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The Levant

Haim Gitler

Phoenicia and Palestine in the Persian Period

Haim Gitler and Andre Lemaire

Detailed surveys of numismatic research of the coinage of Phoenicia and Palestine in the Persian period are found in two recent bulletins by ELAYI and LEMAIRE (30, 31). Their surveys, covering works published between 1995 and 2002, serve as the basis for the current chapter.

Although no recent book deals exclusively with Phoenician numismatics (the subject of a detailed corpus being prepared by ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G.), the monumental work of ELAYI and SAPIN (32, at pp. 143–158 and 178–183) supplies a synthesis of the last 15 years of numismatic research on Phoenicia. Another valuable research tool is the “Numismatique” bulletin of *Transeuphratène* (30, 31), which mentions the discovery of some 3,040 Phoenician coins and 801 additional pieces that appeared in auction catalogues between 1995 and 2002. A much shorter list of coin types and a partial account of Phoenician coin finds appear in NUNN (80). Two publications by BRIANT (14, 16) include discussions of coinages of the Persian period in the Levant. The numismatic section on Palestine in the Persian period in EPH'AL's article (34, at pp. 111–113) is brief and not updated.

Two articles by SOLE (88, 89) present a general study of the pre-Alexander Phoenician coinage of Aradus, Byblos, Sidon and Tyre. VISMARA and MARTINI (96) describe their comparative study based on the distributions of hoards with Lycian, Chypriot and Phoenician issues. NUNN (81) briefly mentions the loan of iconographic motifs from other coinages by the engravers of various mints. MILDENBERG (75) analyses the

function of the divisional coins of the Persian empire. Several enigmatic fourth century BC issues of the Levant were published by BRINDLEY (17).

Several articles pertain to specific workshops, especially that of Aradus. Two papers by ELAYI and ELAYI study the problem of the identification and meaning of the ichthyomorphic deity (27, 28); a third paper (24) analyses several problems of Aradian coinage. A new, dubious Aradian coin that recently appeared in an auction catalogue (46, Lot No. 394) depicts a bearded head on the obverse and a dromedary on a galley on the reverse. For remarks on this coin, see ELAYI (21). SOLE (90) studies the much disputed question of identifying the first monetary standard of Byblos. MILDENBERG (66) reconsiders the hypothesis that the figure standing in the ceremonial chariot on Sidonian silver issues is the Great King. The lions' head/dolphin and murex type bronzes from Tyre were studied by ELAYI and ELAYI (23), who propose dating them to the very end of the Persian period.

Among recently published coin finds, a hoard found in 1998 in the northern part of central Phoenicia and buried c. 400 BC is worth mentioning. It contained four Aradian silver issues from the last third of the fifth century BC (25). In addition, an Aradian bronze coin was discovered in Tell Sianu (1, at p. 162). The economic meaning of the numismatic evidence from Beirut (2, 13, 18, 36, and inv. No. 25333 of the *Exposition de l'Institut du Monde Arabe, National Museum of Beirut*) has been analysed by ELAYI and SAYEGH (33).

Tyrian issues were found during underwater excavations off the Haifa shore (37, at p. 16*), at Bethsaida (50, at p. 252, No. 2 and p. 261, No. 158) and at Sasa [Upper Galilea] (87, at p. 22). Excavations of a stratum I building at Nahariya yielded ten divisional Tyrian issues from the fourth century BC. One is a silver coin with a hippocampus to the left on the obverse and an owl to the right on the reverse, and nine are bronzes with a lion's head on the reverse (82). A silver Tyrian coin found at Castra, at the foot of Mt. Carmel, reveals a hippocampus and an owl to the left (98, at p. 54). The Ḥorbat 'Eleq, excavations brought to light a divisional Sidonian coin with a galley and a man in front of a lion with the letters 'B (4, at pp. 377 and 402, No. 3). Coin No. 4 in this report, belonging to the Sidonian type with a galley and a bowman, has been attributed to Samaria. The photograph does not allow confirmation of this attribution.

Twenty three Sidonian issues of Abd'Ashtart I and one of Abd'Ashtart III were unearthed in the excavations of Ioppe [Jaffa] (60). Two Sidonian coins were found at Yoqne'am (62), and a divisional Sidonian bronze was found in the excavations of Apollonia-Arsuf (83, at p. 195). Numerous Phoenician coins discovered in 1930–1934 at 'Atlit have recently been published (65, at pp. 112*–113*, 138*–139*), with no weight indication, due, unfortunately, to the loss of the coins decades ago. The three so-called silver Tyrian “didrachms” (Nos. 364–366) can only be divisional pieces, judging from their type: a hippocampus on a dolphin on the obverse, and an owl on the reverse. In addition, 19 Sidonian divisional coins of various types, dated from the fifth to the fourth centuries (Nos. 367–385), and an illegible coin (perhaps also Sidonian), are

mentioned in this report (No. 386). A second photograph of the coin-type attributed by MESHORER to the mint of Dor in the Persian period appears in STERN (93, at p. 194). QEDAR, in a forthcoming article in *INJ* 14, suggests that these coins were minted at Dor by Tissaphernes. ELAYI and ELAYI's papers (22, 26) indicate the last discoveries of Phoenician coins.

Nineteen Phoenician coins bearing west-Semitic graffiti are presented by ELAYI and LEMAIRE (29). Eight fractional coins from Eliachin, south of Ḥadera, have been published by DEUTSCH and HELTZER (20) and ten Phoenician coins from the Hecht Museum collection in Haifa are included in the Museum's catalogue (63).

As for non-Phoenician coinage, ELAYI and SAPIN (32, at pp. 158–171) present a survey of the last fifteen years of research on coinage from the Levant. Fourth century coinage was also the topic of several papers by MILDENBERG (70, esp. pp. 1–97, 71, 72, esp. 214–216, 75, 76). NUNN described the iconography of these coins in a general study of Levantine iconography in the Persian period (80, pp. 162–168, 81, esp. pp. 368–369), and the abundance of the iconographic repertoire was illustrated by MILDENBERG (74).

The workshop of Menbig/Hiérapolis in northern Syria is the subject of a brief article by MILDENBERG (73), who suggests that the workshop started issuing coins towards the end of the Persian period (c. 342–331 BC) and continued to operate for some time under Alexander, as shown by coins bearing the Aramaic legend ʾLKSNDR (c. 330–325). A new type of coin from Menbig is also presented by VAN ALFEN (95). The coinage of Menbig is characterised by the Aramaic legends ʾTRʿTH, “Atargatis”, as well as ʾBDHDD KMR MNBG, “Abdhadad, Priest of Menbig”, and was probably connected with the sanctuary of the great Syrian goddess and her dynasts-priests. The role of sanctuaries and priests may be similarly linked to the coinage of Cilicia (especially Tarsus), Samaria and Judea (35, at p. 11, 56, esp. pp. 129–134). A coin from the Menbig workshop operated under Mazday, which bears the Aramaic legend MZDY ZY ʾL ʾBR NHRʾ, “Mazday who is beyond Transeuphratesia”, was published by BORDREUIL, who connected it with Babylon (11, 12). An attribution to Menbig is much more probable, as proposed by LE RIDER (52, esp. p. 167, 53), BRIANT and LEMAIRE (15, at pp. 267–269, 56, at pp. 136–138), and MILDENBERG (73, at pp. 278–279), as well as ELAYI and SAPIN (32, at pp. 173–175), who have some doubts about its authenticity.

Samarian coinage has been the object of a new and important analysis by MESHORER and QEDAR (64), which contains more than twice the coin types appearing in the previous synthesis published eight years earlier. The iconographic motive of the Persian cavalryman appearing in these issues has been studied by BODZEK (7, 8). In an additional article (9), he suggests that the iconography for the hemiobol, No. 193 in MESHORER and QEDAR (64), was borrowed from the coinage of the Lycian dynast Kherei. According to NAVEH (78, esp. p. 92, note 9), the Aramaic legend BDYḤBL/BRWḤBL? means “In the spirit of Bel”. A comparison of seals found in Wādī ed-Dâliyeh (yet originating in Samaria) with coins struck in Samaria

indicates that depictions on the seals exhibit Western influence, as do the coins. The imperial Persian style, however, seems to be stronger in the latter (54).

Eighteen Samaritan coins were found in the Mt. Gerizim excavations (58, at p. 114), other stray finds from Eliachin in the Sharon plain (20, esp. Nos. 10–14), and a hoard in the Nablus area (91, esp. p. 103, No. 1). In addition, eight Samaritan coins have recently been donated to the Israel Museum [*The Israel Museum Journal* 17 (1999), p. 74; 18 (2000), p. 104 and 19 (2001), p. 69]. The Samaritan coinage was presented together with the Judean issues by MILDENBERG (67) and GERSON (38).

Two new YHD obverse types have been published by Meshorer, one with an ear (probably Yhwh's ear listening to the prayers) and the other with a shophar (61). Also taking into account the well-known YHD drachm depicting a deity seated on a winged wheel, he suggests that a figurative representation of the deity was still tolerated at the time. The question is reconsidered by BLUM (6, esp. pp. 17–25), and in this respect see also SCHWEMER (86), who proposes an improbable identification with Elia. Another Judean iconographic motive, the lily flower, was studied by GOLDMANN (44, 45) who suggests that it was the emblem of the Jerusalem high priest. Additionally, a group of Yehud coins was found at Ḥorbat 'Etri (99), one issue from Har Adar was published by GITLER (41), and two unidentified Persian period silver coins were found in the En-Nabi Şamwil excavations (57, esp. p. 63). SPAER proposes reassigning an Athenian type obol from the Philisto-Arabian series, which features a lotus bud in the field to the right of an owl, to that of Yehud coinage (92). Meshorer has recently accepted this attribution (85, p. 6). One of the problems raised by Judean coinage in the Persian period is its continuity into the Hellenistic age. BARAG tried to isolate coinage of the Judean Hellenistic period from that of the Persian period (3), while RONEN suggests a slightly different conclusion based on a metrological study and the monetary standards of Judean issues (84).

Besides the two new YHD types published in RONEN's article, another new variant has been illustrated by DEUTSCH (19, No. 1). Several Judean and Philisto-Arabian issues from the Hecht Museum and the Casden collection have also been published (63, pp. 38–43, 85, at pp. 2–6).

The so-called Philisto-Arabian workshops of Ashdod, Ascalon and Gaza, situated at the southern end of the fifth Persian satrapy "Beyond the River" ('Abar Naharâ) present a rich iconographic repertoire (69). GITLER (42, 43) deals with Achaemenid motifs appearing in the issues of these coastal cities. It had previously been suggested that while Persian influences exist in the Philisto-Arabian issues, they are not strong. However, several Philisto-Arabian coins depict motifs that emanate from the Persian heartland (the double-protome motif and composite images) and seem to show that Persian influence may have been stronger than previously thought. A hoard of 31 pseudo-Athenian obols was found at the excavations in Ashkelon. Gitler (40) proposes attributing these obols to the Ascalon workshop based on the fact that 21 coins struck with the same reverse die were found in this single hoard (= CH 8.587 = CH 9.369). Other than this find, only a few Philisto-Arabian coins found in excavations have been published or mentioned: one (No.

406) in 'Atlit (65, at pp. 112* and 140*) and several others in Gaza (39, esp. pp. 44–45). More general studies of the Philisto-Arabian coinage were published by MILDENBERG (68, 69, 70, 74, 76).

The existence of a “satrapal” coinage has been recently questioned by MILDENBERG (77), who posed three arguments: 1) The title “satrap”, of Persian origin, is polyvalent and does not always match the definition commonly used by historians – the person responsible for a large administrative unit of the Persian empire, i.e., one of the 20 “satrapies” mentioned in *Herodotus* III, 89. 2) The title “satrap” does not appear on any coin. 3) Even when the name of a particular “satrap” appears on a coin, nothing discloses his personal responsibility for its minting, which could have been done in a local workshop. Moreover, there appears to be no particular workshop that can be called “satrapal”. Albeit, the following counter-arguments may be presented: 1) The title “satrap” is conventionally used, well-known and could be demarcated in texts with inverted comas. 2) The absence of the “satrap” title on coins is not significant. In fact, very few monetary legends include a title (“king,” “priest,” or “governor”) after a name. Furthermore, the Aramaic title of the Mazday coins: ZY ‘L ‘BR NHR’ (WHLK), “who is over Beyond the River (and Cilicia)” is an Aramean way of indicating that he is a “satrap.” 3) There has thus far been no indication of the existence of “satrapal” monetary workshops or “satrapal” coins. Those, which feature the name “Mazday” for example, appear to have been minted in various local workshops. However, “satrapal” can signify not only the workshop but the authority that ordered the minting. MILDENBERG underlines the role played by the Persian king (72) and mentions coins with the legend “Mazday” (MZ/MZDY) minted in Sidon, Samaria and Menbig. The various mints from the Levant with the Aramaic MZDY legend (abbreviated MZ), as well as the practice of borrowing iconographic motives, reveal that the workshops were not isolated; some monayers could well have worked in several workshops. This hypothesis was proposed as a means of interpreting the Aramaic legend MBGY, “Menbigt”, which appears on a pseudo-Athenian didrachm (8.18 gr.) and a Samaritan “obol” (55).

The pseudo-Athenian coinage of the Levant is still difficult to identify and localise. Based on a study of Athenian-type tetradrachms from nineteen coin hoards buried in the fifth Persian satrapy between c. 445 to c. 330, NICOLET-PIERRE (79) presents a cautious *status questionis*, noting that pseudo-Athenian coins minted in Cilicia and Egypt were little used in “Beyond the River”. At least two Athenian imitations produced in the Levant (but found in Babylonia) are discussed by VAN ALFEN (94).

Athenian tetradrachm imitations were found at the following sites: *Qariyet Tref* (Syria), one plated issue illustrated in the catalogue of the Deir ez-Zor Museum (10, p. 148, No. 141); *Bethsaida* (50, at p. 252, No. 1); 'Atlit (65, p. 138, No. 3); an unspecified number in underwater excavations off the Haifa shore (37, at p. 16* – though lacking detailed documentation of these coins, it is impossible to determine whether they are Athenian issues or imitations); *Dor* (93, p. 193, Ill. 126); two from *Horbat Eleq* (4, at p. 377, Nos. 1–2); one at *Bet She'an* which was lost after the excavations and therefore lacks a specific attribution (5); several from *Mt. Gerizim* (58, at p. 114); a hoard of one Athenian issue and ten imitations from *Tel Michal* reported

by ARIEL (47, at p. 50*); two pi-style Athenian issues from *Horbat Etri* (99, p. 102* – This volume erroneously mentions one coin, while fig. 221 shows an obverse and reverse of two different coins).

To the coins mentioned above, we might add others not found at controlled excavations. A group of 17 mid-fourth century BC Athenian tetradrachm imitations, allegedly belonging to a hoard found at Nablus, was published by VISONÀ (97). Also, two tetradrachms from Ascalon and Gaza (c. 450–420), allegedly belonging to an Egyptian hoard, were acquired by the Israel Museum [*The Israel Museum Journal* 17 (1999), p. 73]. A note on an Athenian type of North Arabian drachm with an Aramaic legend – *Gimel(?)*, *Shin*, *Mem* – is described by HUTH and QEDAR, along with related issues of the Incense Road (49). Recently, a second specimen of this drachm, also found in Jordan, was shown to the author (HG).

The imported Greek coins include a 1/8 Aegae stater found in ‘Atlit (65, at p. 138*, No. 362), a silver issue of Soli from the Mt. Gerizim excavations (58, at p. 114 – personal communication G. Bijovsky), and a coin found in 1998 at Tell el-‘Umeyri [Jordan], (48, at p. 37). A fourth century BC Punic issue was found in the Malot hoard (51, at p. 220), which consists of some 26,000 coins mainly dated to 310–540 AD.

Ten Athenian tetradrachms from the fifth century BC belonging to a hoard discovered in Phoenicia have been published by ELAYI and ELAYI (25). The chapter, “Asia Minor, the Levant and the East,” in *Coin Hoards IX*, edited by MEADOWS and WARTENBERG (59), provides an updated and annotated survey of hoards found in the Levant. NUNN (80, at p. 167) also mentions some of the Persian coins discovered in the Near East but does not provide bibliographical references.

Phoenicia and Palestine in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods

Haim Gitler

A significant publication by MEADOWS (147) evaluates the basic concepts of sovereignty and the minting of coins throughout the Hellenistic world. This chapter encompasses topics addressed by all scholars of coinage in the Eastern Greek world and can therefore serve as a basic bibliographic reference in the field.

Alexander the Great and Hellenistic coinage. Four Hellenistic hoards seen in the Jerusalem market were recorded by DAVESNE and LEMAIRE (120). The first hoard of Alexander tetradrachms was buried around 320 BC; the 31 Alexander drachms of the second assemblage are apparently only part of the original hoard. The third hoard comprises four Pamphylian Alexanders and a Sidetan tetradrachm, a very rare find in Southern Levant (see also 125), along with five issues of Antiochus VII. The last hoard contains bronzes of Ptolemy I and II was buried c. 270 BC.

A hoard of about 40 tetradrachms of Alexander was claimed to have been found in Lebanon in 1995. Six of the pieces belonging to this hoard, including a Sidetan tetradrachm, are described by ELAYI (125). LE RIDER (142) published a hoard (or part of one) found in Syria in 1971 (*CH* 2, 81), which included 40 posthumous Alexander tetradrachms and 22 Sidetan tetradrachms, as well as Selucid and Ptolemaic issues, a tetradrachm of Philip V, and three drachms of Ephesus. HERSH (130) describes a large hoard of at least 800 tetradrachms of Alexander the Great and his successors, said to have been found in the Levant in early 1997. The discovery of over 100 pieces from the relatively rare mint of Tyre in this hoard leads HERSH to comment on Newell's *Tyrus Rediviva* (131), a classic die study of gold and silver coins issues struck at Tyre while it was under the control of Demetrius Poliorcetes at the end of the fourth century and early third century BC. In another article (132), he offers corrections for some of Price's readings of the Phoenician issues of Alexander the Great.

A general description of the coinage and currency in Syria and Palestine from the middle of the first century BC to the middle of the third century AD is described by BUTCHER (114), while a concise survey of the dated coinage in Palestine starting in the third century BC appears in KUSHNIR-STEIN's article (138). According to KUSHNIR-STEIN (139), there seems to be no evidence that silver coinage was minted for propaganda purposes in the second and first centuries BC in the area ruled by the Seleucid kingdom.

PRIEUR and PRIEUR's (150) study is the first complete corpus of the Syro-Phoenician tetradrachms and their fractions. This work will surely become the textbook on the subject, as it not only records more than 500 previously unpublished coins but also covers the historical, economic and religious background of the Provincial issues. A new type of provincial Tetrachm from Neapolis published by GALST (127) confirms the attribution of tetradrachms with the mint mark of a lit altar between an eagle's feet to the mint of Neapolis. Syrian provincial coinage struck under Vespasian is described by MCALEE (146). The author categorises the tetradrachms into ten groups and attributes them to five different mints. Aurei, denarii and aes coinage are also discussed in this paper.

BURNETT, AMANDRY and CARRADICE (113) published the second volume of the *Roman Provincial Coinage*. This comprehensive work gives an updated picture of Flavian coinage throughout the Provinces of the Roman Empire, including the areas under discussion in this survey. The introductory material about each of these regions is clear and succinct, and the excellent photographs are very helpful. The first supplement for Volume One of the series is now available (112).

Based on a thorough study of Syro-Phoenician coinage issued under Diaduminian and Macrinus, VISMARA (160) suggests that it is highly unlikely that a travelling mint struck coins for numerous cities or that the coins of different cities were issued at a single mint. She points to the shape of the flans, which contradicts these possibilities. In her opinion, the dies were probably prepared at and distributed from a single mint, most likely the mint of Antioch, which had a long history of coin production and served as the base camp of Macrinus. Nearly 1,070 Syrian coins from the Staatliche Münzsammlung collection in Munich (mostly Greek Provincial, including "autonomous" issues from the second and first centuries BC and coins of

Palmyra of the second and third centuries, but excluding royal issues) are described and illustrated in an *SNG* volume published by BALDUS (102). Three hoards of Roman denarii and antoniniani said to have been found recently in Syria are described by SAWAYA (156). Coins from the Hellenistic and Roman periods from the ex-Klein collection appear in *SNG Poland I* (149). Klein found these coins in Palestine while serving as a Polish soldier in World War II and provided valuable information on the find spots of each piece. The Casden collection, recently published by SAMUELS, RYNEARSON and MESHORER (85), has some fine exemplars, particularly of Roman city coins.

In his valuable historical survey of the period between the fourth century BC and the third century AD, SARTRE (155) incorporates relevant comments on the coinage of each epoch. Based on the *termini* provided by coins, stamped amphora handles and inscriptions, FINKIELSZTEJN (126) deduces that *AJ* XIII.254–8 refers most probably to the period between 128 and 110 BC. Moreover, this evidence suggests that the destruction of Samaria and annexation of Marisa must have been accomplished by John Hyrcanus in 111–110 BC. According to DABROWA (119) the numismatic evidence sheds light on aspects of the Roman legion presence in the Levant, such as colonisation, troop movement and military campaigns.

Aradus. The abundant coinage issued at Aradus during the Hellenistic period (122) provides information about the political conflicts and history of the city, which are otherwise poorly documented by literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources. HOUGHTON (133) reassigns the early posthumous issues of Alexander from Marathus to Aradus.

Sidon. LEVY (143) offers a provisional description of Sidon's autonomous silver series and compares it with the autonomous Hellenistic silver of Arados and Tyre. She concludes by pointing out that the layout of the Sidonian issues is far less stable than that of Arados and Tyre. And since stable design is a characteristic of coinage meant for export, Sidon's evidence of constant variation suggests that the series was meant chiefly for internal use.

Tyre. ELAYI and ELAYI (124) present a series of small Herakles/bow-in-case bronzes (*c.* 0.62 gr.) of Alexander and confirm their attribution to the mint of Tyre. They give a *c.* 333–332 BC dating for this series. In the Roman period, the appearance of Phoenician inscriptions from the time of Elagabal onwards (152) shows that in spite of its transformation into a Roman Colony, Tyre kept its Phoenician cultural heritage. BIJOVSKY (110) proposed identifying the male figure standing along a row of four stags, which appears on the Roman provincial coinage of Tyre, as Pygmalion. This suggestion is confirmed by the appearance of the Phoenician inscription “PGMLYON” on the exergue of four coins dated to Gordian III and two to Gallienus [see GITLER, H., BIJOVSKY, G., forthcoming article in *QTicNumAntClas* 31 (2002)]. Another Phoenician inscription appears on issues of Gordian III which depict Dido/Elissa (153).

Abila and Gadara. COHEN (118) argues that the letters IAAΓ appearing on some the issues of Abila and Gadara are an abbreviation for ΙΕΡΑΣ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ ΓΝΩΡΙΜΟΝ according to

DVORJETSKI (123), the galleys depicted on the coins of Gadara from the reign of Commodus are related to the presence of the Tenth Roman legion in the vicinity of this city.

Canatha. AUGÉ offers an updated study of the coinage Canatha (100).

Paneas. Reciprocal interpretation between archaeological evidence and the coins of Paneas offer important information for the understanding of numerous buildings recently excavated in the sanctuary of Pan (145).

Nysa-Scythopolis. BARKAY's thesis (105) covers the issues minted at this city. Extracts of her work have been published in several articles (106, 108).

Caesarea. Numismatic evidence (104) shows that during a period of about four decades (42/43 – 81–83 AD), there were two distinct groups of coins at Caesarea. One was struck by the city (the capital of the province) and the other on behalf of the port of Sebastos. Four countermarked Caesarean issues (103) show that the Legio V Macedonica was referred to as the Legio V Scytica during the Jewish War (68–70 AD). BERMAN (109) describes a group of Roman Provincial coins found at or near Caesarea and now housed at the Caesarea Museum at Kibbutz Sdot Yam.

Demetrias. In a short note, LAMPINEN (141) mentions four issues of Demetrias, identified by KUSHNIR-STEIN with the Hellenistic city of Strato's Tower, the site of Herod's Caesarea. These coins, allegedly found in or around Caesarea, are held by the Caesarea Museum (109, at pp. 73–74). One of the issues is an unpublished type. According to STIEGLITZ (159), there appears to be no evidence that the city predating Caesarea was named Demetrias in the second and first centuries BC.

Antipatris. A general study of the mint was published by KINDLER (134), and two new coin types from this city are mentioned by MESHORER (148).

Sebaste. KUSHNIR-STEIN (137) proposes that the era of the city of Sebaste was 28 BC, rather than 25 BC, as previously thought.

Akko-Ptolemais and Ascalon. VOULGARIDIS's thesis (161) is an outstanding study of the coinages produced by the two main mints of Palestine in the Seleucid period – Akko-Ptolemais and Ascalon. His study is not limited to the royal series, but extends to the abundant municipal issues of both mints during the second century BC. He presents a large number of these coins and discusses in detail their importance, types and legends, and date of issue, which is especially problematic for Ascalon, whose coins were often undated. In the appendix of his study, he gives a picture of coin circulation in Palestine during the second century BC based on the local hoards and the numismatic finds of numerous excavations in Israel.

Ascalon. SPAER (157) argues that Ascalon did not intend to honour Cleopatra by choosing to put her portrait in its silver issues, but rather intended, indirectly, to flatter the overlords of the area – Caesar and later Marc Anthony. A new Roman coin type was reported by RICHTER (151), and BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO (111) describe a first century AD bronze Ascalon issue, which was found in Zarzecze, Poland.

Gaza. New coins of Gaza confirm the year 95/4 BC as the *terminus ab quo* for the conquest of the city by the Hasmonean ruler Alexander Jannaeus (136). AUGÉ (101) wrote a short summary on the coinage of Gaza in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Metallurgical analysis and Eastern silver coinage. A re-evaluation of some of Walker's Eastern groups published in his *magnum opus* "The Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage" is part of a larger analytical program undertaken by BUTCHER and PONTING (115, 116, 117) and later by GITLER and PONTING (128, 129). The latter authors propose that the Severan denarii belonging to an assemblage from the Levant were officially cast.

Weights. KUSHNIR-STEIN (135) shows that Palestinian lead weights with a network pattern on the reverse belong to the second-first centuries BC. KUSHNIR-STEIN and GITLER (140) discuss a group of weights from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, among them a new weight from Gaza manufactured at the time of the emperor Claudius. The weight attributed to Dor and its dating to 100 AD are refuted by SPAER (158). He rectifies the reading of the inscribed weight, shows that it should be dated (according to the Seleucid era) to 150/149 BC, and identifies its origin as Northern Phoenician. A lead weight with the inscription "Šim'on son of Kosba, Prince of Israel" was published by DEUTSCH (121).

Varia. A rudimentary discussion of the chronological distribution of coin hoards in Palestine during the Roman and Byzantine periods was published by WANER and SAFRAI (162). A general description of landscapes appearing on the issues of Palestine and the Decapolis appears in BARKAY (107).

Jewish and Nabatean Coins

Haim Gitler

Jewish Coins

Jewish coins from the Persian period are described in the chapter "Phoenicia and Palestine in the Persian Period" (3, 6, 19, 38, 41, 44, 45, 57, 61, 63, 67, 84, 85, 86, 92, 99). *A Treasury of Jewish Coins*, published by MESHORER (183), replaces MESHORER's *Ancient Jewish Coinage* as the textbook for the study of ancient Jewish numismatics. An invaluable addition, this recent work contains corrections and documents numerous new types and variants. Another useful textbook is HENDIN's fourth edition of his *Guide to Biblical Coins* (172). The recently published catalogues of the Casden and the Hecht Museum collections include some very nicely preserved pieces (85, 182). The Casden collection catalogue was reviewed by FISCHER-BOSSERT (166).

The Hasmonean Period. Numerous lead coins or tokens with Hasmonean motifs have been uncovered in excavations at Mt. Gerizim. Until they are published, HENDIN's article (170) of four similar pieces provides an impression of the sort of material found. KINDLER (175) describes the Hellenistic influence on Hasmonean coins. A piece depicting, on one side, a seven-branched lighted candelabrum with a shofar on the r. field and an ethrog (citron) on the l. had been tentatively described by ASHTON (163, at p. 151, No. 5) as a prutah of Mattathias Antigonus. The author now accepts the much more likely description of the piece as a 2nd–4th century AD amulet of some sort. At Kh. al-Mukhayyat near Mt. Nebo-Siyagha (169, at p. 565), 116 Hasmonean coins were discovered as surface finds.

The Herodian Dynasty. Several articles discuss the meaning of the motifs appearing in the large bronze issue of Herod the Great (164, 171, 173). MAGNESS (181, at pp. 165–170) suggests that the monogram TP on Herod's coins is not Greek, but rather an abbreviation for the Latin *tribunicia potestas*. Furthermore, "year 3", in her opinion, does not refer to a year of Herod's reign, but rather commemorates Augustus' or Agrippa's visit to the area during the third year of their tribunate, 20 or 15 BC respectively. Comments on the coinage of Herod Philip were published by CIECIELAG, KINDLER and STRICKERT (165, 174, 185). LÖNNQVIST (180) suggests re-attributing the ubiquitous "year 6" canopy/three ears of corn coin to Agrippa II, rather than to his father, Agrippa I.

Various aspects of Palestinian coinage (the Procuratorial issues, the city-coinage of Ascalon, the coins of the First Jewish Revolt and the issues of Agrippa II) are treated by KOKKINOS (176). Since the use of numismatic evidence in KOKKINOS' book affects a variety of disputed issues, one should consult KUSHNIR-STEIN's important comments in her review of the book (177). KUSHNIR-STEIN (178) suggests that coins of Agrippa II were minted in two different places and dated by two different eras – in 49 AD in Caesarea Paneas and in 60 AD in a yet-to-be-identified location which was added to Agrippa's kingdom in 60/61.

The Roman Procurators. In two idiosyncratic publications, FONTANILLE and GOSLINE (167, 168) discuss the historical and numismatic background of Judaea prior to and during the period of the Roman procurators as an introduction to the times and coinage of Pontius Pilatus. Excavations at the village of Tille (179, at p. 142, No. 25), c. 30 km east of Kâhta in the province of Adiyama, Turkey, yielded one coin of Ambibulus.

Judaea Capta. OSTROWSKI (184) discusses the personification of Judaea in the Judaea Capta series.

Nabatean coins

WEISER discusses Nabataean coinage and its decline, as well as the subsequent Nabatean billon coins found in post 106 AD hoards (194, at pp. 268–285). He points out that the Romans used the term "Melaina" in a pejorative sense for the Nabatean billon – "sela". In the same article, COTTON reviews the terms "Melaina" and "Lepton" that appear on the papyri from Nahal Hever (pp. 237–246). By comparing the stylistic features of the coins of Aretas II, Obodas I, Rabbel I and Aretas III, SCHMID (191) suggests that a marble portrait in the Louvre Museum depicts one of these rulers and proposes dating it to c. 100 BC.

CIECIELAG's detailed study (188) relates to the coinage of Aretas IV not only from the numismatic and epigraphic points of view, but also in their historical setting. LACERENZA suggests that the symbol "o" appearing on the coins of Aretas IV before 19/20 AD stands for the coin denomination *selā*^c, equivalent, at least in theory, to the tetradrachm of Aretas III (189). SCHMITT-KORTE describes the monetary system of the Nabateans (192). Several Nabatean coins found in Amman, as well as part of a hoard with issues of Aretas IV and Malichus II allegedly also found in Amman appear in *SNG Poland I* (149, Nos. 107–128). AL-SAAD, AFFANEH, and HATAMLEH (186) published a metallurgical analysis of nine coins (including four Nabatean pieces), each dated to a different period and found in the vicinity of Petra. It is important to note that it is not possible to draw any historical conclusion from this data, since the sample from each period is a single coin. Nabatean issues are also mentioned in several excavation reports (169, at p. 565, 190, at p. 69, 193, at p. 467, 213, nos. A 32, A 61, 219, 220, 247, at p. 75).

Numismatic Evidence from Excavations

Haim Gitler

References to Persian period issues retrieved from controlled excavations have been included in the chapter "Phoenicia and Palestine in the Persian Period" (1, 2, 4, 5, 13, 18, 33, 36, 37, 40, 41, 47, 48, 57, 58, 62, 65, 82, 83, 87, 93, 99).

Ras Ibn Hani. AUGÉ (206) published a preliminary report on the 500 Hellenistic coins from the excavations at Ras Ibn Hani near Latakia.

Korazim. Approximately 65 Sidetan bronze coins dating to c. 200 BC have been found in excavations throughout Israel. Ariel suggests that the prevalence of these coins may be explained by the recruitment of mercenaries from Side for the Seleucid army that conducted military activities in Judea (202, at pp. 35*, 47*).

Yodefāt. A preliminary report on the coins found at Yodefāt (Iotapata) was published by ADAN-BAYEWITZ and AVIAM (195, at pp. 158–159). This site yielded mainly Ptolemaic through Roman Provincial issues from Phoenicia and Palestine. Noteworthy is a Roman Republican denarius of T. Carisius.

Hurfeish. Coins found near skulls in three burial caves of the Roman period at Hurfeish (199) indicate that the pagan custom of payment to Charon was practised in the Western Galilee.

Underwater Survey off the Haifa shore. A hoard of Ptolemaic tetradrachms discovered in early 1994 (37, at p. 17*) off the coast of Israel along the Carmel mountain range is currently under study (203). Approximately 40 kilograms of coins were found, the bulk of them in one 23 kilogram mass. Of the

remaining individual coins, over 1,700 were cleaned. All are late Ptolemaic tetradrachms and bear ΠΑ in the right field of the reverse, but they are thought to have been minted in Alexandria. The latest coin apparently dates to 72/71 BC. This is the largest hoard by far of Ptolemaic tetradrachms found in Israel. Most interestingly, Ptolemaic coins of this era are rarely found on the mainland. Two groups of Roman denarii (one from the reign of Hadrian) were also reported to have been found in the same area.

‘Atlit. Excavations at ‘Atlit uncovered 158 pre-Islamic coins from the Persian, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods (65).

Ḥorbat ‘Eleq. Excavations at Ḥorbat ‘Eleq (4) yielded 223 coins. Especially noteworthy are a posthumous Alexander “shield/helmet” bronze (Price 2702), a tetradrachm of Philip III Arrhidaeus, an issue of Side and a Roman Republican *Aes*. (Several coins from this excavation were mentioned above in the section on the Persian period.)

Migdal. Several Roman provincial issues were found at Migdal and published by SYON (254).

Pella. SHEEDY, CARSON and WALMSLEY (252) published numismatic finds from several seasons of the University of Sydney excavations at Pella in Jordan. The volume contains a catalogue and associated commentaries for 1,106 coins dating from the Hellenistic period to the Mamluk era. The volume also includes a short introduction to the site and concordances of mints, hoards, find spots and registration numbers.

Bethsaida. Excavators report finding 220 coins at the Bethsaida excavations (50). Relevant to this survey are coins from the Persian period prior to the third century AD. The dominant mint from the Hellenistic period is that of Tyre, as could be expected. Later excavations at Bethsaida revealed two posthumous tetradrachms of Alexander the Great (198, at p. 246).

Bet She’an and Tel Iẓṭabba. A preliminary report of the coins found at Bet She’an and nearby Tel Iẓṭabba was prepared by Berman (209). The excavations at Bet She’an yielded 10,410 coins from the second half of the first century BC to the Mamluk period. At Tel Iẓṭabba, 1,346 coins were found, a high proportion of which are Hellenistic.

Gerasa. A detailed report on numismatic finds from recent excavations at Gerasa was published by MAROT (245). This valuable publication is an important addition to the understanding of monetary circulation in Provincia Arabia. A hoard of 155 pieces, wrapped in a linen bag, was found in the Temple of Zeus at Gerasa (205). The hoard consists of 36 Roman Imperial issues, 107 bronzes of the Gerasan mint and 12 Provincial coins issued in cities of the region. The important coins in this hoard are issues of Julia Domna, two Eastern denarii, and six bronzes of a previously unrecorded type from the mint of Gerasa (all six pieces struck from the same reverse die and from two obverse dies).

Mt. Gerizim. A short reference is made by Magen (58, at pp. 114–115) to the approximately 13,000 coins found in 18 years of excavation at this site in Samaria. Of this total, less than half have been identified. Of the others, about 3,500 are Seleucid issues from Seleucus II to Antiochus VIII, including a

hoard of 129 tetradrachms struck at Tyre during the period of 136–125 BC. Also included in the finds were 257 coins of autonomous Akko-Ptolemais and 546 Hasmonean issues.

Ioppe. MEIR (60) describes the 677 coins found at the excavations of Ioppe [Jaffa] and provides an historical setting for each period (fourth century BC to the Ottoman period). Noteworthy are 24 Sidonian issues of the fourth century BC and eleven coins of Alexander the Great. This excavation yielded three Nabatean issues.

Horbat Ḥermeshit. Several coins from the Hasmonean period to the time of the Jewish War were found at Ḥorbat Ḥermeshit (200).

Jerusalem. GITLER's study (232) compares the percentages of specific groups of coins from eight sites in Jerusalem and the coins from Masada with the overall percentage of the same groups of coins from major excavations in Jerusalem. Each of the selected excavations yielded a significant number of coins for the period from the third century BC to the Moslem conquest in 640 AD. The statistical breakdown of the coins by site and period shows that their distributions at most sites and for most periods are similar. Divergences, where they exist, probably point to historical fluctuations in the population profile of Jerusalem. This publication also includes a catalogue of the 577 coins found in areas A, X2 and W of the Jewish Quarter. The data collected from these three areas is compared with the percentage of the total number of coins found in the Jewish Quarter excavations. Thus, conclusions can be drawn regarding the reliability of partial numismatic data from a given excavation. The two volumes by KLONER (240, 241) presenting recent archaeological surveys carried out in Jerusalem note all published coins from various sites. Other excavations in Jerusalem were carried out in the Akeldama Tombs (211); the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer at Muristan (216); Robinson's arch (250); and Tell el-Ful (208, at p. 63*) where a hoard of 7 bronze coins of Nero was found.

Khirbet Ṭabaliya. The excavation of Khirbet Ṭabaliya [Giv'at Hamaṭos] yielded 35 coins (214), most of which were minted in Jerusalem during a short period that ended with the Jewish War. Interestingly, three coins of Alexander Jannaeus were found together with coins of Agrippa I, Valerius Gratus and Pontius Pilatus. It appears that Jannaeus's coins have remained in circulation until the first half of the first century AD, as evidenced by the archaeological context of this excavation.

The Judean Desert.

1. The Cave of the Warrior – The nine coins found in the Cave of the Warrior, all from the reign of Mattathias Antigonus, reinforce ARIEL'S (201) contention that the occupiers of this cave were not simply fleeing the battles of 40 and 37 BC but, rather, were organised supporters of Antigonus. ARIEL also discusses the distribution of Antigonus's issues, discovered in excavations throughout Israel.
2. Qumran and Ein el-Ghuweir – MAGNESS (243, at pp. 40–43) believes that the character and composition of the Tyrian tetradrachm hoard found at Qumran are best understood in connection with the sect's interpretation of the Temple tax as a onetime payment made when a man reached adulthood. However, she does not rule out the possibility that the hoard was the collected wealth of the

community, with no relation to the Temple tax. She uses the numismatic evidence she found to suggest alternative datings for the settlements of Qumran and Ein el-Ghuweir (244). A more sceptical view regarding numismatic evidence from the so-called Essene settlements on the Dead Sea is given by CIECIELAG (217, 218). He stresses that the disappearance of some of the coins and the lack of precise description of the numismatic finds makes it impossible to confirm R. de Vaux's chronology of Qumran and Ain Feshkha. Coins dating from the Hasmonean period to the Jewish War, among them two Tyrian half shekels, were recently found at the residential caves at Qumran (215).

3. *'Ain Ez-Zâra/Callirrhoé* – 21 coins dating from the reign of Alexander Jannaeus to the Jewish War, including two issues of Aretas IV, were found at the excavations of *'Ain Ez-Zâra/Callirrhoé* located on the north-eastern shore of the Dead Sea (219). Four coins of Hyrcanus I, Herod Archelaus and Agrippa I were found at the Jewish Cemetery in Jericho (234).

Masada. A new appraisal of numismatic material found at Masada was published by MORAWIECKI (247).

'En Boqeq. The excavations at *'En Boqeq* stratum II, phase I (237), yielded an unusual closely dated group of first century coinage (18/19–54/55 AD), and identified the site as an officina (workshop) of pharmaceutical and cosmetic products from Dead Sea raw material.

Ashkelon. A hoard of 46 bronze coins and one diobol dated between 412–404 and c. 100 BC was found at the excavations of Ashkelon. Their places of origin may explain how these coins came to be collected. Teos, Samos, Kos, Knidos, Rhodes, Lycia (Xanthus Valley, with Patara as its sea port), Side, Paphos, Antioch (Seleucia) and Tyre are all located along a known, geographically logical seafaring route, and in all of them remnants of ancient harbours can be traced. Thus GITLER and KAHANOV (233) suggest that this hoard may have been gathered by a sailor during the voyage (or voyages) of a merchantman. If this is indeed the case, it would seem that all these issues were in circulation at the time in the places concerned. This would imply that in c. 100 BC, in the cities and islands of the Western coast of Asia Minor, the coins in circulation dated between the late fourth century and the beginning of the first century BC. This temporal dispersion seems rather unusual and, of course, further evidence is needed to confirm such simultaneous circulation or to suggest an alternative explanation for the composition of the hoard.

Susya. Numismatic evidence from Susya (251, at pp. 33–37) shows that prior to the development of a large settlement there in the third century AD, two agricultural farmsteads existed on the site. Worthy of mention is a second year shekel of the Jewish War found there.

Horbat Zalit. The excavations at *Horbat Zalit* (213) yielded 158 coins spanning from the mid-first century AD to the end of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt. The finds include 76 isolated bronzes, a hoard of 60 Roman Imperial and Provincial silver coins (from Nero to Hadrian) and a homogenous hoard of 22 Bar-Kokhba bronzes. Three exemplars of the largest bronze denomination in this hoard are a significant find since it is the first time such coins have been found in a controlled archaeological excavation. According to BIIJOVSKY, No. B2 – die-linked with a piece at the British Museum (*BMC Palestine*, p. 303, No. 9) –

disproves the claim of a number of scholars that the coin is a forgery. It is now clear that it is authentic. The general picture that emerges from the entire numismatic assemblage resembles many other finds from the same period, which well represent the currency in circulation during the Bar-Kokhba Revolt.

Petra. Forty-one Nabatean coins were found at the Petra- Az-Zanṭūr I excavations (249). However, the most important numismatic evidence from this site are several Late Roman hoards that include coins dated before 363 AD, the year Petra was destroyed by an earthquake. Skeletons of a woman and a child, apparently killed by stones and masonry during the earthquake, were found in a room. The woman had a small purse with 65 bronzes, the last issues of which were the SPES REI PVBLICE type (358–361 AD). The contents of the purse correspond exactly to those of two other bronze hoards found in the excavation; all represent the circulation pool at Petra in 363. Thirty-one Nabatean issues were discovered in the excavations of the Byzantine church (210, 253), and three additional issues are mentioned by BARRETT (187, at p. 318).

Issues of Alexander the Great and Philip III Arrhidaeus. Newly retrieved Alexander issues (lifetime and posthumous) were found at *Jericho* (229, at p. 11); *Har Adar*, west of Jerusalem (41); *En Hofez* (196); *Bethsaida* (198); *Ioppe* [Jaffa] (60); *Yoqne'am* (62); and *Ḥorbat 'Eleq* (4). Posthumous Alexander “shield/helmet” bronzes (especially: Price 2072, 2702, 2806, 3158–3162) have been found at numerous sites in Israel and appear in some recent excavation reports (4, p. 378, No. 7; 236). An important general discussion of this group, as well as the Macedonian shield, appears in LIAMPI (144).

Late Ptolemaic bronzes. Late Ptolemaic bronze issues of a particular type were discovered at various Palestinian sites. GITLER and KUSHNIR-STEIN (231) suggest that these coins must have been brought from Cyprus to Palestine in 103 BC by the army of Ptolemy IX Lathyrus.

Republican issues. Only 13 Republican issues have been found in controlled excavations in Israel. They include finds from Yodefat [Iotapata] (195), Ḥorbat 'Eleq (4) and others (Personal communication N. Ahipaz).

Severan denarii. A noteworthy find from the Excavations at Tell Nimrin in Jordan (246) is a Roman denarius of Septimius Severus. This, as well as two denarii of Julia Domna recently found at Gerasa (205), are significant finds, since only eight Severan denarii have been recorded from excavations in Israel.

The Bar Kokhba Revolt. Several hoards of Roman Imperial and Provincial bronze, silver and gold issues have been related to the events of the Bar Kokhba revolt. The excavations at *Bad-Issah (Kiryat Sefer)* revealed a jug containing 143 Roman denarii from the time of Nero to Hadrian and an unusual find – two aureii of Vespasian and Trajan (242, at p. 31). ERLICH and DAMATI (221) published a hoard of 16 denarii from the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian found at *'Araq en-Na'saneh* in Wadi Ed-Daliyeh [Hebrew version of an article which appeared in *INJ* 5 (1981)], and ESHEL and ZISSU (227) describe 26 Roman Imperial and Provincial bronze and silver issues found at the “*Cave of the Sandal*” west of Jericho. Five out of six

countermarked bronzes bear a countermark of the Legio X Fretensis, which shows these coins were apparently still in use in 132–135 AD.

The geographical distribution of Bar Kokhba coins. ZISSU and ESHEL (255) conducted a new study on the geographical distribution of Bar Kokhba coins retrieved from controlled archaeological excavations in Israel, revising a survey published by Barag in 1980 (see also 197). Their publication, which cites a total of 929 coins from 29 sites, reveals that the territory controlled by the rebels was much more extensive than previously thought. Coins from several of these sites were recently published by KINDLER (239), ZISSU, GANOR and FARHI (256); ESHEL (222, at 89–90, 223, 224) and JANAI (235). As more Bar Kokhba coins continue to be identified from current excavations, this distribution will be further revised by G. Bijovsky.

The date of the founding of Aelia Capitolina. Sixteen coins including Roman denarii, Bar Kokhba Revolt bronzes and three Provincial issues of Gaza (133/4 AD) and Aelia Capitolina (foundation type and the issue with Sabina) were found at refuge caves in Naḥal Mikhmarsh and Wadi Suweinit (228, 230, at pp. 98–103). This unique coin assemblage proves, as stated by Cassius Dio, that Aelia Capitolina was founded in 130 AD and that its establishment on the ruins of Jerusalem was one of the reasons for the Bar Kokhba Revolt (see also 225 and 226).

Egypt and the Near East. NOESKE's monumental work (248) presents coin finds from many excavation sites in Egypt and the Near East. Their historical evaluation, however, is not easy due to the different numbers of coins and the very different find circumstances. Starting from the coin finds of the Egyptian pilgrimage centre Abu Mina, this study attempts to identify patterns of coin circulation and coin loss by scrutinising coin hoards and site finds from the time of Constantinus I to the loss of Egypt and Syria to the Islamic Arabians in the reign of Heraclius. On the basis of more than 150 coin complexes comprising over 100,000 coins listed in detail, the author establishes regional circulation patterns as background for an historical interpretation of the source material.

Varia. Scholars (212, at p. 80 and n. 1; 204, at p. 284, n. 103; 238, at p. 220) have noticed that in several hoards of the fifth-sixth centuries AD, bronzes that predate the general time span of the hoard by a number of centuries were found.

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