# H. Gitler, The Levant, in C. Morrissson and B. Kluge (eds.), A Survey of Numismatic Research 1990-1995, Berlin 1997, pp. 101-113

# THE LEVANT

Haim Gitler

# Phoenicia in the Persian Period

The two centuries of Achaemenid Persian domination in the Near East (538–333 BC) constitute a crucial period in the history of the area, marked by a profound transformation of the political, economic, and cultural organization of life. The middle of the 5th century BC witnessed a transition in the means of payment, from weighing metal to using foreign coinage and later local issues [MILDENBERG (27)], in the Phoenician cities of Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, and Arados [ELAYI (6, 14, 23)]. Similar changes occurred at a later stage, c. 420 BC, in the cities of Palestine: Gaza, Ascalon, Ashdod, Judea (Jerusalem), and Samaria. A pioneer study of the Phoenician coin hoards from the Persian period was published by ELAYI and ELAYI (16). This work describes 75 hoards, 20 of which were never published before. A summary of this unique project is found in chapters VII-IX and in the Conclusions [chapter IX was published again as (21)]. Especially useful reference material is found in the figures at the end of the book, particularly in Fig. 1 (a general breakdown of coins found in hoards according to the main Phoenician mints); Fig. 2 (a concordance of the hoard repertoire published in previous studies); and Figs. 17-30 (a geographical distribution of the mints). A list of the most important Phoenician coin hoards described in this study and in WARTENBERG, PRICE, and McGREGOR (29) appears in ELAYI and LEMAIRE (22).

Another significant publication is a chapter on numismatics and the economic history of Phoenicia in the Persian period which appears in a book by ELAYI and SAPIN (10). This historical and methodological work evaluates for the first time the entire field of research and offers numerous perspectives. The excellent chapter mentioned above encompasses aspects shared by all studies of ancient numismatics, and should therefore become a basic bibliography reference in the field. A detailed survey of the numismatic research of Phoenician coinage in the Persian period published between 1989 and 1995 is found in two papers by ELAYI and LEMAIRE (5, 22). These papers also include a survey of the Phoenician coins featured in auction catalogues. *Byblos* 

Based on the discovery of a new series of coins from Byblos, PUECH (28) identifies a new king, Girmilk (last quarter of the fifth century BC), and proposes to date the first issues of the city, struck under king Yehawmilk, at 450 BC. A similar date is suggested by ELAYI (23). ELAYI and ELAYI (17) report a hoard of 393 small silver fractions from Byblos and one from Sidon, which seems to have been buried between *c*. 339 and 335 BC. ELAYI and ELAYI (20) may finally put an end to a long debate regarding the succession of the last kings of Byblos in the Persian period.

#### Tyre

Our knowledge about the first issues of Tyre has been significantly enriched by articles by ELAYI and ELAYI (2) and ELAYI (7, 15), dealing with numismatic as well as palaeographic aspects of the earliest-inscribed small coins of this mint. These issues have been classified as series A-C. A preliminary report on a fourth group (series D), bearing a dolphin and a rosette and no legend, which has scarcely been mentioned in previous publications, is presented by ELAYI and ELAYI (4). Another publication by ELAYI (7) clarifies some of the iconographic aspects of the first issues of this mint. ARIEL (1) suggests dating the lioness' head/dolphin and murex type from Tyre (nos. 5–8) at the third quarter of the fourth century BC. He attributes to this mint the minute bronze issues (below 0.80 gr.) with Alexander III's head in a lion's skin head-dress on the obverse and a club and bow in a bow-case on the reverse (nos. 14–15). Since both types were found together in two hoards (the Tel el-Fukhar hoard [Tel Akko], currently at the Israel Museum, and *IGCH* 1509), Ariel suggests that the minute Alexanders are either contemporaneous with the lioness' head/dolphin and murex type, or date from a slightly later period. It thus seems that the latter were minted in Tyre, perhaps along with the better known, larger Alexander bronzes discussed by LEMAIRE (24).

Lemaire proposes to date Azemilkos' reign in Tyre at 347/6-309/8 BC, based on four sources: the Alexander issues with the Phoenician numerals 20–39; the jar inscriptions from Shiqmona mentioning the 25th year of a king who ruled in the second half of the fourth century BC; the stamped storage-jar handles from Tel Balata with the Phoenician inscription /26; and four Phoenician seals which reflect king 'ZMLK's practice of collecting a tithe from the area under his rule.

#### Sidon

ELAYI and ELAYI (11, 18, 19) present a small corpus of the first Sidonian silver coinage which includes four series, based on the weight and iconography of the reverse of the coins. The authors propose to date the beginning of this coinage at slightly after the middle of the 5th century BC, parallel to the first issues of other Phoenician cities. The ELAYIS (9) consider the two gold coins of Sidon from the same dies to be fakes. Mazaeus' Sidonian coinage is described by MILDENBERG (26).

#### Tripolis (?)

ELAYI and ELAYI (12) propose to attribute a silver coin to the city of Tripolis. This attribution is based, among other things, on a new reading of the inscription on the reverse of

the coin, 'TR, which they interpret as the Phoenician name of the city (this is supported by later coins [ELAYI(3)]. If this attribution is correct, this would be the first known autonomous issue of Tripolis prior to Alexander's conquest.

#### Palaeography and Graffiti

ELAYI (13) has prepared a corpus of pre-alexandrine Phoenician coinage involving an exceptional amount of data, and this has facilitated a palaeographical study of monetary inscriptions. Based on the elaboration of chronological and palaeographical tables, it has become possible to trace the evolution of the inscriptions of each monetary workshop and then compare them to those of other workshops. Our knowledge of Phoenician writing in the Persian period has thus significantly grown thanks to this study [see also ELAYI (8)].

Another field that had previously been neglected is the study of the Western-Semitic graffiti found mainly on coins from hoards of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. It remains difficult to determine the exact function of these graffiti. However, LEMAIRE and ELAYI's (25) argument seems convincing that it reflects a practice of the possessors of the coins to write their names on their precious personal objects. The variety of languages in which the graffiti appear (mainly on Phoenician coins) may suggest that the owners of these coins were mercenaries of local armies.

#### Bibliography

1. ARIEL, D. T., Coins from the Excavations at Tel Nahariya, 1982, 'Atiqot 22 (1993), pp. 125–132.

2. ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G., Nouvelles monnaies divisionnaires de Tyr au dauphin avec inscription (Ve s. av. J.-C.), *BCEN* 27 (1990), pp. 69–74.

3. ELAYI, J., Tripoli (Liban) à l'époque perse, Transeuphratène 2 (1990), pp. 59-71.

4. ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G., Les monnaies de Tyr au dauphin et à la rosette, *Anotazioni Numismatiche* 3 (1991), pp. 38–42.

5. ELAYI, J. and LEMAIRE, A., Numismatique, I. Les monnaies phéniciennes, *Transeuphratène* 4 (1991), pp. 119–126.

 ELAYI, J, La domination perse sur les cités phéniciennes, *Atti del II Congresso* Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Roma, 9-14 Novembre 1987, I, (Rome, 1991), pp. 77– 85

7. ELAYI, J., Étude typologique des premières monnaies de Tyr, *CahN* 108 (1991), pp. 11–19.

8. ELAYI, J., Remarques sur l'étude paléographique des légendes monétaires phéniciennes d'époque perse, *Phoinikeia Grammata*, (Liège-Namur, 1991), pp. 187–200.

9. ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G., Remarques sur les deux premières monnaies en or de Sidon, *BSFN* 46 (1991), pp. 99–101.

10. ELAYI, J. and SAPIN, J, Numismatique et histoire économique, in *Nouveaux regards sur la Transeuphratène*, (Paris, 1991), pp. 145–158.

11. ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G., The First Coinage of Sidon with a Galley bearing the So-Called Triangular Sail, *AJN* 3–4 (1991–92), pp. 1–9.

12. ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G., La première monnaie de 'TR/Tripolis (Tripoli, Liban)?, *Transeuphratène* 5 (1992), pp. 143–151.

13. ELAYI, J., Étude paléographique des légendes monétaires phéniciennes d'époque perse, *Transeuphratène* 5 (1992), pp. 21–43.

14. ELAYI, J., Le phénomène monétaire dans les cités phéniciennes à l'époque perse, *Studia Phoenicia* IX, *Numismatique et histoire économique phéniciennes et puniques*, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992), pp. 21–31.

15. ELAYI, J., Les sicles de Tyr au dauphin, NumAntClas 21 (1992), pp. 37-49.

16. ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G., *Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes et circulation monétaire* (V<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.), (Paris, 1993).

17. ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G., Nouveaux trésors de monnaies de Byblos (1992), *RBN* 139 (1993), pp. 17–30.

18. ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G., Une nouvelle division de la première série de Sidon, *BSFN* 48 (1993), pp. 603–604.

19. ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G., La galère à voile ferlée des premières monnaies de Sidon, *CahN* 117 (1993), pp. 13–15.

20. ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G., L'ordre de succession des derniers rois de Byblos, *Syria* 70 (1993), pp. 109–115.

21. ELAYI, J., La diffusion des monnaies phéniciennes en Palestine, in *La Palestine à l'époque perse*, (Paris, 1994), pp. 289–309.

22. ELAYI, J. and LEMAIRE, A, Numismatique, I. Les monnaies phéniciennes, *Transeuphratène* 10 (1995), pp. 151–177.

23. ELAYI, J., L'ouverture du premier atelier monétaire phénicien, BCEN 32 (1995), 73-78.

24. LEMAIRE, A., Le royaume de Tyr dans la seconde moitié du IVe siècle, *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Roma, 9-14 Novembre 1987*, I, (Rome, 1991), pp. 131–150

25. LEMAIRE, A. and ELAYI, J., Graffiti monétaires ouest-sémitiques, *Studia Phoenicia* IX, *Numismatique et histoire économique phéniciennes et puniques*, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992), pp. 59–76.

26. MILDENBERG, L., Notes on the Coins of Mazday, INJ 11 (1990-91), pp. 9-23.

27. MILDENBERG, L., Über das Münzwesen im Reich der Achämeniden, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 26 (1993), pp. 55–79.

28. PUECH, É., Les premières émission byblites et les rois de Byblos à la fin du Ve siècle avant J.C., *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Roma, 9-14 Novembre 1987*, I, (Rome, 1991), pp. 287–298

29. *Coin Hoards* VIII, edited by WARTENBERG, U., PRICE, M. J. and McGREGOR, K. A., (London, 1994).

# Phoenicia in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods

#### Tyre

LEVY (5, 6) examines Meshorer's proposal that the minting of Tyrian shekels was transferred in 18/17 BC to Jerusalem, where, in his view, it remained until it was replaced by the Jewish shekel in 66 CE. Levy offers an alternative view, admittedly based on incomplete material, of the series' stylistic development. The result is a convincing preliminary study, suggesting that Tyre kept striking coins almost annually from 126/5 BC to the late 50s or mid 60s AD. STEIN (7) published a Tyrian clay sealing found during the excavations at Tel Anafa. It is dated year 41 by the era of Actium (31 BC) and year 136 by the era of Tyre (126 BC). The item thus dates from AD 10/11.

#### The Itureans

KINDLER's paper (4) is an updated summary of the coinage of the Itureans (73–25 BC). New types are described, thus widening the Iturean pantheon which now includes Hermes, Athene, Nike, and Artemis.

#### Northern Syria

BUTCHER'S thesis (3) is an outstanding study of Roman provincial issues. It examines the production, circulation, and significance of coinage in northern Syria during the first three centuries of Roman control. The coinages of the region are distinct, yet share features which justify their study as a group. The thesis includes a catalogue of the issues produced by the thirteen cities in the region which minted coins, as well as the coinage of the Kingdom of Commagene. A study of site finds highlights features of the patterns of circulation of these coinages in Syria, as well as 'foreign' issues circulating in the region. The distribution of Syrian issues outside Syria, the longevity of coins in circulation, and the effects of the debasement of the silver coinage upon the circulation are also considered. Central to the study is the coinage of Antioch, one of the major imperial mints in the Roman Empire, which had not been fully catalogued until now. Separate sections analyze the metrology and denominational structure of sequences of issues, and broader surveys cover the relationship of Syrian coinage to that of other provinces and to that of Rome itself. The thesis considers ways in which the Syrian coinage can be used to improve our understanding of aspects of other provincial and Roman imperial coinages, such as to what extent the Roman authorities had a consistent "monetary" policy in the Eastern provinces, and whether the coinage of Rome was, as suggested by some scholars, viewed as a "preferred currency" in the East. The survey ends in AD 253, when it is suggested that imperial policy regarding Syrian coinage may have

changed, and when coinage of a Greek type ceased in the region. This important research will soon be published as a book.

Syrian Tetradrachms

Since not many hoards of Syrian tetradrachms have been published, the seven hoards described by BLAND (1, 2) add considerably to the available evidence on the circulation of Syrian tetradrachm during the last fifteen years of its existence.

#### Bibliography

1. BLAND, R., A Hoard of Syrian Tetradrachms of the Third Century A.D. from Trans-Jordan, *INJ* 11 (1990–91), pp. 81–88.

2. BLAND, R., Six Hoards of Syrian Tetradrachms of the Third Century AD, *NC* 151 (1991), pp. 1–33.

3. BUTCHER, K., *Coinage in Roman Syria: Northern Syria, 64 BC- AD 253*, (Ph.D., Diss. University of London, 1991).

4. KINDLER, A., On the Coins of the Itureans, *Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress, Brussels, September 8th–13th 1991*, I, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), pp. 283–288.

5. LEVY, B., Tyrian Shekels and the First Jewish War, *Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress, Brussels, September 8th–13th 1991*, I, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), pp. 267–274.

6. LEVY, B., Tyrian Shekels: the Myth of the Jerusalem Mint, SAN 19 (1995), pp. 33-35.

7. STEIN, A., A Tyrian Sealing, in *Tel Anafa I, I. Final Report on Ten Years of Excavations at the Hellenistic and Roman settlement in Northern Israel, JRA*, Supplementary Series Series 10 (1994), pp. 261–264.

# PALESTINE IN THE PERSIAN PERIOD

In Palestine, neither Persian imperial money nor satrapal coins circulated between *c*. 420 and 332 BC. The daily cash for the provinces of Judea and Samaria was secured by their governors in the form of small silver coins. Some imported Greek silver coins, mostly Athenian, were still in circulation at that time, in addition to substantial quantities of local imitations of Athenian currency. The bulk of the money supply, however, came from local mints which produced silver drachms and fractions for the coastal cities and for the minting authorities issuing the "Philisto-Arabian" coins [MILDENBERG (19) and LEMAIRE (13)]. The problem with these so-called Philisto-Arabian coins [MILDENBERG (20) and LEMAIRE (11)] is that they lack inscriptions to identify them clearly. Initially, scholars

assigned these silver coins to the mint of Gaza. However, evidence gathered over the last few years has lead to a broader view according to which the "Philisto-Arabian" issues were struck in Ashdod and Ascalon as well. MILDENBERG (20) stresses that since the Bes issues form an organic part of the entire series of local Palestinian coinage in the Persian period, they cannot be classified under the separate heading "Egypto-Arabian" coins. A detailed survey of the numismatic research of Palestinian coins in the Persian period published between 1989 and 1995 is found in two papers by ELAYI and LEMAIRE (5, 6). A list of the most important hoards which include "Philisto-Arabian" coins and imitations of Athenian types appears in ELAYI and LEMAIRE (6).

#### Gaza

Several important aspects concerning the most notable Palestinian mint in the Persian period are briefly discussed in MILDENBERG (17).

#### Ascalon

A paper by GITLER (7) reveals eight new types from the mint of Ascalon, including a didrachm which is the first known "Philisto-Arabian" coin of this denomination. *Ashdod* 

LEMAIRE's (10) identification of the name '*idd* (Ashdod) on one of the coins from the Abu Shushen hoard has made it possible to attribute 11 other coins in this hoard to the same mint. If Lemaire is correct in reading the legends *b* and *by*, on the coins he attributes to Ashdod, as abbreviations of the name b(gwh)y — i.e. Bagoas, the general of Artaxerxes III — then these coins may be contemporaneous with the Yehud coins of Yohanan the High Priest. Based on the die link of obverses, KINDLER (9) proposes to attribute three "Philisto-Arabian" drachms to this mint.

#### Judea (Jerusalem)

BARAG (1) reverts to the much-discussed drachm inscribed YHD in the British Museum, and argues that the head on the obverse is that of Bagoas, the general of Artaxerxes III who was in charge of the Persian conquest of Egypt and Palestine. The god on the reverse is, in the author's view, the God of Israel. He suggests that the coin was issued around 345–343 BC in Jerusalem, Gaza, or some other mint in Judea or on the coast. DEUTSCH (3) published a unique drachm of the Athena/owl type which is the second known drachm in the repertory of the Yehud coins. This publication also includes five new types of hemiobols from this mint. KINDLER (8) proposes to date three YHD types to the period between the conquest of Judea by Alexander the Great and that of Ptolemy I. A general survey of the coinage of Judea can be found in MACHINIST (14).

#### Samaria

A pioneer presentation of important new material on the mint of Samaria was published by MESHORER and QEDAR (15). This book describes the 334 coins which were part of the "Samaria hoard," and integrates them into a general conspectus of the coinage of Samaria, including some of the coins from the unpublished Nablus hoard (*IGCH* 1504). This material

supplies new evidence about the history of the area in the years preceding Alexander the Great. Of the 334 small denominations of the Samaria hoard, 182 can be attributed to Samaria itself. In addition there are 11 coins of Aradus, 66 imitations of Athenian prototypes, 43 coins of Sidon — some bearing dates in a sequence of years from 1 to 14 — and 32 obols of Tyre with dates up to year 10. Meshorer and Qedar suggest that the hoard was buried *c*. 346/5 BC by interpreting the number 14 on the Sidonian coins as referring to the 14th year of the reign of Artaxerxes III. ELAYI and ELAYI (4) have proposed an alternative burial date, pointing out that at least the smaller fractions in the Samaria hoard must belong to the regnal era of Abdashtart I, and that the absence of coins in the name of Mazaeus and of the Azemilkos' era in this hoard strongly supports a deposit date of *c*. 355 BC. Since the publication of the "Samaria hoard" in 1991, which mentioned 108 types, the authors have assembled an addendum of 100 new types which will shortly be published.

The Samarian coins bear mainly Aramaic inscriptions, but some are in Greek, Phoenician, or a combination of both. A novelty in numismatics is the use of Cuneiform writing of the type appearing on cylinder seals of the neo-Asyrian and neo-Babilonian periods. These appear in two Samarian issues republished by LEMAIRE and JOANNES (12). *Dor (?)* 

MESHORER (16) attributes coin no. 10, published in the report of the excavations at Tel Dor, to the mint of Dora in the Persian period. Three further specimens of this type from Tel Dor will be published in the future. If these coins were indeed minted at Dor, they reflect the prosperity and importance of one of the main Phoenician cities in the Persian period [STERN (21)].

#### Moab (?)

A drachm with the three letters B'M, previously published by Meshorer, was re-attributed by Qedar to the mint of Moab. The legend appears in retroverse, and should be read as M'B (Moab) [ELAYI and LEMAIRE (5)].

#### The Imitation of Athenian Coins

The most common coins in Palestine during the 4th century BC were the Athena/owl obols, which imitate an Athenian prototype [MILDENBERG (18)]. This type was attributed to the mint of Gaza. However, two recent hoards enable us to attribute these pieces, which lack an inscription or mark assigning them to a specific mint, to Samaria [MESHORER and QEDAR (15)] and Ascalon [GITLER (7)] as well. Gitler based the attribution to Ascalon on evidence provided by a cache of 31 obols which was found in the excavations in Ascalon in 1989. The fact that only five different reverse dies were used for minting the 31 obols, and that twenty-one coins struck with the same reverse die were found in such a small cache, suggests that these Athenian type obols may have been minted at Ascalon. Five Athenian type drachms with the Aramaic legend  $LBL^{\sim}$  are mentioned by BRON and LEMAIRE (2). Their palaeographical and numismatic dating is *c*. mid-4th century BC, but their precise minting place in Southern Levant is uncertain.

# Bibliography

1. BARAG, D., Bagoas and the Coinage of Judea, *Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress, Brussels, September 8th–13th 1991*, I, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), pp. 53–64

2. BRON, F. and LEMAIRE, A., Pseudo-athéniennes avec légende araméenne *LBL*<sup>\*</sup> et monnaie *BL*<sup>\*</sup> en Arabie du sud, *Transeuphratène* 10 (1995), pp. 45–56.

3. DEUTSCH, R., Six Unrecorded 'Yehud' Silver Coins, INJ 11 (1990–91), pp. 7–8.

4. ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G., *Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes et circulation monétaire* (*V<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.*), (Paris, 1993).

5. ELAYI, J. and LEMAIRE, A., Numismatique, II. Les monnaies "philisto-arabes", *Transeuphratène* 4 (1991), pp. 127–132.

6. ELAYI, J. and LEMAIRE, A., Numismatique, II. Les monnaies "philisto-arabes", *Transeuphratène* 10 (1995), pp. 177–187.

7. GITLER, H., New Fourth Century BC Coins from Ascalon, NC 156 (1996), pp. 1-9.

8. KINDLER, A., 'Yehuda' Coins at the beginning of the Hellenistic Period, *Michmanim* 7 (1994), pp. 45–51, [Hebrew, with English abstract pp. 41\*–42\*].

9. KINDLER, A., Four Silver Drachms and one Obol of the City of Ashdod, *Anotazioni Numismatiche* 19 (1995), pp. 411–415.

10. LEMAIRE, A., Le trésor d'Abu Shushen et le monnayage d'Ashdod avant Alexander, *RN* 32 (1990), pp. 257–263.

11. LEMAIRE, A., Les premiers monnayages palestiniens, BSFN 47 (1992), pp. 301-304.

12. LEMAIRE, A. and JOANNES, F., Premières monnaies avec signes cunéiformes:

Samarie, IVéme s.av.n.è, Nouvelles Assyriologiques Breves et Utilitaires 4 (1994), pp. 84-86.

13. LEMAIRE, A., Epigraphie et numismatique palestiniennes, in *La Palestine à l'époque perse*, (Paris, 1994), pp. 261–287.

14. MACHINIST, P., The First Coins of Judah and Samaria: Numismatics and History in the Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Periods, *Achaemenid History VIII*, (Leiden, 1994), pp. 365–380

15. MESHORER, Y. and QEDAR, SH., *The Coinage of Samaria in the Fourth Century BCE*, (Jerusalem, 1991).

16. MESHORER, Y., Coins From Areas A and C, in *Excavations at Dor, Final Report, Areas A and C: The Finds, Qedem Reports 2*, (Jerusalem, 1995), pp. 461–472.

17. MILDENBERG, L., Gaza Mint Authorities in Persian Time. Preliminary Studies of Local Coinage in the Fifth Persian Satrapy. Part 4., *Transeuphratène* 2 (1990), pp. 137–146.

18. MILDENBERG, L., Über das Münzwesen im Reich der Achämeniden, Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran 26 (1993), pp. 55–79.

19. MILDENBERG, L., On the Money Circulation in Palestine from Artaxerxes II till Ptolemy I. Preliminary Studies of the Local Coinage in the Fifth Persian Satrapy. Part 5., *Transeuphratène* 7 (1994), pp. 63–71.

20. MILDENBERG, L., Bes on Philisto-Arabian Coins, *Transeuphratène* 9 (1995), pp. 63–66.

21. STERN, E., The Dor Province in the Persian Period in the Light of the Recent Excavations at Dor, *Transeuphratène* 2 (1990), pp. 147–155.

# THE COINAGE OF THE HELLENIZED CITIES OF PALESTINE

PRICE's extensive catalogue of the coinage in the name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus (16) constitutes an outstanding achievement. The attribution of issues inscribed with the Phoenician letters *ayin* and *kaph* (10) to the mint of Ake is still problematic. In a challenging article, LEMAIRE (11) suggests that these series must be attributed to Azemilkos, who was king of Tyre at the time of Alexander's siege of the city. His case seems to be supported by the existence of bronzes on which the Greek letters TU (apparently standing for Tyre) are added to the Phoenician letters and numerals. In reply, Price argues that this is a coincidence, since the fate of Azemilkos and his son is unknown.

A comprehensive work by BURNETT, AMANDRY, and RIPOLLES (4) inaugurates what is probably the most ambitious and potentially influential undertaking in ancient numismatics to this date: the publication, according to historical periods, of all the local coinages of the Roman empire in a continuous, detailed corpus.

#### Roman Provincial Coins

QEDAR (18) identifies a group of coins as issued by the town of Marisa, destroyed in about 112/111 BC and rebuilt by the Roman governor of Syria, Gabinius, in 57–55 BC. They are dated year 3 of an era beginning in 60 BC. The largest denomination of this series bears the full name of Marisa. The two smaller denominations were previously published, but erroneously attributed to the mints of Gaza and Ascalon.

A lead weight and a number of coins bearing the letters DH testify to the existence of a south Phoenician coastal city called Demetrias in the second-first centuries BC. No exact location for the city has been proposed yet. KUSHNIR-STEIN (10) tentatively suggests to identify Demetrias with the Hellenistic city of Strato's Tower, the site of Herod's Caesarea. As attested by its dated coins, the era of Demetrias would have corresponded very closely to that of Dora, i.e. c. 63-61 BC.

The close link between history and numismatics is emphasised by GITLER (5), in an article on the visit of Marcus Aurelius to the East in the aftermath of the revolt of Avidius Casius in AD 175. The almost complete lull in the coin production of the Eastern provinces

during the years AD 166/7–174/5, possibly due to the spread of a plague in the region, ended with the resumption of minting activities in 175/6–177/8. This was apparently caused by the imperial visit. The coinage portrayed the four members of the imperial family: Marcus Aurelius, Faustina Junior, Commodus, and Lucilla. The author dates the stages of the visit and records its route according to the Roman Provincial issues it occasioned, and offers a new dating for an inscription of Nysa-Scythopolis.

New aspects of the Dionysiac cult in Nysa-Scythopolis are discussed by GITLER (6). The author suggests that the detailed representations on the medallions of Commodus and Septimius Severus, as well as those on coins struck under Elagabal and Gordian III, illustrate a Dionysiac procession at the Anthesteria, the Blossom festival, which was celebrated in early spring in Athens and other Ionian cities. BARKAY's paper (3) on the Dionysiac mythology on coins of Nysa-Scythopolis adds one new type, issued under Marcus Aurelius and depicting a tailed satyr or Pan.

The dating of three rare coin types of Gaza is reconsidered by KUSHNIR-STEIN (9). The earliest type bears the date year 13. Since the coin seems to belong to the late Hellenistic period, the era is most probably that of autonomous Gaza. Two other types are reassigned to the early Roman period. This is the first time that coins from Gaza have been ascribed to this period.

LÖNNQVIST published two articles on the coinage of the Roman Procurators of Judea. The first (13) describes 20 copper pieces, all bearing a countermark that depicts a branch and the Greek letters CN, which the author explains as a reference to a Roman cohort that moved to Judea in about AD 36/37. The second publication (12) presents a study of 12 coins spanning the years AD 6/9 to AD 59. The work consists of atomic-absorption analyzes of bulk samples and metallography. The idea of "debasement," usually reserved for precious metal coinages, is introduced and tentatively examined. While limited in its sample size and in the interpretation of the trace elements (only major alloying components — tin and lead — are discussed), this is a valuable contribution to the scientific study of coinage. Considerably larger numbers of coins have since been analyzed, confirming some of the trends pointed out in this paper.

MESHORER (15) presents new discoveries about coins of Neapolis, Antipatris, Akko, and Caesarea. KETTENHOFEN (7) discusses a hitherto unpublished city coin of Adra'a, struck by Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, and its contribution to our knowledge of the city and its religion and history. BARAG (1) describes ten new issues of Aelia Capitolina, including hybrids of issues of Diadumenian and Elagabal. BARKAY (2) mentions a new coin type of Dionysos from Canatha. The first year of coinage at Raphia, AD 177/8, is briefly discussed by PRICE (17).

#### General studies

KINDLER (8) has published a summary of the coinage of Antipatris. Although limited to the reign of Elagabal, the numismatic evidence sheds some light on the history of this city during

the first quarter of the third century AD. A general survey of the coinage of Ascalon from the 4th century BC until AD 235, when the city ceased issuing coins, can be found in MESHORER (14).

# Bibliography

1. BARAG, D., Some Rare and Unpublished Coins of Aelia Capitolina, *INJ* 11 (1990–91), pp. 52–60.

2. BARKAY, R., A New Coin Type of Dionysos from Canatha, INJ 11 (1990–91), pp. 72–76.

3. BARKAY, R., The Dionysiac Mythology on Coins of Nysa-Scythopolis (Beth Shean) in the Roman Period, *Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress, Brussels, September 8th–13th 1991*, I, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), pp. 371–376

4. BURNETT, A., AMANDRY, M. and RIPOLLES, P. P., *Roman Provincial Coinage, From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 B.C.–A.D. 69)*, (London/Paris, 1992).

5. GITLER, H., Numismatic Evidence on the Visit of Marcus Aurelius to the East, *INJ* 11 (1990–91), pp. 36–51.

6. GITLER, H., New Aspects on the Dionysiac Cult in Nysa–Scythopolis, *SNR* 70 (1991), pp. 23–29.

7. KETTENHOFEN, E., Zur Geschite der Stadt Der'a in Syrien, *ZDPV* 107 (1991), pp. 77–91.

8. KINDLER, A., The Coins of Antipatris, *INJ* 11 (1990–91), pp. 61–71.

9. KUSHNIR-STEIN, A., Gaza Coinage Dated LIC—A Reappraisal, *SNR* 74 (1995), pp. 49–55.

10. KUSHNIR-STEIN, A., The Predecessor of Caesarea: On the Identification of Demetrias in South Phoenicia, *JRA*, Supplementary Series 14 (1995), pp. 9–14.

11. LEMAIRE, A., Le royaume de Tyr dans la seconde moitié du IVe siècle, *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Roma, 9-14 Novembre 1987*, I, (Rome, 1991), pp. 131–150

12. LÖNNQVIST, K. A., A Metallurgical and Chemical Analysis of Procuratorial Coinage of Roman Judaea, *Berliner Beiträge zur Archäometrie* 11 (1992), pp. 13–34.

13. LÖNNQVIST, K. A., New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea, *INJ* 12 (1992/93), pp. 56–70.

14. MESHORER, Y., The Coins of Ascalon, in *Ascalon—4,000 and Forty Years More*, (Tel-Aviv,1990), pp. 242–246, [Hebrew].

15. MESHORER, Y., New Discoveries in the Coinage of the Cities in Roman Palestine, *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology*, (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 141–146

16. Price, M. J., *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus*, (Zurich/London, 1991).

# JEWISH COINS IN HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TIMES

"Ancient Jewish Coinage — Addendum I," was published by MESHORER (11). Including corrections and many new types and variants, this work is an invaluable addition to Meshorer's *AJC*, the classic textbook for the study of ancient Jewish numismatics. *The Hasmonean Period* 

By analysing the coins found in excavations at Marisa (4), Tel Beer-Sheva (8), Mt. Gerizim (9), Shechem, and Samaria, BARAG (2) shows that the destruction and conquest of the sites by John Hyrcanus I took place between 112 and 110 BC, rather than in, or immediately after, the second reign of Demetrius II (129–125 BC). A useful reference book on the classification of the inscriptions of Hasmonean coinage was published by KAUFMAN (6). It contains a full description and illustrations of about 400 Prutoth in the author's collection, which are variants of published types. Another work in this field is the summary on the coinage of the Hasmoneans by MESHORER (12). The Prutoth of Mattathias Antigonus' candelabrum/table type show a series of concave objects on the table. BARAG (3) identifies these as Showbread on the Table in the Temple. He refers to sources which state that the shape of the Showbread resembled that of the lower part of a ship.

# The Herodian Period

New amendments to the chronological framework of the settlement at Qumran are suggested by MAGNESS (10). Based on the numismatic evidence, and primarily on a hoard of 561 Tyrian shekels found at this site, she argues that the settlement was not abandoned after the earthquake of 31 BC, as previously thought.

# The Jewish War

Until now, only copper coins dating from the second year of the Jewish War and onwards were known. A coin dated Year 1 of a type similar to the Prutoth of Year 2 and Year 3 has now been discovered and is described by DEUTSCH (5).

# The Bar Kokhba War

AMIT and ESHEL (1) report a tetradrachm of the undated series which was found in a cave in Nahal Hever. This is the first tetradrachm to be found in a controlled excavation. KINDLER (7) presents a copper coin bearing a graffito apparently reading *"charity"* in Hebrew.

Bibliography

1. AMIT, D. and ESHEL, H., A Tetradrachm of Bar Kokhba from a Cave in Nahal Hever, *INJ* 11 (1990–91), pp. 33–35.

2. BARAG, D., New Evidence on the Foreign Policy of John Hyrcanus I, *INJ* 12 (1992–93), pp. 1–12.

3. BARAG, D., A Coin of Mattathias Antigonus and the Shape of the Showbread, *Qadmoniot* 27 (1994), pp. 43–44 [Hebrew].

4. BARKAY, R., The Marisa Hoard of Seleucid Tetradrachms minted in Ascalon, *INJ* 12 (1992/93), pp. 21–26.

5. DEUTSCH, R., A Unique Prutah from the First Year of the Jewish War Against Rome, *INJ* 12 (1992/93), pp. 71–72.

6. KAUFMAN, J. CH., Unrecorded Hasmonean Coins from the J. Ch. Kaufman Collection, *Publications of the Israel Numismatic Society. Numismatic Studies and Researches* 8 (Jerusalem, 1995).

7. KINDLER, A., A Bar Kokhba Coin used as a Charity Token, INJ 12 (1992/93), pp. 73-75.

8. KUSHNIR-STEIN, A. and GITLER, H., Numismatic Evidence from Tel Beer-Sheva and the Beginning of Nabatean Coinage, *INJ* 12 (1992–93), pp. 13–20.

9. MAGEN, Y., Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans, in *Early Christianity in Context*, (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 91–148, especially 142–143.

10. MAGNESS, J., The Chronology of the Settlement at Qumran in the Herodian Period, *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995), pp. 58–65.

11. MESHORER, Y., Ancient Jewish Coinage — Addendum I, *INJ* 11 (1990–91), pp. 104–132.

12. MESHORER, Y., Hasmonean Coins, Idan 19 (1995), pp. 197-209.

# Nabatean Coinage

A significant addition to the study of Nabatean coinage is found in a study by SCHMITT-KORTE (3). According to him, no Nabatean coin can be dated prior to the reign of Aretas III in Damascus (84 BC). However, new evidence from excavations suggests an alternative dating for the inauguration of the Nabatean coinage. BOWSHER (1) bases his arguments on stratigraphic data from the excavations in Petra. The first Nabatean issues were found at this site in layers with late second-century pottery. KUSHNIR-STEIN and GITLER (2) demonstrate that numismatic evidence from the excavations at Tel Beer-Sheva indicates that the coins excavated at this site end with issues dating from 112/111 BC, after which a gap of about a century occurs. A substantial part of the coins dating from before 112/111 BC are Nabatean copper coins of the head of Athena/Nike type. The authors suggest 129/8–104 BC for this issue, i.e. about the same time as has been suggested for the first Hasmonean issues under Hyrcanus I. This assumption is further strengthened by the fact that an unpublished hoard of about 900 Hasmonean coins from the area of Samaria, which was acquired by the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, included one Nabatean bronze coin of the type discussed above. The hoard also includes a wide variety of Yeohanan's issues and a few Seleucid bronze coins of the second century BC. Obodas III is represented with 13 new issues in SCHMITT-KORTE (3), among them a silver coin reading "*Benedictions by Dushara*," the first reference to a deity on Nabatean coins. All coins of Syllaeus are now shown to be joint issues with Aretas IV. The confusing groups of small bronzes of both rulers are presented in a rearranged, tabulated form. The occurrence of a sign X dates the marriage of Aretas IV and Shaqilat to his 25th year (AD 16/17) and closes one of the gaps in the chronology of the kings of Nabatea. The combination of Nabatean and eastern Trajanic drachms in a hoard from Dahariya [SPAER (5)] provides further evidence that the latter were indeed struck in Bostra. SCHMITT-KORTE and PRICE (4) analyzed the Nabatean monetary system from an internal and from an external point of view.

#### Bibliography

1. BOWSHER, J. M. C., Early Nabataean Coinage, ARAM 2 (1990), pp. 221-228.

2. KUSHNIR-STEIN, A. and GITLER, H., Numismatic Evidence from Tel Beer-Sheva and the Beginning of Nabatean Coinage, *INJ* 12 (1992–93), pp. 13–20.

3. SCHMITT-KORTE, K., Nabatean Coinage—Part II. New coin Types and Variants, *NC* 150 (1990), pp. 105–133.

4. SCHMITT-KORTE, K. and PRICE, M., Nabataean Coinage—Part III. The Nabataean Monetary System, *NC* 154 (1994), pp. 67–131.

5. SPAER, A., Coin Hoards 1994, 1. Dahariya (?), Israel, 1993, NC 154 (1994), pp. 268.

# Numismatic Evidence from Excavations

In recent years, publications have appeared reporting the numismatic finds of some of the main sites in Israel. Several of the publications include a detailed catalogue of all the coins found in the excavations, as well as a discussion of the significance of the finds in their historical context (2, 20, 21, 26). Evidence from excavations in Northern Israel, an area about which little was known from the numismatic point of view until recently, has been illuminated by a publication by MESHORER (20), concerning the material found in Tel Anafa, and by a paper by SYON (26), concerning the material found in Gamala. These

reports give a clear picture of the pattern of small change circulation in Northern Palestine in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods.

# Tel Anafa

The beginning of the third century BC is represented by 16 coins of Ptolemy I and II. There is a total break between these and the subsequent Seleucid coinages. The latter are relatively numerous (102 coins) and are common issues from the second half of the second century BC. They derive almost exclusively from the Seleucid mints of Sidon and Tyre, but even after both cities had begun their own civic issues, Seleucid coins from other mints still reached Tel Anafa in relatively large numbers. The 120 civic issues of Tyre and Sidon form the largest part of the finds. A similar picture emerges from the excavations at Gamala and from the unpublished material found at Tel Dor. This evidence shows that the two cities, which were the main suppliers of small silver coins in the fourth century BC [LEMAIRE (15)], continued to supply most of the coins circulating in the cities of Northern Palestine and the Phoenician coastal cities until the mid-third century AD [ELAYI (5); MESHORER and QEDAR (18); ARIEL (3); MEIER (17); SHARABANI (25); and GITLER (11)].

# Gamala

Excavations at Gamala on the Golan Heights [SYON (26)] yielded over 6200 coins, including 3883 Hasmonean issues, 584 Seleucid coins, 941 autonomous issues of Tyre [721] and Sidon [128] for the most, and 270 coins of the Herodians and the Roman procurators. This material includes the latest dated Tyrian shekel (RPQ = AD 63/4) discovered in an excavation; some rare Herodian types; and two copper issues of the first Jewish Revolt struck at Gamala and featuring the legends *"For the Redemption"* and *"Jerusalem Hol(y)."* Only 82 coins are fully described in this preliminary report.

# Carmel coast

GALILI et al. (9) mention a hoard from a shipwreck of AD

230 which contains 89 silver and bronze coins issuing mainly from numerous mints in port cities.

# Tel Dor

The numismatic material from two of the areas excavated at this important site was published by MESHORER (21). Although it is only a partial sample of the coins found there (dating mainly from the Hellenistic and Roman periods), the material accurately reflects the history of the city as we know it.

# Jerusalem, City of David

A total of 230 identifiable coins were excavated in the City of David in Jerusalem [ARIEL (2)]. The most remarkable find is a Lycian stater which dates from *c*. 500–440 BC. Coins from the 6th and 5th century BC are a rare find in Palestine, and the few specimens found tend to confirm the hypothesis that during that period coined money economy was not yet developed in this part of the world. Additional material from this site includes three coin flans and two fragmentary flan moulds. For material on an additional flan mould for Alexander

Jannaeus' coins, see ELAYI and ELAYI (7). Two Yehud coins were found at the excavations at Pisgat Ze'ev, north of Jerusalem (22).

# Jericho area

The numismatic material found in two caves west of Jericho was published by ESHEL and ZISSU (8). The finds include a drachm from the reign of Alexander the Great and a group of six bronze coins, apparently of the local Judaea Capta series, all bearing Legionary countermarks.

# Varia

The legal documents of the Babatha archive, hidden at the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba revolt in one of the caves on the west side of the Dead Sea, contain a wealth of information about daily financial transactions [LEWIS *et al.* (16), BOWERSOCK (4), and YADIN *et al.* (27)]. One of the expressions used in those documents in connection with property matters is that of "black silver." Contrary to the previous view that this expression referred to Nabatean coins of low silver content, MESHORER (19) argues that it refers to Roman denarii of the 1st century AD containing 2.90 gr. of silver, as distinct from later denarii containing only 1.90 gr. of silver.

NICOLAOU (23, 24) has published a relatively large quantity of Jewish, Nabatean, and Roman Provincial coins of Phoenicia and Palestine from the excavations of Paphos. This material provides good evidence of the commercial and other relations that Cyprus had with Phoenicia and Palestine. KROLL (12) reports some Jewish coins from the Athenian Agora. AMANDRY and FOUCRAY (1) mention coins issued in Palestine and Phoenicia and found in Gallia.

KUSHNIR-STEIN (13) suggests a new reading for an inscription on a lead weight found in Ashdod: *"in the time of King Herod, Pious and Friend of Caesar."* Additional studies by KUSHNIR-STEIN (14) and GATIER (10) mention inscribed weights from Banias, Seleucis Pieria, and Gaza.

# Bibliography

1. AMANDRY, M. and FOUCRAY, B, Une monnaie de Ptolémaïs (Phénicie) trouvée à Quend (Somme), *BSFN* 45 (1990), p. 759.

2. ARIEL, D. T., Coins, Flans, and Flan Moulds, *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985* II. *Qedem* 30 (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 99–118.

3. ARIEL, D. T., Coins from the Excavations at Tel Nahariya, 1982, 'Atiqot 22 (1993), pp. 125–132.

4. BOWERSOCK, G. W., The Babatha Papyri, Masada and Rome, *JRA* 4 (1991), pp. 335–344.

5. ELAYI, J., La diffusion des monnaies phéniciennes en Palestine, in *La Palestine à l'époque perse*, (Paris, 1994), pp. 289–309.

6. ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G., *Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes et circulation monétaire* (V<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.), (Paris, 1993).

7. ELAYI, J and ELAYI, A. G., Un moule monétaire de l'époque d'Alexandre Jannée, *BSFN* 50 (1995), pp. 1084–1088.

8. ESHEL, H. and ZISSU, B., Ketef Jericho 1993, IEJ 45 (1995), pp. 292-298.

9. GALILI, E., DAHARI, U., SHARVIT, J. and MESHORER, Y., Carmel Coast, *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 10 (1992), pp. 162–163.

10. GATIER, P-L, Poids inscrits de la Syrie Hellénitique et Romaine, *Syria* 68 (1991), pp. 433–444.

11. GITLER, H., The Coins, in *The Excavations of an Ancient Boat in the Sea of Galilee*. *'Atiqot* 19 (1990), pp. 101–106.

12. KROLL, J. H., The Greek Coins, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 26 (Princeton, 1993), p. 282, cat. nos. 998–1002.

13. KUSHNIR-STEIN, A., An Inscribed Lead Weight from Ashdod: A Reconsideration, *ZPE* 105 (1995), pp. 81–84.

14. KUSHNIR-STEIN, A., Two Inscribed Weights from Banias, IEJ 45 (1995), pp. 48-51.

15. LEMAIRE, A., La circulation monétaire phénicienne en Palestine à l'époque perse, *Actes du IIIe Congrès International des Études Phéniciennes et Puniques, Tunis, 11-16 novembre 1991*, II, (Tunis, 1995), pp. 192–202.

16. LEWIS, N., GREENFIELD J. C. and YADIN, Y. eds., *Judean Desert Studies: The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*, (Jerusalem, 1989).

17. MEIER, C., Bethsaida Report, 1987–1993 (Appendix of Coins), *Bethsaida*, (Kirksville, 1995), pp. 53–61.

18. MESHORER, Y. and QEDAR, SH., *The Coinage of Samaria in the Fourth Century BCE*, (Jerusalem, 1991).

19. MESHORER, Y., The "Black Silver" Coins of the Babatha Papyri: A Reevaluation, *IMJ* 10 (1992), pp. 67–74.

20. MESHORER, Y., Coins 1968–1986, in *Tel Anafa I, I. Final Report on Ten Years of Excavations at the Hellenistic and Roman settlement in Northern Israel, JRA*, Supplementary Series Series 10 (1994), pp. 241–260.

21. MESHORER, Y., Coins From Areas A and C, in *Excavations at Dor, Final Report, Areas A and C: The Finds. Qedem Reports* 2 (Jerusalem, 1995), pp. 461–472.

22. NADELMAN, Y., Jerusalem, Pisgat Ze'ev D (H. Zimri), *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 12 (1994), pp. 54–56.

23. NICOLAOU, I., Paphos II, (Nicosia, 1990), pp. 79-86, cat. nos. 591-621.

24. MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU, I., Four Ptolemaic/Roman Hoards from Cyprus, *NC* 153 (1993), pp. 11–29, esp. 17–20.

25. SHARABANI, M., Coins from Lohamei HaGeta'ot, 'Atiqot 20 (1991), pp. 156-158.

26. SYON, D., The Coins from Gamala—Interim Report, INJ 12 (1992–93), pp. 34–55.

27. YADIN, Y, GREENFIELD, J. C. and YARDENI, A., Babatha's Ketubba, *IEJ* 44 (1994), pp. 75–101.

*Acknowledgements.* I am indebted to Dan Barag and Shraga Qedar for their helpful comments.