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The Levant

Haim Gitler

Phoenicia and Palestine in the Persian Period

Haim Gitler and Andre Lemaire

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

Although no recent book deals exclusively with Phoenician numismatics (the subject of a detailed corpus which is being prepared by ELAYI, J. and ELAYI, A. G.) ELAYI and SAPIN monumental work (32, at pp. 143–158 and 178–183) supplies a synthesis of the numismatic research in Phoenicia during the last fifteen years. Another valuable research tool is the “Numismatique” bulletin of *Transeuphratène* (30, 31) that mentions the discovery of around 3040 Phoenician coins and 801 additional pieces, which appeared in auction catalogues between 1995 and 2002. A much shorter list of coin types and a partial account of Phoenician coin finds appears in NUNN (80). Two publications by BRIANT (14, 16) incorporate discussions on the coinages of the Persian period in the Levant. The numismatic section of 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) carry out a 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) analyzes the function of the divisional coins in 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) analyzes several problems of the Aradian coinage. A new dubious Aradian coin appeared lately in an auction catalogue (46, Lot No. 394). It 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 the identification of the first monetary standard of Byblos. MILDENBERG (66) discusses again 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 to date them to the very end of the Persian period.

Among the recent 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). Also, 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 analyzed 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). The 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). At Castra, at the foot of the Carmel Mount, a silver Tyrian coin with a hippocampus and an owl to the left was found (98, at p. 54). The Óorbat >Eleq excavations brought to light a divisional Sidonian coin with a galley and a man in front of a lion with 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 but 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). 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*), without indicating their weights 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 according to their type: hippocampus on dolphin on the obverse, and owl on the reverse. Furthermore, nineteen 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 Óadera, 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 the non-Phoenician coinage, ELAYI and SAPIN (32, at pp. 158–171) present a survey of the last fifteen years of researches on the coinage from the Levant. The 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 on the Levantine iconography during 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 short synthesis by MILDENBERG (73), who suggests that the workshop started issuing coins towards the end of the Persian period (*c.* 342–331 BC) and continue to operate for some time under Alexander as shown by the coins with the Aramaic legend <LKSNDR (*c.* 330–325). A new type of coin from Menbig is also presented by VAN ALFEN (95). The coinage of Menbig is characterized by the Aramaic legends >TR>TH, “Atargatis”, as well as >BDHDD KMR MNBG, “Abdhadad, priest of Menbig,” and was probably connected with the sanctuary of the great Syrian goddess and her dynasts-priests. The role played by sanctuaries and priests in the coinage of Cilicia (especially Tarsus), Samaria and Judea may have been similar (35, at p. 11, 56, esp. pp. 129–134). The Menbig coinage workshop operated under Mazday: a coin with the Aramaic legend MZDY ZY >L >BR NHR’, “Mazday who is beyond Transeuphratesia,” was published by BORDREUIL who proposed to connect it with Babylon (11, 12) but 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 hesitation about its authenticity.

The Samaritan coinage has been the object of a new and important synthesis 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 suggest 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 BDYÓBL/BRWÓBL? means “In the spirit of Bel”. A comparison of seals found in Wâd• ed-Dâliyeh and coming from Samaria with coins struck in Samaria indicates that the depictions on the seals are under Western influence as are the coins, however the imperial Persian style seems to be stronger on the latter (54).

Eighteen Samaritan coins were found during the Mount Gerizim excavations (58, at p. 114), as well as other stray finds from Eliachin in the Sharon plain (20, esp. Nos. 10–14) and a hoard from the Nablus area (91, esp. p. 103, No. 1). Furthermore, eight “Samaritan” coins have been donated lately 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 also presented along 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 one with a shophar (61). Taking also 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 this time. This problem is studied again 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. A group of Yehud coins was found at Óorbat >Etri (99) one issue from Har Adar was published by GITLER (41) and two unidentified Persian period silver coins have been found in the En-Nabi Íamwil excavations (57, esp. p. 63). SPAER proposes to reassign an Athenian type obol with lotus bud in the field right of the owl from the Philisto-Arabian series to that of the Yehud coinage (92). Meshorer has lately accepted this attribution (85, p. 6). One of the problems of the Judean coinage in Persian period is their continuity into the Hellenistic age. BARAG tried to isolate the Judean Hellenistic period coinage from those of the Persian period (3) while RONEN suggests a slightly different conclusion based on a metrological study and the monetary standards of the 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). Furthermore, several Judean and Philisto-Arabian issues from the Hecht Museum and the Casden collection have 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 Persian influences exist in the Philisto-Arabian issues, but are definitely 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 is usually thought. A hoard of thirty one pseudo-Athenian obols was found at the excavations in Ashkelon. Gitler (40) proposes to attribute these obols to the workshop of Ascalon based on the fact that twenty-one coins struck with the same reverse die were found in such a small cache (= 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 are those by MILDENBERG (68, 69, 70, 74, 76).

The existence of a "satrapal" coinage has been recently questioned by MILDENBERG (77) who brought forward three arguments: 1) The title "satrap," of Persian origin, is polyvalent and does not correspond always with its common use by historians who generally use it to describe the person responsible for a large administrative unit of the Persian empire, i.e., one of the twenty "satrapies" mentioned in *Herodotus* III, 89.

2) The title “satrap” does not appear on any coin. 3) Even when the personal name of a “satrap” appears on a coin, nothing discloses his personal responsibility for the minting of the coin, which could have been done in a local workshop. Moreover, there does not seem to be a particular workshop that can be called “satrapal.” Albeit, one may remark the following: 1) The conventional use of the title “satrap” is well known and could be demarcated by putting it in inverted commas. 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 personal name. Furthermore, the Aramaic title of the Mazday coins: ZY >L >BR NHR< (WÓLK), “who is over Beyond the River (and Cilicia)” is an Aramean way to say that he is a “satrap.” 3) So far, it is true that there is no indication for the existence of “satrapal” monetary workshops and “satrapal” coins, the ones with the name “Mazday,” for example, seem to have been minted in various local workshops. However, “satrapal” can well qualify not just the workshop but the authority ordering the minting. MILDENBERG himself actually 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 borrowing of iconographic motives between these workshops reveal that they were not isolated: some monayers could well have worked in several workshops. Such an hypothesis has been proposed in order to interpret the Aramaic legend MBGY, “Menbigî,” appearing on a pseudo-Athenian didrachm (8.18 g) and on a Samaritan “obol” (55).

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

Athenian tetradrachms imitations were found at the following sites: *Qariyet Tref* (Syria), one plated issue, which is 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 the underwater excavations of off the Haifa shore (37, at p. 16*). Since no detailed documentation exists of these coins it is impossible to determine whether they are Athenian issues or imitations; *Dor* (93, p. 193, Ill. 126); two from *Óorbat >Eleq* (4, at p. 377, Nos. 1–2); one which was found at *Bet She<an* was lost after the excavations thus no specific attribution can be made for this piece (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*), and two pi-style Athenian issues from *Óorbat >Etri* (99). Page 102* in this volume erroneously mentions one coin, but fig. 221 shows an obverse and reverse of two different coins.

To the coins mentioned above, we might add others that were not found at controlled excavations. A group of seventeen mid-fourth century BC Athenian tetradrachm imitations allegedly belonging to a hoard found at Nablus was published by VISONÀ (97), while 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 drachm from North Arabian 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).

Among the imported Greek coins one can mention a 1/8 Aegae stater found in Atlit in 1933 (65, at p. 138*, No. 362). A silver issue of Soli from Mt. Gerizim excavations (58, at p. 114 – personal communication BILOVSKY, G.) and a coin found in 1998, in 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), compiles an update survey of hoards found in the Levant with valuable remarks. NUNN (80, at p. 167) mentioned also some of the Persian coins discovered in the Near East but without 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 coinage throughout the Hellenistic world. This chapter encompasses aspects shared by all scholars studying the coinage of the Eastern Greek world, and should therefore become a basic bibliography 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 around 40 tetradrachms of Alexander was allegedly found in Lebanon in 1995. Six of the pieces belonging to this hoard are described by ELAYI (125) including a Sidetan tetradrachm. LE RIDER (142) published a hoard (or part of a hoard) found in Syria in 1971 (*CH* 2, 81), which included 40 posthumous Alexander tetradrachms, 22 Sidetan tetradrachms as well as Selucid and Ptolemaic issues, a tetradrachm of Philip V and three drachms of Ephesus. HERSH (130) described 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 lead HERSH to make some remarks on Newell's *Tyros Rediviva* (131), a classic die study of the gold and

silver coins issues that had been struck at Tyre while it was under the control of Demetrius Poliorcetes during the last years of the fourth and the early part of the third centuries 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 from the third century BC onwards 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-first centuries BC in the area of the Seleucid kingdom.

PRIEUR and PRIEUR (150) study is the first complete corpus of the Syro-Phoenician tetradrachms and their fractions. This work will surely become the text book on the subject, as it not only records more than 500 previously unpublished coins but it also covers the historical, economical and religious background of the Provincial issues. A new type of provincial Tetradrachm from Neapolis published by GALST (127) confirms the attribution of the tetradrachms with the mint mark of a lit altar between the eagle's feet to the mint of Neapolis. The Syrian provincial coinage struck under Vespasian is described by MCALEE (146). The author categorizes the tetradrachms in ten groups and allocates them into five mints. The 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 the Flavian coinage throughout the Provinces of the Roman Empire including the areas under discussion in this survey. The introductions to each of the cities are clear and succinct and the excellent photographs are very helpful. From the same series the first supplement for volume one is available (112).

Based on a thorough study of the Syro-Phoenician coinage issued under Diaduminian and Macrinus, VISMARA (160) suggests that it is most unlikely that a travelling mint struck coins for numerous cities or that the coins of different cities were issued at one mint since the shape of the flans contradicts this possibility. In her opinion the dies were probably prepared at one place and later distributed. The most probable place is the mint of Antioch, which had a long history of coin production and served as the camp base of Macrinus. Nearly 1070 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 a *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 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 during 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 especially of Roman city coins.

SARTRE (155) incorporates in his valuable historical survey of the period between the fourth century BC and the third century AD 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 various aspects related with the presence of the Roman legion in the Levant such as military colonization, the dislocation movement of legions and military campaigns.

Aradus. The abundant coinage issued at Aradus during the Hellenistic period (122) sheds light on the political conflicts and the history of the city which is 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 constant variations 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 a renewed 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. BUIOVSKY (110) proposed to identify the male figure standing along a row of four stags, which appears on the Roman provincial coinage of Tyre as Pygmalion. The identification is confirmed by the appearance of the Phoenician inscription "PGMLYON" in the exergue of four coins dated to Gordian III and two to Gallienus [see GITLER, H., BUIOVSKY, 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 in some the issues of Abila and Gadara are an abbreviation for ΙΕΡΑΣ ΑΣΥΛΑΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ ΓΝΩΡΙΜΟΣ. 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 the archeological 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. The numismatic evidence (104) shows that during a period of about four decades (42/43 – 81–3 AD) there were two distinct groups of coins at Caesarea. One was struck by the city, the capital of 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 on near Caesarea and kept now at Sdot-Yam Museum.

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 are kept at the Caesarea Museum at Kibbutz Sdot Yam (109, at 73–74) and allegedly found in or around Caesarea. One of the issues is an unpublished type. According to STIEGLITZ (159), there appears to be no evidence that the city that preceded 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 of this city are mentioned by MESHORER (148).

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

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 has not been limited to the royal series, but it is extended 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, their types and legends, as well as their date of issue, a problematic aspect mostly in the case of 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 didn't intend to honor 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 issue of Ascalon, which was found in Zarzecze, Poland.

Gaza. New coins of Gaza permit to establish 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 during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Metallurgical Analysis and the 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" are part of a larger analytical program undertaken by BUTCHER and PONTING (115, 116, 117) and later by GITLER and PONTING (128, 129). The latter propose that the Severan denarii belonging to an assemblage from the Levant were officially casted.

Weights. KUSHNIR-STEIN (135) shows that the 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 in the time of the emperor Claudius. The attribution of a weight to Dor and its dating to 100 AD is refuted by SPAER (158). He rectifies the reading of the inscription on the weight and shows that it should be dated, according to the Seleucid era, to 150/149 BC, and belongs to a Northern Phoenician city. A lead weight with the inscription 'Amson son of Kosba, Prince of Israel' was published by DEUTSCH (121).

Varia. A simplistic discussion on the chronological distribution of coin hoards in Palestine during the Roman and Byzantine Periods was published by WANER and SAFRAI (162). A general description 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 have been incorporated to 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. This recent work contains corrections and numerous additions of new types and variants and is an invaluable addition. Another useful text book 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). A review of the Casden collection catalogue was written by FISCHER-BOSSERT (166).

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

The Herodian Dynasty. Several articles discuss the meaning of the motifs appearing in Herod the Great large bronze issue (164, 171, 173). MAGNESS (181, at pp. 165–170) suggests that the monogram TP on Herod's coins is not in Greek but is rather an abbreviation a of the Latin *tribunicia potestas*. Furthermore,

“year 3”, in her opinion, does not refer to a year in Herod’s reign but rather commemorates Augustus’s or Agrippa’s visit to the area during their third year of their tribunate, namely 20 or 15 BC respectively. Comments on the coinage of Herod Philip were published by CIECIELAG, KINDLER and STRICKERT (165, 174, 185). LÖNNQVIST (180) suggest to re-attribute the “year 6” canopy/three ears of corn coin to Agrippa II instead of the accepted attribution of this ubiquitous issue to his father Agrippa I.

Various aspects of the 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 this book (177). KUSHNIR-STEIN (178) suggests that coins of Agrippa II were minted in two different places and dated by two different eras: by the era of 49 AD in Caesarea Paneas and by the era of 60 AD in a place, yet to be identified, 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 the Nabataean coinage and its decline up to the use of 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 in the papyri from Nahal Óever (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 is that of one of these rulers and suggest to date it to circa 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 until 19/20 AD stands for the coin denomination *sela*>, which equals, 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 and 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 the 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 when the sample from each period is a single coin. Moreover, Nabatean issues are 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 the Persian period issues retrieved from controlled excavations have been incorporated to 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 five hundred Hellenistic coins from the excavations at Ras Ibn Hani near Latakia.

Korazim. Around 65 Sidetan bronze coins dating to circa 200 BC have been found in excavations throughout Israel. Ariel suggests that the common finding of these coins may be explained in relation to the recruitment of mercenaries from Side for the Seleucid army that was involved in military activities in Judea (202, at pp. 35*, 47*).

Yodefat. A preliminary report on the coins found at Yodefat (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.

Óurfeish. The coins found near the skulls in three burial caves of the Roman period at Óurfeish (199), indicate that the pagan costume of payment to Charon was practiced in 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, primarily in one 23 kilogram mass. Of the remaining individual coins over 1700 were cleaned. All are late Ptolemaic tetradrachms. All bear ΠΙΑ in the right field of the reverse, but they are considered 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, the hoard dates to a time when Ptolemaic coins are rarely found on the mainland. Two groups of Roman denarii (one from the reign of Hadrian) were also reported to have been found at the same area.

>Atlit. One hundred and fifty eight pre-Islamic coins from the Persian, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods were found at >Atlit (65).

Óorbat >Eleq. Excavations at Óorbat >Eleq (4) yielded 223 coins. Noteworthy to mention are a posthumous Alexander ‘shield/helmet’ bronze (Price 2702), a tetradrachm of Philip III Arhidaeus, an issue of Side and a Roman Republican *Aes* (several coins from this excavation are mentioned above in the Persian period section).

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

Pella. SHEEDY, CARSON and WALMSLEY (252) published the numismatic finds from several seasons of the University of Sydney excavations at Pella in Jordan. The volume contains a catalogue and associated commentaries for 1106 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. Two hundred and twenty coins were reported at the excavations of Bethsaida (50). Relevant to this survey are those coins from the Persian period up to the third century AD. The dominant mint from the Hellenistic period is that of Tyre, as could be expected. Later excavations at this site revealed two posthumous tetradrachms of Alexander the Great (198, at p. 246).

Bet She'an and Tel IŲabba. A preliminary report of the coins found at Bet She'an and nearby Tel IŲabba was prepared by Berman (209). The excavations at Bet She'an yielded 10,410 coins from the second half of the first century BC up to the Mamluk period. At Tel IŲabba 1346 coins were found. A high proportion of the latter are Hellenistic.

Gerasa. A detailed report on the numismatic finds from recent excavations at Gerasa was published by MAROT (245). This valuable publication is an important addition to the understanding of the 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 consist 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 (the six pieces were 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 during 18 years of excavation at this site in Samaria. Out of this total less than half have so far been identified. About 3500 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) outlines the 677 coins found at the excavations of Ioppe [Jaffa] along with an historical setting for each of the periods (fourth century BC up to the Ottoman period). Noteworthy to mention are twenty four Sidonian issues of the fourth century BC and eleven coins of Alexander the Great. This excavation yielded three Nabatean issues.

Óorbat Óermeshit. Several coins from the Hasmonean period and up to the Jewish War were found at Óorbat Óermeshit (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 the main excavations in Jerusalem. Each of the chosen excavations have yielded a significant number of coins for the period from the third century BC to the Moslem conquest in 640 AD. The statistic breakdown of the coins by site and period shows that their distribution in most sites for most periods are similar. The divergences, where they exist, probably point to historical fluctuations of occupation within Jerusalem.

This publication also includes a catalogue of the 577 coins found in areas A, X2 and W of the Jewish Quarter. The data from these three areas is compared with the percentage of the total of coins from the excavations of the Jewish Quarter as a whole. This permits certain conclusions regarding the reliability of a partial numismatic data from a given excavation. The two volumes by KLONER (240, 241) presenting the recent archaeological surveys carried out in Jerusalem include mention of all published coins from various sites. Other excavations in Jerusalem were carried out in the Akeldama Tombs (211); the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, Muristan (216); Robinson's arch (250) and Tell el-Ful (208, at p. 63*) were a hoard of 7 bronze coins of Nero was found.

Khirbet ʿabaliya. The excavation of Khirbet ʿabaliya [Givʿat Hamaʿos] yielded 35 coins (214). Most of the coins were minted in Jerusalem during a short period of time 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. This is not surprising since Jannaeus's coins seemed to have remained in circulation until the first half of the first century AD as is evident from the archeological context of this excavation.

The Judean Desert. The nine coins found in the Cave of the Warrior, all from the reign of Mattathias Antigonus, reinforce ARIEL'S (201) contention that the people occupying this cave were not simply fleeing the battles of 40 and 37 BC but, rather, were organized supporters of Antigonus. ARIEL's article also includes a discussion on the distribution of Antigonus's coins throughout excavations in Israel.

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 doesn't rule out the possibility that it represented the collected wealth of the community without relation to the Temple tax. She uses the numismatic evidence to suggest alternative datings for the settlements of Qumran and Ein el-Ghuweir (244). A more skeptical view regarding the 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 or verify R. de Vaux's chronology of Qumran and Ain Feshkha. Coins dating from the Hasmonean period until the Jewish War including two Tyrian half shekels were recently found at the residential caves at Qumran (215). *>Ain Ez-Zâra/Callirrhoé.* Twenty one 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 northeastern 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 the 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 administrative center in existence in the first half of the first century AD.

Ascalon. A hoard of forty-six bronze coins and one diobol dated from 412–404 until *c.* 100 BC was found at the excavations of Ascalon. Their places of origin can perhaps offer a suggestion as to 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, natural and 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 were 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 in order either to confirm such simultaneous circulation or to suggest an alternative explanation for the composition of this hoard.

Susya. The numismatic evidence from Susya (251, at pp. 33–37) shows that before a large settlement developed there in the third century AD, two agricultural farmsteads existed at this site. Worth mentioning is the finding of a second year shekel of the Jewish War.

Óorbat ,alit. The excavations at Óorbat ,alit (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 found in this hoard are a significant find since it is the first time such coins are found in a controlled archeological excavation. According to BILOVSKY No. B2 which is die linked with a piece at the British Museum (*BMC Palestine*, p. 303, No. 9) proves that although a number of scholars considered that coin 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 and well represent the currency in circulation during the Bar-Kokhba Revolt.

Petra. Forty one Nabatean coins were found at the Petra - Ez Zantur I excavations (249). However, the most important numismatic evidence from this site are several Late Roman hoards which include coins dated up to 363 AD, the year in which Petra was destroyed by an earthquake. The skeletons of a woman and a child were found in a room, apparently killed by stones and masonry during the earthquake of 363 AD. The woman had a small purse with 65 Æ coins, ending with SPES REI PVBLICE bronzes (358–361 AD). The contents of this purse correspond exactly to that of two other Æ hoards, which were found during the excavation: all represent the circulation pool at Petra in 363. Thirty one Nabatean issues were discovered at the excavations of the Byzantine church (210, 253) and three additional ones 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 Óofez* (196); *Bethsaida* (198); *Ioppe* [Jaffa] (60); *Yoqne>am* (62); and *Óorbat >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 discussion about this group as well as the Macedonian shield in general appears in LIAMPI (144).

Late Ptolemaic Bronzes. Late Ptolemaic bronze issues of a particular type have been 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 thirteen Republican issues have been found in controlled excavations in Israel including the finds from Yodefath [Iotapata] (195) and Óorbat >Eleq (4) and others (Personal communication N. Ahipaz).

Severan denarii. Noteworthy to mention 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 twenty six Roman Imperial and Provincial bronze and silver issues found at the '*Cave of the Sandal*' West of Jericho. Five out of six countermarked bronzes have a countermark of the legio X Fretensis showing that such coins were apparently still in use in 132–135 AD.

The Geographical Distribution of Bar Kokhba Coins. ZISSU and ESHEL (255) made 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. The 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 it is likely that this distribution will be further revised.

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 Na'al Mikhmash 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 erection over the ruins of Jerusalem was one of the reasons for the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt (see also 225 and 226).

Egypt and the Near East. Presented in NOESKE's monumental work (248) are coin finds from many excavation sites in Egypt and the Near East, the historical evaluation of which is not easy because of the different numbers of coins and because of the very different find circumstances. This study attempts, starting from the coin finds of the Egyptian pilgrimage center Abu Mina, to identify patterns of coin circulation and coin loss by scrutinizing coin hoards and site finds from the time of Constantinus I up to the loss of Egypt and Syria to the Islamic Arabians during the reign of Heraclius. On the basis of more than 150 coin complexes comprising more than 100,000 coins which are given in detailed coin lists the author establishes regional circulation patterns as a background for a 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, bronzes that predate the general time span of the hoard by a number of centuries, have been found.

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