15, 29*] could be proof of this. One of the inscriptions from Kourion mentions Severus Alexander and his “grandfather” Septimius Severus (Mitford 1980: 1317, note 115). Like all developing cities, Kourion surely attracted large numbers of travelers, craftsmen, and merchants. A separate group was composed of pilgrims to the nearby sanctuary of Apollo Hylates. Coin circulation here must have been steady and small units were necessary, but the demand for appropriate units must have been similar also in other towns of Cyprus, be it Salamis or Paphos, the administrative capital of the island. It is possible that Kourion’s access to the sea, although surely not as convenient as in the case of Paphos (Leonard 1995: 235–238), permitted regular trade with Syria. But one can hardly surmise that, even assuming the theory about supplying Cyprus with coins struck in Syrian mints, they were brought specifically to Kourion.

Different coins were presumably in circulation in Cyprus, as suggested by the imperial coins of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander found on various sites, but also older local issues with countermarks to validate their value and coins from other provinces (see Amandry 1993: 18; Butcher 2004: 174, 177; Parks 2005: 158–159). A persuasive explanation confirmed by sources is still missing for the concentration of *delta-epsilon* coins in Kourion; neither is there an explanation for the concentration of *delta-epsilon* coins in Dura-Europos.

In Syria, the coin spread could be explained not only by trade, but also by military demand. The presence of soldiers and troop movements must have impacted the intensity of coin circulation (see Reece 1977: 643–644; 1982: 497–498; Eadie 1996: 146). Forced to pay *stipendia*, the Roman administration took care to have a regular high coin supply. Troop movements and soldiers’ commercial activities were also important factors influencing local coin circulation. The *XX Palmyrenorum* cohort was stationed permanently in



Dura-Europos and regular units have also been confirmed in Kifrin, another city with a military post on the eastern bank of the Euphrates (Rey-Coquais 1978: 69). The legion *XVI Flavia Firma* was quartered in Dura-Europos under Elagabalus and Severus Alexander. In the first quarter of the 3rd century, the *I Flavia Chalcidienorum* cohort was stationed in Palmyra, *Legio II Parthica* in Apamea, one of the chief cities of the eparchies and a major military post, the *Legio VI Ferrata*, already mentioned, in Legio in Syria Palestina. It is difficult to see a direct link between the stationing of legions and auxiliary regiments and the circulation of one type of low value coins, but it cannot be excluded that they could have been included in the currency supply to local markets at sites where *delta-epsilon* coins have been registered (see Callu 1969: 28; for municipal mints supplying currency for the army, see also Rey-Coquais 1978: 57). While it does not seem that the *delta-epsilon* coins were produced specially for army needs, which could explain their high number in Dura-Europos (suggested by McAlee 2007: 289), a city which did not strike its own coins (Butcher 2004: 163), but which had a regular army garrison, must have made sure of having a regular supply of medium and small change. At the same time, the usual inflow of provincial coins occurred through the movements of soldiers and ordinary commerce. D. Waagé believed that Dura-Europos got its supply of currency from Antioch, which would favor Antioch as the mint of origin for the *delta-epsilon* issues (Waagé 1949: 57). It can be assumed, however, that Laodicea ad Mare, taking advantage of its strong position, struck *delta-epsilon* coins, which like the Antioch SC type were widely circulated and may have been intended not only for filling own needs, but also for supplying other towns. Ensuring the supply of money for soldiers' pay was of importance from not only an economic, but also a political point of view. Elagabalus took power with the help of soldiers of the *Legio III Gallica* and Severus Alexander was proclaimed emperor by the praetorians; later rebellions in the legions weakened his position.

Hypothetically, it could be assumed that coins struck in Cyprus would have not only been used in Cyprus, but could have also been produced there, at least some of them, already in the rule of Elagabalus. In the reign of Severus Alexander the minting of *delta-epsilon* coins was continued in Cyprus. The abbreviation ΔΕ may have been understood as a decision by local authorities, such as the office of δεκάπρωτοι, the office confirmed in Cyprus by inscriptions from Kourion and Salamis (Mitford 1980: 1302, No. 36 with note 62). Interpreting ΔΕ as standing for "four eparchies", Syrian conjecturally, would rather not have been acceptable to the Cypriot authority and would have meant a foreign coin for the island's inhabitants.

Connections in coin production between mints are well known. It is believed that under Vespasian some Antiochan silver coins were minted briefly in Cyprus and some bronzes representing Zeus Salaminios and the Paphian temple of Aphrodite were minted at Antioch (Amandry 1993: 9; *RPC* II: 262–263).

In the light of the collected evidence, there cannot be any certainty that they were actually made for the four eparchies of Syria. It may be said that the *delta-epsilon* coins of Elagabalus could have been struck in Laodicea ad Mare. The coins could have spread

to Cyprus by way of merchants, travelers, perhaps pilgrims, perhaps sent by force of administrative decision caused by a demand for small units (see Butcher 2004: 92, Fig. 27). The absence of any strong local iconographic motifs facilitated their introduction into circulation and even production on the spot. The use of the same models or perhaps Syrian coins as models would explain the repeatability of the legend on the obverse of the Elagabalus coins. It is also possible that Cypriot copper was used to produce *delta-epsilon* coins (commissioned by Laodicea ad Mare?) and ready specimens were sent to Syria, but some of the coins remained in Cyprus.

As for the *delta-epsilon* coins of Severus Alexander, they were presumably made on Cyprus and perhaps not always in the official workshops, hence the specimens of low weight and minuscule dimensions. The inconsistencies of the adopted forms of the legend on the obverse could also be interpreted as evidence of irregular local production.

The variations in fabric, inscriptions, lettering, and details of design mentioned above stand in a favor of the idea about there being more than one workshops involved in the production of the *delta-epsilon* coins, but the question where particular specimens were struck remains open. This issue could be clarified perhaps by chemical analysis of the coins, although it should be kept in mind that such examinations do not always give a clear answer as to whether given types of coins were produced in one or more places (see Carradice, Cowell 1987: 47–50). Identifying die-links between *delta-epsilon* and Syrian coins can bring important suggestions, or even conclusive proof, concerning the origin of particular examples.

## Acknowledgements

In preparing this article I have benefited from the help and valuable suggestions of a number of individuals, who have also kindly granted permission to include specimens from collections in their responsibility. My special thanks go to colleagues, both numismatists and excavators, and also coin collectors, who have given me access to unpublished material from their collections and recent excavations. I am deeply indebted to R. Abdy and A. Dowler, Department of Coins and Medals, The British Museum, London; N. Ahipaz, H. Ben-David and Z.U. Ma'oz, Deir 'Aziz archaeological mission; M. Amandry, Le département des monnaies, médailles et antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; D.T. Ariel and G. Bijovsky, Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem; Z. Beasley, Best Coins, LLC; B. Bucklan, Bargain Bin Ancient Coins; C. Arnould, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Royal Albert I, Brussels; K. Butcher, Department of Classics and Ancient History University of Warwick, Coventry; I. Carradice, School of Art History, University of St. Andrews, Edinburgh; D. Christou, Nicosia, Director of Cypriot Mission Excavations at Kourion; A. Destrooper-Georgiades, Athens; H. Gitler, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; R. Green and G. Smadar, Australian mission in the Kato Paphos Theatre; M. Hadjicosti and D. Pilides, Department of Antiquities, Nicosia; B. Hammond, TimeLine Originals, Essex; V. Heuchert, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Heberden Coin

Room; F. Kovacs, Corte Madera, CA; A. Krzyzanowska, Warsaw and M. Gawlikowski, University of Warsaw, Mission of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, at Palmyra; D. Kurth, Wildwinds; C. Maier, Kadman Numismatic Museum, Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv; R. Marchiselli, Tampa, Florida; A. Meadows, The American Numismatic Society, New York; H. Meyza, Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw; N. Molinari, Northbridge, MA; A. Pitsillides, Nicosia; E. Raptou, Paphos District Museum, also M. Kouali and M. Mikrakis, Contract Archaeological Officers, Paphos; W. Schulze, Essen; D.R. Sear, Los Angeles, CA; J. Sermarini, Forum Ancient Coins; D. Tatro, Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Lancaster, PA; K. Vondrovec, Sammlung von Medaillen, Münzen und Geldzeichen, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; E. Walczak and J. Wiercińska, Department of Coins and Medals, National Museum in Warsaw.

I am indebted to E. Czyżewska and I. Zych, PCMA, Warsaw, for editorial assistance and M.T. Jankowski, Warsaw, for help in preparing the map and scatter plots.

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- 1926 H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage II. Vespasianus to Hadrian*, London: Spink and Son (reprint 1968)

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- 1938 H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, C.H.V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Macrinus to Pupienus*, London: Spink and Son (reprint 1968)

### **RPC I**

- 1998 A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage I. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*, London: British Museum Press; Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France

### **RPC II**

- 1999 A. Burnett, M. Amandry, I. Carradice, *Roman Provincial Coinage II. From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)*, London: British Museum Press; Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France

### **Sear, D.R.**

- 1982 *Greek Imperial Coins and Their Values. The Local Coinages of the Roman Empire*, London: Seaby

### **SNG Braunschweig**

- 1998 W. Leschhorn, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen. Katalog der griechischen Münzen*, Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum

### **SNG Copenhagen**

- 1959 *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum 36. Syria: Cities*, Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard

### **SNG Glasgow 2**

- 2007 J. Goddard, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum 12. The Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow 2. Roman Provincial Coins, Cyprus – Egypt*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

**SNG München**

2001 H.R. Baldus, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Deutschland 2. Staatliche Münzsammlung München 28. Syrie: nicht Königliche Prägungen, Nr. 1–1066*, München: Hirmer

**SNG Schweiz 2**

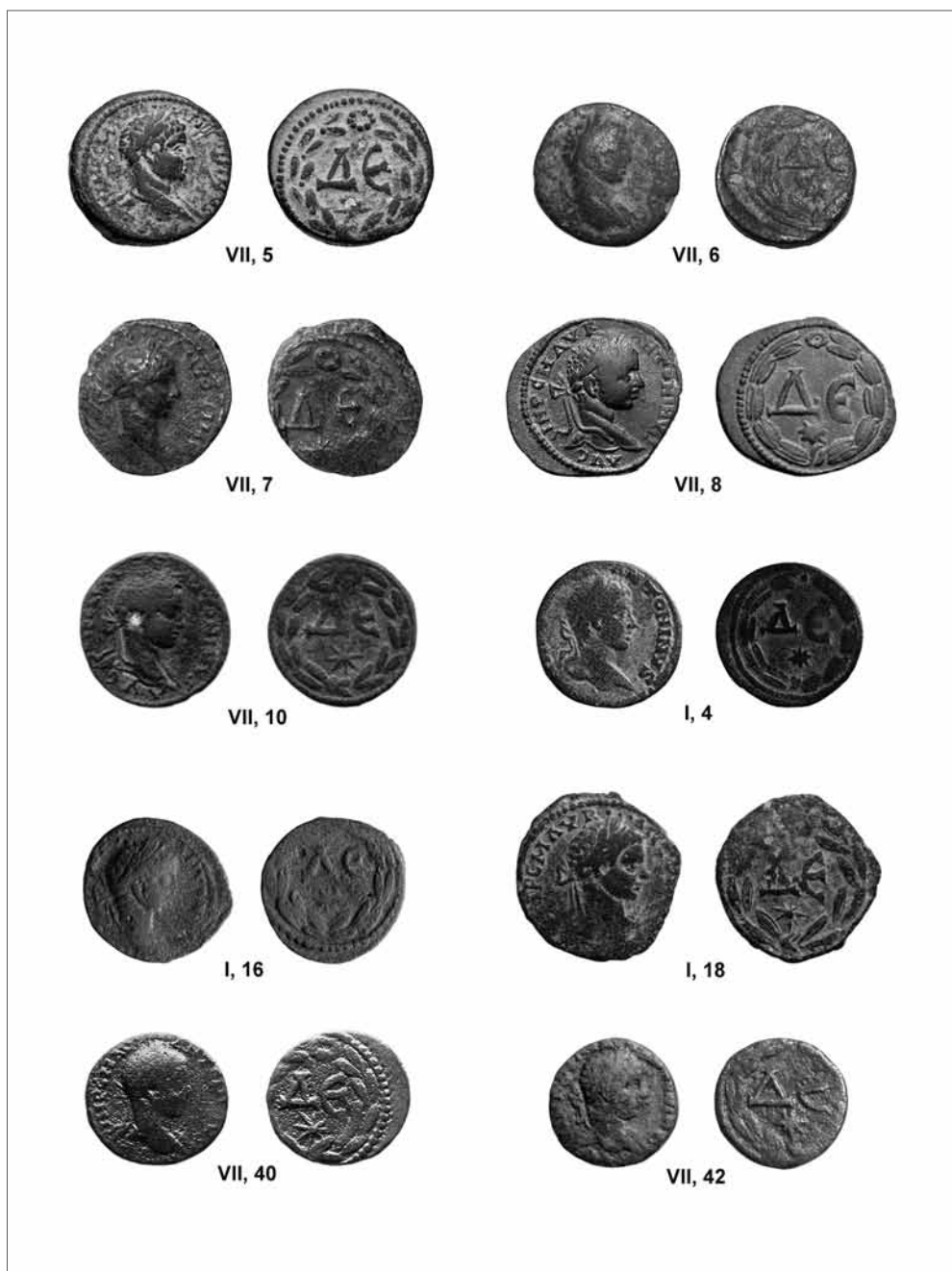
1993 B. Kapossy, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Schweiz 2. Münzen der Antike. Katalog der Sammlung Jean-Pierre Righetti im Bernischen Historischen Museum*, Bern–Stuttgart–Wien: P. Haupt

**SNG Turkey**

2007 O. Tekin, S. Altinoluk, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Turkey 2. Anamur Museum I. Roman Provincial Coins*, Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology

Photo credits:

Tables : **I:3, 5, 8, 11, 16, 18, 25, 26, 28, 34; III:13; VII:42** — B. Lichocka; **I:4** — Courtesy of the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; **I:22; VII:40** — Courtesy of E. Schulze, Essen; **I:31** — Photo K. Bajerowicz; **I:32** — Photo Z. Doliński; **VI:2, 4** — Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority; **VII:5, 49** — Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group Inc; website: <http://www.congcoins.com>; **VII:6, 50** — Courtesy of Wildwinds.com; **VII:7** — Courtesy of B. Hammond, TimeLine Original; **VII:8** — Courtesy of Z. Beasley, Best Coins; **VII:10** — Courtesy of Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Royal Albert I, Brussels; **VII:56** — Courtesy N. Molinari, Northbridge, MA; **VIII:3** — Courtesy of American Numismatic Society, New York; **VIII:5** — after Lindgren 2013 (courtesy F. Kovacs).



*Fig. 2. Delta-epsilon coins of Elagabalus*

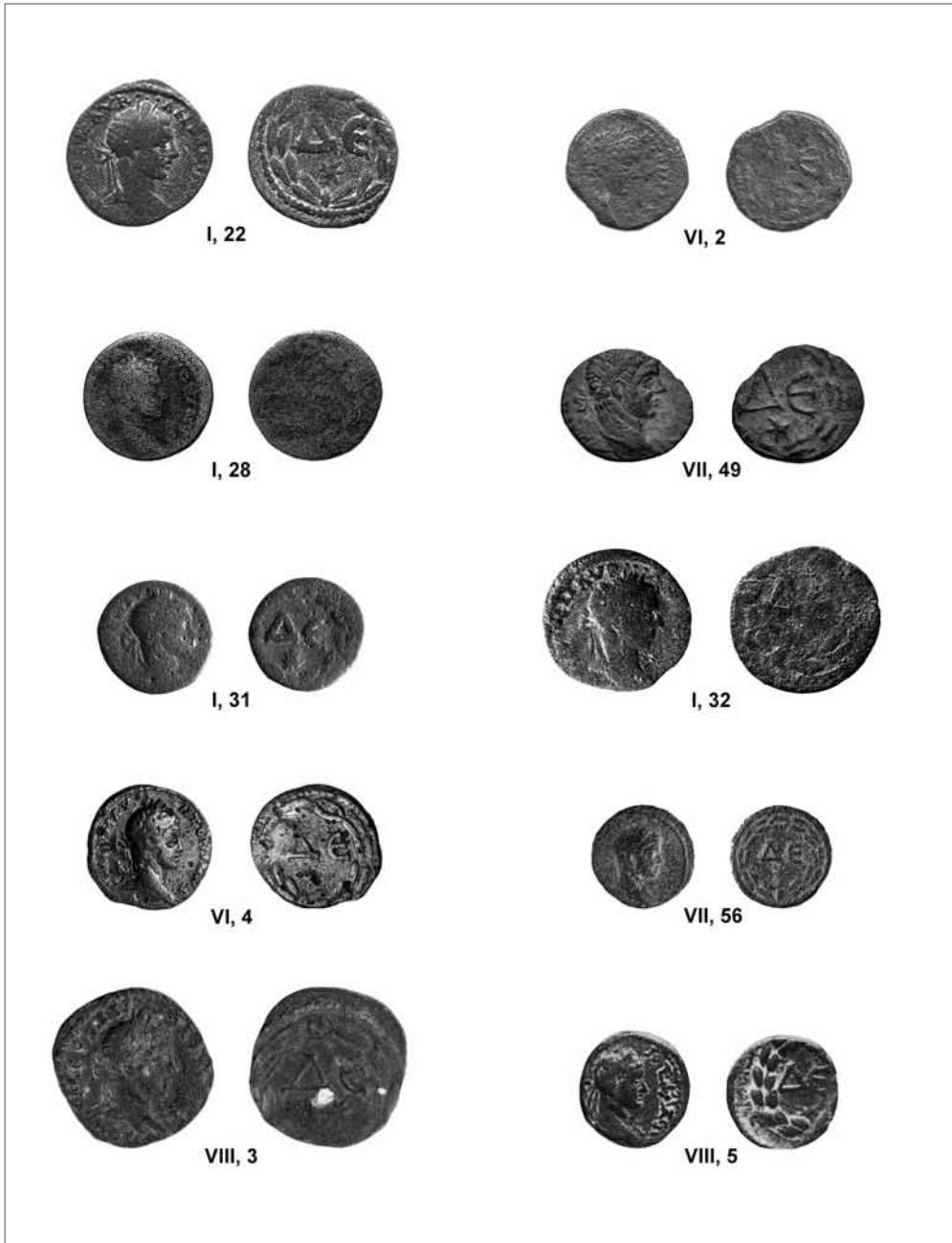
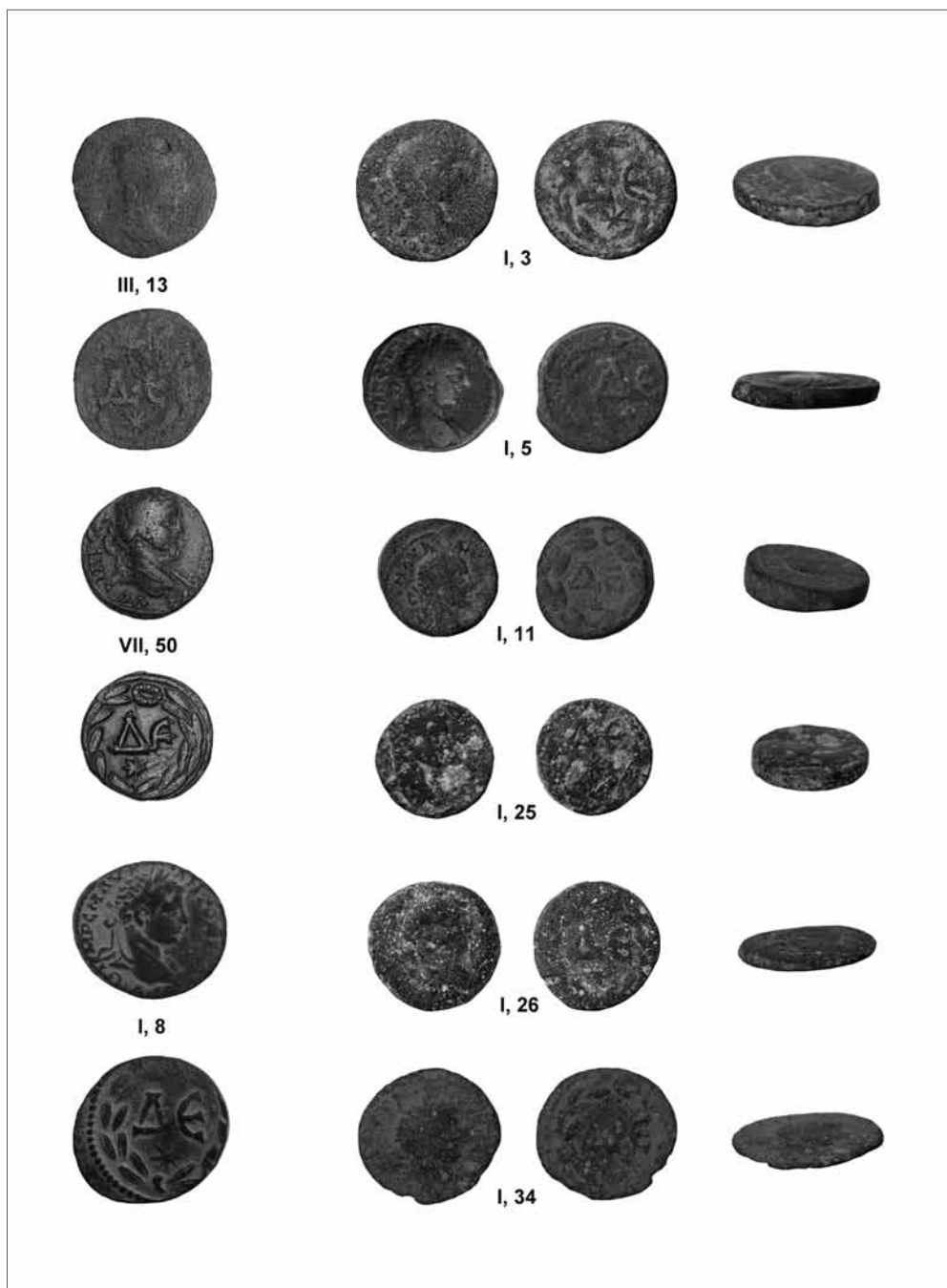


Fig. 3. Delta-epsilon coins of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander



*Fig. 4. Delta-epsilon coins of Elagabalus, misstruck examples*

## Tables

The following conventions have been used in all of the tables:

- Numbers in bold in the “No.” column indicate coins, the weight of which was taken into consideration when calculating average weight.
- An asterix \* in front of the number in the “No.” column indicates coins illustrated in *Figs 2–4*.
- In the “Die axis” column, the number in parentheses indicates the die axis in cases where it is known more precisely; the number in *Italic* indicates the die axis taken from photographs (not included in statistic calculations, due to incertitude).
- Dimensions are given with a “c.” when taken from photographs in publications understood to follow 1:1 scale.
- Dimensions given with an “x” indicate two measurements of the same coin; given with a “–”, they indicate a range of measurements taken from a number of coins.

*Table I. Delta-epsilon coins of Elagabalus found in Cyprus*

No.	Site / Collection, Inv. No./Reg. No.	Weight (g)	Diam./dim. (mm)	Die axis	References, remarks
<b>1</b>	Paphos, Odeon, front portico, on the stylobate foundations, Ω 197	8.06	20	↙	Nicolaou 1990: 185, No. 24
<b>2</b>	Nicosia, Pancyprian Gymnasium, Museum	7.799	23	↓	Pitsillides 2004: 40, No. 77
* <b>3</b>	Nicosia, A. Pitsillides Collection	7.47	19 x 19.2	↗(1)	–
* <b>4</b>	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Heberden Coin Room	6.91	20	11	Presented by J.G. Milne, 1923, ex Sotheby's 28.11.1911, lot. 333, from Cyprus (V. Heuchert, letter to the author)
* <b>5</b>	Nicosia, A. Pitsillides Collection	6.83	19.4 x 17.8	↗(1)	–
<b>6</b>	Kourion, fill of second Hellenistic building, EK2, KA 93/13	6.654	19.8 x 19.6	↓	Christou forthcoming: No. 1464; another Elagabalus coin, SC type (KA 77/233), found in same fill
<b>7</b>	Nicosia, A. Pitsillides Collection	6.35	18.4 x 18.8	↗	–
* <b>8</b>	Nicosia, A. Pitsillides Collection; probably from Famagusta area	6.32	21.2 x 19.2	↓	Traces of red soil are charac- teristic of the Famagusta area (A. Pitsillides, personal infor- mation)
<b>9</b>	Paphos, Theatre, fill under paving stones, 195	6.042	–	–	–
<b>10</b>	Salamis, Trial pit Y (near tomb I), Sal. 3557 (M.571)	5.89	20	↙(7)	Callot 2004: 38, No. 232



*Delta-epsilon issues of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander*

* 11	Nicosia, A. Pitsillides Collection	5.54	15.7 x 16	↓	–
12	Nicosia, A. Pitsillides Collection	5.47	20.8 x 18.5	↗(1)	–
13	Paphos, Odeon, upper layers, Ω 128	5.44	19	–	Nicolaou 1990: 185, No. 23, “two stars”
14	Salamis, <i>Huilerie</i> , Sal. 6879 (M.1366)	5.33	21	↓	Callot 2004: 38, No. 233
15	Kourion, Roman Forum, layer below pavement slabs, KA78/356	5.074	19 x 18.3	↑	Christou forthcoming: No. 1038
* 16	Paphos area, Paphos District Museum, 1646/26	5.01	20.8 x 20	↓	–
17	Amathus, London, British Museum, Reg. No. 1896,0301.6	5.01	19	↙(7)	<i>BMC Galatia</i> 450
* 18	Nicosia, Pitsillides Collection	4.84	22 x 21.9	↙(6.30)	–
19	Paphos, Villa of Theseus, room 68, southeastern corner, floor level, 285	4.785	15.2 x 15.4	↑	Lichocka 1999: 176; Meyza 2007: 131, context 137 (fill); found with coins 284, 286 (see below No. 27)
20	Salamis, <i>Campanopétra</i> , Sal. 185 (M.84)	4.53	19	↙(7)	Callot 2004: 38, No. 234
21	Kourion, Roman Baths, KA 91/13	4.448	19.1 x 19.3	↙(8)	Christou forthcoming: No. 1407
* 22	Essen, W. Schulze Collection	4.36	20.33 x 20.90	↙(7)	Parks 2005: 238, No. 5; provenance, W. Schulze, personal communication
23	Nicosia, A. Pitsillides Collection	4.35	18.3 x 18.6	↙(7)	–
24	Paphos or Polis area, Paphos District Museum, 1973/5	4.08	19.5 x 19.6	↓	Pierced intentionally
* 25	Nicosia, A. Pitsillides Collection	4.00	16.4	↗	–
* 26	Nicosia, A. Pitsillides Collection	3.93	18.3 x 18.4	↙(8)	–
27	Paphos, Villa of Theseus, room 68, southeastern corner, floor level, 286	3.928	18.2 x 18.5	↖(11)	Found together with imperial coin of Probus, 284 and coin 285 ( <i>RIC</i> V/2 120 No. 922) (see above, No. 19)
* 28	Paphos, surface find (east of Early Roman House), 950b	3.86	18.5 x 16.6	↖(7)	–
29	Kourion, Colonnade of Roman Forum, foundation trench, KA 76/73	3.383	16.3 x 17.5	↙	Christou forthcoming: No. 872; probably Elagabalus (worn, especially reverse)
30	Kourion, agora, KA 79/483	3.706	19.7	↑	Christou forthcoming: No. 1096
31	Paphos, so-called Hellenistic House above courtyard 1, northeastern part, uppermost layer, 641	3.604	16 x 15.5	↓	–

* 32	Paphos, Villa of Theseus, courtyard, level of presumed pavement, 203	3.444	20 x 20.5	↙(7)	Lichocka 1999: 176; Meyza 2007: 126, context 119, room 50 (?)
33	Paphos, Odeon, stage, on the floor, Ω 65	2.45	20	–	Nicolaou 1990: 185, No. 25, “(thin flan)”, uncertain
* 34	Nicosia, A. Pitsillides Collection	2.40	19.2 x 18.5	↗(1)	–
35–50	Kourion	–	17–22	–	Cox 1959: 19, No. 144
51	Vasa, Tomb-chamber 5, earliest layer, Excavations Ref. No. 64	–	–	–	Grierson 1958: 64, No. 14, “Quadrans”, 61, note 1
52	Vasa, Tomb-chamber 5, earliest layer, Excavations Ref. No. 71a	–	–	–	Grierson 1958: 64, No. 14, “apparently Elagabalus”; “Quadrans”, 61, note 1
53	Vasa, Tomb-chamber 5, earliest layer, Excavations Ref. No. 71b	–	–	–	As above, reverse corroded

Table II. *Delta-epsilon coins of Severus Alexander found in Cyprus*

No.	Site / Collection, Inv. No./Reg. No.	Weight (g)	Diam./dim. (mm)	Die axis	References, remarks
1	Nicosia, A. Pitsillides Collection	5.87	–	↑	Parks 2004: 238 No. 1
2	Paphos, Odeon, room A, Ω 209	5.30	17	?	Nicolaou 1990: 185 No. 28
3	Salamis, Trial pit Y, Sal. 3750 (M.582)	3.74	18	↓	Callot 2004: 38, No. 235
4	Soloi, Temple E, below floor	3.60	16.8	–	Westholm 1936: 100 No. 308; 134, 147, 148, 495 No. 306; Westholm 1937: 530 No. 308
5	Paphos, Odeon, room A, Ω 210	3.46	17	↙	Nicolaou 1990: 185 No. 27
6	Salamis, Trial pit Y, Sal. 3551 (M.565)	2.94	15	↑	Callot 2004: 38 No. 236 (“Le petit module du flan”)
7–25	Kourion	–	16–19	–	Cox 1959: 19 No. 145
26	Vasa, Tomb-chamber 5, “earliest” layer, Excavations Ref. No. 61	–	–	–	Grierson 1958: 65 No. 21, “Quadrans”; cf. 61, note 1
27	Kyra, Hellenistic–Roman tomb, 1962/VII-19/2	–	–	–	Pieridou 1963: 39 No. 120

*Table III. Delta-epsilon coins of Elagabalus or Severus Alexander found in Cyprus*

No.	Site, Inv. No./Reg. No.	Weight (g)	Diam./dim. (mm)	Die axis	References, remarks
1	Amathus, tomb 254, 14	7.02	19	↘	Nicolaou 1991: 181 Acc. No. 27, Pl. IX.27
2	Paphos, Villa of Theseus, below northwestern corner of room 16, rubble layer, 657	6.662	18.6 x 18.8	↓	–
3	Paphos, Theatre, floor surface towards main (stage) wall, 365	5.264	–	–	Very worn, pierced
4	Salamis, <i>Huilerie</i> Sal. 6532 (M.1203)	5.18	20	↑	Callot 2004: 38 No. 237; intentionally pierced
5	Amathus, tomb 285, 61	4.35	23	↙	Nicolaou 1994: 184 Acc. No. 56, Pl. IX:56
6	Paphos, Villa of Theseus, room 85, rubble layer, 386	4.334	19	↗ (12.30)	–
7	Amathus, tomb 254, 19	4.30	19	↘	Nicolaou 1991: 181 Acc. No 29, Pl. IX.29
8	Amathus, tomb 254, 12	4.29	21	↘	Nicolaou 19914: 181 Acc. No. 26, Pl. IX.26
9	Amathus, tomb 254, 18	4.04	22	→	Nicolaou 1991: 181 Acc. No. 28, Pl. IX.28
10	Kition, Area III, room 2, floor C–B, 37	4	18	↑	Callot 2003: 321 No. 87
11	Amathus, tomb 254, 17	3.6	19	↑	Nicolaou 1991: 181 Acc. No. 30, Pl. IX.30, “very worn [...] in-certain”
12	Paphos, Villa of Theseus, above room 13, 73/1967	3.245	20 x 19	↙(7)	–
* 13	Kourion, area of <i>Basilica Thermanum</i> , fill, KA 84/748	3.222	20.7 x 19.9	↗(1)	Christou forthcoming: No. 1182; reverse, two C, double struck(?)
14	Salamis, Temple of Zeus, Sal. 6134 (M.1032)	2.90	19	↓	Callot 2004: 38 No. 238, obv. “Tête de Zeus” ( <i>sic</i> )
15	Paphos, Theatre, pebbly surface, 160	2.744	–	?	Worn, uncertain
16	Kition, Area III, room 2, surface of floor A, 1	2.6	16	↑	Callot 2003: 321 No. 88
17	Salamis, <i>Daemonostasion</i> site, Trial pit, Sal. 421 (M.135)	2.50	18	?	Callot 2004: 38 No. 239, “ajustement impossible”
18	Salamis, Trial pit Y, Sal. 3548 (M.562)	1.12	14	?	Callot 2004: 38 No. 240, “ajustement impossible. Petit module (Alexandre Sévère ?, demi-unité)”
19–39	Kourion	–	16–21	–	Cox 1959: 19 No. 146

Table IV. Delta-epsilon coins of Elagabalus found in Syria

No.	Site, Inv. No./Reg. No.	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Die axis	References
1	Kifrin, Burbules Hoard	8.4	18–24	–	McAlee 2007: 298 note 189
2	Kifrin, Burbules Hoard	7.8	18–24	–	As above
3	Kifrin, Burbules Hoard	6.2	18–24	–	As above
4	Kifrin, Burbules Hoard	5.6	18–24	–	As above
5	Kifrin, Burbules Hoard	4.8	18–24	–	As above
6	Kifrin, Burbules Hoard	4.7	18–24	–	As above
7	Kifrin, Burbules Hoard	3.4	18–24	–	As above
8–64	Dura–Europos	–	20–23	–	Bellinger 1949: 85 No. 1827, 156
65	Berytus, BEY 006	–	19	–	Butcher 2003: 157 No. 553
66	Antioch	–	18–19	↓	Waagé 1952: 57 No. 600
67	Antioch	–	18–19	↗	As above
68	Antioch	–	18–19	↙	As above
69–70	Antioch	–	18–19	–	As above
71	Palmyra, Diocletian's Camp, 202/65	–	16 x 17	–	Krzyżanowska forthcoming

Table V. Delta-epsilon coins of Elagabalus or Severus Alexander found in Syria

No.	Site, Inv. No.	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Die axis	References
1	Apamea, 66.III.62	7.71	20	–	Callu 1979: 20 No. 79; attributed to Elagabalus, but with a portrait "post 222" (?)

Table VI. Delta-epsilon coins of Elagabalus found in Palestina

No.	Site /Collection, Inv. No./Excav.No.	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Die axis	References
1	Lod, Israel Antiquities Authority, IAA 67679	5.09	19	↗ (1.30)	Bijovsky 2004: 251
* 2	Deir'Aziz, Excavation No. 1892	4.10	17	↓	–
3	Legio, Israel Antiquities Authority, IAA 99941	3.12	16	↓	–
* 4	Lod, Israel Antiquities Authority, IAA 67666	2.92	17	↑	Bijovsky 2004: 251

*Table VII. Delta-epsilon coins of Elagabalus, unknown find spot*

No.	Collection, Inv. No./Auction	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Die axis	References, remarks
1	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	10.32	c. 21	↓	<i>SNG München</i> 321
2	A. Protti Collection, Forum Ancient Coins, added 25 July 2011	8.9	19	12	URL: <a href="http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-69795">http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-69795</a> (accessed 19 August 2011)
3	Robert's Ancient Coin Reference Database, sales inventory RFM 20160	8.65	23	12	<a href="http://www.randttreasures.com/Databases/Ancient_Coin_Reference_Database/index.htm">http://www.randttreasures.com/Databases/Ancient_Coin_Reference_Database/index.htm</a> ; <a href="http://www.randttreasures.com/Databases/Ancient_Coin_Reference_Database/Photos/Roman_Provincial/20160.jpg">http://www.randttreasures.com/Databases/Ancient_Coin_Reference_Database/Photos/Roman_Provincial/20160.jpg</a> (accessed 22 July 2011) and personal communication from R. Marchiselli
4	New York, American Numismatic Society 1944.100.66453 (ex T.E Newell Collection)	8.16	22	↓	American Numismatic Collection Database, URL: <a href="http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.66453">http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.66453</a> (accessed 12 May 2010)
* 5	Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 248, added 26 January 2011, lot 297	8.09	22	↑	URL: <a href="http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=398375&amp;AucID=721&amp;Lot=297&amp;Val=1034c17bec41e7d1cfbf455aa86c9">http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=398375&amp;AucID=721&amp;Lot=297&amp;Val=1034c17bec41e7d1cfbf455aa86c9</a> (accessed 10 February 2011), "earthen black patina"
* 6	The Wildwinds site; eBay item 3943712950, added 3 December 2004 (ex Harlan J. Berk, Ltd.)	7.64	18	6	<a href="http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE18_BMC_427.jpg">http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE18_BMC_427.jpg</a> ; <a href="http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE18_BMC_427.txt">http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE18_BMC_427.txt</a> , (accessed 22 July 2011); ref. BMC 427, by mistake
* 7	TimeLine Originals	7.55	20.59	12	<a href="http://www.time-lines.co.uk/elagabalus-wreath-ae21-018456-28086-0.html">http://www.time-lines.co.uk/elagabalus-wreath-ae21-018456-28086-0.html</a> (accessed 22 July 2011)
* 8	Beast Coins, LLC	7.41	21 x 25	6	<a href="http://www.beastcoins.com/RomanProvincial/Syria-Laodicea/Syria-Laodicea.htm">http://www.beastcoins.com/RomanProvincial/Syria-Laodicea/Syria-Laodicea.htm</a> (accessed 22 July 2011)
9	Bern, Historisches Museum (ex J.-R. Righetti Collection)	7.395	23.4	↓	<i>SNG Schweiz</i> 2 2010
* 10	Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Royal Albert I, Brussels, A306	7.31	20.88	↑	–
11	New York, American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.66455 (ex E.T. Newell Collection)	7.3	20	↓	American Numismatic Collection Database, URL <a href="http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.66455">http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.66455</a> (accessed 12.05.2010)
12	London, British Museum, Reg. No. G. 2861	7.30	21.20	↻(11)	<i>BMC Galatia</i> 448
13	Copenhagen, National Museum	7.21	c. 18.5	↓	<i>SNG Copenhagen</i> 248
14	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	7.16	c. 22	↓	<i>SNG München</i> 320

15	New York, American Numismatic Society, 1953.171.1575	7.09	22	↑	American Numismatic Collection Database, URL: <a href="http://numismatics.org/collection/1953.171.1575">http://numismatics.org/collection/1953.171.1575</a> (accessed 12.05.2010)
16	New York, American Numismatic Society, 1921.999.164	6.93	20	↗	American Numismatic Collection Database, URL: <a href="http://numismatics.org/collection/1921.999.164">http://numismatics.org/collection/1921.999.164</a> (accessed 12.05.2010)
17	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, MK GR 027335_179	6.76	21.5	↗	–
18	Glasgow, University of Glasgow, The Hunterian Museum	6.64	c. 23.5	↗	<i>SNG Glasgow</i> II 3219
19	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, MK GR 021492	6.58	19.5	↓	–
20	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Heberden Coin Room	6.51	22	6	Purchased from Baldwin, 21 June 1997
21	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Heberden Coin Room	6.39	22	6	Ex J.G. Milne collection, 1923 (ex Sotheby's 12.03. 1913, lot 147)
22	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	6.25	c. 20	↗	<i>SNG München</i> 319
23	Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 246, 15/12/10, lot 346 (ex R. McAlee Collection)	6.16	21	↘(5)	McAlee 2007: 298 No. 799, 299, Fig. 799/1; URL: <a href="http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lot-viewer.php?LotID=398375&amp;AucID=721&amp;Lot=297&amp;Val=1034c17bec41e7d1cfbf455aa86c9">http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lot-viewer.php?LotID=398375&amp;AucID=721&amp;Lot=297&amp;Val=1034c17bec41e7d1cfbf455aa86c9</a> ; <a href="http://www.coinarchives.com/a/results.php?search=Elagabalus&amp;s=0&amp;results=100">http://www.coinarchives.com/a/results.php?search=Elagabalus&amp;s=0&amp;results=100</a> (accessed 22 July 2011)
24	London, British Museum, Reg. No. 1895.0508.288	6.15	22.70	12	<i>BMC Galatia</i> 447
25	R. McAlee Collection	6.1	c. 21	7	McAlee 2007: 298 No. 800; 299 Fig. 800
26	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Heberden Coin Room	6.1	20	↙(7)	Presented by F. Douce, 1934 (to the Bodleian Library) (Ref. Sear 1982 3098)
27	Northbridge, MA, N. Molinari Collection, Forum Ancient Coins, added 31 January 2009	6	26	↑	<a href="http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-40912">http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-40912</a> , ref.: SGI 3098 var. (accessed 22 July 2011)
28	The Wildwinds site; The Time Machine Co., item 33232, Reference 905310615, added 17 September 2006	6.0	20	6	<a href="http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/syria/antioch/i.html">http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/syria/antioch/i.html</a> ; <a href="http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE20_SGI_3098.jpg">http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE20_SGI_3098.jpg</a> (accessed 16 August 2011)
* 29	Ex H.C. Lindgren Collection	5.91	c. 21.5	12	<i>Lindgren</i> 2007; cf. McAlee 2007: 298, note 189
30	The Wildwinds site, image contributed by W. Urbanski, May 2011	5.8	20.2	1	<a href="http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE20_SGI_3098.1.txt">http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE20_SGI_3098.1.txt</a> (accessed 22 July 2011); <a href="http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE20_SGI_3098.1.jpg">http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE20_SGI_3098.1.jpg</a>

*Delta-epsilon issues of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander*

<b>31</b>	Tel Aviv, Eretz Israel Museum, Kadman Numismatic Museum	5.45	21	↑	–
<b>32</b>	London, British Museum; old collection 6 0932	5.40	20.53 x 19.78	↗ (1.30)	Not listed in <i>BMC Galatia</i> .
<b>33</b>	A. Protti Collection, Forum Ancient Coins, added 18 February 2011	5.3	23	5	<a href="http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-65000">http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-65000</a> (accessed 22 July 2011)
<b>34</b>	Copenhagen, National Museum	5.29	c. 19	↓	<i>SNG Copenhagen</i> 249
<b>35</b>	R. McAlee Collection	5.23	c. 20	12	McAlee 2007: 298 No. 799, note 189, 299, Fig. 799/2
<b>36</b>	N. Molinari Collection, Forum Ancient Coins, added 31 January 2009	5	22	↓	URL: <a href="http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-40922">http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-40922</a> (accessed 22 July 2011)
<b>37</b>	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	4.68	c. 16	↙	<i>SNG München</i> 322
<b>38</b>	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	4.66	c. 21	↑	<i>SNG München</i> 323
<b>39</b>	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	4.64	c. 22.5	↙	<i>SNG München</i> 328
<b>* 40</b>	Essen, W. Schulze Collection	4.56	19.73 x 21.25	↙(7)	Parks 2004:238, no 4; purchased from a dealer in Germany (W. Schulze; personal information)
<b>41</b>	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	4.51	c. 17	↗	<i>SNG München</i> 327
<b>* 42</b>	Warsaw, National Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, NPO 6621	4.44	17.5 x 18	↓	–
<b>43</b>	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	4.23	c. 15.5	↗	<i>SNG München</i> 330
<b>44</b>	New York, The American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.66456 (ex E.T. Newell Collection)	4.13	15	↗	American Numismatic Collection Database; <a href="http://numismatics.org/search/results?q=unitid_display%3A1944.100.66456">http://numismatics.org/search/results?q=unitid_display%3A1944.100.66456</a> (accessed 12 May 2010)
<b>45</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des monnaies, médailles et antiques, Chandon de Briailles 1630, Y 28608	4.02	17	↑	Amandry 1993: 14, Fig. 17; cf. McAlee 2007: 298 note 189 (20 mm)
<b>46</b>	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	3.86	c. 19	↗	<i>SNG München</i> 325
<b>47</b>	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	3.85	c. 15.5	↙	<i>SNG München</i> 326
<b>48</b>	London, British Museum, Reg. No. G.2862	3.77	21.73	↗	<i>BMC Galatia</i> 449
<b>* 49</b>	Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 246, 15/12/10, lot 347 (ex R. McAlee Collection)	3.76	18	↑	McAlee 2007: 298 No. 799 (3.8 g), 299, Fig. 799/3; <a href="http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lot-viewer.php?LotID=398375&amp;AucID=721&amp;Lot=297&amp;Val=1034c17bec41e7d1cfbf455aa86c9">http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lot-viewer.php?LotID=398375&amp;AucID=721&amp;Lot=297&amp;Val=1034c17bec41e7d1cfbf455aa86c9</a> (accessed 10 February 2011)



*50	The Wildwinds site, Contributed by hjb-ancientcoins (Harlan J. Berk, Ltd.), added 25 March 2005	3.70	18	12	<a href="http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE18_BMC_447.jpg">http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE18_BMC_447.jpg</a> and <a href="http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE18_BMC_447.txt">http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_antioch_AE18_BMC_447.txt</a> (accessed 22 July 2011); obverse double struck(?)
51	A. Protti Collection, Forum Ancient Coins, added 24 July 2010	3.65	15	11	<a href="http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-58207">http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-58207</a> (accessed 22 July 2011)
52	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	3.57	c. 16.5	↓	<i>SNG München</i> 324
53	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, MK_GR_021491	3.55	16.9	↗(1)	–
54	Anamur, Anamur Museum, 1.43.2004	3.50	16	↙(7)	<i>SNG Turkey</i> 2, 439
55	Bern, Historisches Museum (ex J.-R. Righetti Collection)	3.050	16.3	↓	<i>SNG Schweiz</i> 2 2011, “Kleineres Nominal zu [...] 2010” (= No. 9, above)
* 56	N. Molinari Collection, Forum Ancient Coins, added 31 January 2009	3	14	–	<a href="http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-40920">http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-40920</a> , “dark brown patina with red earthen highlights, some roughness, VF. Not in Lindgren I or III; Not in Sear, Not in Butcher” (accessed 22 July 2011)
57	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	2.99	c. 16	↑	<i>SNG München</i> 329
58	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung	2.92	c. 15.9	↙	<i>SNG München</i> 331
59	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Heberden Coin Room	2.86	16	↖(11)	–
60	New York, The American Numismatic Society 1944.100.66457 (ex E.T. Newell Collection)	2.32	16	↓	American Numismatic Collection Database; <a href="http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.66457">http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.66457</a> (accessed 12 May 2010)
61	D. Freeman Collection, Ancient Peddlers Gallery, added 26 June 2008, Completed Auctions 06/29/08, lot 5	–	23	11	<a href="http://www.ancientpeddler.com/apgallery/displayimage.php?pos=-6645">http://www.ancientpeddler.com/apgallery/displayimage.php?pos=-6645</a> (accessed 22 July 2011)
62	N. Molinari Collection, Forum Ancient Coins, added 31 January 2009	–	20	11	<a href="http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-40913">http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-40913</a> , ref.: SGI 3098 var. (accessed 22 July 2011)
63	Bargain Bin Ancient Coins, 19 September 2008	–	19	6	<a href="http://bargainbinancients.com/zen/index.php?main_page=product_info&amp;cPath=16&amp;products_id=567">http://bargainbinancients.com/zen/index.php?main_page=product_info&amp;cPath=16&amp;products_id=567</a> , “nice brown-green patina” (accessed 22 July 2011)
64	Ancient Peddlers Gallery, added 11 March 2008, Completed Auctions 03/23/08, lot 6, D. Freeman Collection (= Completed Auctions 02/10/08, lot 21, added 1 February 2008)	–	18	12	<a href="http://www.ancientpeddler.com/apgallery/displayimage.php?pos=-6044">http://www.ancientpeddler.com/apgallery/displayimage.php?pos=-6044</a> (accessed 22 July 2011) and <a href="http://www.ancientpeddler.com/apgallery/displayimage.php?pos=-5668">http://www.ancientpeddler.com/apgallery/displayimage.php?pos=-5668</a> , “SGI 3098 var (larger module)”

65	Ancient Peddlers Gallery, added 5 December 2007, Completed Auctions 12/09/07, lot 3, D. Freeman Collection	–	18	12	<a href="http://www.ancientpeddler.com/apgallery/displayimage.php?pos=-5207">http://www.ancientpeddler.com/apgallery/displayimage.php?pos=-5207</a> (accessed 22 July 2011)
66	A. Protti Collection, Forum Ancient Coins, added 30 December 2010	–	–	12	<a href="http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-63483">http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-63483</a> , “SC in wreath”, by mistake (accessed 22 July 2011)

*Table VIII. Delta-epsilon coins of Severus Alexander, unknown find spot*

No.	Collection, Reg. No.	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Die axis	References
1	R. McAlee Collection	5.4	c. 16	–	McAlee 2007: 314 No.856, Fig. 856/1
2	Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum	4.29	c. 15.5	↙	<i>SNG Braunschweig</i> : 1361
* 3	New York, The American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.66479 (ex E.T. Newell Collection)	3.72	22	↑	American Numismatic Collection Database, URL: <a href="http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.66479">http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.66479</a> (accessed 12 May 2010)
4	R. McAlee Collection (?)	3.44	–	–	McAlee 2007: 314 No. 856, in the American Numismatic Society collection; not confirmed
* 5	Ex H.C. Lindgren Collection	3.04	c. 15	–	<i>Lindgren</i> 2013; cf. McAlee 2007: 314 No. 856

*Table IX. Die-axis position on delta-epsilon coins*

Emperor by Tables		Die axis						
		↑	↗	→	↘	↓	↙	↖
Elagabalus	I	3	6			8	12	2
	IV		1			1	1	
	VI	1	1			2		
	VII	10	12		1	14	7	2
Severus Alexander	II	2				1	1	
	VIII	1					1	
Elagabalus or Severus Alexander	III	4	2	1	2	2	2	
Total		21	22	1	3	28	24	4

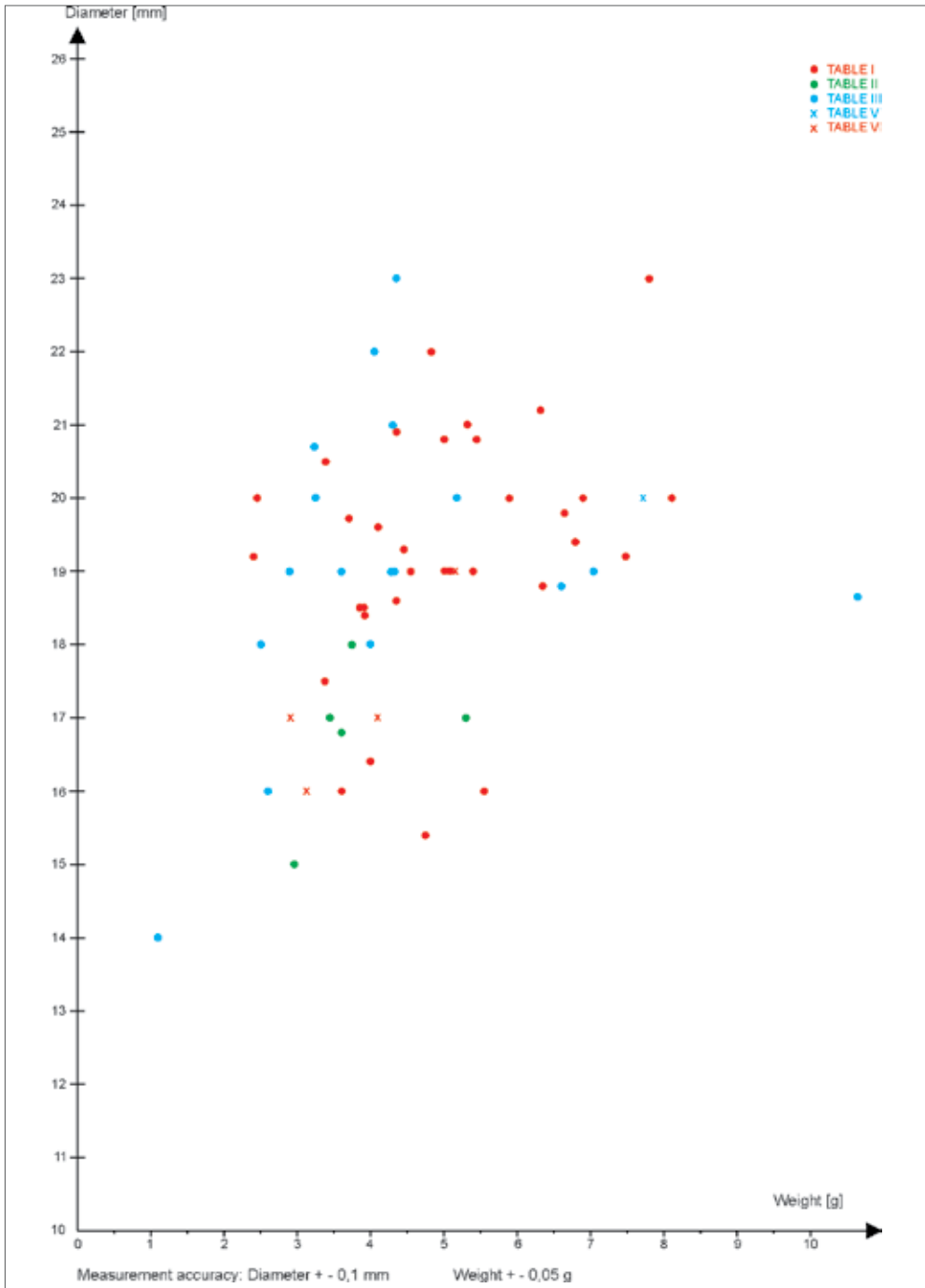
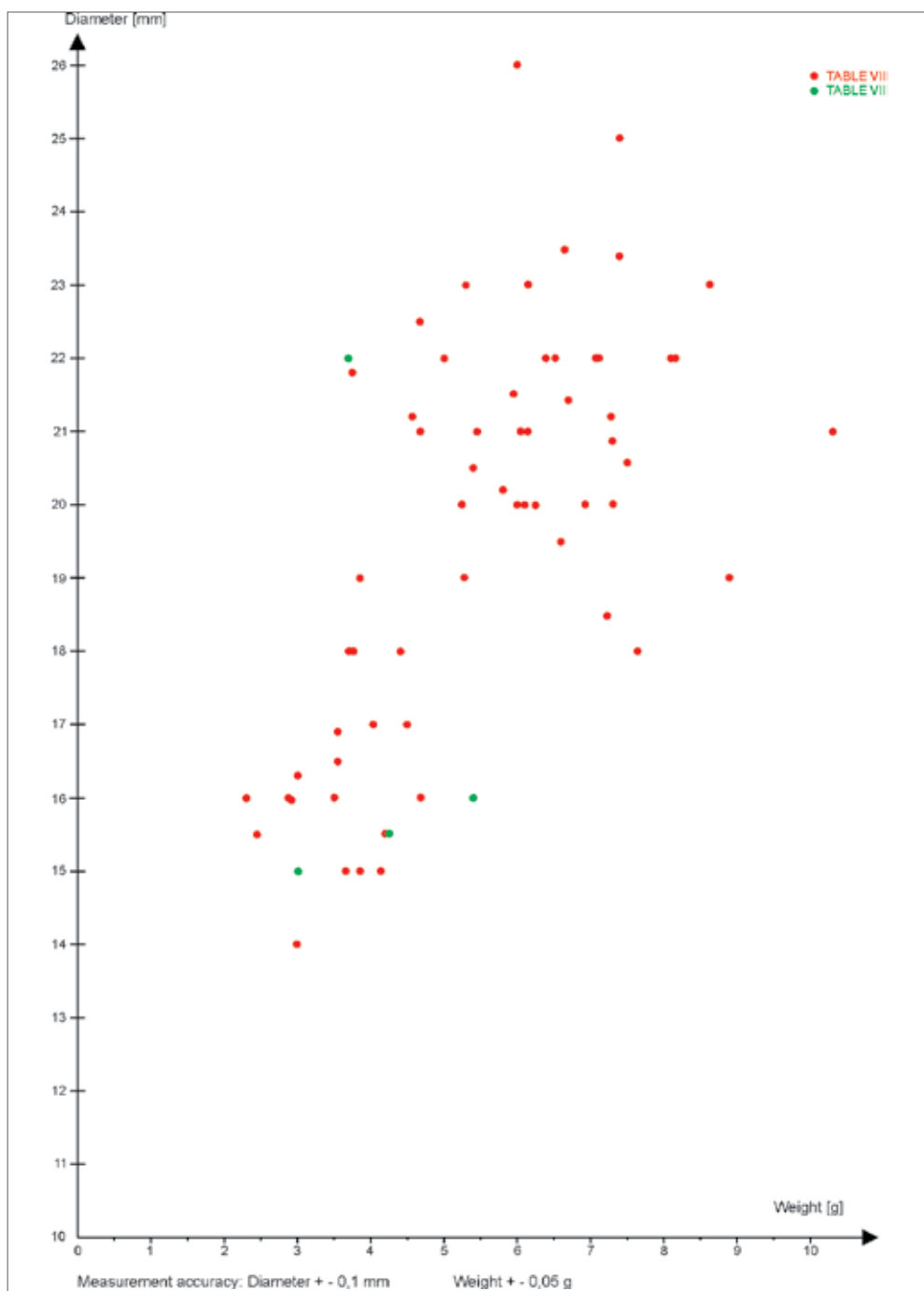


Fig. 5. Scatter plot for weight and diameter of delta-epsilon coins found in Cyprus, Syria and Palestine (Tables I–III, V–VI)



*Fig. 6. Scatter plot for weight and diameter of delta-epsilon coins of unknown provenience (Tables VII–VIII)*



# ABBREVIATIONS

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AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> , Berlin
AAAS	<i>Annales archéologiques arabes de Syrie</i> , Damas
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School of Athens</i> , London
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , New York
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i> , Leipzig, Stuttgart
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , Le Caire
BAAL	<i>Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises</i> , Beirut
BABesch	<i>Bulletin antieke Beschaving</i> , Louvain
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> , Paris
BdÉ	<i>Bibliothèque d'étude</i> , Le Caire
BEFAR	<i>Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i> , Rome, Paris
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> , Le Caire
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i> , Paris
CCE	<i>Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne</i> , Le Caire
CCEC	<i>Cahiers du Centre d'études chypriotes</i> , Nanterre
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> , Bruxelles
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i> , Paris
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , Vienna
EtTrav	<i>Études et travaux</i> , Varsovie
GM	<i>Göttinger Miscellen</i> , Göttingen
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> , Durham, NC
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> , Jerusalem
JbAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> , London
JGS	<i>Journal of Glass Studies</i> , New York
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> , London
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i> , Warsaw
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i> , Ann Arbor, MI
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> , London
KHKM	<i>Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej</i> , Warszawa
LIMC	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> , Zurich
MDAIA	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i> , Berlin
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> , Wiesbaden
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité</i> , Paris
MIFAO	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> , Le Caire
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> , London
NumAntCl	<i>Numismatica e antichità classiche</i> , Logano
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta</i> , Louvain
PAM	<i>Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean</i> , Warsaw
RACrist	<i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i> , Cité du Vatican
RBK	<i>Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i> , Stuttgart

*Abbreviations*

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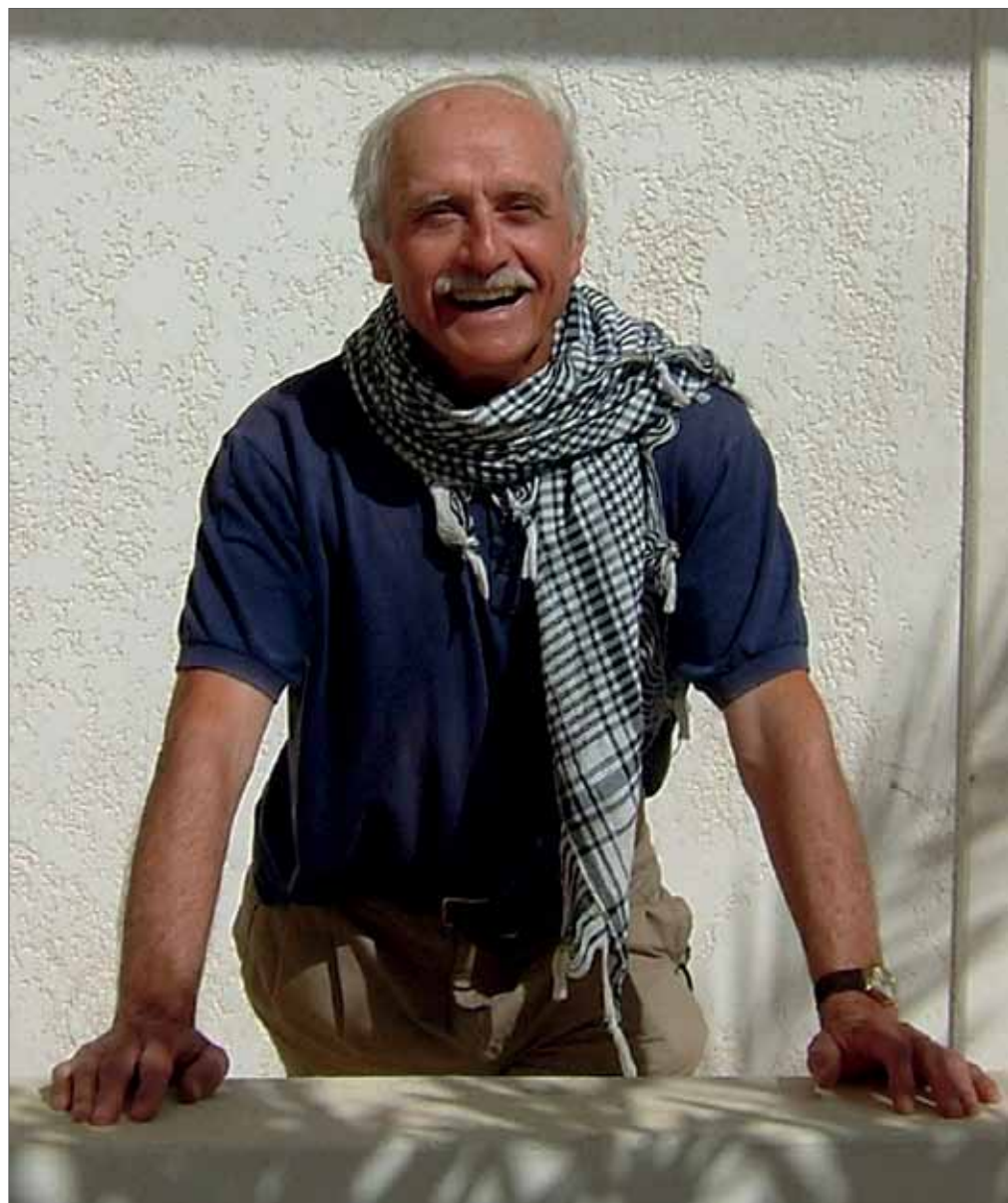
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, Nicosia</i>
<i>RdÉ</i>	<i>Revue d'égyptologie, Paris, Louvain</i>
<i>REPPAL</i>	<i>Revue du centre d'études de la civilisation phénicienne-punique et des antiquités libyques</i>
<i>RMNW</i>	<i>Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie, Warszawa</i>
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali, Roma</i>
<i>RTAM</i>	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, Gembloux</i>
<i>RTAM</i>	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, Gembloux, Louvain</i>
<i>SAAC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization, Kraków</i>
<i>VetChr</i>	<i>Vetera christianorum, Bari</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn</i>

\* \* \*

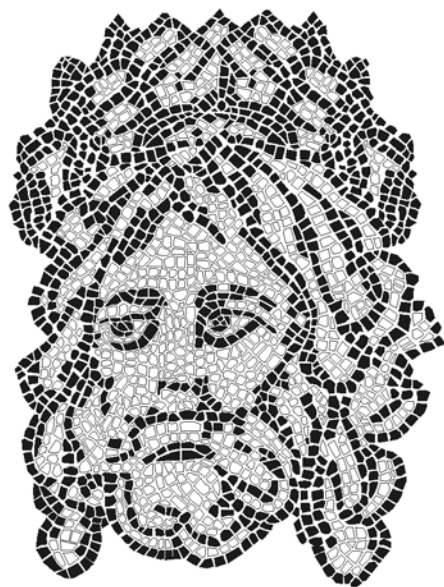
<i>DACL</i>	F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, <i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , Paris, 1907–1953
<i>LCI</i>	E. Kirschbaum, W. Braunfels (eds), <i>Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie</i> , Rom: Herder, 1968–1976
<i>RealEnc</i>	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart–Münich, 1893–1980



CLASSICA ORIENTALIA



# CLASSICA ORIENTALIA



Essays Presented to  
Wiktor Andrzej Daszewski  
on his 75th Birthday

Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology  
University of Warsaw  
Wydawnictwo DiG

# Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology University of Warsaw

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ISBN 978–83–7181–721–2

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