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Religious Standards on Coins.

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Hierzu Tafel VI und VII.

During the third season's excavation at Dura, conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, there was found in the temple precinct of Atargatis a most remarkable limestone relief¹) on which is represented Hadad and his consort Atargatis (Pl. VI). Both are seated in front view on thrones in an aedicula with crude Ionic columns (the left one is missing) which support a horizontal cornice. The throne of Atargatis is flanked with very large lions, but only their heads with protruding tongues and forelegs project from the background. The goddess occupies two-thirds of the aedicula; her husband, much suppressed, is pushed to one side. Although his throne is supposed to be flanked with bulls, there is barely space for one very small bull at the left of his throne; the head of the other one is carved on the shaft of the column over the lion. Over the right shoulder of Hadad on the broken column are traces of the claws and legs of his eagle. Atargatis wears on her head a royal crown decorated with zigzag lines forming rays; the polos of Hadad is striated diagonally. The right hand of the goddess is lifted in a gesture of blessing; the attribute in her left hand — now lost — may have been a spindle. The attribute in Hadad's right hand seems to be a bundle of wheat.

Between god and goddess in the background is a peculiar object consisting of a central upright pole to which near the top is fastened a crossbar. From the ends of this crossbar are sus-

¹) Published in Report III of the Excavations at Dura-Europos, 1929—1930, on which this paper is based. The relief belongs to the third century A. D. It is 0,406 m. high and 0,28 m. wide.

pended streamers of cloth of which the right one is pushed aside by the arm of Atargatis. Although the lower ends of the central pole and streamers are hidden by the figures it seems probable that the pole reached the ground and that the streamers were only about half as long. On the pole, a little below the crossbar are attached three discs, each one surrounded by a circle; the lower disc, slightly larger than the others, is quartered by diagonally crossed lines. On the top of the pole is a crescent. This object I take to be a representation of the deities in fetish form, in other words, a banner which was carried in religious processions, as the very embodiment of the deities.

The same standard is found on some of the coins struck at Hieropolis, the most important sanctuary of Hadad and Atargatis in Syria, but here the standard is placed in an aedicula, the gable of which is surmounted by a dove instead of a crescent. As on our relief so also on these coins Atargatis flanked with lions is seated on the right of the standard and Hadad flanked with bulls is seated on the left; his attribute is a spear, her attributes are spindle and spear or sceptre. The earliest coin-type of Hieropolis with this arrangement is on a silver coin of Caracalla¹). Beneath all is the eagle of Hadad. The same design occurs on a bronze coin of Severus Alexander best preserved in the example at Vienna (Pl. VII, 1)²); a variation occurs on a bronze coin of Julia Mamaea in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris³). In these bronze coins a lion, the emblem of Atargatis, takes the place of the eagle; note also that here the standard has four discs instead of the three on the silver coin of Caracalla.

So far as I know the numismatists are unanimous in calling the object between the deities a military or legionary standard.

¹) A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 586, Fig. 448; Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen*, p. 759, No. 772.

²) Reproduced through the kindness of Dr. Löhr, director of the Münzkabinett of Vienna. See also Cook, *Zeus* I, p. 586, Fig. 449; Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 759, No. 773, Pl. XIV, 7; Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, *Frontisp.*, Fig. 1 and p. 70, Fig. 7; *idem*, *The Hittite Empire*, p. 304, Fig. 42; illustrated also in many other places. The example in the Berlin Münzkabinett is not quite so well preserved.

³) Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 759, No. 775.

Frothingham¹⁾, however, although he is right in protesting against the usual interpretation, is mistaken in identifying the standard with the caduceus of Hermes.

There are three ancient sources of information for the cult of Hadad and Atargatis in Syria. Most valuable is Lucian, in his *de dea Syria*, important too is Macrobius in his *Saturnalia*, nor must Melito²⁾ be forgotten. Let us examine the passage which refers to the standard in the temple at Hieropolis. Lucian³⁾ writes: 'In this shrine are placed statues, one of which is Hera, the other Zeus, though they are called by another name. Both are of gold, and both are sitting; Hera is supported by lions, Zeus is sitting on bulls . . . Between the two there stands another image of gold, which possesses no special form of its own, but recalls characteristics of the other gods. The Syrians call it *σημήμιον* . . . its summit is crowned by a golden pigeon'. Lucian evidently did not know why the Syrians used that term. He merely says that the Syrians have given it no special name and that they do not even speak of its origin and form. Then Lucian continues: 'Some ascribe it to Dionysos, others to Deucalion, others again to Semiramis; for on the top of it there is perched a golden dove, on account of which they call it the *σημήμιον* of Semiramis. Twice every year it journeys to the sea to get the water that I mentioned.' These speculations about Dionysos and Deucalion are not worth very much to us. Macrobius⁴⁾ says nothing about the *σημήμιον*, for he is referring to Heliopolis when he says: 'The Syrians give the name of Hadad to the god . . . whom they honor as all-powerful, but they associate with him the goddess Atargatis.' We

¹⁾ Amer. Journ. Archaeol., XX, 1916, p. 208, see Hill's protest in Journ. Rom. Stud., VI, 1916, p. 153, n. 8.

²⁾ See William Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London, 1855, pp. 44f., lines 26ff.

³⁾ *de dea Syria*, 31ff. *ἐν δὲ ταῦδε εἶπται τὰ ἔδεα, ἣ τε Ἥρα καὶ τὸν αὐτοῖ Δία ἐόντα ἐτέρῳ ὀνόματι κληρίζουσιν. ἄμφω δὲ χρύσειοι τέ εἰσιν καὶ ἄμφω ἔξονται. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἥρην λέοντες φέρουσιν, ὁ δὲ ταύροις ἐφέζεται. . . . Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἕστηκεν ξόανον ἄλλο χρύσειον, οὐδαμὰ τοιοῦ ἄλλοις ξόανοις εἴκελον. τὸ δὲ μορφήν μὲν ἰδίην οὐκ ἔχει, φορέει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Θεῶν εἶδεα. καλεῖται δὲ σημήμιον καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀσουρίων, . . . καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὦν ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ αὐτοῦ περιστερῇ χρυσεῇ ἐφέστηκεν.*

⁴⁾ *Saturn.* I, 23, 18.

may infer, however, that the real names of the deities in the shrine of Hieropolis were also Hadad and Atargatis, especially since the oldest coin (about 332 B. C.) from Hieropolis¹⁾ bears the Aramaic inscription 'Atar-'Ate in explanation of the bust of the goddess Atargatis on the obverse, and the inscription 'Abd-Hadad (servant of Hadad) as the name of the local dynast on the reverse. This then is the explanation of Lucian's words 'in the shrine are statues of Hera and Zeus, though they are called by another name', i. e. Atargatis and Hadad.

Though Lucian²⁾ in describing the cult-statues at Hieropolis is sure of his identification of Hadad as Zeus yet he is in a quandary how to identify Atargatis: 'The general effect', he says, 'is certainly that of Hera, but she has borrowed traits from a variety of goddesses — Athena, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis and the Moirai'³⁾. Now the coins of Hieropolis, referred to above, represent a dove on the apex of the aedicula in which the standard was kept. This bird refers either to Atargatis as Aphrodite or perhaps to Semiramis. Recall the words of Lucian quoted above that some ascribe the *σημίλον* to Semiramis⁴⁾ because on top of it there was perched a golden dove. Lucian⁵⁾ also reports that the dove was most holy to the Hieropolitans. On our relief from Dura, as we have seen, the standard is not tipped by a dove but by a crescent moon, which evidently refers to Atargatis as Selene. But then how are we to account for the three discs on the shaft of this standard? Before this question can be

¹⁾ Babelon, *Cat. des Monnaies Grecques de la Bibl. Nat., Les Perses Achéménides*, Pl. VII, 17; Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, London, 1929, p. 306, Fig. 44.

²⁾ *de dea Syria*, 31 f.

³⁾ Strong's translation, in Strong and Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*. Plutarch, *Crassus* 17, 6 states that some call Atargatis Venus, others call her Juno, while still others regard her as the natural cause which supplies from moisture the beginnings and seeds of everything and points out to mankind the source of all blessings' (Perrin's translation).

⁴⁾ For the connection of Semiramis with the dove see Ktesias, ap. Diodorus, II, 4, 3 ff. and II, 20; Cook, *Zeus* I, p. 583, n. 4; Lehmann-Haupt, in Roscher's *Lex.*, s. v. *Semiramis*, col. 681; Harmon, n. 2 to Lucian, *de dea Syria*, 14.

⁵⁾ *de dea Syria*, 54.

answered it is necessary to call attention to the oriental custom to worship a triad of deities, and also to have a clear understanding of the nature of Hadad and Atargatis. Let us begin with the latter topic first.

In the very dawn of civilization man was tremendously impressed by the elemental forces of nature. Above all else the earth on which he lived, the thunderstorms of the heavens followed either by destructive deluge or refreshing rains attracted his attention. These and many other phenomena of nature became objects of reverence if they were benevolent, and objects of fear if they were malevolent. In the beginning of all religions the forces of nature were worshipped in fetish form. It is, however, also inherent in man to conceive of the gods as having human shape. And yet, even after he had given human form to his divinities, he never ceased to worship fetishes.

The mystery of procreation, so closely connected with motherhood, led primitive man to worship a Mother-goddess. That mankind should think of the Mother-goddess as an Earth-goddess is only natural when we consider the close analogy between the productivity of woman and the productivity and nutritive powers of nature.

In the Orient the Earth-goddess is known by many names, but in essence she is always the same, the supreme source of life, the goddess of procreation, be she called Nin-Khursag, Ishtar, Astarte, Ma, Cybele, Atargatis, or Anaitis. Since, however, the female cannot conceive without the male, since vegetation cannot grow without sunlight and rain, a Sun-god and a Storm-god became associated in the minds of man with the Earth-goddess, and he was considered to be her consort. He too goes by a multitude of names, but in character he is always the same. In Babylonia he is called Marduk, in Assyria he is Assur, in the land of the Hittites he is the Storm-god Teshub who is practically the same as his Mesopotamian prototype Adad.

For us at present it is Adad, the Storm-, Rain- and Wind-god, called Hadad in Syria, the consort of Atargatis, the Earth-goddess, that interests us in particular. His symbol is the thunderbolt or the double axe with which he splits the firmament with the terrible roar of a bull, his constant attribute. In fetish form he is a bull, in human form the bull is his emblem. In the course of time

he becomes a god of vegetation¹⁾, because rain is absolutely necessary for its growth. Atargatis, on the other hand, is at home in Syria, where she is often called 'The Syrian Goddess'. As *πότνια θηρῶν* she is the queen of wild beasts, even of the lion, and for that reason the lion may have been associated with her as a symbol of power.

But, as we have seen, Hadad came as an outsider to Syria, and his wife never lets him forget it. Not only does she try to prevent his seeing her sacred fish²⁾ at Hieropolis, but she also receives different sacrifices, Hadad in silence, Atargatis with shrill music, according to Lucian, 44. On the relief from Dura, Atargatis, the paramount mistress, is given twice as much space as Hadad, her consort of necessity. She is also represented on a larger scale.

We now come to the question of triads. In Oriental mythology there is frequent mention of a son and at the same time the lover of the Mother-goddess, as, for example, in the Ishtar und Tammuz myth. At Heliopolis the triad consisted under their Latin names of Jupiter, Venus and Mercury³⁾. We do not know for certain the name of the third member of the Hieropolitan dyad, but on analogy with other triads we may assume that it was an Attis-like figure, the divine lover and son of Atargatis, recently often called Simios⁴⁾. This identification is based on Lucian's description

¹⁾ Immer (Adad), the son of Anu, 'multiplies plenty over all the land' according to a cuneiform text from Ur; see Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excav.*, Texts I, Royal Insc., No. 145.

²⁾ Lucian, *de dea Syria*, 47. In her abbreviated name Tar-*'ata*, in Greek, Derceto, she was a fish-goddess; indeed, she once was a fish, according to a legend of Ascalon (see Harmon's note on Lucian, *d. d. S.*, 14). See also Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 583f., n. 4, and Ktesias, *ap. Diod.* 2,4.

³⁾ See Seyrig, *La Triade Héliopolitaine et les Temples de Baalbek*, Syria X, 1929, pp. 314ff.; A. Parrot, *Syria* X, pp. 119ff.; H. Thiersch, however, *Zu den Tempeln und zur Basilika von Baalbek* (*Nachr. Gött. Ges.*, 1925, Heft I, pp. 1ff.) considers the triad at Heliopolis to play an unimportant part. For a discussion of the formation of triads see Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, pp. 123, 250; Dussaud, *Rev. Arch.*, 1904, II, pp. 257ff.; See also Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 22ff.; Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, p. 26.

⁴⁾ Melito (W. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, pp. 44f.) states that Sime, the daughter of Hadad, fetched water from the sea and poured it into a well at Mabug (Bambyce = Hieropolis) in order to dispel evil spirits. This pas-

of the standard (*σημῖον*) and the attempt to connect *σημῖον* with Simios, the divine lover and son of Atargis (Derceto). Be that as it may, the term *σημῖον*, it seems to me, means „signum“, sign or standard, a religious banner, the aniconic fetish of the deities Hadad, Atargatis and a third member of the triad, whatever his name may be. At any rate it is certainly not a military standard¹).

But we are not yet ready to explain the meaning of the three or four discs on the standard, for first we must speak of other representations of this peculiar object.

At Harrân (Carrhae) in Mesopotamia there was a very old and famous cult of Sin²), the Moon-god, and although the usual fetish of the crescent moon occurs on the coins of Carrhae (Colonia Aurelia) in the late Roman imperial period the Harranians also had a special moon-fetish in the form of a conical stone or baetyl. This baetyl occurs on some of their coins of Septimius Severus between two standards (Pl. VII, 2, 3)³), which are very similar to the standard on the coins of Hieropolis, already discussed, and practically identical with the standard on the relief from Dura. On these coins of Carrhae an Ionic tetrastyle temple is represented; the baetyl is in the central intercolumniation and the standards in the end intercolumniations. They are not in aediculae; the trian-

sage is thoroughly discussed by Dussaud, Notes, p. 107; idem, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, s. v. Simea and Simios; see also Gunning, Pauly-Wiss., zweite Reihe, III, s. v. Sima oder Sime; and Höfer, in Roscher's Lex., IV, s. v. Semea; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik, III, pp. 247, 263; II, pp. 84, 323 ff. For a mould in the Ashmolean Mus. representing a Syrian triad, two fully grown deities with a small female figure, Sime the daughter of Hadad, between them, see Henri de Genouillac, 'Idole en plomb d'une triade Cappadocienne', Syria X, 1929, Pl. I, Fig. 1, E.

¹) For real military standards in the Orient see F. Sarre, 'Die alt-orientalischen Feldzeichen' in Klio, III, pp. 333 ff.

²) See Chwolsohn, Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus, St. Petersburg, 1856, vol. I, pp. 130, 206, 313, 400 ff.

³) Two coins at Berlin are reproduced through the courtesy of Professor Regling. Chwolsohn, op. cit. I, p. 402 (two coins of Septimius Severus); cf. Roscher's Lex., IV, s. v. Sin, col. 891, Figs. 2—4; Macdonald, Hunterian Coll., III, Pl. LXXVIII, 24 where, however, the description on p. 301,2 is incorrect and misleading; G. F. Hill, Journ. Rom. Stud., VI, 1916, pp. 153 f. and Pl. XII, 3; B. M. C., Arabia, Pl. XII, 4.

gular space over the discs is part of the framework of the standard from which the streamers are suspended. Over the framework is a crescent moon just as on the standard of the relief of Atargatis and Hadad.

In the sanctuary of Atargatis at Dura another relief (Pl. VII, 4)¹ was found in front of an altar dedicated to the goddess. This relief, which is rounded on top, represents a standard in an aedicular with an archivolt over Ionic pillars. In this case the standard consists of a tall pillar standing on two steps; the pillar ends above in a large globe, perhaps a decorative capital, on top of which is a very large crescent resting on a cushion just as on some of the coins from Carrhae. From the crescent hang the customary streamers, but they are almost of zigzag shape and look more like flashes of lightning than like rays of light. There can be no doubt, however, that moon-beams are meant. Above the crescent, which resembles the horns of a bull, is a small lunar disc.

Interesting is a bronze standard found by Alan Rowe at Beisan²) in the Amenophis III. level (1411—1375 B. C.); it too is surmounted by a crescent moon.

The crescent moon on a staff, with streamers hanging from either side, occurs frequently on oriental cylinders. In the Louvre there is an interesting cylinder³) on which is engraved a Hittite goddess holding a crescent-tipped standard quite as tall as the goddess herself. Both moon and staff are ornamented with streamers.

The sun on a staff, either planted in the ground or held in the hand of a votary or a god is the standard of the Sun-god

¹) Dimensions: 1,02 m. \times 0,43 m. Material, hard limestone. The Syriac inscription is a later addition by a Christian, as I am informed by Professor Torrey.

²) Illustrated in the Museum Journal, Philadelphia, June, 1928, p. 163, where it is erroneously called a spear-butt.

³) Delaporte, Catalogue des cylindres orientaux, etc., du Musée du Louvre, II, Pl. 94, Fig. 25. See also the standard on a cylinder of the epoch of Ur (2450—2250 B. C.): idem, *ibid.*, Pl. 76, 1—2; Legrain, Culture of the Babylonians, II, Pl. XVIII, Nos. 280—282. For other references to the moon as the standard of Sin in Babylonia as early as the dynasty of Hamurabi (2225—1926 B. C.) see Hugo Prinz, *Altorientalische Symbolik*, Pl. XIII, 7 and p. 142.

Shamash¹). Sometimes this standard, often mistaken for a mirror, is held in the hands of Hittite priestesses or goddesses²). It is also of frequent occurrence on oriental cylinders³). In a relief from Khorsabad⁴) in Assyria occur two standards, each tipped with a sun-disc from which streamers are suspended.

On oriental seal-cylinders, however, the standards are more frequently tipped by the sun and the moon⁵), and the disc of the sun is sometimes divided into four quarters. On a relief of King Barrakub and his secretary from Senjirli⁶) there occurs in the field a staff decorated with tassels and supporting a crescent and a solar disc.

Very remarkable are the religious standards from 'Ain-Djudj, a filter basin and well-pool of the water-supply of Baalbek, now in the Berlin Antiquarium⁷). They are of lead and represent in the crescent moon not the usual solar disc, but the bust of the

¹) See Unger, *Assyrische und Babylonische Kunst*, p. 439; Prinz, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.

²) Wooley, *Carchemish*, Part II, Pl. B. 21, a = Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World*, I, Pl. XXIII, 3 (priestesses); Wooley, *op. cit.*, Pl. B. 19, a = Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, p. 282, Fig. 31 (goddess enthroned on a crouching lion). On the so called ceremonial feast stelae it may be a mirror, see, for example, Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 224, Fig. 18.

³) See, for instance, Contenau, *La Glyptique Syro-Hittite*, Pl. XXV, 359 (Assyrian).

⁴) Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer*, Pl. LXXXVII, 14 (time of Sargon, 722—705 B. C.).

⁵) Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux, cachets et pierres gravées du Musée du Louvre*, II, Pl. 96, 10 = Contenau, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIV, 174. The standard without streamers occurs in the hand of a deity on a Hittite seal cylinder in the collection de Clercq, *Cat. antiquités assyriennes, Cylindres orient. etc.* vol. II, Pl. XXXVII, 299 bis. On a Babylonian cylinder in the *Bibl. Nat.*, Delaporte, *Cat. cyl. orient. etc. de la Bibl. Nat.*, No. 172, a standard with crescent and disc in which is inscribed a star of four branches is held by the god Ea-bani; cf. also No. 143 of the *Bibl. Nat.* collection of cylinders, and Seyrig, *Syria*, X, p. 339, note 4. Sometimes the standard is held by an ape-like figure, see, for example, Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Pl. VIII, 235 and 249.

⁶) Now in Berlin; see Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, Pl. XXXV.

⁷) Illustrated and discussed by Seyrig, *Syria*, X, 1929, Pl. LXXXVI and p. 339; see also Winnefeld, *Baalbek*, vol. I, Text, p. 32, Fig. 16. Their exact date cannot be fixed, but they are earlier than the Seleucid period.

sun-god. On all but one the bust is disc-shaped surmounted by the rayed head of the sun-god. Disc, crescent and the lead part of the staff, into which a wooden pole had been fastened, are decorated with protuberances, no doubt in imitation of precious stones. The original standard, which must have been kept in the temple of Hadad (Jupiter Heliopolitanus) at Heliopolis was probably of gold, decorated with precious stones.

Now we are ready to discuss the three discs on the standard between Atargatis and Hadad, the same number of discs on the standard of Sin at Carrhae and the discs, sometimes three, sometimes four, on the coins struck at Hieropolis under Caracalla, Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea.

They may be precious stones like those represented in imitation on the lead standards from 'Ain-Djudj. In favor of this interpretation is the fact that on the local coins of Hieropolis the number of discs varies. On close observation of the coins from Hieropolis one can see small marks radiating from the four discs, which may indicate the sparkle of the stones.

On the other hand the lead standards from 'Ain-Djudj, are tipped with two of the seven planets, the sun and the moon. We must, therefore, also take into consideration the possibility that the discs may represent planets. The small marks just mentioned in connection with the standard on the coins may with more probability depict the rays of stars than the sparkle of stones. We have noted above that the triad at Heliopolis consisted under their Latin names of three planets, Jupiter, Venus and Mercury. In art the planets and pleiades are usually represented by discs within circles, exactly as the discs on our standards. Their earliest occurrence is on archaic Elamite cylinders¹⁾ of about 3000 B. C. Discs of this shape representing stars or planets are also found on a Hittite cylinder under Babylonian influence²⁾. Somewhat later, on a Babylonian boundary stone of about 1150 B. C. the pleiades are represented by seven discs³⁾. Since stars are represented in exactly the same way as the discs on our standards

¹⁾ Delaporte, *Cylindres du Louvre*, I, Pl. 26, 1 and p. 44, S. 280.

²⁾ Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Pl. II, 26 (after 1500 B. C.), see also p. 56, Fig. 58 (four stars).

³⁾ Illustrated in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. I of Plates, p. 77.

it seems more than probable that they represent three planets, Jupiter, Venus and Mercury, or as the Syrians would say, Hadad Atargatis and a third member of the triad, perhaps Nebo, for Mercury is the planet of Nebo¹⁾, or, if Dussaud is right, Simios. And yet I realize that this interpretation does not account for the four discs on some of the coins of Hieropolis.

It is surprising that the same standard with three discs was also used at Carrhae, the famous moon-city. This too must have been a cult-object, and the most plausible explanation of the discs is that they represent planets, probably in addition to the moon, the sun, Venus and Mercury, especially since the last three deities were also worshipped at Carrhae.

Note on the symbol for rain.

The god of thunder and of rain was originally a bull which later became his emblem. This is made certain by the art of Elam, the country of origins, where as early as 3000 B. C. we find on the cylinders a bull kneeling in human posture and holding in each hand arrows which take the place of the usual representations of lightning; before the bull is a lion sitting upright and extending its paws in adoration (Pl. VII, 5)²⁾. On other archaic Elamite cylinders (Pl. VII, 6)³⁾, we see a kneeling bull, frontal view of head, a disc above its horns; facing the bull are two feline animals, one behind the other, in the usual attitude of adoration; at the right are symbols of rain, symbols which occur again on the Arsacid style of coins of the local Elymaid dynasty of Kamnaskires and his successors (Pl. VII, 7)⁴⁾. This symbol is usually, though incorrectly, interpreted as an anchor. Hill⁵⁾ says:

1) See Jeremias, in Roscher's *Lex.*, s. v. Nebo, cols. 57 ff.

2) L. Legrain, *Mission en Susiane*, XVI, 1921, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 332 (from which our illustration is taken), and p. 31; see also G. Jéquier, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, VIII, 1905, p. 12, Fig. 23.

3) Cf. *Mission en Susiane*, XVI, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 331 (from which our illustration is taken); see esp. *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, XII, p. 112, Fig. 108.

4) See Allotte de la Fuye, *Mém. Dél. Perse*, VIII, 1905, pp. 177 ff. Pls. X-XIV; B. M. C., Arabia, etc. Pl. XXXIX-XLII; the illustration is from Naville *Catalogue XII*, 1926, Pl. 71, Fig. 2532.

5) B. M. C., Arabia, etc. p. clxxxiv.

'it may not be an anchor at all, but a sacred symbol associated with some deity of Susa'. He evidently overlooked the same symbol on the above-mentioned cylinders of Susa, where it is without doubt a symbol of rain.

On Palmyrene tesserae there is a similar symbol which consists of three lines hanging from a circle; this I believe should also be interpreted as rain. One of these tesserae in the Bibliothèque Nationale¹⁾ represents the bust of a male deity whose head is crowned with an upright row of ears of wheat to indicate that a god of vegetation is meant. In the field at the right is the symbol of a disc in a circle from which three lines are suspended. The same symbol occurs on another tessera in the same collection²⁾ which represents a beardless bust of a deity to right; here the symbol is in the right field, whereas in the left are star and crescent moon. The origin of this symbol is not known, but its earliest occurrence is on Hittite cylinders³⁾.

¹⁾ Delaporte, *Cylindres etc. de la Bibl. Nat.*, II, Pl. 126, 4 b.

²⁾ Delaporte, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 126, 35 and 37.

³⁾ *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.*, XXX, p. 412, Fig. 21 = *Coll. De Clercq*, No. 388. This symbol is not to be confused with the somewhat similar symbols on Indo-Parthian coins discussed and illustrated by Sarre, *Klio*, III, p. 358, Fig. 21.