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**Autor:** Johananoff, Mati  
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MATI JOHANANOFF

FROM BDYḤBL TO BROCHUBELUS:  
COMMEMORATING A SON OF MAZDAY  
ON SAMARIAN COINS?\*

PLATE 1

*Introduction*

Samarian coins from the late Persian period often bear inscriptions of private names variably associated with the Samarian minting authority. Certain names appearing on the coins are also attested in other archaeological and historical sources such as the Wadi ed-Daliyeh papyri and had led to different speculations and attempted reconstructions of the administration of Samaria during the period of c. 450–332 BCE.<sup>1</sup> Other such names are not attested in other sources and regarding many there is still a high degree of uncertainty. This paper will focus on a name appearing on several, securely attributable, Samarian coins, which is currently described in standard literature as unidentifiable from other historical sources. Several etymological suggestions have been made regarding its source but attempts to connect it with a specific historical figure and narrative have yet to be adopted.

*How Should the Coin Legends on MQ 13–17 be Read and Understood?*

Different interpretations have been offered for the name BDYḤBL/BRYḤBL/BRWḤBL appearing on certain early Samarian coins (MQ 13–17; *Cat. Nos. I.1–I.5*), especially against the fact that Aramaic *Daleth* – ܕ and *Resh* – ܪ are written identically. Meshorer and Qedar read the name as BDYḤBL (בדִּיחַבֵּל) and interpreted it as a unique name made of two parts: BD standing for «by the hand» ([בִּי]ד) and YḤBL (יחֵבֵל) like YḤ'L (יחֵל'ל). According to Meshorer and Qedar they «have been unable to find an identical name» in other sources.<sup>2</sup> Meshorer and Qedar also link the name appearing on these coins to another private name BOΔ (בֹּוד?), made of a mixed script, which appears on another Samarian coin (MQ

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<sup>1</sup> DUŠEK 2007, pp. 529–548; DUŠEK 2020.

<sup>2</sup> See CS, pp. 15–16; MQ, pp. 21–22.

21). Connecting the two legends BDYḤBL and BOΔ together seems hard to justify as has already been pointed out by Wyssmann, both because of the different spelling of the names and due to the iconographic nature and stylistic differences between these separate types.<sup>3</sup>

Until today, this reading has remained the most popularly accepted reading for the inscription on the coins as evidenced by subsequent publications and auction records (see for example *CHL*: 211).<sup>4</sup> However, in a review of *CS*, Lemaire suggested the reading of the name (known then from *CS* 35–37) might have been read as BRWḤBL.<sup>5</sup> Since there was no known onomastic reference to link this suggested reading with a specific historical figure and since Meshorer and Qedar continued to believe that the coin with the inscription BOΔ (*MQ* 21) was linked to the same issuer, Lemaire's interpretation was noted but rejected, *inter alia*, on the ground that the third letter was shaped as an Aramaic *vav* (ו) and not as a (י) *yod* (*MQ*: 22).<sup>6</sup> Naveh also suggested in a footnote that the reading of the coins' legend read by Meshorer and Qedar as BDYḤBL may perhaps be read as BRWḤBL (ברוה-בל) which he thought might have stood for «in the spirit of Bel»,<sup>7</sup> although he made no suggestion to connect this reading with a name from other historical sources. The most important yet mostly overlooked clue regarding the identity of the person appearing on *MQ* 13–17 was published by Hilmar Klinkott (a historian rather than numismatist) in 2005. Klinkott suggested in a footnote within a book on the scope of the roles of the satraps within the Achaemenid administration that a name «Brochy-Baal» appears on several (unspecified by him) coins from the Nablus 1968 Hoard. Although Klinkott refers erroneously in the text to coins by «Bathis» (בתי), a military leader under Darius III, supposedly found within the hoard, his link of certain unspecified coins from the hoard (presumably *MQ* 13–15) with Brochubelus is of importance, as it provides the first suggested link between these coins and a recognizable historical figure.<sup>8</sup> According to Klinkott the name probably refers to Brochubelus who is mentioned by Quintus Curtius

<sup>3</sup> WYSSMANN 2019, pp. 59–60. Wyssmann's disagreement with Meshorer and Qedar regarding the coin bearing the legend BOΔ (בֹּדַ) being connected to the coins bearing the inscriptions BDYḤBL due to iconographic grounds, may be strengthened by the absence of the coin type associated with the legend BOΔ (*MQ* 21), which is absent from the Nablus Hoard but appears in the Samaria Hoard belonging to a slightly earlier chronological horizon, and which is believed to have a burial date of 352 BCE (*NH*, pp. 5–7; 182).

<sup>4</sup> See for example *CHL*, p. 211.

<sup>5</sup> LEMAIRE 1994, p. 172.

<sup>6</sup> Lemaire also suggested that the legend of *CS* 4 (later published as *MQ* 21) read as «BOΔ» (בֹּדַ) by Meshorer and Qedar should have been read as B'Δ (בֵּדַ) with the second letter being a Phoenician 'ayin (ע), but this suggestion is not referred to by Meshorer and Qedar.

<sup>7</sup> NAVEH 1998, p. 92, note 9.

<sup>8</sup> Klinkott was probably referring to coins with the legend BT (בת) usually linked to (גב[ת] ב) or Bagabatas (*MQ* 3–4; 6). Zadok notes that the name probably originates from an old Iranian name (ב[פג]ת) as the voiced labial is extant only in Greek transcriptions of the same name. Klinkott also notes that Brochubelus is mentioned in this historical source as *praetor* and not *praefectus*.

Rufus as having held an administrative role of *praetor* in Syria.<sup>9</sup> As will be further shown below, except for Wyssmann who noted this suggestion but rejected it, this proposal has been widely unnoticed by all subsequent researchers.

As part of his seminal work on the papyri from Wadi ed-Daliyeh, J. Dušek, who was unaware of Klinkott's earlier suggestion, mentions the name BDYḤBL/BRWḤBL appearing on several Samarian coins only very briefly, as the name does not appear within the papyri's onomastics.<sup>10</sup> Dušek, similarly to Meshorer and Qedar and Lemaire, further comments that the name is «unknown from other historical sources»,<sup>11</sup> and that it is impossible to rule out that the legend refers to priests (or a high priest) responsible for the treasury of the Samarian temple as has been suggested by H. Eshel,<sup>12</sup> or alternatively is connected to priests or moneyers somehow connected with the Samarian minting authority as suggested by Lemaire.<sup>13</sup>

Similarly, Lipiński, who was also unaware of Klinkott's suggestion, read the name on the coins as BRYḤBL, commenting that the reading BRWḤBL previously suggested by Lemaire is a less likely alternative as it «does not fit any onomastic pattern».<sup>14</sup> Lipiński interprets BRYḤBL as the phonetic spelling of «Barik-Bēl» or «blessed by Bēl», which was according to him «quite a common name in Late Babylonian texts».<sup>15</sup> However, he mentions that the shift between *Kaf* with *Ḥeth* is already indicated in Neo-Assyrian times by the alphabetic spelling *NSḤ* of the theonym *Nusku* and that it also occurs in Late Babylonian cuneiform notations, thus indirectly strengthening the plausibility that BRWḤBL may be linked with Brochubelus on philological grounds. In his recent book centered mainly on the study of iconographic motifs on early Samarian coinage, P. Wyssmann also mentions the interpretations discussed above.<sup>16</sup> Wyssmann rejects Lemaire's reading of BRWḤBL, which is based, *inter alia*, on the respective length of the letters *Yod* (י) and *Vav* (ו). However, as will be further shown below, these letters are sometimes interchangeable, as is the case regarding the letters *Daleth* (ד) and *Resh* (ר). Wyssmann disagrees with Meshorer and Qedar that the coin bearing the legend BOΔ (בֹּוד) is connected to the coins bearing the inscriptions «BDYḤBL» due to iconographic grounds, pointing to the stylistic differences between the types. He also rejected Lipiński's reading of the name as BRYḤBL (from «Barik-Bēl»)

<sup>9</sup> KLINKOTT 2005, p. 255, note 64; *CURT.* 5.11.13. The Roman definition of *praetor* is that of a magistrate/judicial officer who had broad administrative authority and in the absence of his superior (consul) exercised extensive authority in the government.

<sup>10</sup> DUŠEK 2007, p. 537.

<sup>11</sup> DUŠEK 2007, p. 537.

<sup>12</sup> ESHEL 1999, p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> LEMAIRE 1994.

<sup>14</sup> LIPIŃSKI 2008, p. 237, note 56.

<sup>15</sup> LIPIŃSKI 2008, p. 237. Lipiński connects another Samarian coin (*MQ* 19) bearing the Aramaic legend BL (ܒܠ) to the same issuer (237, note 60). This is not unlikely as the abbreviated form may suggest a similar abbreviation to MZ (ܡܙ) for Mazday (albeit of the last letters rather than the first ones). If this is accepted, it is interesting to connect *MQ* 19 with another coin type bearing the same inscription BL (ܒܠ) and attributed to Tarsus, Cilicia (see *Leu* 1, 25 October 2017, Lot 89).

<sup>16</sup> WYSSMANN 2019, pp. 59–60.

as he did not accept the shift between *Kaf* with *Heth*, which he called «highly disputed».<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, although aware of Klinkott's note, Wyssmann accepted Meshorer and Qedar's interpretation that the name on *MQ* 13–17 should be read as BDYḤBL (בדיחבל), did not give sufficient weight to the possible connection with Brochubelus and only mentioned it in a footnote.<sup>18</sup> Zadok has recently confirmed the reading of the legend on the coins as BRWḤBL, connecting the second part of the name with the frequent Mesopotamian theophorous element (Bēl), *i.e.*, «Bēl is shining, radiant».<sup>19</sup> According to Zadok (*pers. comm.*), the suggestion (unknown to him) of connecting the name BRWḤBL with the Greek translation Brochubelus is likely and phonetically acceptable as the letters *Yod* and *Vav* are often interchangeable in Aramaic and so is the substitution of *Kaf* with *Heth* as may be seen also in examples from the somewhat later Hellenistic *Septuagint* or Greek Old Testament (see Appendix below). Considering the above, it is apparent that the inscription on coins *MQ* 13–17 should better be read as BRWḤBL as suggested by Lemaire Naveh and Zadok.<sup>20</sup>

*Evidence from Historical Sources:  
Brochubelus and Quintus Curtius Rufus 5.11.13*

Quintus Curtius Rufus stands as the only direct historical source mentioning Brochubelus by name.<sup>21</sup> Curtius Rufus who wrote his historical account of Alexander's conquests during the first century CE, mentions a son of Mazday (Mazaeus/Mazaios) by the name of Brochubelus.<sup>22</sup> The text reads «*Brochubelus, Mazaei filius, quondam Syriae praetor*», identifying the son of Mazday as having held a certain administrative (presumably governmental) role in Syria.<sup>23</sup> This mention of Brochubelus is made by Rufus almost incidentally, while describing affairs connected to the demise of Darius III and internal rivalry between the latter and Bessus/Artaxerxes V. Brochubelus is mentioned as part of a group which has defected from

<sup>17</sup> WYSSMANN 2019, p. 59. But see Appendix by Zadok for detailed analysis of the name BRWḤBL.

<sup>18</sup> WYSSMANN 2019, p. 59, note 233. However, after reading a draft of this paper, Wyssmann currently accepts the reading and the suggested attribution of the coins to Brochubelus (*pers. comm.*).

<sup>19</sup> ZADOK 2022, pp. 129–130. TALLQVIST 1905, traced the name Brochubelus to «Baruq Bēl» or Buraqu-Bēl. VAN DER SPEK 2003, p. 306, also understands the name as originating from the name «Baruqu-Bēl».

<sup>20</sup> LEMAIRE 1994; NAVEH 1998; ZADOK 2022.

<sup>21</sup> CURT. 5.11.13

<sup>22</sup> For the coins of Mazaeus/Mazday see MILDENBERG 1990, pp. 9–23. Mazday almost defeated Alexander at Gaugamela (Oct. 331 BCE) while leading the Persian right wing. After Darius III fled the battlefield at Gaugamela, he escaped to Babylon and surrendered to Alexander. He was given the post satrap of Babylonia by Alexander (331–328 BCE). First Persian ruling continuity allowed by Alexander.

<sup>23</sup> For editions of Curtius Rufus see [https://openlibrary.org/authors/OL44760A/Quintus\\_Curtius\\_Rufus](https://openlibrary.org/authors/OL44760A/Quintus_Curtius_Rufus). No difference was noted between the different readings of the text and between the different editions except for the name of Brochubelus which is sometimes spelled as «Brocubelus», a fact that does not change the suggested identification.

the Persians and hurried to Alexander to warn him of Bessus' impending arrival. Nothing else is known directly about this figure from other historical sources. It may be hypothesized, that Brochubelus acted as a substitute or assistant governor of a part of greater Syria to his father Mazday, a fact which may also be corroborated by a passage in Plutarch who states that Alexander offered to increase the size of the satrapy of one of Mazday's sons, who at the time already was responsible for an unnamed province.<sup>24</sup>

It is unclear whether it is the same incident (or for that matter the same son of Mazday) which Plutarch refers to, as it seems more likely that Brochubelus' role in Syria, which has probably led to the issuing of the coins bearing his name in Samaria, should be dated to the period prior to the Macedonian conquest. His suggested administrative role in Syria is mentioned as something that has already taken place at the time of Curtius Rufus' account and the iconography of the coins bearing his name is demonstrably Achaemenid in nature (see further below). This reconstruction is also consistent with the suggested burial date of the Nablus 1968 Hoard, which is said to be c. 331 BCE and is historically related to the demise of the Samaritan elite in a Judean cave, due to the retribution of Alexanders' forces against them for the burning of Andromachos, Alexander's personally appointed governor to the area soon after the Macedonian conquest of Samaria in 332 BCE.<sup>25</sup> It is unclear how many children did Mazday have but it is apparent that Brochubelus was not an only child and that Mazday had two or three children probably from a Babylonian wife.<sup>26</sup> Heller questions whether Antibelos and Brochubelus are the same person or not and agrees that the name Brochubelus probably comes from «Baruq-Bēl». Importantly, Heller also notes that there is a possibility that the sentence from Curtius Rufus refers to the position of Mazday himself as *praetor* in Syria rather than to his son Brochubelus due to the ambiguous structure of the sentence in Curtius.<sup>27</sup> Historical sources tell us that Mazday was appointed as satrap of Cilicia in 361 BCE by Artaxerxes II as a successor to Datames and remained in power for almost three decades until 332/1 BCE. From the end of the Tennes revolt c. 345 BCE, he also became satrap of Eber-Nāri and the southern Levant and remained in power until the battle of Gaugamela as is also evidenced by staters from Tarsus, Cilicia which read «MZDY ZY 'L 'BR HNHR WHLK» meaning: «Mazday who is on Eber-Nāri and Cilicia».<sup>28</sup> What responsibilities exactly did Mazday delegate to his son Brochubelus in Syria is unknown from other sources but the several Samaritan coin types bearing his name, seem to suggest that some form of division of power or co-regency might have existed as suggested by Curtius Rufus.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *PLUT. ALEX.* 39.6. See also HECKEL 2006, p. 389, note 23.

<sup>25</sup> *CURT.* 4.8.9–11; JOHANANOFF 2021, pp. 6; 26.

<sup>26</sup> On the uncertainties regarding the number of Mazday's sons (Antibelus/Brochubelus; Artiboles) and possible confusion in the sources regarding their Grecized names see BADIAN 1965, p. 175; HECKEL 2009.

<sup>27</sup> HELLER 2010, pp. 395–396.

<sup>28</sup> MILDENBERG 1990, pp. 9–23; see *Cat. No. I.9*.

<sup>29</sup> A similar sharing of responsibilities in government is known from an earlier example involving the governor of Babylon and Eber-Nāri Gubāru and his son Nabugu during the second half of the sixth century BCE (DANDAMAYEV 1992, pp. 74–78).

*Further Evidence for the Identification of BRWḤBL with Brochubelus:  
Numismatic Aspects*

Since the reading of the name has been identified as BRWḤBL and historical sources seem to suggest that a son of Mazday named Brochubelus held an administrative role in Syria, what further evidence may be gathered from numismatic analysis of *MQ* 13–17 regarding this identification? In total there are five types known with this private name, three of which appear prominently in the Nablus 1968 Hoard with a total of 20 specimens bearing this inscription and name in the hoard (*NH* Cat Nos. 400–419). This makes BRWḤBL one of the most frequent names within the *NH*, together with the name מ (Mazday) represented by 26 Samaritan coins within the hoard and another 59 Sidonian coins which bear his name (*NH*: 32; *NH*: Nos. 313–338 [Samaritan coins] and *NH*: Nos. 72–130 [Sidonian coins]).<sup>30</sup> Unlike most other private names appearing on Samaritan coinage, the coins bearing the name of Mazday (מ) are the most securely datable coins as the chronological framework of his responsibilities in the region (353–333 BCE) is better-known from other historical sources and numismatic finds. The burial date of the Nablus 1968 Hoard is deduced from a previously unpublished Sidonian coin of Mazday, which bears the numerals 21 and is dated to 333/2 BCE (*NH*: 5–7; *NH*: No. 115). Thus, it may be deduced that the hoard is centered around the period when Mazday and his son were active in the region, namely between c. 353–332 BCE.<sup>31</sup> As may be seen in the catalogue below, there is also an iconographical affinity between the coins of Mazday from Samaria and Cilicia and the coins issued with the name of BRWḤBL from the Nablus 1968 Hoard. A very similar depiction of a seated Achaemenid king, who is holding a flower and a scepter appears both on the coins of BRWḤBL and on the coins of Mazday from Cilicia from Samaria (*MQ* 13–14; *Cat. Nos.* *I.1–I.2* and *I.6–I.7* respectively). The chariot scene on *MQ* 15 is also almost identical to the chariot scene depicted on *MQ* 74, a Samaritan coin with the name of Mazday, with the only difference being the direction of the chariot within the scene (*Cat. Nos.* *I.3* and *I.8* respectively). These iconographic and stylistic similarities lend further credibility to the suggestion that Mazday and BRWḤBL belong to the same chronological period and to the suggestion that BRWḤBL is closely related to Mazday.

<sup>30</sup> The other private names which appear most frequently within the Nablus 1968 Hoard are Bagabatas with 22 coins, ב (which might refer to the same historical figure with 39 coins, and 'BD'L (עבדל) which is represented by 23 coins (see table on *NH*: 32).

<sup>31</sup> For die links between specimens of the coins of BRWḤBL found within the Nablus 1968 Hoard; die links between specimens of the coins of Mazday found within the hoard see *NH*: 185–186. For archaeo-metallurgical analysis of the coins the coins of BRWḤBL found within the Nablus 1968 Hoard and archaeo-metallurgical analysis of the coins of Mazday found within the hoard see *NH*: 129–132.

*Discussion*

The identification of BRWḤBL with Brochubelus uses numismatic evidence together with historical sources and philological analysis. The meager information provided by Curtius Rufus in a single sentence is all that history tells us regarding Brochubelus, son of Mazday. The sentence may be understood in more than one way, and it is possible that its historical accuracy is hindered, given that almost four centuries have passed from the events to their recording by the Roman historian. Although Mazday is a better-known figure due to his multiple roles under the Persian kings and Alexander, not much is known about his personal life and family biography. The identity of his wife is not known, although she is most likely to be Babylonian by the names given to his sons.<sup>32</sup> Whether he had two or three sons and what were their exact names is also unknown and may be confused due to later translations of their names into Greek. If, however, it is accepted that a son called Brochubelus existed and if it is accepted that he held an administrative role in Syria as Curtius Rufus indicated, then the suggestion to identify the coins of BRWḤBL with Brochubelus seems more than plausible. Mazday's scope of roles and responsibilities cannot be understated. He served under three Persian kings, was the chief administrator of two important administrative territories and issued his coinage in distant separate mints for a period spanning several decades. Accordingly, it would not be surprising that some of his powers and responsibilities were delegated to his son Brochubelus as suggested by Curtius Rufus and as evidenced by Samarian coins bearing BRWḤBL's name. Plutarch's account of an unnamed son of Mazday having been offered a larger territory (which he refused), might be another clue as to the historicity of this reconstruction. Finally, what do Samarian coins bearing the name BRWḤBL signify as to Brochubelus' role in the government of Samaria? This question is not easy to answer. However, it seems it seems fit to recall Mildenberg's analysis regarding Mazday's Samarian coins: «It is out of the question that the provincial governor would have used the name of his superior...without the latter's permission...That means that Mazday is the superior minting authority also in the province of Samaria as he was in Tarsus and Sidon».<sup>33</sup> Unlike Mazday, BRWḤBL uses his unabbreviated name on small denominational (*m'h*) Samarian coins, similarly to the way Mazday's full name appears on the larger denominations from Tarsus, Cilicia (*Cat. No. I.10*). It is also notable that both Mazday and BRWḤBL have only issued small denominations in Samaria (unlike Mazday's coins from Tarsus and Sidon) a fact which may hint at the different purposes the coins served within these administrative territories or at the respective economic importance they had within the wider region.

<sup>32</sup> Both names end with BL (בל) denoting the Babylonian deity and not the West Semitic linguistic equivalent of B'L (בעל), see note 15 above. It may be suggested that Mazday's actions after the battle of Gaugamela also reflect family ties in Babylon and may explain his retreat to the city and its consequent surrender to Alexander.

<sup>33</sup> MILDENBERG 1990, p. 49.

### *Conclusion*

The legend on Samarian coins MQ 13–17 should be read as BRWḤBL as suggested by Lemaire, Naveh and recently reaffirmed by Zadok. The name BRWḤBL most probably refers to Brochubelus, son of Mazday, who performed a governmental role in the region, delegated to him by his father. The suggestion that the coins were minted in the name of Brochubelus is thus consistent with historical sources and with the consensus regarding Mazday's scope of responsibilities in the wider region. From a numismatic perspective, the existence of multiple coins of Mazday and BRWḤBL in the Nablus 1968 Hoard strengthens the conclusion that these types belong to the same chronological period during the last two decades of the Persian era. This is further established by iconographic and stylistic affinities between these coins issued in Samaria (by Mazday and BRWḤBL) and coins by Mazday from Tarsus and Sidon. The reason behind the commemoration of both Mazday and BRWḤBL on Samarian coins during the second third of the fourth century BCE is likely connected with a political change in the government of the fifth satrapy following the Tennes revolt and the subsequent shift towards Cilicia rather than Phoenicia(?) as the seat of the regional governor. These Samarian coins also attest to the loyalty of this minting authority to Achaemenid administration during this period. Coins bearing the name of Mazday were minted both in Tarsus, Sidon, and Samaria but not in Philistia or Yehud. Coins with the name of BRWḤBL are currently known only from Samaria, excluding BL Tarsus coin type (see note 15 above), and reflect the local importance of Brochubelus as evidenced on Samarian coins during the final stages preceding the Macedonian conquest.

### *BRWḤBL – Philological Appendix*

*By Ran Zadok, Professor Emeritus of Mesopotamian, Iranian and Judaic Studies, Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University*  
zadokr@tauex.tau.ac.il

BRWḤBL denotes «Bēl is shining, radiant». It is of the same type as Neo/Late-Babylonian (< Aramaic) *<sup>h</sup>Ba-ru-hu/uh-<sup>d</sup>Na-na-a* «Nanâ is shining, radiant»,<sup>34</sup> whose predicate is a *qa/ātūl-nomen agentis* of B-R-Ḥ < B-R-Ḥ. The 1<sup>st</sup> component of BRWḤBL does not derive from B-R-K with *k* > *h*.<sup>35</sup> B-R-Ḥ is recorded with *h* > *ḥ* in later Aramaic. The *-u-* between both components in the Latin rendering *Brochubelus* is secondary; it probably originates in a Grecized form of the Semitic names with a vowel between both components. The initial *b-* of the name was originally followed by *a*, which was dropped because it was short and unstressed. The root B-R-Ḥ «to shine» is productive in the West Semitic onomasticon, cf. Neo/Late-Babylonian *Ba/Bi-ru-ha-'*.<sup>36</sup> The latter may be a hypocoristicon (with the hypocoristic suffix *-â*) of compound names consisting of *brwḥ* and a theo-

<sup>34</sup> See ZADOK 2003a, p. 518: A/2.4.1.21 and 2003b, p. 270: 7.2, 27.

<sup>35</sup> Contra LIPIŃSKI 2008, p. 237.

<sup>36</sup> See ZADOK 1978, p. 340 with No. 6 on p. 344 (cf. 131, 151, 253).

phorous element (like *Brwḥbl*). On the other hand, the evidence for the same root in Akkadian is very weak (see presently). The middle component *ba/ārhu* is extant in two theophorous names, viz. Neo-Assyrian Nabû-*bar-hu*-ilāni and Neo/Late-Babylonian Sîn-*bar-hi-ilāni*. The former is hesitantly rendered «Nabû is the leader(?) of the gods» based on Aram. *brḥ'* «buck, bellwether» while the latter is rendered «Sîn is the most shining(?) of the gods»,<sup>37</sup> based on Aram. *brḥ'* which is a *qat(t)āl*-formation. The middle component <*bar-hi/hu*> is apparently either a *qatīl*-formation which produces adjectives or a *qātīl* G active participle with elision of the short and unstressed *-i*. The interpretation of this component as «shining» is to be preferred in view of the fact that the Moon-god Sîn is indeed considered a source of light (like Šamaš). Hence both compound names are hybrid Aramaic-Akkadian if not Aramaic in Akkadian garb shaped by the Assyro-Babylonian scribes. The *ba-ri-hi*-stone is explained as «shining» (Sumerian SIKIL), possibly «translucent» in the SB lexical series *abnu šikinšu* from Neo-Assyrian Huzīrīna (modern Sultantepe)<sup>38</sup> in the heavily Aramaicized Harran region. In this case, *ba-ri-hi* is a *qātīl*-formation which produces adjectives and active participles in Aramaic (its more common function is a passive participle which is not the case here).<sup>39</sup> Middle Babylonian *Bu-ra-hu*, which is rendered as «shining»,<sup>40</sup> may alternatively be read *Pu-ra-hu* (cf. Akkad. *parāhu* «to sprout»<sup>41</sup>). El-Amarna *ú-bar-ra-ha-an-ni* (D) in the letter of Tušratta from Mitanni, where West Semitic influence is unlikely, does not derive from *barāhu*,<sup>42</sup> but should probably be emended, possibly to *ušašrahanni*, *ušarrahanni*, or be read *ú-maš-ra-ha-an-ni* as a mistake for *ušašrahanni*.<sup>43</sup> Standard Babylonian lexical UL = *ba-ra-hu* (G infinitive)<sup>44</sup> «to shine» is from Neo-Assyrian Nineveh, *i.e.*, from a period when Aramaic penetrated the Assyrian heartland.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>37</sup> See KESSLER 2001: 809-810 and Baker 2002: 1130b.

<sup>38</sup> See CAD B: 110b, s.v. *barīhu*.

<sup>39</sup> For the meaning of *qatīl* as an adjective and an active and passive participle in Aramaic see BROCKELMANN 1908, p. 354: 138.

<sup>40</sup> HÖLSCHER 1996: 55b.

<sup>41</sup> CAD P: 145, s.v.

<sup>42</sup> Contra AHW: 105b, s.v. *barāhu*.

<sup>43</sup> According to CAD B: 101b, s.v. *barāhu*.

<sup>44</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1919, p. 167, iii, 9. The occurrence in CT 19, 14, ii, 24 is doubtful.

<sup>45</sup> Is it incidental that UL (with the reading MUL4) is also the Sumerogram of Akkad. *kakkabu* «star», a shining body? Compare the simile «the temple which is *shining* brightly like a star in the sky» in a Standard Babylonian inscription of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (AKA 98, vii, 93, quoted in CAD K: 48b, s.v. *kakkabu*, 1g).

*Illustrations (Catalogue)*

- I.1 Type *MQ* 13, Samaria (m'h), *CNG Triton XXV*, 11 January 2022, lot 353, 0,58 g, 9 mm, 8 h, Ten specimens in the *NH* (Nos. 400–409).
- I.2 Type *MQ* 14, Samaria (m'h), *NH*: No. 410, 0,62 g, 9 h, Three specimens in the *NH* (Nos. 410–412).
- I.3 Type *MQ* 15, Samaria (m'h), *CNG* 118, 13 September, 2021, 0,46 g, 8 mm, 3 h, Seven specimens in the *NH* (Nos. 413–419).
- I.4 Type *MQ* 16, *JC* Samaria 25, Samaria (m'h), 0,52 g, 9 mm, 6 h, not in *NH*.
- I.5 Type *MQ* 17, *JC* Samaria 26, Samaria (m'h), not in *NH*.
- I.6 Cilicia, Tarsus, Mazday (obol), *CNG Triton XVIII*, 6 January 2015, lot 89, 0,52 g, 9 mm, Obverse resembles Samarian coin type *MQ* 14.
- I.7 Cilicia, Tarsus, Mazday (obol), *Leu* 2, 3 December 2017, lot 279, 0,71 g, 10 mm, Obverse resembles Samarian coin type *MQ* 14.
- I.8 Type *MQ* 74, Samaria, Mazday (m'h), *Gorny* 289, 10 October 2022, lot 447, 0,55 g, Obverse scene resembles Samarian coin type *MQ* 15.
- I.9 Cilicia, Tarsus, Mazday (Stater), *Gorny* 280, 11 October 2021, lot 344, 24mm, 10,80 g, see note 28.
- I.10 Cilicia, Tarsus, Mazday (Stater), *Kölner* 108, 7 April 2018, lot 341, 10,71 g, see discussion.

### *Summary*

Samarian coins *MQ* 13–17 understood as bearing the Aramaic legend BDYḤBL (בדיחבל) should instead be read as BRWḤBL (ברוחבל). These coins most likely refer to Brochubelus, a son of the satrap Mazday, who ruled over Cilicia from c. 361 BCE and the Transeuphrates (Eber-Nāri) from c. 345–331 BCE. It is argued that Brochubelus probably held an administrative or other governmental role in Syria, delegated to him by his father, as indicated by historical sources juxtaposed with numismatic evidence. Twenty coins bearing this name, found within the Nablus 1968 Hoard, attest to the local importance of Brochubelus in Samaria at the end of the Achaemenid era, when responsibilities for the region shifted towards Cilicia. The iconography displayed on these coin types is linked to the iconography and chronology of the coins of Mazday issued in Cilicia, Samaria, and Sidon strengthening the credibility to this attribution. An Appendix by R. Zadok adds philological insights into the understanding of the anthroponym BRWḤBL.

### *Zusammenfassung*

Die Samarischen Münzen *MQ* 13–17, deren Legende bis anhin BDYḤBL (בדיחבל) gelesen wurde, sollten stattdessen als BRWḤBL (ברוחבל) gelesen werden. Sie verweisen vermutlich auf Brochubelus, einen Sohn des Satrapen Mazday, der seit 361 v. Chr. in Kilikien und von 345–331 v. Chr. in Transeuphratene (Eber-Nāri) regierte. Es wird dargelegt, dass Brochubelus möglicherweise eine Funktion in der Verwaltung Syriens innehatte, die ihm von seinem Vater übertragen wurde, was durch historische Quellen in Verbindung mit numismatischen Hinweisen unterstützt wird. Zwanzig Münzen aus dem Hort von Nablus 1968, die diesen Namen tragen, zeugen von der lokalen Bedeutung des Brochubelus in Samaria am Ende der achämenidischen Periode, als sich die Zuständigkeit für diese Region nach Kilikien verlagerte. Die Ikonographie dieser Münzen steht in Verbindung mit der Ikonographie und Chronologie der Münzen seines Vaters Mazday, die in Kilikien, Samaria und Sidon geprägt wurden, was diese Zuschreibung weiter stützt. Ein Anhang von R. Zadok liefert philologische Erkenntnisse zum Verständnis des Anthroponyms BRWḤBL.

Mati Johananoff  
Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures  
Tel Aviv University  
IL-6997801 Tel Aviv  
johananoff@gmail.com

### Abbreviations

CAD	A. L. Oppenheim <i>et al.</i> (eds), <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago-Glückstadt 1956–2010.
CHL	Y. Meshorer – G. Bijovsky – W. Fischer-Bossert. 2013. <i>Coins of the Holy Land: The Abraham and Marian Sofaer Collection at the American Numismatic Society and the Israel Museum</i> . D. Hendin – A. Meadows (eds), New York.
CNG	Classical Numismatic Group, LLC (auction house)
CS	Y. Meshorer – S. Qedar. 1991. <i>The Coinage of Samaria of the Fourth Century BCE</i> . Los Angeles-Jerusalem.
CURT.	C. Cellarius – W. H. Crosby (eds), 1854. <i>Quintus Curtius Rufus: Life and exploits of Alexander the Great</i> . London.
Gorny	Gorny & Mosch GmbH (auction house)
JC	The David and Jemima Jeselsohn Collection of Coins of the Holy Land.
Kölner	Kölner Münzkabinett GmbH (auction house)
Leu	Leu Numismatik AG (auction house)
MQ	Y. Meshorer – S. Qedar. 1999. <i>Samaritan Coinage</i> (Numismatic Studies and Researches IX). Jerusalem.
NH	H. Gitler – O. Tal with contributions by Arnold Spaer and Sylvia Hurter, Dana Ashkenazi and Adin Stern. 2019. <i>The Nablus 1968 Hoard: A Study of Monetary Circulation in the Late Fourth and Early Third Centuries BCE Southern Levant</i> (NNM 171). New York.
PLUT. ALEX.	B. Perrin (translator) 1919. <i>Plutarch: The life of Alexander</i> . Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. London.
PNA	<i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> 2, 3. Helsinki 2001–2002.

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I.1



I.2



I.3



I.4



I.5



I.6



I.7



I.8



I.9



I.10

