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ANCIENT JEWISH COINAGE

Volume II: Herod the Great through Bar Cochba

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HEROD THE GREAT

40(37) B.C.E.- 4 B.C.E.

Herod the Great is the most controversial of all Jewish kings. But debates related to a historical interpretation of this enigmatic ruler are not limited to a discussion of his political achievements. Among numismatists, the meaning and nature of the Herodian coins have always been a source of controversy, while, amazingly, historians rarely consider the numismatic evidence in their interpretations of Herod. The conclusions drawn from archaeological evidence by historians is disproportionate to their consideration of Herodian coinage.

There is no doubt that the most impressive architectural remains of ancient Israel are from the last half of the first century B.C.E. The fortifications of Jerusalem, as well as other finds in Samaria, Herodion, Masada, Jericho, Caesarea, and elsewhere confirm reports made by Josephus regarding the large scale building enterprises carried out by Herod.¹

This glorious architectural activity presents a startling contrast to the Herodian coinage, which was not impressive. Moreover, while Herod was undoubtedly richer and more powerful than the contemporary Nabataean kings Malichus I (60-30 B.C.E.), Obodas III (30-9 B.C.E.), and Aretas IV (9 B.C.E.-40 C.E.), the Nabataean rulers minted silver coins in large denominations.² Herod only minted bronze coins, most of which are of small denominations.

The contrast between Herod's architectural activities and his minting efforts has puzzled many numismatists. Madden comments:³

From the large extent of Herod's dominions and the immense wealth that he bequeathed to his kindred and to strangers, we should naturally expect to find a very numerous and fine coinage. Though Josephus says that he left to his sister Salome five hundred thousand (pieces) of silver that was coined ('Αργυρίου ἐπιστήμου) and to Caesar, besides vessels of gold and silver, ten millions of coined silver and to others five millions, yet from numismatic evidence we must conclude that the coinage of gold was interdicted in all countries subject to the Romans, and that the permission to strike silver was only granted under the Republic to certain free and autonomous cities and under the Empire to some of the most important cities as Alexandria, Antioch of Syria, Caesarea of Cappadocia, Tarsus, etc.

Silver coins were struck by some exceptional mints in the East. Yet, the Nabataeans minted silver coinage, whereas the more powerful Herod did not. Herod's superiority over the Nabataeans is illustrated in various anecdotes preserved by Josephus. The historian renders an account of the battle of Kana, which Herod waged against Malichus I in 32 B.C.E.⁴ After a bitter struggle, Herod defeated the Nabataeans. Another example of the relation-

ship between Jerusalem and Nabataea is described in *Antiquities* 16, 279. The loan of 60 talents of silver, made by Herod to Obodas III eventually provoked a war between the two nations. In the resulting battle, the Nabataean general was killed. In 9 B.C.E., Syllaeus, who tried to usurp the throne from both Obodas III and Aretas IV, appealed to Augustus for aid against Herod, whom he accused of hostile activities. Concurrently, together with a gift of a gold crown valued at many talents, Aretas IV sent a letter to Augustus asking for Roman approval of his claim to the throne. Herod (through his representative Nicholas of Damascus), also put his case before Augustus. The judgment was rendered in favor of the Judean ruler, and Syllaeus was condemned to death.⁵

These incidents not only indicate that Herod was politically more powerful than the Nabataean kings, but they also clearly show that the Nabataeans were vassals of Rome or even of a lower status comparable to the status of the Judean ruler.

Yet not only did Malichus I, Obodas III, and Aretas IV mint silver coinage, even Syllaeus, the general who tried to usurp the royal crown in 9 B.C.E., struck several silver issues as well as bronze coins.⁶ Basing their theories on evidence provided by these Nabataean minting efforts, some scholars have assumed that Herod struck silver coins as well. Literary sources support the contention. According to Josephus:⁷

Jamnia, Azotos, and Phasaelis were given over (by Herod) to his sister Salome along with five hundred thousand pieces of *coined silver* (ἀργυρίου ἐμισθίου). He also provided for all his other relatives and left them wealthy through gifts of money and the assignment of revenues. To Caesar (Augustus) he left ten million pieces of coined silver beside vessels of gold and silver ...

The expression "coined silver" suggests that the metal had previously been fashioned either into vessels, which were then melted, or into ingots. Yet the quotation does not reveal the name of the minting authority of the silver coins left by Herod. Had the currency been denarii struck by the Roman administration, Josephus would have so noted.⁸ The vagueness of the literary sources may indicate that the silver coins were part of an unofficial issue struck perhaps during Herod's reign. If we accept the supposition that Herod *did* mint silver coinage, and combine this assumption with the information provided by the Nabataean issues, then we could view the literary sources as supportive of our claim.

The following theory, although revolutionary, provides a solution to this question. The principal silver issues used in the Holy Land during the Herodian period were the Tyrian shekel and half-shekel. Moreover, because the Tyrian shekel was the best quality silver coin of the time, it was the only type of silver currency accepted by the Temple in Jerusalem.⁹ It is possible that Herod himself may have minted the later issues of the "Tyrian" shekels.

The Tyrian Shekels

The obverse of the Tyrian shekels depicts the head of Heracles. An eagle standing on the prow of a ship appears on the reverse. The Greek inscription reads: ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ and, between the legs of the eagle, a Phoenician letter, either 𐤀 (') or 𐤁 (B) is found. Among the issues, variations occur in the dates, the monograms, and the style:

(1) The Date:

The first date depicted on these shekels is LA "year 1," which corresponds to 126/5 B.C.E. The final date LP 4 A "year 191," corresponds to 65/66 C.E. This data indicates that the shekels were struck continuously for 191 years.

(2) The Monogram:

There are many monograms, all apparently combinations of Greek letters, which appear on the coins. However, from "year PH" ("year 108" or 18/17 B.C.E.) onward, all Tyrian shekels depict two additional Greek letters: KP.¹⁰

(3) The Style:

The style of the Tyrian shekels dated A (125/6 B.C.E.) to PZ (19/18 B.C.E.) is beautiful. The coins have in general, large flans, and the full design and inscription are included. However, the coins on which the inscription "KP" appears have in most cases, an inferior style; the flans are smaller and on most specimens the inscription is partially omitted.¹¹

This data suggests that the Tyrian shekels may be divided into two distinct groups: the early coins minted between 126 B.C.E. and 19 B.C.E., and the later pieces struck from 19 B.C.E. until 66 C.E. Most specimens from the first group have been discovered in Lebanon and Syria, while the majority of the pieces from the second division were found in Israel. Further, in excavated material of single coins as well as of hoards found in Israel in which Tyrian shekels were present, mostly coins from the second group, depicting the letters KP, were represented. The famous hoard of shekels from Ussfiya,¹² the hoard from Mount Scopus,¹³ the hoard from Dominus Flevit,¹⁴ and others contain only coins of the later series.

These shekels of the second division were apparently struck in Jerusalem under Herod and his successors until 65/66 C.E. Because they were minted under special circumstances, they do not depict any designs indicating Jewish autonomy. The style and provenance of these coins, as well as the literary sources which mention them, all indicate that Jerusalem was their place of origin. The cessation of this series is directly related to an important period in Jewish, not Tyrian, history. The last clear date not only marks the beginning of the Jewish War against Rome, it also corresponds to the first year in which autonomous Jewish shekels, dated year "1" (66 C.E.) were minted. It would have been impractical for the Tyrian mint to produce their shekels during the Roman period. From the reign of Augustus, provincial Roman silver coinage

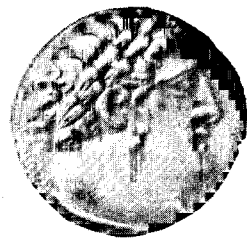
was minted at Antioch;¹⁵ other issues were not needed. Under Nero, the production of imperial silver coinage was extensive. But whereas the Tyrian shekels of both divisions have the highest possible silver content (90–92 percent) the Roman silver provincial tetradrachms were struck with silver which was only 80 percent pure. For this second reason, Tyre had no need to continue to mint currency. The market had an influx of inferior Roman provincial coins, which would have supplanted the popular use of the superior shekels of Tyre.

Yet this “law of the marketplace,” which dictates that inferior coinage replaces purer issues in popular usage, appears not to have occurred with respect to the minting of the Tyrian shekels. The rabbinic sources shed some light on the monetary conditions of the period and on this particular phenomenon. The sages insisted that all payments to the Temple in Jerusalem be made in pure silver. In every period, the sages had to define the acceptable currency. The following quotation from *Mishna Shekalim* 2, 4 illustrates this practice:

For when the Israelites returned from exile, they paid the half-shekel in darics; then they reverted to pay the half-shekel in selas, they then resumed to pay the half-shekel in tebain, and (finally) they sought to pay the half-shekel in denars.

Only the Jews had this special need for silver currency of a high quality. Therefore, since they could not compromise the rules established by the sages and implemented by the religious authorities, they could not make payments to the Temple with the inferior Roman denarii. The need for high quality silver coinage was thus based on a religious rather than on an economic policy.¹⁶

The Jewish authorities not only had to use Tyrian shekels, they also had to mint them. Since the striking of the Tyrian issues was apparently scheduled to be stopped during the rule of Augustus, the needs of the Temple in Jerusalem compelled the authorities (in this case, Herod) to begin minting of local high quality Tyrian shekels. These special editions are characterized by the letters KP. The meaning of this additional inscription is not clear. Hill does not propose any interpretation for it; he simply notes that the characters “can hardly represent the name of a person.”¹⁷



Tyrian shekel, 79 B.C.E.



Tyrian shekel, 17 B.C.E.

If indeed the Tyrian shekels, marked KP, were struck in Jerusalem from 18 B.C.E. onward, the minting authorities probably required a special dispensation from Rome. Since the Roman officials were, on several occasions, sympathetic to the religious needs of the Jews, they probably agreed that the requirements of the Temple justified the minting of “Tyrian shekels” in Jerusalem. Roman involvement in the minting of coinage within their jurisdiction may indicate a possible interpretation of the inscription KP. The characters may represent *Κόσμος Ρωμαίων*, meaning “(according to the) Roman constitution (or order).” Instead of *κόσμος*, the word *κρατός* (“power, authority”) is also possible.¹⁸ The letters KP may represent *ΚΡΑΤΟΣ* (without mentioning the Romans) referring to the new authorities in Jerusalem.

Another expression which bears upon our discussion of Herodian silver coinage is *ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου* (coined silver), found in the literary sources.¹⁹ This phrase may refer to coinage struck in imitation of another issue, rather than to an autonomous series. Indeed, the expression may hint at an irregular coining of Tyrian shekels in Jerusalem. The term *ἑπισήμος* (coined) may be compared with the Hebrew *טבע* mentioned in *Mishna Shekalim* 2, 4. The *Tebain* (plural of *teba*, [טבע]) are noted to be the final type of currency accepted by the Temple before it was destroyed in 70 C.E. This passage suggests that the term *טבע* represents the last stage of the Tyrian shekels, those which we propose were minted by the Jewish authorities. The etymology of the Hebrew word indicates an original meaning of either “coined” or “struck”. Thus this term is quite similar to the expression *ἐπισήμος* used by Josephus.

In *Tosephta Kethuboth* 13, 20, we find the following: “כסף שדברה בו תורה בכל מקום זו היא כסף צורי. איזהו כסף צורי? זה ירושלמי.” “Silver, whenever mentioned in the Pentateuch, is Tyrian silver. What is a Tyrian silver (coin)? It is a Jerusalemite.” This interesting quotation adds further support to our theory.

The crude style of the Jerusalemite shekels of the second division can be explained by the lack of skill of the mint masters in Jerusalem. Their inferior technique is clearly manifested by their bronze coinage. In addition, the designs depicted on the silver shekels, which were not from the Jewish vocabulary of symbols, were probably treated with a minimum of attention and affection.

Only in 66 C.E., when the war against Rome began, did the Jerusalem mint issue autonomous coinage. Yet even the Jewish shekels struck during the revolt exhibit many similarities to their Tyrian prototypes.²⁰

The Dating of Herodian Coins

A study of the coinage minted under Herod the Great must consider the question of dating. The majority of the issues struck during the rule of Herod are undated. Only one series, nos. 1–6, depicts a date which remains consistent on all the issues: *Ϛ* “year 3.” This date is always accompanied by the monogram *ϙ*.

For many years, scholars believed that "year three" corresponded to 37 B.C.E., the year in which Herod gained control of Jerusalem from the Hasmonaean Mattathias Antigonus. This position is best summarized by B. Kanael, who states:²¹

The date probably is indicated by two different signs; one is "L-Gamma", standing for "year three" while the other is the monogram "TP" probably representing a contraction of trito (etei) "third year." It is likely that Herod wanted to accentuate the fact that 37 BC, which was in fact his first year as king, should be regarded as his third year, reckoned from 40 BC, when Rome appointed him.

But this theory fails to provide an explanation for two important points. Herod became the official king of Judaea in 40 B.C.E. Why did this self-confident monarch wait three years before minting his own coins? Even Antigonus, who had less power than Herod, minted coins from 40 B.C.E. until 37 B.C.E. Further, the date "year three" cannot refer back to the conquest of Jerusalem.²² The city came under Herod's control in 37 B.C.E., four years after he received the title "king."

The year 37 B.C.E. is not the only possible date that may be assigned to the first issues minted by Herod. This king, who knew well the strong impact the minting of sovereign coins would have on the population, may have struck his first coins immediately after his arrival in Judaea in 40 B.C.E. This earlier date corresponds to the third year of Herod's official rule. He was appointed tetrarch by Marc Antony in 42 B.C.E. Josephus records in *Antiquities* 14, 325-6 that:

Antony ... inquired of Hyrcanus which were the better leaders of the nation. He replied 'Herod and his people' whereupon Antony, who had from the old been friendly with them because of the hospitable relations which he had formed with their father when he was with Gabinius, appointed both Herod and Phasaël tetrarchs and entrusted to them the government of the Jews.

The nominal ruler, Hyrcanus II, served only as high priest at this time. Herod and his brother Phasaël controlled the government. Thus, we may assume that Herod saw his appointment to the kingship in 40 B.C.E. as simply a continuation of his ruling position.

We, therefore, suggest that the date "year three" refers to 40 B.C.E. and is based on the year Herod was appointed tetrarch, hence we can answer several questions which the earlier theory could not.

A. The Monogram Ϡ

The monogram which accompanies the date "year three" is composed of two clear Greek letters, T and P. The letter E may appear between the upper stroke of the T and the P. Thus the full design would be of an inscription reading TETP. The date and the monogram function as one unit meaning "year three of the title tetrarch" (TETPAPXHC). Herod's new title, King (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ), given to him in 40 B.C.E., encircles the monogram.

B. The Denominations

Herod's dated coins are his only issues struck in four different denominations. His rival, Antigonus, was the only Hasmonaean ruler to strike coins in three different denominations: large, medium, and small. Apparently, Herod attempted to introduce into local markets an impressive series of coins designed to compete with the Hasmonaean issues.

We do not know who first struck coins: Antigonus or Herod. Undoubtedly, the two mintings were related. Perhaps Antigonus first struck his prutot in a type similar to that used by Hyrcanus II (see nos W1-W4). Herod then produced his dated series in four denominations. Finally, Antigonus tried to compete with Herod by minting a series of impressive bronze coins in three denominations (see nos U, V, Y).

C. The Date

As mentioned above, the date "year three" cannot be associated with the conquest of Jerusalem. The city was taken by Herod in 37 B.C.E. — four regnal years after he received the title "king" from Antony. The only important "third year" of Herod's rule is 40 B.C.E. In this third year of his tetrarchate, he was appointed king.

The Mints of Herod

Between 40 B.C.E. and 37 B.C.E., Antigonus struck his coins in the mint of Jerusalem. If Herod's dated coins were produced during this same period, they must have been struck outside that city. The most obvious location for Herod's mint is the city of Samaria (Shomron, Sebaste), which he ruled since his appointment to the tetrarchate.²³

The series of coins in four denominations marked LG were probably struck by Herod during the entire period between 40 B.C.E. and 37 B.C.E. This minting was executed during the same time in which Antigonus struck his three denominations in Jerusalem. After 37 B.C.E., Herod ceased to mint dated coinage. His new, undated issues were struck in fewer denominations and were produced with less care. These undated coins were most likely minted in Jerusalem. B. Kanael rightly states:²⁴

Only at the beginning of his rule, apparently, did Herod pay much attention to the coins and the symbols they have. Later on with one or two exceptions, he seems to have lost interest in using this means to express his aims and policies.

Kanael notes the basic difference between Herod's dated and undated coins, but he could not explain them other than by the theory that Herod "lost interest." Now, the numismatic-historical evidence is clear: while Antigonus was producing coins in Jerusalem, Herod was forced to mint *competitive* currency. After 37 B.C.E., when this imposed rivalry ceased to exist, Herod was no longer concerned with the quality of his coinage.

The differences in style between Herod's dated and undated coins may also reflect a change of mints. The styles of the two groups differ in paleography as well as in quality of production and design. On the dated coins, the sigma appears as Σ and the alpha as Α. These same characters on the undated coins are shaped as C and A. This paleographical shift is also reflected in the coins struck later by Agrippa I. His coins struck in Caesarea (see nos. 6–10) have a different style of letters than those minted in Jerusalem (see no. 11).

Archaeological evidence is quite decisive in showing the change of mints. In excavations of Jerusalem, the general ratio of Herodian coins found is 50 to one in favor of the undated specimens. But a surprisingly different ratio was obtained in the excavations at Samaria. The first report published by Reisner in 1924,²⁵ indicates that 18 Herodian coins were discovered. Of these specimens, 7 are dated. According to Crowfoot's report of the latest excavations,²⁶ 60 Herodian coins were found at Samaria, out of which 11 are dated. In most excavations, the dated coins represent only two percent of the total number of specimens discovered. But at Samaria, the dated coins are found in much larger proportions; 39 percent in Reisner's excavation, and more than 18 percent in Crowfoot's; this makes an average of 23 percent. Thus the number of dated Herodian coins found at Samaria is more than 10 times higher than that found in Jerusalem. The archaeological data therefore supports our contention that the dated coins were minted by Herod in Samaria and that the undated issues were struck in Jerusalem.

Dating Herod's Undated Coins

Coins nos. 4 and 6, although not dated, show a close relationship to Herod's dated issues. Coin no. 4 is identical to no. 3, and no. 6 is identical to no. 5, except that nos. 4 and 6 lack a date and the characteristic monogram of the other pieces. The omission of the date, although known from several specimens, may be the result of a mistake in the die cutting. But it is more likely that the omission of the date occurred because the entire series, nos. 1–6, although dated to the year 40 B.C.E., was struck during a period lasting almost four years, from 40 B.C.E. to 37 B.C.E. The date "year three" became meaningless toward the end of the period. However, all six issues belong to the earlier, "dated" group.

From 37 B.C.E. until his death in 4 B.C.E., Herod struck 17 more types of coins and several more varieties, some over extended periods and in large quantities, others during a very limited time and in small amounts. The inner chronology of the undated issues can be determined by two factors: the quantity of a particular group and the association of symbols with historical events. Other methods often used to establish a chronology, such as identifying the sequence of dies and analyzing the composition of the metal, which are employed in the study of silver coinage, cannot be applied here. The Herodian coins were struck in small denominations and are, in general, poorly preserved.

The most common Herodian issue, no. 17 (17a–17m), was minted during the entire period between 37 B.C.E. and 4 B.C.E. This range explains why type no. 17 shows extensive variations in style and design. The greater number of coins struck increases the number of variations which will appear. This issue is particularly interesting because it is related to the early Hasmonaean coinage. On the reverse an anchor is depicted; the design also appears on the coins of Alexander Jannaeus (see nos. A, C, D). The obverse presents the double cornucopias, which are depicted on coins of every Hasmonaean ruler. Indeed, the double cornucopias could be considered a Jerusalemite design; it was consistently depicted on coins minted in the city for a period of a few generations. With the addition of the Herodian issues (see no. 17), the design of the double cornucopias rose to a position of dominance on the coins of Jerusalem for almost the entire first century B.C.E.

The rest of Herod's coins were probably minted during more confined periods. Coins nos. 7 to 15 represent three denominations: a medium bronze (nos. 7 and 8); a prutah (nos. 9–13), and half-prutah (nos. 14 and 15). Since these coins appear in smaller quantities than type no. 17, they may have been struck during a more limited period. We hesitantly dated these coins to 37–20 B.C.E.

The symbols depicted on issues nos. 7 to 14 reflect an association with the Temple. The small denominations, nos. 9 to 15, are poorly minted with few complete and legible inscriptions. Coin no. 16 is comparatively rare; only five specimens of this type have been discovered. If the design depicted on this coin is a vine, the symbol may commemorate the construction of the Temple by Herod in Jerusalem and may represent the golden vine which he installed there. Conversely, coins nos. 18 and 19 were minted over an extended period of time. Their apparent rarity is caused by their poorly preserved state; they are not easily recognized. Coin no. 22, which depicts the galley and anchor, was struck apparently to commemorate the founding of the harbor of Caesarea by Herod in 10 B.C.E. Even later are the coins which depict the eagle and the single cornucopia (no. 23). The design of the eagle may be associated with the golden eagle that Herod erected over the Temple gate.

The Denominations of Herod's Coins

The dated coins struck by Herod the Great can be assigned to specific groups according to their size. For example, the large type, no. 1 is eight times larger than the smaller group nos. 5, 6. However, we do not know what denominations each size represents or how the groups relate to the contemporary silver currency, the Tyrian shekels. Not only do the Jewish literary sources fail to provide a systematic account of Judaeian currency, but they increase our confusion by recording names and denominations of coins that we cannot identify in texts that we cannot properly date.

One passage in the Talmud may be connected to the Herodian coins. *Kiddushin* 12, 1 mentions several denominations not recorded elsewhere. The tractate deals with the question of the bride price. The first concern of the sages is to define the denomination required for this payment. They begin with a discussion of Roman currency:

The perutah which the sages mentioned is an eighth of an Italian issar. [Thus] one denar equals six silver ma'ahs; one ma'ah equals two pundions; one pundion equals two issars; one issar equals two musmis; one musmis equals two kuntrunk; one kuntrunk equals two perutahs. Hence the perutah is an eighth of an Italian [Roman] issar.

This passage lists the names and denominations of earlier local coins which may date to the reign of Herod. These issues are compared with the standard Roman monetary system. *Kiddushin* continues: "R. Simeon B. Gamaliel said, 'Three hadrisin equals one ma'ah; two hanzin equals one hadris; two shamin equals one hanez; two perutahs equals one shamin.'" The term *hadris* is intriguing. In another Talmudic passage, *Hulin* 139,2, *hadris* means "belonging to Herod"! If indeed *hadris* is a technical term for a Herodian coin (compare the more recent coins named after their minting authorities, such as 'gold Napoleons' and 'silver Maria Theresas'), we may assign to the bronze coins the specific denominations listed in Table 1.

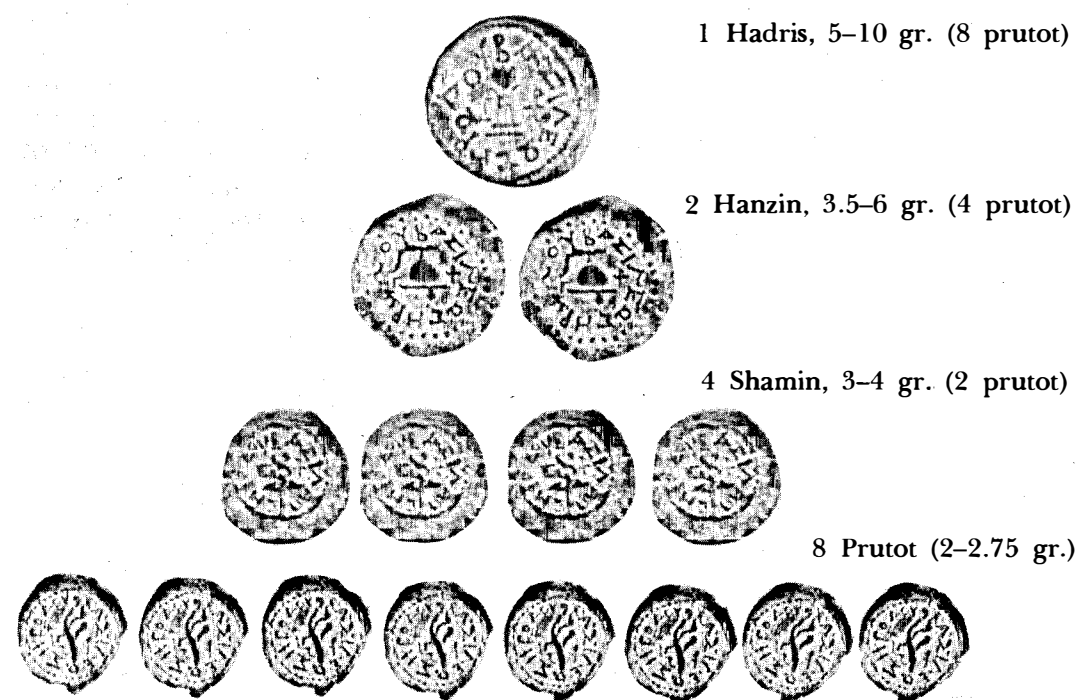


Table 1

The text of *Kiddushin* 12,1 presents an excellent example of how information provided by rabbinic sources can lead to confusion. The passages not only record, but also occasionally interpret and misinterpret data provided by the earlier tradition. Currencies used between 100 B.C.E. and 100 C.E. were entirely different from those of the third century C.E. The Amoraim, those sages who studied the Mishna in the third and fourth centuries, were unfamiliar with the monetary systems of their predecessors, the Tannaim. It is likely that the passage which mentions R. Simeon b. Gamaliel (who lived in the first half of the first century C.E.) records information which dates back to the Herodian period. Armed with this traditional statement, the sages attempted to compare the Herodian (*hadris*) series to the Roman denominations. But their lack of familiarity with the earlier Judaeian issues was compounded by the fact that the value of Roman currency did not remain consistent through the centuries.

The time of Herod's rule, the second half of the first century B.C.E., was a transitional stage for national coinage. The country was gradually shifting from a Hellenistic to a Roman cultural base. During the Hellenistic period, the denominational system of coinage used in the Near East was that of the earlier rulers, the Ptolemies and later the Seleucids. In the first half of the first century B.C.E., the Seleucid-Phoenician system was still employed. The Hasmonaean coins were apparently assigned to Hellenistic denominational divisions. The prutah, weighing on the average two grams, was associated with the dilepton, and the half-prutah with the lepton.

The coins minted under Herod the Great may also be compared to the Hellenistic denominations. The weights of the Herodian issues are as follows:

- no. 1 — 5-10 grams. ("1")
- no. 2 — 3.5-6 grams. ("1/2")
- no. 3 — 3-4 grams. ("1/4")
- no. 5 — 2-2.75 grams. ("1/8")

However, the weights among each division are quite variable and these differences are sometimes surprisingly large. But despite this lack of accuracy, a relationship between the Hellenistic currency and Herod's dated coins can be seen.

More difficult is to determine the names of the Herodian coins. If coin no. 5 is a prutah, although its weight is comparatively high, it can be regarded as the equivalent of the Hasmonaean prutah and the Seleucid-Phoenician dilepton. The small denominations, struck under Antigonus, weigh only 1.5-2 grams. Herod's later, small bronzes, the undated prutot, nos. 9-18, weigh on the average also 1.5 to 2 grams. These coins struck by Herod may be compared to the prutot produced both by Antigonus and by the earlier Hasmonaean. Perhaps the heavier Herodian prutah no. 5, which is quite rare, indicates an issue struck with a deliberate increase in weight for reasons of prestige. It is doubtful that these coins represent a different denomination.

They are too light to be double prutot and the existence of a one-and-one half denomination is unlikely. The additional weight of issue no. 5 might also indicate a change in mint. While coin no. 5 was produced at Samaria, coins nos. 9-18 are prutot of Jerusalem and so reflect the Jerusalemite-Hasmonaean standard.

The Roman system of coinage mentioned in the Talmudic passage cited above, was apparently introduced into Judaea in 6 C.E. by the first procurator, Coponius. The sages erred when they tried to equate this system of Roman currency with the earlier, Hellenistic standards. The relationship between the silver coins used during the Herodian period and the bronze issues struck by Herod himself caused confusion for the sages. The Tyrian shekel, the standard silver unit, weighed 14 grams. This unit was divided into half-shekels weighing 7 grams each and, rarely, into drachms (quarters) of 3.5 grams each. In earlier times, the drachm was divided into six oboloi, and one obolos equalled either eight chalcoi (of bronze) or 32 leptons. Thus one Tyrian shekel (or tetradrachm) was worth 768 leptons. If the prutah was a dilepton, then there were 384 prutot in one silver shekel.

The later issues of prutot, which began to be struck during the administration of the first procurator, were equivalent to the Roman quadrans. This shift in the standard caused the prutot to be produced with a slight increase in weight. Under the adjusted Roman system, 64 prutot equalled one denarius and 256 prutot were the equivalent of one silver shekel. The sages of the Amoraic period were unaware that the old prutot, struck in accordance with the Hellenistic system, weighed less than the later issues made equivalent to the Roman quadrans (called in the Talmud *kuntrunk*).

The Denominations of the Undated Coins

As we mentioned above, the prutot (nos. 9-13, 16, 17) were based on the standard of the earlier Hasmonaean coins; they weighed on the average between 1.5 and 2 grams each. These coins reflect the place of their production, the Jerusalem mint. Many of the pieces, struck by Herod, were underweight and carelessly produced. Thus some of the prutot have the weight of half-prutot. The issues may be divided as follows: nos. 7 and 8 are double prutot; nos. 9-13 are single prutot; and nos. 14, 15, 22, and 23 are half-prutot.

In the production of both silver and gold coinage, a great deal of both time and effort were spent; if the coins were too heavy, precious metal would be lost. If they weighed less than the official amount, the people would be cheated. But with the minting of the small bronze issues, the trifling value of the coins did not justify the expense involved in more precise work.

The Inscriptions

There is little variety among the inscriptions found on the Herodian coins. All have the same function; they identify Herod as the king. The variations among the inscriptions are as follows:

1. HPΩΔΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (nos. 1-6).
- 1A. HPΩΔΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC (nos. 7-12).

This inscription occasionally reveals a change in the axis of some of the characters, such as HPΥΔΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥC (sic.).

- 1B. ΒΑΣΙΛΕWC HPWΔ (no. 22).
2. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥC HPΩΔHC (no. 18).
3. ΒΑΣΙΑ HPWΔΟΥ (no. 23a).
4. ΒΑΣΙΑ HPWΔ (no. 23).
5. HPWΔ ΒΑΣΙΑΕ (no. 17).
6. HPWΔ ΒΑCΙ (no. 17a).
7. HPW ΒΑΣΙΑ (nos. 17b, 17c).
8. HPW ΒΑCΙ (no. 17d).
9. ΒΑCΙ HPW (no. 17f).

Many of these legends are depicted in retrograde form, or turn outward.

Based on epigraphical notation, these inscriptions can be divided into two groups. Those depicted on nos. 1 to 6, the dated coins, represent one division. The second division includes the remainder of the issues, which are epigraphically identical. The principal variations which distinguish the two divisions are as follows:

- (1) While the inscription of the first group is always complete and well-executed, the inscriptions of the second division contain many errors, upside-down letters, and occasionally a crude style of epigraphy.
- (2) Inscription no. 1 always begins on the lower left of the coins, whereas there is no consistency in the remainder of the issues.
- (3) In the first division, the inscription always begins with the name of the king. In the second group, there is no consistency; on certain issues, the title is depicted first.
- (4) The depiction of three characters is entirely different between the two groups:

group 1:	Ε	Σ	Ω
group 2:	Ε, € ,C	C, <(Σ)	Ω 8 U

These differences arose because the two groups were struck at different mints. The first, well-executed division was produced at Samaria; the second was struck in Jerusalem.

The inscription on coin no. 18 is unique. Whereas all other legends are expressed in the genitival form (as are the majority of the Greek legends which appear on Jewish coinage), meaning "of Herod the King," no. 18 is in the nominative form, meaning "King Herod."

On many of the Herodian coins, the inscription is in an unsystematic order, either in a circle with some letters inside the circumference (see no. 19), or in a combination of a circle and several interior lines (see no. 13). In addition, the earlier division also depicts the date (LΓ) and the monogram ϡ.

THE SYMBOLS

The cultural context and interpretation of the various symbols depicted on the Herodian coinage present two of the most intriguing questions in Jewish numismatics. In the past, scholars viewed the coins of Herod as one group. Consequently they were unable to interpret the symbols correctly. They had failed to consider the division which we have noted between the dated coins minted at Samaria *before* the conquest of Jerusalem, and the undated coins struck in Jerusalem itself. The resulting confusion is evident in Goodenough's description of the Herodian symbols:²⁷

The coins of Herod I can only doubtfully be considered to belong to the history of Jewish art. He used a number of pagan symbols, such as the Dionysiac tripod with pot (lebes), a ceremonial ordinary helmet, the winged caduceus, a little square cross, a war galley, and the eagle along with the anchor, wreath, palm branch, and the crossed cornucopiae, which had been used before in Jewish coinage.

Had Goodenough analyzed each division separately, his conclusions would have been greatly altered. Group I consists of the dated coins, nos. 1-6, struck in Samaria between 40 and 37 B.C.E. Group II consists of the undated coins, nos. 7-23, struck in Jerusalem between 37 B.C.E. and 4 B.C.E.

The Symbols on the Dated Coins

The following designs are depicted on the coins of Group I:

1. Apex, flanked by two palm branches, and, in a slightly different style, appearing alone (nos. 1 and 2).
2. Tripod (no. 1).
3. Shield (no. 2).
4. Winged caduceus (no. 3).
5. Fruit (no. 3).
6. Aphlaston (aplustre) (no. 5).
7. Laurel-branch (or palm branch) tied with fillet (no. 5).

The struggle faced by various scholars who attempted to identify and to interpret these symbols is illustrated by the following passage from Kanael's important paper:²⁸

On one of these coins we see a tripod and lebes, symbols of the worship of Apollo, together with the inscription "of King Herod." On the reverse is a thymiaterion, a censer. It is possible that this censer was of a type used in the temple of Jerusalem. Herod apparently wished to emphasize the Jewish-Grecian nature of his state by striking on his coins both a heathen symbol (though not one which would clearly offend his Jewish subjects) and a Jewish one (though not one exclusively Jewish and distinctly "national" like Antigonus' candlestick and table of show-bread).

Another series bearing the same date shows a helmet and a circular shield. More interesting are two other series bearing the year three. One shows a winged caduceus, the staff of Hermes, messenger of the gods, on the obverse, and a pomegranate, which had become a distinct though not obvious Jewish symbol, on the reverse. The other shows an aphlaston, the curved stem of a ship, a distinct heathen symbol. On the reverse, there perhaps is a palm branch between two ethrogs, a symbol of Jewish temple rituals during the Feast of Tabernacles.

Many of Kanael's identifications are incorrect. Indeed, scholars present a great variety of identifications for these objects depicted on the coins. Design no. 1 is described by De Saulcy,²⁹ Madden,³⁰ and Hill,³¹ as a helmet, although the three have some variations in their descriptions. But this same design has been described by Reifenberg,³² Kanael,³³ and Meyshan³⁴ following Watzinger,³⁵ as a thymiaterion or censer.

These numismatists have attempted to associate an unclear depiction with a Temple vessel whose name is given in the Jewish sources, but whose shape is not described. Such speculation can lead to conclusions which cannot be supported by solid information. For example, Meyshan states, "Two palm-branches above incense vessels are symbols of gratitude and honor to God for his victory over Antigonus and the success of the siege over Jerusalem."³⁶ Yet the object depicted on the coin is too unclear to support such a detailed interpretation.

Meyshan also fails to consider the date of this particular coin. To begin an analysis of the symbols on the Herodian issues, we must first note that the dated coins are unlike the undated groups in many aspects. The dated coins were minted before 37 B.C.E., before Herod's conquest of Jerusalem; they were struck simultaneously with the coins of Antigonus, and they were minted at Samaria.

We have previously suggested that Herod, having just been appointed king by the Roman authorities, may have begun minting coins for their propaganda value. The Herodian coins were introduced into the market place both to rival the issues minted by Antigonus, and to reinforce Herod's new status and title of King. In light of this historical situation, the nature of the symbols depicted on the Herodian coins may be interpreted more accurately.

Of the seven symbols that appear on the Herodian dated issues, five are imitations of designs that appeared on the Roman republican coins struck in Rome between 44 B.C.E. and 40 B.C.E.: the tripod depicted on coin no. 1 appears on several republican coins,³⁷ as does the apex which appears on the

reverse of this issue.³⁸ Both of these designs are represented on the same republican issue.³⁹ The combination of the apex flanked by two palm branches may also be compared with the republican coins that depict a design described as "tripod surmounted by the cortina and two laurel branches."⁴⁰

The winged caduceus depicted on coin no. 3 appears on republican issues struck under Marc Antony.⁴¹ The aphlaston (aplustre)⁴² and the laurel branch tied with fillet, both of which appear on coin no. 5, are also imitations of Roman designs.⁴³ This latter depiction has been wrongly described as a "palm or ear of corn between two ornaments,"⁴⁴ or as "palm branch with two branches,"⁴⁵ and as "palm branch between two ethrogs."⁴⁶ This confusion is due in part to the poor state of preservation of the coins. The branch cannot be clearly identified as a laurel or as a palm, if indeed it is either. In our opinion, the identification of the part of the design as two ethrogs is impossible. The better preserved specimens made it quite clear that this enigmatic object is a fillet combined with the branch. A similar fillet can be seen on coin 2a. The only designs shown on Herod's dated coins which do not appear on the contemporary Roman republican issues are the shield and the fruit. Yet both these symbols can be better explained by their association with pagan imagery than by Jewish art. The shield may be associated with the military activities of Herod, or, it may symbolize the military backing he received from the Romans against Antigonus.

The interpretation of the fruit requires a somewhat more detailed discussion.

Poppy-Head on Stalk, with Leaves

This design has usually been interpreted in one of three ways, either as a pomegranate with leaves⁴⁷ or as a poppy head on stalk with leaves.⁴⁸ In order to determine which of these two interpretations is correct, we collected casts and photographs of the best preserved coins depicting this design, and presented them to several botanists for analysis. All agreed that the design was of a poppy. It depicts the three characteristics of this plant: a knob below the bottom, a wide calyx, and a flat bottom and top. Conversely, the pomegranate lacks the knob, and has a smaller and sometimes taller calyx; it also has a round shape. Moreover, actual pomegranates are clearly presented on certain Hasmonaean issues. These designs bear *little* resemblance to the image which appears on the Herodian coins.

Scholars have been inclined to describe the fruit as a pomegranate because the presence of this plant is quite easy to explain. The symbolic meaning of the poppy, however, is not quite so obvious. The poppy is the second design depicted on the dated Herodian coins that does not correspond to any of the contemporary designs found on the Roman republican coins. Neither is the poppy found in any contemporary Jewish context.⁴⁹ Since this flower does not appear to be a Jewish symbol, it may have some connection with Samaria, the city in which the dated coins were struck.

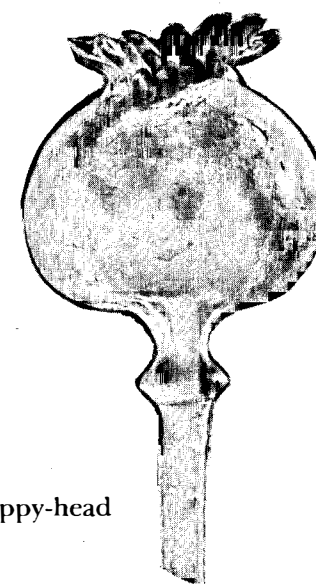
Samaria was a cultic center dedicated to the worship of Demeter and her

daughter Kore (Persephone). The importance of the cult is well illustrated, since the figures of Demeter and Kore are the most popular images depicted on local coinage.⁵⁰ Further, the significance of the cult has been established by archaeological evidence. Herod himself built a temple to Kore in Samaria, and several dedicatory inscriptions to the goddess have been unearthed, such as the famous no. 12: ΕΙC ΘΕΟC Ο ΙΑΝΤΩΝ ΔΕCΙΠΟΤΗC ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΚΟΡΗ Η ΑΝΕΙΚΗΤΟC "one god above all, a ruler great Kore, undefeated."⁵¹

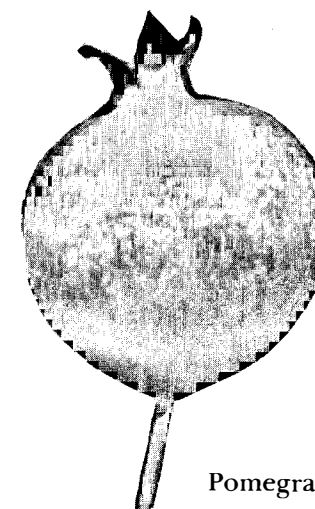
It is unlikely that Herod introduced the cult of Demeter and Kore to Samaria. It probably existed before Herodian times as a popular local religion. Herod, who rebuilt the city and fortified it with walls and towers, acknowledged the importance of the cult by the construction of an addition to the local temple, which he dedicated to Augustus.

The cult itself was connected to the worship of the underworld mysteries and to the revival of nature associated with Demeter and Kore. The emphasis of the cult was on growth and fertility. The festivals of the religion required various ceremonial objects, the most conspicuous of which is the *Cista-Mystica*, or box, which contained various elements used for the celebration of the mysteries. Among other materials, the box contained poppies.

Some second century issues minted at Samaria-Sebaste depict Kore standing and holding a torch. At her feet appears a cista-mystica, from which tiny objects protrude. These may be either snakes or poppy-heads. The poppy was the most common natural symbol of the cult of Demeter. Therefore, some scholars have suggested that the hallucinogenic properties of the plant were used during the cultic ceremonies. But the poppy was not necessarily considered important for this reason. Although the flower is relatively small, it contains an enormous number of seeds. Therefore, it is a proper symbol of fertility.



Poppy-head



Pomegranate

Herod depicted the poppy on his coinage to honor the local cult of Demeter and Kore at Samaria. The issue minted between 40 B.C.E. and 37 B.C.E. was in circulation several years before the city was rebuilt and before its additional pagan temple was constructed by Herod. Thus the poppy was apparently a popular symbol of Samaria, related to the local cult.

The Interpretation of the Symbols

Since most of the designs depicted on Herod's dated coins are copies from Roman republican issues, there is no need to describe their symbolic significance. It is unlikely that Herod wished these emblems to represent the same interpretations which the Romans accorded to them. Rather, the designs have one obvious message: they express the origin of Herod's authority. Herod imitated the designs depicted on Roman coinage in order to prove his role as legitimate authority over Mattathias Antigonus, who was not backed by Rome.

Indeed, all the Herodian kings — Herod the Great, Herod Agrippa I, and Herod Agrippa II — who received their legitimacy and support from Rome, imitated on their coinage symbols already depicted on Roman issues. In cases where the designs on Roman coins are copied by the Jewish rulers, care must be taken in analyzing their symbolic interpretation. When Roman symbols are depicted on Jewish coins in order to show the relationship of the Jewish issue to the Roman prototype, the meaning of the symbols should not be interpreted according to their original, pagan definitions. Moreover, it is dangerous to interpret these cultic Roman objects as also representative of the Jewish religion, simply because they appear on coins struck by Jewish rulers.

The dated coins minted by Herod between 40 and 37 B.C.E. deliberately copy symbols from contemporary Roman issues. Herod reproduced these emblems in order to express his superiority over Mattathias Antigonus, to prove that he was the legitimate ruler appointed by the Romans, and to reinforce his position as king.

The Symbols on the Undated Coins

The designs depicted on the undated coins are as follows:

1. Table (with or without bowl) (nos. 7-16).
2. Diadem (with or without a cross inside) (nos. 7-13).
3. Wreath (no. 18).
4. Palm branches (single, in couples, or crossed) (nos. 7, 8, 14, and 15).
5. Vine (no. 16).
6. Anchor (nos. 17-22).

7. Double cornucopias with caduceus between the horns (no. 17).
8. Single cornucopia (no. 23).
9. Galley (no. 22).
10. Eagle (no. 23).

As previously mentioned, this group of coins was struck in Jerusalem. Indeed, they reflect their place of minting from all points of view. The symbols depicted in this division are surprisingly different from those which appear on the dated coins minted at Samaria. Every symbol or design depicted on the Jerusalemite coins can be related to Jewish art and to the Temple. Thus we may regard this entire division of coins as a group which depicts designs integral to the world of Jewish art and symbols.

A. The Table

This design has previously been identified as a tripod. Kanael suggests that pagans might have associated the image with the tripod of Apollo, the Jews might have equated it with the table of the bread of the presence (or show-bread).⁵² Although the object which appears on the coins has three legs, it is not a tripod in the classical sense. The classical tripod, which is depicted on the dated coins of Herod (no. 1) and appears as well on many Greek and Roman issues and on other archaeological artifacts, is a narrow, tall vessel with three long legs. The top has a projection designed to hold a lebes or other utensil. But the design on the undated coins is of a short, wide table which also stands on three legs. Tables such as this have been found in excavations of Jerusalem in strata dating to the Herodian period. These tables are composed of a round slab of flat stone, approximately 60 centimeters in diameter, connected to wooden or metallic legs. Tables with a square top that stand on one foot are also known.⁵³ Tables with three legs were not only used in private homes, they were also part of the furniture of the Temple in Jerusalem. Because this design is depicted on three different denominations, it must have an important connection with the Jewish religion.

As we have already seen in the case of the "menorah" coins of Mattathias Antigonus, the warning of the sages against the artistic renditions of certain sacred objects, including the table, was occasionally disregarded.⁵⁴ Although before 70 C.E., the injunction was ignored only by very few, after the destruction of Jerusalem it became common practice to depict sacred utensils of the Temple in art. Thus it is possible that Herod depicted one of the tables used in the Temple on his coinage.

In *Mishna Shekalim* 6,4 it is stated:

There were thirteen tables in the temple, eight of marble, in the slaughterhouse upon which they rinsed the inwards and two to the west of the slope, one of marble and the other of silver, upon the marble one they laid the parts of the offerings, and upon the silver one the service vessels. And there were two in the hall within at the entrance of the house, one of marble and one of gold, and upon that of marble they placed the showbread when it was brought in and upon that of gold when it was brought out,

because whatever is holy must be enhanced and not degraded. And there was one of gold within upon which the showbread always (lay).

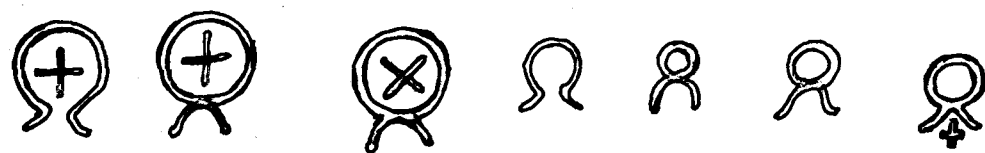
We cannot determine which of these tables is depicted on the Herodian coinage. Most likely, it is the silver one upon which stood the "service vessels" since on most of the designs on the coins, the vessels are visible. These vessels resemble bowls; they are not high and are in the shape of a flat trapezium. On one coin, no. 8, the bowl appears to stand on three feet. On some of the coins of the smaller denominations, no vessels are depicted. However, this omission need not change our identification of the table.

After his installation as king, Herod rebuilt the Temple and furnished it with many new ceremonial objects. He depicted several of these, such as the eagle and the vine, on his coinage. It is possible that the coins which depict the table are Herod's response to the coins featuring the table of the bread of the presence which Antigonus struck in 37 B.C.E. The design on the Herodian issues may represent the very table which he donated to the Temple.

B. The Diadem

The diadem, open or tied, is depicted on many coins minted by Herod. It appears both with and without an internal cross.

The diadem is a well known symbol for royalty. It was depicted earlier on the coins of Alexander Jannaeus (see nos. Ab7, Ca6F). But the cross prevents us from identifying the symbol as merely an indication of royalty. Kanael thinks that the cross is "probably reminiscent of the trito P monogram."⁵⁵ Klimowsky suggests that the internal sign represents the "tav" mentioned in Ezek. 2:4, and is therefore a sign of salvation.⁵⁶ Meyshan does not speculate on a possible meaning for the emblem; he describes it simply as "crossed lines,"⁵⁷ as do many others. But the combination of the + or the x and the diadem is surely too important to be ignored or described simply as reminiscent of something else.



Diadems (Nezarim) with and without Greek chi (coins 7-13)

A hint of the interpretation of this symbol is provided in the Babylonian Talmud. *Kerithoth* 5,2 states, *מִשְׁחִין אֶת הַמְּלָכִים כְּמִין נֹזֵר וְאֵת הַכֹּהֲנִים כְּמִין כִּי אָמַר* "Our rabbis have taught: 'In anointing kings one draws the figure of a crown (diadem, *nezer*) and with the priest in the shape of the letter chi, R. Menashiah said: like a Greek chi'"). It is quite striking that this text mentions both designs depicted on coins of types 7, 8 and 9. If this quotation is to be connected with the symbols on the Herodian coins, we must find a relationship between Herod, who was not a priest, and the symbol used for the anointing of a priest. Herod, who understood the importance of the priesthood for the Jewish people, may have used his coinage to describe symbolically the cooperation between the kingship (the diadem) and the priesthood (the chi). The chi is the symbol of the high priest, who, during the reign of Herod, was Hananel (or Hanamel). This new religious leader had been appointed by the king in place of young Aristobulus the Hasmonaean.⁵⁸ The coins may also indicate symbolically the removal of the high priesthood from the hands of the previous dynasty by Herod, and the subsequent investiture of a priest under government control. Indirectly, therefore, Herod was associated with the priesthood.

C. The Wreath

The wreath is depicted on coin no. 18, where it may function simply as a decorative border for the anchor. However, this symbol may also represent royalty, as the inscription on the obverse of the coin, which reads "of Herod the Great" suggests.

D. The Palm Branches (one or two)

The palm either as a single branch or in couples, appears on many Herodian coins. These branches may represent the lulavs, and consequently symbolize the rituals that took place in the Temple during the pilgrimage festival of Tabernacles (Sukkoth). The combination of the two palm branches with the table also suggests a connection with religious customs. Romanoff has already noted that the palm branches were used in cultic processions.⁵⁹ He cites *Leviticus Rabbah*, *Emore* 30,13: "Two palm-branches for the recitation of the Hallel," which means that the lulavs were used for offering praise to God.

The palm branch, together with the cornucopia, double cornucopias and anchor, are the four designs depicted on Herod's undated coins which are also found in somewhat different forms, on the Hasmonaean coinage. The Herodian designs thus may have some relationship to their Hasmonaean predecessors.

E. The Vine

The design on coin no. 16 is composed of what seems to be a stylized leaf on the left and a small cluster of grapes on the right. If indeed this design represents a vine, it may be associated with the golden vine that Herod

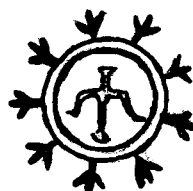
installed in the rebuilt Temple. Josephus notes: "Above these, under the cornice, spread a golden vine with grape clusters hanging from it, a marvel in size and artistry to all who saw with what costliness of material it had been constructed."⁶⁰ This golden vine, which is mentioned in the Mishna as well, is also depicted on the coins of the Bar Cochba rebellion (see nos. 2, 5, 7-10 and many others, on plates 21-23).

F. The Anchor

Because the anchor was previously depicted on the coins of Alexander Jannaeus (see nos. A, C), it is possible that Herod used this design to emphasize his role as the successor to the Hasmonaean kings. Indeed, by marrying Marianne, Herod gained a legal tie with the dynasty. On the coin that depicts the anchor, no. 17, the double cornucopias appear on the reverse. This emblem was also commonly employed by Jannaeus (as well as by the rest of the Hasmonaean kings). Jannaeus, however, was the only Hasmonaean ruler to depict both the anchor and the cornucopias on his coins, although the designs do not appear on the same issues. While the coins struck by Herod do seem reminiscent of those minted by Alexander Jannaeus (see nos. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22), whether Herod intentionally copied the style of these earlier coins is unknown.



19



20



20a



21

Alternatively, it is possible that Herod depicted the anchor to manifest his special interest in the coastal cities and in maritime trade. Thus this symbol may have a meaning independent of its Hasmonaean connections. The anchor is surrounded by a border of dots, type 17; by a wreath, type 18; and by four differently decorated circles, types 19-21. See drawings.

G. The Double Cornucopias with Caduceus Between the Horns

For a previous discussion of the interpretation of the double cornucopias, see vol. I, p. 67. A new discussion of the symbol is required in this chapter because the emblem depicted between the horns differs between the Hasmonaean and Herodian issues. On the Hasmonaean coins, pomegranates or ears of wheat are depicted between the two horns. On the Herodian coins, these symbols are replaced by the caduceus.

The caduceus, a well-known symbol in the Greco-Roman world, is the staff of Hermes the psychopomp. It was also wielded by Asklepios as the badge of his medical skills. Yet the caduceus is not widely depicted in Jewish art.

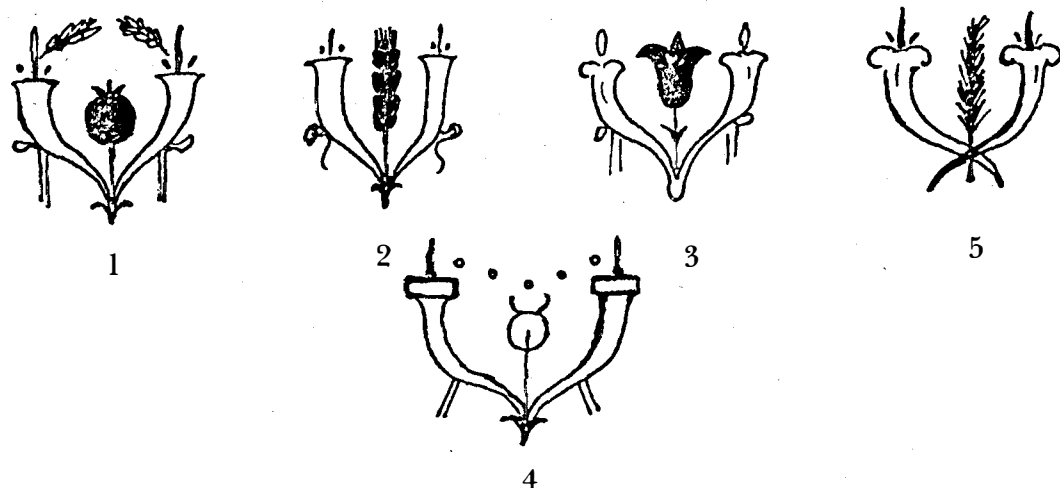
This symbol is depicted on the coins of Herod the Great, as well as on issues minted by his son Archelaus, and by Agrippa II. The most outstanding example of this symbol in Jewish art, however, is found on a coin minted in Sepphoris. The city of Sepphoris flourished during the years between 70 C.E. and 220 C.E. as a semi-autonomous municipality ruled by a Jewish council, or *Boule*.⁶¹ During the reign of Trajan, this city minted a series of coins in four different denominations.⁶² On each issue, a different symbol was depicted: a laurel wreath, a palm tree, the caduceus, and ears of wheat.

This series, struck by the Jewish council, reveals a clear orientation to Jewish art. The caduceus, although a pagan device, is here used in a Jewish context. It may therefore be regarded as at least a stepson in the family of legitimate Jewish symbols.

Perhaps the caduceus was adapted from the Greek vocabulary of symbols by the Jews to represent the Nechushtan, the staff made by Moses in the shape of a serpent, that was used to cure bites from venomous snakes (see Num 21:9). Thus the caduceus, could function in Jewish art as a symbol of health and recovery. *Midrash Rabbah, Numbers* 19, 23 comments that the Nechushtan cured any injury caused by an animal. The Talmudic tractate, *Sanhedrin* 59, 2, states that "for had not the serpent been cursed, every Israelite would have had two valuable serpents, sending one to the north and one to the south to bring him costly gems, precious stones, and pearls." Could this passage reflect a familiarity with the caduceus, a symbol of medical knowledge composed of two serpents entwined around a staff?⁶³

The depiction of the double cornucopias is well established in Jewish art. The design is employed both on coins and on other Jewish decorated objects, such as rings and amulets. Several versions of this emblem are found on the Hasmonaean issues. The designs depicted between the horns of the cornucopias on such artifacts include the following:

1. Pomegranate (on coins and on a stone table from Jerusalem).
2. Ears of wheat (on coins and on a bronze ring from Jerusalem).
3. Lily (on a glass amulet,⁶⁴ and on a bronze ring from Jerusalem⁶⁵).
4. Caduceus (on coins).
5. Palm branch or lulav (on coins of Tiberias).⁶⁶



The coins of the later period, struck by Jewish authorities such as the council of Sepphoris,⁶⁷ and Agrippa II,⁶⁸ as well as those coins struck by the procurator Valerius Gratus for the Jewish people, depict the cornucopias with the caduceus.

H. The Single Cornucopia

The single cornucopia does not have a symbolic interpretation different from that of the double cornucopias. Yet this particular form of the design does have a special function: the single horn refers to the denomination of the coin. The issues struck by Herod the Great are not the only coins to present this indication of denomination. The coin depicting the single cornucopia is a half-prutah (see no. 23). Thus it is equal to one-half the value of the coin on which the double design appears. The same phenomenon occurs on the coins minted under Mattathias Antigonus. The large denomination (no. U) presents the double cornucopias while the half denomination of the same issue (no. V) depicts only one horn.

I. The Galley

This is the only design for which a scholarly consensus concerning an interpretation has been reached. All numismatists maintain that the emblem symbolizes the construction of the harbor of Caesarea in 10 B.C.E. This conclusion is based upon two facts. The coin is quite rare, and therefore must have been struck during a limited period. The event it commemorated had not only to have been singular, but was also involved with a maritime issue. Secondly, the obverse of this coin also depicts a maritime symbol.

The construction of the harbor was one of Herod's greatest achievements.⁶⁹ But moreover, the Romans used the design of the sailing galley to depict the voyage of an emperor. This interpretation does not, however, appear to be applicable to the meaning of the symbol on the Herodian issue.

J. The Eagle

The eagle was a popular symbol in ancient Jewish art, and it is most often depicted in synagogues of the late Roman and Byzantine periods.⁷⁰ Yet the eagle is not a common motif in Jewish numismatics. It appears only on one Herodian coin type.⁷¹ Most scholars who have attempted to interpret the appearance of the eagle on Herod's coinage have associated the design with the following passage from Josephus:⁷²

When these scholars (Judas and Matthias) learned that the king's illness could not be cured, they aroused the youth by telling them that they should pull down all the works built by the king in violation of the laws of their fathers and so obtain from the Law the reward of their pious efforts. It was indeed because of his audacity in making these things in disregard of the Law's provisions, they said, that all those misfortunes, with which he had become familiar to a degree uncommon among mankind, had happened to him, in particular his illness. Now Herod had set about doing certain things that were contrary to the Law, and for these he had been reproached by Judas and Matthias and their followers. For the king had erected over the great gate of the Temple, as a votive offering and at great cost, a great golden eagle, although the Law forbids those who propose to live in accordance with it to think of setting up images or to make dedications of (the likeness of) any living creatures. So these scholars ordered (their disciples) to pull the eagle down.

When Herod rebuilt and redecorated the Temple, he apparently added the eagle as a new ornamentation. Many have associated this act with Herod's placation of the Roman rulers. Goodenough, however, sees the eagle as a Jewish symbol⁷³ whereas Jones maintains that it was a Roman emblem and that the act against the eagle was committed by fanatics and not supported by the populace.⁷⁴ Jones contends that these fanatics needed an excuse for their rebellion against Herod; they condemned the government, not the eagle. Here Goodenough agrees with Jones. He maintains that the passage from Josephus suggests that the golden eagle had, like the golden vine, long been a part of the ornamentation of the Temple and that it was the rabbinic hatred of Herod, not of the eagle itself, that inspired the revolt.⁷⁵

We agree that the eagle depicted on the Herodian coins is intended to represent the eagle of the Temple. Herod may well have included this symbol on his coinage both to evince his contribution to the rebuilt Temple and to reinforce his association with the source of his power, Rome.⁷⁶

Although a symbol of the empire, the eagle apparently also had a Jewish connotation. Both in Oriental and in Western civilizations, this figure represents God. Therefore, the eagle may have symbolized the divine power in the eyes of the group Goodenough calls "the populace." Moreover, the importance of the eagle as a symbol of power and of government can be seen in many stages of Jewish literature, from biblical texts such as Ezek 1:10 and 17:7 to the Midrashim. In *Midrash Rabbah on Exodus* 23,13, we read:

R. Abin said: four kinds of exalted beings have been created in the world. The most exalted of all living creatures is man; of birds, the eagle; of cattle, the ox; and of wild beasts, the lion. All of these received royalty and had greatness bestowed upon them, and they are set under the chariot of God, as it says, 'As for the likeness of their faces, they had the face of a man; they four had the face of a lion ... and ... also the face of an eagle (Ezek 1:10).' Why was this? So that they should not exalt themselves in the world and they should know that the kingdom of heaven is over them. For this reason does it say, 'For one higher than the high watcheth, and there are higher than they (Eccl. 5:&).' This is the meaning of "For he is highly exalted."

It is unknown what proportion of the Jewish population of the latter half of the first century B.C.E. favored the introduction of decorative art into daily life. However, from this period onwards, a dramatic increase in the use of such art is visible. In the Roman and Byzantine periods, this movement received a secure foothold in Judaism.

HEROD ARCHELAUS

4 B.C.E.-6 C.E.

Following the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C.E., the kingdom was divided among his three sons, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip, none of whom inherited the royal title. Herod Archelaus was appointed "ethnarch of Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea" by Augustus.¹ Making Jerusalem his capital, Archelaus began to strike coins in the mint used by his father.

The coins issued by Archelaus were produced using the same techniques as the coinage of Herod the Great. Archelaus also copied the designs which had previously been depicted on his father's coinage. His first two issues reflect only a few alterations to the symbols and inscriptions found on the originals. The first series struck by Archelaus, no. 1, is an imitation of type no. 17, struck by Herod, which depicted the anchor and the double cornucopias with caduceus. The only new features are the distribution of the inscription to both sides of the coin, and the change in title from "king" to "ethnarch." The second series struck by Archelaus, type no. 2, imitates Herod's coins nos. 18, 19, 20, and 21. This issue depicts an inscription surrounded by a wreath on one side, and an anchor on the other.

The Designs

The Galleys

The most striking feature of the coins struck by Archelaus is their emphasis on maritime imagery. All the issues except no. 6 depict symbols associated with the sea. We first believed that this emphasis was related to the major port located within the jurisdiction of the ethnarch, the main harbor at Caesarea. Not only did this port provide Archelaus with a link to the Mediterranean world, but it also gave him a commercial advantage over his brothers.² We now believe, however, that the maritime imagery is meant to evoke an even stronger message. Both the double prutot (no. 3) and the single prutah (no. 4) depict full galleys, a design also found on many Roman coins. The galley apparently represents the voyage made to Rome by Archelaus at the beginning of his reign. The events which precipitated this voyage are described in detail by Josephus: "He [Herod] also called for his will and modified it. He now named Antipas king, passing over his eldest sons Archelaus and Philip."³ But later, Antipas attempted to assume the position and title originally promised to him:⁴

Meanwhile, another claimant to the throne had set out for Rome, namely, Antipas, who maintained that the will in which he had been named king had

greater validity than the codicil. He had received previous promises of support from Salome and from many of his relations who had sailed with Archelaus. He had won over his mother and Ptolemy, brother of Nicolas, from whose influence much was expected, owing to the confidence reposed in him by Herod, who had honoured him above all his friends. But what Antipas mainly relied on was the brilliant eloquence of his advocate Irenaeus; on the strength of this he refused to listen to those who advised him to give way to Archelaus, in consideration of his rights of seniority and the terms of the codicil. At Rome, all the relations, who detested Archelaus, transferred their support to him; the object that was uppermost in the minds of every one of these was autonomy under the administration of a Roman governor, but, in default of that, they preferred to have Antipas for king.

They were aided in this design by Sabinus, who, in dispatches to Caesar, accused Archelaus and highly commended Antipas.

Thus, from the time of Herod's death, Archelaus not only had to contend for the authority promised him in the third will, but also had to face growing opposition from Jerusalem. He desperately needed the support of the emperor; the voyage to Rome was inevitable.

Archelaus sailed from Caesarea with members of his family and legal experts. Antipas also went to Rome, where both brothers appealed their cases to Augustus. Despite all the accusations levelled against Archelaus, and notwithstanding the backing given Antipas by Antipater the son of Salome,⁵ Augustus was swayed by the impressive speech made on behalf of Archelaus by the lawyer Nicolas. Josephus records what next transpired:⁶

Thereupon, Caesar, in a friendly manner, raised up Archelaus, who had thrown himself at his feet, and said that he was most worthy to be king... Caesar considered by himself whether Archelaus should be confirmed as [sole] ruler of the kingdom, or whether this should be apportioned among the whole family of Herod, especially as they were all in need of much assistance.

At this time, a revolt broke out in Judaea against the ethnarch, "for after Archelaus had sailed, the whole nation became unruly." Varus, the governor of Syria, partially suppressed the unrest, yet pockets of rebellion and intermittent bloodshed continued for an extended period.

Upon his return to Jerusalem, Archelaus found it necessary to reinforce his authority. Consequently, he depicted galleys on his coinage to remind the populace of his successful voyage to Rome and of his victory over Antipas. The support given to Archelaus by the Romans continued during the remaining few years of his harsh administration.⁷ Further emphasizing his authority, Archelaus inscribed his title of ethnarch on his coinage. The title both articulated his legitimized power as well as noted the possibility that he might later be proclaimed king.⁸

The Symbols of Coin No. 6

The first two types minted by Archelaus were continuations of coins nos. 17 and 18 of Herod the Great.⁹ The symbols which Archelaus included on his

next three issues, nos. 3, 4, and 5, indicate his victorious voyage to Rome and emphasize his possession of the harbor at Caesarea as well as the port at Jaffa. Yet the emblems depicted on coin no. 6, a crested helmet and a branch with grapes, are of an entirely new character.

Type no. 6, which depicts the clearest inscription of all the issues struck by Archelaus, may have been designed to placate his constituency with a Jewish symbol. We have already discussed in detail (see pp. 25-26) the golden vine which stood at the entrance to the Temple, and have noted that the vine was a common motif in Jewish art. Archelaus inscribed his name above this symbol on type no. 6 to show his connection with Judaism and his status as the ruler of Jerusalem.

The crested helmet, depicted on the reverse of this issue, is apparently intended to symbolize the title "ethnarch." This same image was employed on the coins of the previous ethnarch, John Hyrcanus II (vol. I, see coin R). Moreover, except for the rare case of coin 6f, the title itself is consistently depicted near the helmet. The small caduceus shown to the left of the helmet provides a link to the coinage of Herod the Great; Herod depicted this symbol on his most common issue (no. 17).

The Parallel Cornucopias

Parallel cornucopias are depicted on two issues, no. 3 and 4, struck by Archelaus. We do not believe there is any variation in the symbolic interpretation between the parallel and the heraldic form of the design. The cornucopias, in parallel form, appear on the double-prutot (group R) struck by Hyrcanus in 47 B.C.E. Interestingly, both Hyrcanus and Archelaus, the only Jewish rulers to depict this version of the symbol, were also both accorded the title of ethnarch by the Roman emperor. Could this be merely coincidental?

In our discussion of the coinage minted by John Hyrcanus II, we suggest that the cornucopias may signify the denomination of each group (see p. 68 and note also the single horn depicted on the half-prutot struck by Herod the Great, no. 23). This theory cannot, however, be applied to the coins of Archelaus. Parallel cornucopias are also depicted on his galley series (no. 4), which has the denomination of a single, not a double, prutah.

The Inscriptions

The coins of Archelaus record only Greek inscriptions. The name and title of the ruler are depicted either in the genitive form: HPWΔOY EΘNAPXOY (either full or abbreviated) or in the nominative: HPWΔHC EΘNAPXHC. On one specimen, no. 6f, the obverse depicts the title EΘNAPXOY in the genitive and the reverse depicts the name HPWΔHC in the nominative. The other issues depict the name on the obverse, the title on the reverse.

Several irregularities appear both in the forms of the characters and in the legends. Many of the letters are depicted either upside-down or in retrograde

form (see no. 3c). Disorder in the distribution of letters also occurs, and many of the legends are in retrograde form or are boustrophedonic.¹⁰ In some cases, the design itself is retrograde (see nos. 3c, 3d, 3e, and 5g). These anomalies are even more outstanding than those on the undated coins of Herod the Great.

The Crude Coins

Many of the coins minted by Archelaus were executed in a crude style (see nos. 1f, 3g, 6c, 6d, and 6e). Not only are the designs and inscriptions poorly and erroneously depicted, but also the flans appear to have been defective. The coins are lighter and occasionally much thinner than comparable, contemporaneous issues. These discrepancies do not necessarily indicate the usage of another mint.

Despite his relatively short reign, Archelaus struck more coins than his brothers Antipas and Philip, who both had longer terms in office. The quantity of his issues is explained by the nature of the ethnarchy he ruled. Archelaus presided over the most populated and most important cities of the country, Jerusalem, Samaria, and Caesarea. It is in these locations that most of his coinage has been discovered.

Many of the coins minted by Archelaus have also been found in the district of Jericho. This archaeological evidence corresponds to a note by Josephus. He reports that Archelaus rebuilt "the royal palace in Jericho in splendid fashion, and diverted half the water that served to irrigate the village of Neara, leading it into a plain that had been planted by him with palm trees."¹¹

Archelaus ruled for 10 years, which he filled with cruelty and tyranny. His administrative policies eventually provoked both Jews and Samaritans to bring charges against him to Rome. Heeding the complaints made against the ethnarch, Augustus exiled Archelaus to Vienna in Gaul and confiscated his property. The lands of the ethnarchy were added to the Roman province of Syria, and a procurator was installed as the new governing authority.

HEROD ANTIPAS

4 B.C.E.–39 C.E.

The year following the death of Herod the Great was characterized by a bitter struggle for power between his sons Archelaus and Antipas. Although Herod's first will stipulated that Antipas was to inherit the kingdom, the terms of this document were disregarded by Augustus. Following the dictates of a codicil, the Roman emperor accorded to Antipas only the minor position of tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea.

Antipas was forced to establish an original basis for his administration; no previous governing system existed for his tetrarchy. He first settled in Sepphoris, which he rebuilt "to be the ornament of all Galilee, and called it Autocratoris."¹ He also fortified Betharamphtha, which he renamed Julias, to be a center for Peraea. Antipas next moved his capital to a new city built by Lake Gennesaret, in the most fertile and beautiful region of the Galilee. This city, founded in the manner of a "Hellenistic polis,"² he named Tiberias, in honor of Tiberius Caesar. Because this city was constructed over a gravesite,³ Antipas had difficulty finding Jewish settlers. He was eventually obliged to populate Tiberias with paupers, adventurers, and foreigners.

The Founding of Tiberias and the Reed

Josephus connects the founding of Tiberias to the final years of the rule of Antipas and to the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate (26–36 C.E.). Eusebius dates the founding of the city to the fourteenth year of the emperor Tiberius, but, as Schürer notes, "This statement is quite without chronological value."⁴ Avi-Yonah, trading the literary evidence for archaeological data, in a detailed study first analyzes the information yielded by Roman imperial city coins issued in Tiberias in order to date its founding.⁵ He rightly comments:⁶

The coins of Tiberias which are dated by the era of the city, supply the best and safest evidence of the city's founding date, though they do not yet fix the date for certain. However, it is clear that: (i) the coins of Hadrian, struck in the year 100 of Tiberias, could not have been dated before the accession of Hadrian in 117; it follows that Tiberias was not founded before A.D. 17; (ii) the coins of Commodus struck in the year 170 of the city could not have been dated after the death of Commodus in 192. Tiberias was therefore not founded after A.D. 22. Thus the gap is narrowed down to the five years from 17–22 A.D.

Avi-Yonah next shows how events such as the founding of new cities by the Romans were usually connected to important dates in the life of the emperor. Within the range of 17–22 C.E. established by the city coins, the

year 18 C.E. holds an important position. It marks both the sixtieth birthday of Tiberius and the twentieth anniversary of his holding the *Tribunicia Potestas*. Therefore, Avi-Yonah dates the founding of Tiberias to 18 C.E.

Since the publication of this article, several more coins struck by Antipas have been discovered. All are dated to the twenty-fourth year of his rule (LKA).⁷ This is the earliest date depicted on the coinage of this tetrarch. New issues, with different designs, were not struck by Antipas until eight years later. "Year 24" corresponds to 20 C.E., a date which falls within the range established by the city coins. There is no doubt that these issues struck by Antipas commemorate the founding of Tiberias. The symbols depicted on them support this conclusion.

On the reverse of this series, struck in four denominations, the name of the city is inscribed in Greek: TIBE/PIAC and is encircled by a wreath. This is the first depiction of the name of a city on Jewish coinage. The obverse depicts a stalk with leaves facing downward. This plant is obviously not identical to the palm branches with straight leaves which appear on the later issues. We still support our prior conclusion that the early design represents a reed.⁸ The identification has been upheld by botanists consulted for this study.

We previously suggested that the reed symbolizes the founding of Tiberias.⁹ This identification is confirmed by both botanical and numismatic evidence. The reed is the most common plant native to the Sea of Galilee. Moreover, the palm branches and trees as well as the clusters of dates depicted on the later issues symbolize the mature city, in which such cultivated plants were grown. Thus the reed symbolizes the newborn city.

Yet the reed may represent more than the origin plant of Tiberias. In the Talmud and the Midrashim, the reed often symbolizes a stream or riverbank.¹⁰ Indeed, it serves as an emblem of fresh water on the coins of many cities situated on rivers.¹¹ Because it grows near fresh water, the reed also symbolizes fertility and durability. The Talmud states:¹²

Just as a reed grows in well-watered soil and its stem is renewed and its roots are numerous, and even if all the winds of the world come and blow upon it, they cannot dislodge it from its place, but it is always in unison with them, and as soon as the winds subside, the reed still stands in its place.

Nay more, it was the reed's privilege that a quill thereof should be taken for the writing of the scroll of the Torah, Prophets, and Hagiographa.

According to the rabbis, the reed is associated not only with the sacred texts, but also with wisdom. *Berakhoth* 56b states: "Our rabbis taught, if one sees a reed in a dream, he may hope for wisdom." Therefore, the reed depicted on the early coins minted by Antipas may carry the connotations of stability and growth, as wishes for the newly-born city.

Even more significant for the interpretation of this symbol is a passage in *Sanhedrin* 21b, which connects the reed to the founding of cities: "R. Isaac said: 'When Solomon married Pharaoh's daughter, Gabriel descended and stuck a reed in the sea which gathered a sandbank around it, on which was

built the great city of Rome.'"¹³ Although these rabbinic quotations are derived from literary sources which post-date the founding of Tiberias, the statements may well reflect older traditions, known to the Jews of the Galilee. Thus any or all of these interpretations may be inherent in the symbol depicted on the coins.

The Mint and the Denominations

Previously, we suggested that Antipas minted coins in three different denominations.¹⁴ An examination of several recently discovered coins, however, has convinced us that the tetrarch minted both his first issues of 20 C.E. and his later issues of "33", "34" and "37" in four denominations.¹⁵ He thus followed his father (see coins of Herod the Great nos. 1-6, Antigonos produced only three denominations; see groups U, V and W).

Unfortunately, the number of well-preserved coins minted by Antipas is not large enough to permit us to definitively determine the value of each denomination. Nevertheless, although the largest coins vary greatly in weight, the three lighter issues seem to fall into a logical pattern of relative values. The smallest coins, which weigh on the average 1.8 grams, are half the value of the next largest issue of 3.5 grams, one-quarter the value of the second largest issue of 7 grams, and probably one-eighth the value of the largest denomination, which ranges in weight between 12 and 17.5 grams.

These coins may be compared to the contemporaneous Roman system of five denominations:

1. Roman quadrans — average weight 1.8 grams (not in use).
2. Roman semis — average weight 3.6 grams.
3. Roman as — average weight 10 grams.
4. Roman dupondius — average weight 14 grams.
5. Roman sestertius — average weight 27 grams.

It is difficult to equate the two systems because the coins of each are struck from different alloys. The Roman system used during the reign of Tiberius produced sestertia and dupondia from orichalcum, a beautiful yellow alloy composed of copper and zinc. The smaller denominations were minted only in copper, which yielded a reddish color and an inferior quality. This change in composition explains why an as, which is worth half a dupondius, weighs 10 rather than seven grams. The coins minted by Antipas are all composed of the same alloy, an inferior type of bronze that did not preserve well. Although the two systems are not equivalent, the denominations are comparable:

<i>Antipas</i>		<i>Rome</i>
1. Large denomination (nos. 1, 5, 9, 13, and 17)	=	dupondius
2. Half denomination (nos. 2, 6, 10, 14, and 18)	=	as

- | | |
|---|------------|
| 3. Quarter denomination
(nos. 3, 7, 11, 15 and 19) | = semis |
| 4. Eighth denomination
(nos. 4, 8, 12 and 16) | = quadrans |

The half denomination of Antipas is lighter than the Roman as, but the two coins have the same value; the piece minted by the tetrarch is composed of bronze which was more valuable than copper.

This standard of comparison may be extended to relate the coins minted by Antipas to the silver denarius. One silver denarius was equivalent to 8 large pieces, 16 coins of the half denomination, 32 quarter pieces, and 64 coins of the eighth denomination.

The Gap Between 20/21 C.E. and 29/30 C.E.

Although Antipas founded a mint at Tiberias and struck an impressive series there early in his rule, he did not continue to produce coinage between 21 C.E. and 29 C.E. We have not been able to find any historical or political explanation for this gap. Perhaps the new currency would have been superfluous. The market may have been saturated with the bronze coins struck for Judaea and Samaria by the Roman procurators. The semi-imperial coins have been discovered throughout these regions as well as in the Galilee. The bronze coins of Philip and of Tyre and Sidon were also available locally. In addition to the fiscal situation, Antipas apparently had no political reason to mint coins until 29/30 C.E.; no events or ideas needed this form of publication.

In 26 C.E., the Roman procurator of Judaea, Valerius Gratus, was replaced by Pontius Pilate. This new authority immediately began to antagonize the local population by actions such as erecting a "votive shield in the palace at Jerusalem."¹⁶ Pilate, who struck coins between 29 and 32 C.E. (see nos. 21-28), was the catalyst for the new flurry of minting activity carried out by both Antipas and his brother Philip.

Both tetrarchs struck contemporary coins in two consecutive years. Antipas, after a gap in minting of nine years, struck coins nos. 5-12. Philip, after a comparable gap of three years, struck his nos. 10 and 11.¹⁷ The coins minted by the Herodians served to emphasize their legitimate rights as Jewish rulers.

The Second Series

In his thirty-third year (29/30 C.E.), Antipas again minted coins in four denominations. Instead of a reed, these coins depict a palm branch. This symbol has two distinct interpretations of which either or both may have been intended by the tetrarch.

The first and most obvious interpretation of the palm is as the lulav, a ritual object discussed in detail above (see vol. I p. 147 and this vol. p. 25) in connection with the Hasmonaean and Herodian coinage. The second

interpretation is directly related to the city of Tiberias. The capital, founded in a wild and uninhabited area, grew in a relatively short period into a major metropolis.¹⁸ Antipas honored the expanding city by depicting on his coins palm branches and later, palm trees and clusters of dates, all symbols of agriculture and fertility. These designs made the coins meaningful to the constituency, especially to the Jews of the Galilee and the Golan, where such plants flourished.¹⁹

During the last 10 years of his rule, Antipas struck two different sets of coins (see table of comparative dates, p. 50).

A. The first and most popular group was struck in three different years:

1. ΛΓ "year 33" — 29/30 C.E.
2. ΛΔ "year 34" — 30/31 C.E.
3. ΛΖ "year 37" — 33/34 C.E.²⁰

All four denominations of this group depict the palm branch on the obverse. Although the smallest coins (nos. 8, 12 and 16) have the simple inscription HPWΔOY (of Herod), the other coins read HPWΔOY TETPAPXOY (of Herod the Tetrarch). The reverse of the coins depicts the name of the city TIBE/PIAC (Tiberias) encircled by a wreath. On the smallest denomination, the name is abbreviated to T/C because of lack of space.

There are three minor differences between the inscriptions on the coins dated ΛΓ and ΛΔ, and those on the issues dated ΛΖ. The legend on the later series begins in the upper right whereas those of ΛΓ and ΛΔ read from the lower left. However, it is possible that the coins of ΛΓ and ΛΔ are to be read with the title first: TETPAPXOY HPWΔOY. Secondly, the shape of the omega (Ω) on the coins dated ΛΖ is similar to that of the specimens inscribed ΜΓ but different from that of groups dated ΛΓ and ΛΔ. These earlier issues employ the alternate form W. Thirdly, the shape of the alpha (Α) on the last group is different from that on the earlier two (Α).

In various previous publications two more dates of Antipas' coins were suggested, but now we have no doubt that the only dates appearing on Antipas' coins are the years 24, 33, 34, 37, and 43.²⁰ Some other anomalies, such as countermarks on coins of Antipas, are also not in existence.²¹

B. The second set reveals certain innovations. It was struck in 38/39 C.E., during the last year of the rule of Antipas and following a gap in minting of six years. The coins are dated ΜΓ or "year 43".

Series B is comprised of three different denominations, each depicting a design associated with the palm tree. The large denomination (no. 17) depicts a palm tree with seven branches and two clusters of dates. The middle denomination (no. 18) depicts a palm branch (compare the design on the earlier coinage struck by Antipas), and the smallest pieces (no. 19) depict a cluster of dates.²²

Because the three designs are all associated with the date palm, all have the same symbolic value. The denominations are represented by the specific

part of the palm presented on the coins: the largest coins depict the entire tree, the medium pieces the branch, and the smallest specimens the date. Partitioning the main design to signify different denominations was not infrequently practiced in ancient minting. This phenomenon is reflected, for example, on the coins of Mattathias Antigonus; his large bronze, group U, depicts double cornucopias; the half denomination, group V, has a single horn.

The second distinctive feature of the series is the inscription on the reverse. The name of the city, Tiberias, is replaced with the name of the emperor, Gaius Caligula, who came to the throne in 37 C.E. When Caligula took office, he appointed Agrippa, the brother-in-law of Antipas and the grandson of Herod the Great, king of the territory formerly held by Philip as well as of the lands of Lysanias. Armed with this prestigious title, Agrippa arrived in Judaea in 38 C.E.²³ Josephus recounts the reaction of Herodias, the wife of Antipas, to her brother's new title:²⁴

Herodias, the sister of Agrippa and wife of Herod, tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, begrudged her brother his rise to power far above the state her husband enjoyed...

She instigated her husband, urging him to embark for Rome and sue for equal status. For their life was unbearable, she said, if Agrippa, who was the son of that Aristobulus who had been condemned to death by his father, who had himself known such helpless poverty that the necessities of daily life had entirely failed him, and who had set out on his voyage to escape from his creditors, should have returned as a king, while Herod himself, the son of a king, who was called by his royal birth to claim equal treatment, should rest content to live as a commoner to the end of his life...

[She said], "Never regard it as anything but a disgrace to play second fiddle to those who were but yesterday dependent on your bounty for survival. Come, let us go to Rome; let us spare neither pains nor expense of silver and gold, since there is no better use for which we might hoard them than to expend them on the acquisition of a kingdom."

Acquiescing to his wife's pleadings, Antipas sailed to Rome to ask for the royal title. Agrippa, aware of this plan, sent a message to Rome accusing Antipas of conspiracy against the emperor. Caligula, heeding the message of his friend, stripped Antipas of his title and sent him into exile.

While Antipas was in Rome, he ordered the minting of the last series of coins, dated "year 43". The issues were inscribed with the name and title of the emperor: ΓΑΙΩ/ΚΑΙΣΑΡ/ΓΕΡΜΑ/ΝΙΚΩ. During this same year, 38/39 C.E., Agrippa, who had only recently settled in the Holy Land, struck his first issue, which depicts not only his new title, but also his portrait.²⁵

The Inscriptions

All coins struck by Antipas prior to 38 C.E. are inscribed with his title and name in the genitive form: ΗΡΩΔΕΩΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΕΩΥ. This grammatical construction adds emphasis to the ruler's possession of both country and

currency. Yet on the coins struck in "year 43" the name and title appear in the nominative form: ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ. This latest series also depicts, in the dative, the name and title of Gaius Caligula, which suggests that the coins were symbolically struck *for and in honor of* the emperor.²⁶ The inscription appearing on both sides of the year 43 coins may be regarded as a tribute to the emperor, translated as: "Herod the Tetrarch to Gaius Caesar Germanicus".

Currencies and Circulation

The coins minted by Antipas were not circulated beyond the borders of his tetrarchy. Indeed, only one of the tens of thousands of ancient coins found in various excavations in Jerusalem was struck by Antipas.²⁷ The pieces minted by this tetrarch have been generally discovered in the excavations in and around Tiberias.²⁸

The main currency of the period was the Tyrian shekel (and half-shekel). Use of Roman denarii was not yet extensive. Although the coins of Antipas were not widely disseminated, those minted by his brothers Archelaus and Philip were circulated in the Galilee together with autonomous Tyrian bronzes.²⁹ Because of the poor alloy from which the bronze coins of Antipas were struck, the majority of the pieces which have survived are extremely corroded and worn.

PHILIP

4 B.C.E.–34 C.E.

Philip, like his brother Antipas, received only the title of tetrarch. Unlike the other sons of Herod the Great, however, Philip did not seek a higher position, although his tetrarchy, assigned to him by the second will of Herod, was both smaller and poorer than the regions given to Archelaus and Antipas.¹ This will entrusted to Philip the regions of Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Paneas.² Josephus notes that "Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and a certain portion of what was called the domain of Zenodorus brought an income of one-hundred talents to Philip."³ This was half the income provided by the domain entrusted to Antipas, and one-third that of the portion inherited by Archelaus.

The population of the districts ruled by Philip was mainly non-Jewish. Therefore, the tetrarch did not mint coins depicting Jewish symbols. Indeed, not only do his issues resemble Roman provincial coinage, but also, Philip was the first Jewish ruler to depict his own portrait on currency, as well as that of the Roman emperor.

The Mint and the Design of the Temple

Like his brothers, Philip constructed new cities and fortifications. He first "made improvements (κατασκευάσας) at Paneas, the city near the sources of the Jordan, and called it Caesarea."⁴ This city is commonly referred to in the gospels as Caesarea Philippi.⁵ Naturally, Philip minted his coinage in this city, his capital.

The coins depict designs associated with the history and culture of the city. The building depicted on the issues represents, we believe, the "Augusteum," a temple built in Caesarea Paneas by Herod the Great in honor of Augustus. Josephus describes the origin of this temple: "And when he [Herod] returned home after escorting Caesar [Augustus] to the sea, he erected to him a very beautiful temple of white stone in the territory of Zenodorus, near the place called Paneion."⁶ Philip, like his father, manifested his loyalty to the emperor by means of architectural enterprises. The tetrarch dedicated the rebuilt city of Paneas to Augustus ("Caesar") and may have made some changes in the temple itself in order to honor the Roman ruler.⁷

The inscriptions on the coins minted by Philip also refer to the rebuilding of Caesarea Paneas, as Hill has noted.⁸ Following the name of the tetrarch, the word ΚΤΙΣ [ΤΗΣ] (founder) is depicted (see no. 11).

External evidence reveals the connection of the coinage to the location of the mint as well. The other major city located within the jurisdiction of the

tetrarch, Julias (Bethsaida), never issued currency. Moreover, the mint at Paneas was used following the rule of Philip, both by Agrippa I and his son, Agrippa II as well as, from the time of Marcus Aurelius until 220 C.E., by the Roman provincial authorities.⁹

The Era of Philip

All three sons of Herod the Great inherited their lands and titles in 4 B.C.E. However, numismatic evidence argues that the era of Philip's coins did not begin until one year later, in 3 B.C.E. According to the dated Roman provincial coins, struck in the mint of Paneas, the refounding of the city cannot be dated any earlier than 3 B.C.E. The coins of Diadumenian and Macrinus are both inscribed "KC" or 220. Since these emperors did not attain power earlier than 217 or later than 218, according to their eras, their coins must refer to a period begun sometime between 3 and 2 B.C.E.¹⁰ The earliest coins of Elagabal, struck in Paneas, are dated "CKA" or 221,¹¹ which again refers to the era beginning at 3 B.C.E. Do we date the era of Philip to 4 B.C.E., when he was appointed tetrarch, or to 3 B.C.E. as the Roman provincial coins suggest, when he apparently founded both his capital and his mint?

According to Josephus, Philip died in 34 C.E., the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius.¹² The historian also notes that this year corresponds to the thirty-seventh year of Philip's rule. This observation is confirmed by numismatic evidence; the latest date inscribed on the coins minted by Philip is "year 37." With this information, we can date the beginning of Philip's tetrarchate to either 4 B.C.E. or 3 B.C.E. If we choose to accept the earlier date, then "year 37" is the equivalent of 33/34 C.E. (which corresponds to the year of Philip's death). If 3 B.C.E. is selected, "year 37" must be 34/35 C.E. Following the historical and the numismatic evidence, our best option is to accept 4 B.C.E. as the beginning of the rule of Philip, but 3 B.C.E. as the beginning of the era of Caesarea Paneas (used later on the city coinage of the 2nd and 3rd centuries C.E.).

The Types

Except for one group, all the coins minted by Philip are dated. The earliest date depicted is "year 5" (E); the latest is "year 37" (ΛΖ). The exceptional type, an undated coin (no. 6) is, in our opinion, the first struck under Tiberius. This coin depicts the jugate heads of Augustus and Livia and the outline of the Augusteum.¹³ The conjoined profiles were common to many coins issued in Roman provincial mints, such as those in Ephesus, Ionia,

and Lydia.¹⁴ The depiction of the building is not quite clear. Previously, the round design which appears in the center of the temple was interpreted as the Greek letter theta (Θ). Therefore, the coin was dated "year 9."¹⁵ We are now convinced that the design does not represent a date. On the better-preserved coins the object does not resemble a theta, and the sign for "year," the L, is not present. The meaning of the design, however, has not yet been found.

Coin no. 6 differs from the later issues not only in the design depicted on its obverse; the jugate heads of Augustus and Livia, but also in its rendition of the temple and in the inscription found on its reverse. The inscription reads: ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ. The preposition ΕΠΙ which may be translated as "by," "during the time of," or "under," is used on Philip's coins dated "year 30" (no. 8), "year 34" (no. 11) and "year 37" (no. 14). The word is used mainly on coins which present the head of the Roman emperor on one side, and the name of another figure, a local governor or vassal king, on the other.¹⁶ The year 14 C.E. is the earliest possible dating for coin no. 6 since the title ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ includes both Augustus and Livia; Livia, however, was granted the title "Augusta" only after the death of Augustus in 14 C.E.

The earliest date depicted on a coin minted by this tetrarch is LE ("year 5") or 1/2 C.E. It appears on two types of coins which may represent different denominations of the same series. One type, coin no. 1, depicts the head of Augustus on one side and the portrait of Philip on the reverse. This is the first Jewish, iconographic portrayal of a Jewish king. The second type depicts the head of Philip on one side, and the Augusteum on the other. On this issue, the name and title of the emperor are inscribed around the temple; Type no. 2 appears to be a half-denomination of type no. 1.¹⁷

In his twelfth regnal year, after a gap of eight years, Philip again struck coins. These new issues depict the Augusteum and the portrait of Augustus. The same two designs are repeated on coins issued in the sixteenth regnal year. During the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Philip minted similar types, dated to years 19, 30, 33, 34, and 37. In his thirty-fourth year, Philip introduced a new issue: a small denomination depicting his own portrait on the obverse, and the date inscribed in a wreath on the reverse (see no. 12; the same type, depicting his portrait, was struck again in Philip's 37th year (no. 13).

The Portrait of the Emperor

The most impressive feature of the coins minted by Philip is the portrait of the Roman emperor, first Augustus (alone, or with his wife Livia) and then Tiberius. Neither Archelaus nor Antipas minted coins depicting the portrait and name of the emperor (with the notable exception of the coins struck by Antipas in 38/39 C.E., see p. 40). The coins minted by Philip are also distinguished because of the nature of the tetrarchy in which they were

circulated. The predominantly Gentile population was not offended by the depiction of a human portrait.

The presence of the portrait of the emperor cannot, however, be explained simply with reference to the composition of the population. Were the presentation of human figures Philip's main concern, he could easily have depicted his own portrait on more of his issues. But this he rarely did. The depiction of the emperor therefore must also be explained in terms of the historical context.

Archelaus, the eldest of Herod's sons, was greatly disappointed to have received only the title of ethnarch, and not that of king. Antipas was no less ambitious. Having been promised the kingship by Herod, but demoted by Augustus, Antipas found himself in conflict with the emperor. Only Philip, who received the rank promised to him by his father, was content with his relationship with Rome and with his title. Consequently, rather than feel enmity towards Augustus and Tiberius, Philip paid tribute to them with his coinage. Neither Archelaus nor Antipas were motivated to do the same.

The Details of the Designs

1. The Head of the Emperor

Coin no. 3 depicts the portrait of Augustus. The head of the emperor, facing right, is crowned with laurels. The same depiction appears on coins nos. 4 and 5. On type no. 4, the profile faces left. On later issues, the head of Tiberius, also laureate and facing right, is depicted. On certain groups (see nos. 8, 10a, 11 and 14) the portrait is accompanied by a laurel branch in field right. Both laurel branch and laurel wreath were important symbols in the early Roman empire, and both were the personal emblems of Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Tiberius. This last ruler even attributed the magical power of warding off lightning to the laurel, believing that the electric fluid never struck that tree.¹⁸

On coin no. 9, the head of the emperor is not encircled by an inscription. The few specimens of type no. 1, which also depict the portrait of Philip, present Augustus as bareheaded.

2. The Head of the Tetrarch

The portrait of Philip, facing right, appears on coins nos. 1, 2, 12 and 13. On all issues, he is shown bareheaded. Philip's rank did not entitle him to wear a crown or diadem,¹⁹ nor had he any reason to wear the imperial wreath. Josephus notes that the tetrarch carried his throne (θρόνος) when he performed governmental duties.²⁰ This throne, rather than a crown, symbolized his authority.

The depiction on a coin of the portrait of a Jewish ruler seems contrary to the Biblical injunction: "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor

any manner of likeness, of anything that is in heaven above or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.”²¹ This law was strictly followed at least until the beginning of the common era. Indeed, Jewish “art” in general appears relatively late in the history of the people. It did not flourish until the Roman period, and then only after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E.

The beginning of Jewish iconography is well illustrated by the coins minted by Jewish leaders. Yet the depiction of the portrait of a Jewish ruler is a most daring feature. Were his tetrarchy comprised of a predominantly Jewish population, Philip would not have been able to strike such distinctive coinage.

Depictions of personal portraits were widespread and long established in the ancient world. Egyptian pharaohs as well as the later Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings and Roman emperors erected statues of themselves throughout their realms. Indeed, Herod the Great built such a statue in one of his Gentile jurisdictions.²² The coins of Philip must be seen in this non-Jewish context.²³

3. The Temple

We have already suggested that the depiction of the facade of a tetrastyle temple represents the Augusteum, constructed in Caesarea Paneas by Herod the Great. The design of the building varies among the groups of coins on which it is depicted. On the undated series, no. 6, an enigmatic round shape, which perhaps represents a decoration on the entrance door, appears in the middle of the temple. Similar designs ornament other such buildings depicted on coinage.²⁴ The round design is replaced by the date on other issues.

The pediment of the building is triangular and in Greek style. A projecting decoration on the top may be seen clearly on coin no. 6. A hint of this decoration appears also on nos. 2, 5, 8, 9, 10 and 14. On the majority of the types, a pellet is located inside the pediment. However, on no. 4, leaves are depicted, and on the beautifully designed reverse of no. 2, a lily appears.²⁵ The capitals of the columns are in the Ionic style (see especially nos. 2, 8, 11 and 14). The building itself is situated on a high platform; on several coins, a staircase is shown leading to the temple (see nos. 5 and 7).

4. The Wreath

The laurel wreath appears on types 12 and 13. It surrounds the date.

The Inscriptions

All inscriptions on the coins of Philip are in Greek.

A. Obverse Inscriptions Appearing with the Portrait of the Emperor

(1) ΚΑΙΣΑΡΩΣ ΕΒΑΕΤΟΥ: Genitive, “of Caesar Augustus”. The inscription appears only on coin no. 1.

(2) ΕΒΑΕΤΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ: Dative, “to Caesar Augustus”. The inscription appears on coins 3, 4, and 5. This same legend is repeated on later coins, but the name of Augustus is replaced by that of Tiberius. See nos. 7 and 10.

(3) ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ: genitive plural of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ (Augustus), referring both to the emperor and to his wife (after his death). This inscription appears only on coin no. 6.

(4) ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΕΒΑΕΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ: Nominative, “Tiberius Augustus Caesar”. The inscription appears on nos. 7, 8, 10, 11 and 14.

B. Inscriptions Appearing with the Portrait of Philip

(1) ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ: Genitive, “Of Philip the tetrarch.” The inscription is depicted on coins nos. 1 and 2.

(2) ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ: Genitive, “of Philip”; the title is missing due to lack of space on coins 12 and 13.

C. Reverse Inscriptions

(1) ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ: “By” or “in the time of Philip the tetrarch.” The inscription appears on coins nos. 6, 8a, 10a and 14.

(2) ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ: “Of Philip the tetrarch.” The inscription appears on coins nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, and 10.

(3) ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΤΙC[ΤΗC]: “By” or “in the time of Philip the tetrarch, founder.” The inscription appears on coin no. 11.

(4) ΕΒΑΕΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ: “Augustus Caesar.” The inscription appears on coin no. 2.

The Countermarks

The issues struck by Philip are the first Jewish coins to bear countermarks. The feature occurs in two different patterns, the first appearing on the coins of “year 12” (no. 3a), and the latter on many of the coins dated “year 16” (see no. 5a) and mostly on the pieces dated “year 19” (see no. 7a). The first countermark, which appears on approximately one-third of the coins of type 6 (see no. 6a), consists of a six-pointed star. This countermark, in most cases, is accompanied by another one, consists of a rectangle with two semi-circles (☞).

Neither design appears to have a symbolic meaning.²⁶ The third countermark consists of a large Greek phi (Φ). Although this letter may refer to Philip (Φ [IAIIIIIOE]), we do not know the reason for its inclusion on the coinage.

Countermarks on bronze currency often signify either a change in governing authority or a need to revalidate the coins of a particular ruler.²⁷ Countermarks were also used to revive a badly worn coin. Yet none of these explanations are applicable to the coins of Philip. This phenomenon may be compared to the later issues struck by Agrippa I (nos. 5a, 6a, 8a, and 9a), and by Agrippa II (nos. 8b, 14a, 25a, 36a, 36b, 37e–37g, 53a and 54a). It should be noted that the countermarks on Philip's coins are limited to years "12", "16", and "19" (8–15 C.E.). This reinforces our assumption that the undated coin (no. 6) was struck in 14 C.E. rather than later.

The Dates

(1) LE	"year 5"	1/2 C.E.	Nos. 1 and 2.
(2) LIB	"year 12"	8/9 C.E.	Nos. 3, 3a, 3b, and 4.
(3) LIS	"year 16"	12/13 C.E.	Nos. 5 and 5a.
(4) LIΘ	"year 19"	15/16 C.E.	Nos. 7 and 7a–7d
(5) LA	"year 30"	26/27 C.E.	Nos. 8, 8a and 9.
(6) LAΓ	"year 33"	29/30 C.E.	Nos. 10 and 10a.
(7) LAΔ	"year 34"	30/31 C.E.	Nos. 11 and 12.
(8) LAZ	"year 37"	33/34 C.E.	No. 13

Jewish authorities who ruled before Philip rarely inscribed dates on their coinage. Alexander Jannaeus minted only one dated group (see group Cd), and later, Herod the Great struck a series of coins dated "year 3" (see nos. 1–6). The remainder of the coins struck by Herod the Great, as well as those of Archelaus (struck in the same Jerusalem mint used by his father) are undated. Philip, the first Jewish ruler to systematically date his coins, apparently struck only one undated type, no. 6.

The depiction of the date on the coinage serves to emphasize the gaps in minting which occurred during the rule of the tetrarch. Of his 37 years in office, Philip minted coins during only eight or nine.

As noted below, the coins dated "year 33" and "year 34" are parallel issues to the coins of Antipas (nos. 5–12). These coins were apparently struck to protest the policies of Pontius Pilate, who also minted coins for Judaea during this period. The issues produced by Philip and Antipas specifically expressed the political stature and authority of the Jewish, Herodian tetrarchs.

Circulation

Like the coins minted by Antipas, those of Philip were rarely used outside his jurisdiction.²⁸ While never found in Judaea, the coins of Philip have, however, been infrequently discovered in regions governed by Antipas.²⁹ Today, the coins of this ruler are quite rare. Because of the poor alloy of bronze from which they were struck, those that have survived are mostly in a poor state of preservation.

Denominations

It is difficult to separate the coins of Philip into denominations. The heaviest pieces weigh up to 13.71 grams (see no. 6a) while others, which represent the same denomination, weigh only 8 grams. Coin no. 2, which weighs 3.82 grams, and coin no. 9, weighing 3.80 grams, apparently represent half the denomination of coins 3, 5, 8. Coin no. 12, which is even lighter, was probably valued at one-quarter the denomination represented by coins 3, 5–8. Type 4 presents a riddle. Ranging between 4 and 5.5 grams, these coins appear to fit between the medium and small denominations.

One interesting coin, which does not depict the name of the tetrarch but was apparently struck by him, depicts the portrait of Livia on one side and a hand holding ears of corn on the other (see suppl. III no. 1 and p. 166: discussion of the symbols and their relation to the coins of Agrippa II). The inscription reads ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΟΣ (fruit-bearing) and the date is $\text{L}\Delta\Delta$ "year 34." It is probable that this issue was struck together with the coins bearing the inscription KTIL [THE] and the coins depicting the portrait of Philip (no. 12). If these three sets of coins were struck contemporaneously, then three denominations were minted by Philip in one year. The ratio of the value of each set is "one", "one-half", "one-quarter". These issues may have been struck to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the dedication of Caesarea Paneas. Philip, who died in 34 C.E., left no heirs. His territory was annexed temporarily by Tiberius to the province of Syria.

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGIES

	Archelaus	Antipas	Philip	Procurators	Agrippa I
B.C.E.					
AUGUSTUS	4/3	(x)			
	3/2	(x)			
	2/1	(x)			
	1/1	(x)			
	C.E.				
	1/2	(x)	E		
	2/3	(x)			
	3/4	(x)			
	4/5	(x)			
	5/6	(x)			
TIBERIUS	6/7			Coponius AS	
	7/8				
	8/9		IB		
	9/10			Ambibulus AΘ	
	10/11			Ambibulus M	
	11/12			Ambibulus MA	
	12/13		IS		
	13/14				
	14/15				
	15/16		IO	Gratus B	
CALIGULA	16/17			Gratus Γ	
	17/18			Gratus Δ	
	18/19			Gratus €	
	19/20				
	20/21	KΔ			
	21/22				
	22/23				
	23/24				
	24/25			Gratus IA	
	25/26				
CALIGULA	26/27		Λ		
	27/28				
	28/29				
	29/30	ΛΓ	ΛΓ	Pilate IS	
	30/31	ΛΔ	ΛΔ	Pilate IZ	
	31/32			Pilate IH	
	32/33				
	33/34	ΛZ	ΛZ		
	34/35				
	35/36				
CALIGULA	36/37				
	37/38				
	38/39				
	39/40	MF			B
	40/41				

AGRIPPA I

37-44 C.E.

The coins minted by Agrippa I are among the most interesting pieces issued by the Herodian rulers. The complex imagery and inscriptions depicted on the coins are intrinsically related to the life of the king, his personality, education, and experiences.¹

Like many members of the royal family, Agrippa I, the grandson of Herod the Great, was brought to Rome as a child. His mother Berenice was a dear friend of Antonia, mother of Claudius. Agrippa himself became the close companion of Drusus, son of Tiberius. Although raised in close association with the imperial family, Agrippa I did not possess great financial resources. When he eventually left Rome and settled in his native country, he had neither money nor position.

Agrippa I was greatly aided during his early years in Palestine by his family: his wife Cypros, his sister Herodias, and her husband, Herod Antipas. With the help of Herodias, Cypros arranged for her husband to receive a position and a salary. Antipas not only provided his brother-in-law with a house, but also appointed him commissioner (*Agoranomos*) of the markets of Tiberias. This charitable situation did not endure. Eventually, insulted by his benefactors, Agrippa I left Tiberias and moved to Syria, where he received aid from his friend Flaccus, the Roman governor. Yet the future king was also unable to further his political career in Syria.

In an effort to improve his position, Agrippa returned to Rome. His financial state, which threatened any hope of advancement, was improved and secured by Antonia. She provided him with 300,000 drachms (denarii) "so that he might not lose the friendship of Tiberius."² During this stay in Rome, Agrippa became the companion of Antonia's grandson Gaius, who was later to become the emperor, Gaius Caligula. This friendship posed a second threat to his career. Agrippa told Caligula that he would support his efforts to gain the throne. The remark was overheard by a servant and reported to Tiberius, the emperor. Consequently, Agrippa I was put under house arrest until the emperor's death in 37 C.E. When Caligula succeeded to the throne, he not only released his friend, but also gave him the territories previously held by Philip and Lysanias, and appointed him king.

Coins Minted During the Reign of Caligula

Agrippa I did not leave Rome until the following year. He returned to Palestine in 38 C.E., the second year of his reign. Immediately upon his arrival, Agrippa I struck an issue dated "year 2" (no. 1). The obverse of this

issue depicts his portrait, crowned with a diadem, and the inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ ("King Agrippa"). The diadem, a symbol of rank, is noted by Josephus: "He [Gaius Caligula] put a diadem on his head and appointed him king of the tetrarchy of Philip..."³ The reverse of coin no. 1 depicts the young son of the king, the future Agrippa II, astride a horse. The inscription, which refers to the child, reads: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ ΥΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ("Agrippa son of the king").

We believe that during the first period of his rule, Agrippa I established Caesarea Paneas as his capital. Thus the city continued in the status it had previously enjoyed during the tetrarchate of Philip. The early issues of Agrippa I were probably struck in the local mint. Agrippa's first efforts at minting naturally occurred early in his term; it was necessary for him to publicize his new title as well as his portrait; he was not well known by the constituency. (Only four years before the first series was produced, the mint at Caesarea Paneas had issued coins bearing the portrait of Philip (no. 13). The people were familiar with this type of coinage.)

When the first issue was struck in 38 C.E., Agrippa I ruled only two small regions. At this time, he was already about 40 years old. To further his hold on the local population, Agrippa soon struck a second series of coins depicting important portraits.

The arrival of Agrippa I in Caesarea Paneas aroused his former benefactors, Antipas and Herodias, to suspicion and jealousy. They feared his new, prestigious rank and his close association with the emperor. In 39 C.E., these concerns brought Antipas to Rome. The tetrarch had been persuaded by his wife to sue for the rank of kingship for himself. The mission resulted not in a promotion, but in loss of both title and property. Caligula gave the territories held by Antipas to Agrippa I. Thus, by 40 C.E., Agrippa's kingdom included the regions of Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, Batanaea, Auranitis, sections of the territory of Zenodorus, and the tetrarchy of Lysanias, the Galilee and Peraea (the Jewish Transjordan). At this time, Caligula also appointed Petronius the new legate of Syria.

Previously having been involved in an altercation with the Jewish community in Alexandria, Petronius was given strict orders to control the population within his new jurisdiction.⁴ Yet the country was soon to experience an open rebellion. The Jews living in Jerusalem and the outlying areas petitioned the new legate to prevent the installation of a statue of Caligula in the Temple. Tension in the city was enormous. At this time, Agrippa I was in Rome, cementing his relationship with the emperor. The Jewish king was able to prevent a riot by convincing Caligula to abandon his plan. Shortly thereafter, Caligula died and Claudius was declared the new emperor.

The second series of coins minted by Agrippa I (nos. 2-4) was struck in 41 C.E., the last year of the reign of Caligula. The issue, consisting of three denominations, depicts, on the obverse of the large one (no. 2), the portrait and title of the emperor. The reverse depicts Germanicus astride a quadriga and the outstanding inscription: ΝΟΜΙΣ[ΜΑ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ ("coin

of King Agrippa"). Before this study, all numismatists had identified the figure on the reverse as Agrippa I. We now, however, prefer to equate the figure with Germanicus. On a recently discovered, well-preserved coin, the features of the rider can be seen clearly despite the small size of the head (see enlarged photograph). This coin is an imitation of an issue struck in Rome in large quantities.⁵ The Roman prototype is described as follows:

Obv: Germanicus, bare-headed, wearing paludamentum, standing in quadriga to right, holding eagle-tipped scepter in left hand. Side of chariot decorated with figure of Victory advancing right. In front of the chariot is a shield with a double border. Above, the inscription, in two lines, reads: GERMANICVS CAESAR.

Rev: Germanicus, bare-headed, standing to left.⁶ Latin inscription in field reads SIGNIS RECEP/DEVICTIS GERM/SC.

Coin no. 2
enlarged 2×1



The Roman Prototype

The issue was struck by Gaius Caligula to commemorate the triumph of Germanicus over the German tribes on May 26, 17 C.E.

The coins minted by Agrippa I depict the identical quadriga adorned with the same image of Victory. This type of chariot has two standard Roman interpretations. It may indicate either a victory (as it does on the issue minted by Caligula) or a consular procession.⁷ Neither of these interpretations can be related to the life of Agrippa I. Therefore, the figure which appears on the Jewish coins must also be Germanicus. Supporting this identification is the portrayal of this figure. He appears bare-headed. On coins which depict the portrait of Agrippa I, the king is consistently portrayed as crowned with the diadem, the symbol of his rank.

Why would the Jewish king strike coins in imitation of this particular Roman issue? The answer lies not only in Roman history, but also in Agrippa's background. Germanicus, brother of Claudius and father of Caligula, was one of Rome's most beloved figures. Caligula, who was not a favorite of his constituency, struck the prototype in order to remind the Romans of his father's achievements and thereby gain some much needed support for his own regime. The motivations of Agrippa I were similar. The Jewish king hoped to gain prestige by depicting Caligula on one side of his issue, and the popular Germanicus on the other. But Agrippa I also had two more personal reasons for honoring the memory of Germanicus. First, the

two men were raised together; Germanicus was only five years older than the Jewish king.⁸ Second, it was Germanicus's mother, Antonia, who advanced Agrippa I the loan of 300,000 denarii.⁹

This brings us to the second coin in the series, no. 3, published here for the first time. Although it does not bear the name of Agrippa, it quite obviously belongs to the series struck in his 5th regnal year. The obv. depicts the rare portrait of Antonia, Gaius's grandmother, with her name. The rev. depicts a standing woman (see catalogue) with the inscription "Drusilla the daughter of the Caesar." The date "year 5" (Agrippa's regnal year) is the same as on coin no. 2 and, most important, the style of this coin type is identical with that of coin no. 2 (and of no. 4) characterized mainly by the delicate lines and minute letters. Coin no. 3 is half the denomination of no. 2. It joins the collection of imperial family members honored by Agrippa. Antonia is the very person who rescued Agrippa's political career by loaning him the funds to pay back his debts. Coin no. 3 also depicts Drusilla, Gaius's favorite sister (died in 38 C.E.), thus completing the gallery of the imperial family commemorated by Agrippa in an attempt to flatter the emperor. The third denomination of this series, the smallest, bears the portrait of Agrippa II.

The date on these Jewish issues suggests that they were not minted while Agrippa I was in the Galilee, but rather, after he had returned to Rome. The clear inscription reads "year 5."¹⁰ The fifth year of the reign of Agrippa I corresponds to 40/41 C.E., which marks the final year of the reign of Caligula and the beginning of the rule of Claudius.

This second issue struck by Agrippa was, we believe, minted in Tiberias, the most important city in his jurisdiction. In fact, most of the coins of this series were found in its vicinity. Tiberias was not only the location of the royal residence, it was also the capital and administrative center of the kingdom. Even Petronius, during the crisis concerning the statue of Caligula, quartered his army in this city. The coins were probably struck in the same mint used by the previous ruler, Antipas. The city of Tiberias, governed by the administration of the new king, struck this second issue in honor of Agrippa during his stay in Rome; the coins popularized not only his title but also his acquisition of extensive territories following the exile of Antipas. The inscription on coin no. 2, "Coin of King Agrippa", clearly refers to the coinage itself, and not to the figure depicted on it.¹¹

The Portrait of Agrippa II

Coin no. 4, struck under Agrippa I, has been previously attributed by all numismatists to the rule of his son, Agrippa II.¹² The portrait depicted on the coin is surrounded by the inscription ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ ΥΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ ("Agrippa son of king Agrippa").¹³ This bareheaded portrait is undoubtedly of the future king, Agrippa II. Because he did not yet possess an official title, he was identified simply as "Agrippa". This legend closely resembles the inscription found on the reverse of issue no. 1 (showing Agrippa II riding a

horse). The date can be read as LE ("year 5") which corresponds to 41 C.E. If this reading is correct, then coin no. 4 would be half the denomination of no. 3 and a quarter of that of no. 2.

The reverse inscription which surrounds the double cornucopias depicted on coin no. 4 apparently reads: ΒΑΣ· ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ. The term ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ appears only on the coins of Agrippa I; it is not depicted on the issues minted by his son. This inscription suggests that the reading of the later date, "year 5," is to be preferred. The epithet also does not appear on earlier issues. The Caesar referred to in this inscription is Caligula.

Coins Minted During the Reign of Claudius

Despite his loyalty to the despised Caligula, Agrippa I was able to gain the support of the next emperor, Claudius. Not only did the Jewish king share in the proclamation of Claudius as emperor in 41 C.E., he also provided the new ruler with sound advice during his first days in office. To show his appreciation, Claudius publicly proclaimed his support of Agrippa I:¹⁴

He then promulgated an edict whereby he both confirmed the rule of Agrippa, which Gaius had presented to him and delivered a panegyric on the king. He also added to Agrippa's dominions all the other lands that had been ruled by King Herod, his grandfather, namely, Judaea and Samaria. He restored these lands to him as a debt due to his belonging to the family of Herod. But he also added Abila, which had been ruled by Lysanias, and all the land in the mountainous region of Lebanon as a gift out of his own territory, and he celebrated a treaty with Agrippa in the middle of the forum in the city of Rome.

From 41 C.E. until his death in 44 C.E., Agrippa ruled these territories, gaining both prestige and popularity not only in Rome and from those who supported the Herodian family, but also among those who favored the old Hasmonaean regime. Agrippa I was both a Herodian and the heir to the Hasmonaean throne; he was the grandson of Herod and Mariamme, the daughter of Alexander, son of Aristobulus, the Hasmonaean king.

Upon his return to Tiberias following the installation of Claudius, Agrippa I minted coins in order to publicize the new edict.¹⁵ The commemorative issue was struck probably in 41/42 C.E.; no date has yet been found on the coins. The issue (cat. nos. 5-5b) is described as follows:¹⁶

Obv.: Agrippa, standing in the middle, to left, crowned by two figures. He holds a round object (patera? wreath?). The encircling Greek inscription reads ΒΑΣ ΗΡΩ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑΕ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΕΑΡ.

Rev.: Clasp hands ("Manus Humana") surrounded by a Greek inscription in two concentric circles. A wreath appears between the circles. The Greek inscription, reconstructed from several specimens, reads: ΟΡΚΙΑ ΒΑΣ[ΙΛΕΩΣ] ΜΕ[ΓΑΛΟΥ] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ ΠΡ[ΟΣ] ΣΕΒ[ΑΣΤΟΥ] ΚΑΙΣ[ΑΡΟΣ]

Κ[ΑΙ] ΔΗΜΟ[Υ] ΡΩΜ[ΑΙΩΝ] ΦΙΛΙ[Α]Κ[ΑΙ]ΣΥΜΜΑΧ[ΙΑ] ΑΥΤ[ΟΥ] ("A vow and treaty of friendship and alliance between the great king Agrippa and Augustus (Claudius) Caesar and the people of Rome").

This issue is one of the rare examples in Jewish numismatics of a proper and clear identification of a well-documented historical event by symbolism and inscription. Clasped hands were a common symbol of friendship and agreement.¹⁷ This image is depicted on Roman coins that date from various periods.¹⁸ While the interpretation of the *Manus Humana* is clear, the three figures depicted on the obverse have been explained in various ways. Madden describes them as "the king, head veiled, sacrificing, and crowned by two females, one of which is Victory."¹⁹ Narkiss²⁰ and Reifenberg²¹ concur with this analysis. Kindler's identification is also imprecise.²² Madden also suggests that the two female figures may be identified with Judaea and Samaria.²³

In a paper written in 1976,²⁴ we proposed an identification of the entire scene with both the historical event it commemorates and with the inscription depicted on the reverse of the issue. Our theory was based on the cultural background of the Jewish king. Agrippa I was raised and educated with members of the imperial family in Rome. Because he had absorbed Roman culture, he likely would have used Roman, rather than Jewish imagery, to depict a particular event or concept. For example, the clasped hands are Roman symbols.

The most common method employed by the Romans to symbolize an event or an idea was personification. Therefore, the figures depicted may represent certain abstract concepts suggested by the treaty that the coin commemorates. The central figure depicted on the obverse is clearly Agrippa holding a patera. He is flanked by the personifications of Friendship (ΦΙΛΙΑ), who holds a palm branch or wreath; and of Alliance (ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΑ), who holds a small, round object which may be either a wreath or a patera. The method of interpreting the scene through personification, of course, allows other identifications of these figures to be made as well. For example, the scene may represent Agrippa I, being crowned by the emperor standing to his right and extending a wreath. The figure on the left may be *Concordia*, the personification of "agreement." The palm branch held by this figure is the symbol of *Concordia*; the concept of "agreement" is also represented by the clasped hands.²⁵

The inscription encircling this scene is also enigmatic. After examining the five known specimens of this issue, Kindler suggested that the inscription on the coin now housed in the Paris collection (our no. 5a) be read: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ or ΒΑΣ...ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ or ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ...ΚΙΑΙΣ. He also proposed that the inscription on the coin owned by the Kadman museum be read as: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ[ΦΙΛΟ]ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.²⁶ After Kindler's theories were published, a sixth specimen was discovered and bought at auction by the Bank of Israel. The inscription on this coin is a variant; it probably reads: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΛΕΒ· ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. The legend is peculiar. We do not know how to interpret ΛΕΒ· ΚΑΙΣΑΡ

(referring to the Roman emperor). Still another specimen was found while this book was in the process of publication, assigning the additional name 'ΗΡΩ[ΔΗΣ]' to Agrippa (no. 5).

The mint in which this issue was struck contributes to the mystery. The first group minted by Agrippa I, no. 1, was struck in Paneas in 38 C.E. The second, nos. 2-4, were minted in Tiberias. But following the edict of Claudius, Agrippa I ruled a much larger territory which included several cities with already established mints. He could have struck his fourth issue in Tiberias, Sebaste, Caesarea, or even in Jerusalem. Two known specimens have been found in Caesarea; two others in the environs of Samaria.²⁷ Because a later series, struck in "year 7" or 42 C.E. (see no. 6), mentions Caesarea in its inscription, and because Samaria did not possess an active mint before the time of Domitian, we prefer to assign issue no. 5 to the mint of Caesarea.

The Coins Struck in Jerusalem

Although the issue commemorating the treaty between Agrippa I and Claudius was struck in Caesarea, a large series of bronze prutot, all dated "year 6" (no. 11), was struck shortly thereafter in Jerusalem. When Agrippa I was appointed king of Judaea and Samaria, Jerusalem came under his jurisdiction. The prutot minted in Jerusalem in "year 6" or 42 C.E., are the only coins minted by Agrippa I that depict designs of a Jewish orientation. The majority of the coins minted by Agrippa I depict portraits of himself, his son, the emperor, or personifications of ideas or events. The emblems on the Jerusalem series conform to Jewish law. Coin no. 11 depicts on one side three ears of grain, and on the other the name of the king surrounding a canopy.

Although all these prutot are dated "year 6" (42 C.E.), the quantity of the series suggests that it was minted over a period of several years. The inscription containing the date was part of the general design; it was retained on coins minted in 43 C.E. and 44 C.E. to commemorate the year Agrippa I became king over Jerusalem and the Herodian territories.

THE SYMBOLS

A. The Canopy

The people of Jerusalem and Judaea would have found a coin depicting a human portrait unacceptable. Their extreme reaction to the statue of Caligula temporarily prevented both the Roman procurators and the Jewish king from distributing such an issue. Agrippa I found, in the emblem of the canopy on the coins dated "year 6," a fitting substitute for his portrait.

Rulers, especially of the East, rarely ventured outside without a canopy; it was employed not only to protect them from the sun, but also to symbolize their rank. Perhaps the symbol of the canopy also has a Biblical association. Cant 3:9 states "King Solomon built himself a palanquin (canopy, אפיריון)."²⁸ The canopy was also used for celebratory occasions such as weddings,²⁹ and as a sign of personal acclamation.³⁰ Other interpretations of this symbol, such as the bizarre suggestion made by Kirschner that the canopy is actually an anchor, require no discussion.³¹

On coin no. 11, surrounding this symbol of royalty, is a Greek inscription which reads: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ("of Agrippa the king").

B. The Three Ears of Grain

In ancient art, ears of wheat and ears of barley were often indistinguishable. The distinction between the two grains is made principally according to the length of the projecting hairs, or awns; the comparatively longer hairs identify the plant as barley. However, we cannot always be precise in our identifications of the artistic renditions. It is difficult to determine exactly what length marks the division between wheat and barley in an illustration or on a coin.

Fortunately, Jewish literary sources provide some information which allows us to interpret the symbol. Wheat and barley are included in the list of the seven species of plants with which the land of Israel is blessed. Therefore, both grains symbolize the fertility of the land. Although wheat was the most elementary food of the population, and although barley was used mainly as food for domesticated animals, both grains were also associated with plenty and with a good harvest. Such connotations have been shared by most cultures throughout history. Other positive interpretations of wheat and barley are expressed in passages from the Babylonian Talmud. "R. Hiyya b. Abba said, 'If one sees wheat in a dream, he will see peace, as it says, 'He maketh thy borders peace; he giveth thee in plenty the fat of wheat (Ps 147:14)...If one sees barley in a dream, his iniquities will depart.'"³²

Because the grain depicted on the coin appears in a group of three ears, its symbolic value is intensified.³³ The suggestion made by Narkiss,³⁴ that the three ears represent the three major divisions of the country: Judaea, Samaria, and the Galilee, may be too fanciful. Yet an interesting distinction is made in the Jewish literary sources between one or two ears of grain and three or more. *Sanhedrin* 88a states: "Two ears [that fell down] are gleanings (לקט to be left for the poor); three are not." Thus the number three indicates a meaningful quantity; a substantial amount. In Mishnaic and Talmudic sources, the list of items occurring in groups of three is extremely long.³⁵ The number three also bears the connotation of magic. According to *Shabbath* 64a, to make a good luck charm, "a poor man plait three threads [of goat's] hair and suspends it from his daughter's neck."

Other coins not minted by Agrippa I also depict three ears of grain. However, we do not believe that these issues were connected to or inspired by

one another.³⁶ In 46/47 C.E., when the Jerusalemite coins of Agrippa I were still in circulation, a series of coins depicting three similar ears of grain was minted in Nysa Scythopolis. This series may be a copy of the Jewish issue.³⁷

The prutot dated "year 6" were struck in vast quantities. The style of the majority of the coins is quite good; only a few (see nos. 11b, 11c, 11g) are crude. However, the issue reveals several technical errors. Because of the problems of multi-mintings, double strikings (see no. 11e) or incuse strikings (see no. 11f) occurred. Some pieces were overstruck on coinage minted by the procurators (see nos. 11i, 11j). Since this particular phenomenon occurs in only extremely rare cases, we do not believe it represents a political motivation or intention. Yet the quantity of the issue may reflect the desire of Agrippa I to replace the coins minted by the Roman administration with a royal, Jewish series. During the Jewish War (66–70 C.E.), prutot dated "year two" and "year three" were deliberately overstruck on the coins of the procurators, as well as, in some cases, on the coins of Agrippa I (see Jewish War no. 15).

The Denominations of the Jerusalemite Coins

All of the coins minted in Jerusalem in "year 6" are prutot. The denomination is equivalent to the Roman quadrans and therefore, it is worth one sixty-fourth of a silver denarius.³⁸

We do not know why Agrippa I chose to mint only prutot in Jerusalem; he struck coins of larger denominations in all of his other mints. A combination of political and economic factors may have influenced this choice. Although of a small denomination, the number of the Jerusalemite coins comprises a net worth greater than that of the combined large pieces, which were minted in much smaller quantities. Indeed, the prutot made a great financial impact on the population; they were heavily employed in daily use throughout the country. Thus, like the other bronze issues, the Jerusalemite prutot served to publicize the power and status of Agrippa I.

Type no. 11, while it has been discovered throughout the borders of the territory ruled by Agrippa I,³⁹ appears with increasing frequency as we approach Jerusalem. In the city itself, these prutot have been discovered by the thousands in excavations and as surface finds. This data makes the identification of their mint as Jerusalem indisputable. Yet the coins show their connection with Jerusalem and with Judaism not only in symbolism, denomination, and location, but also by their outstanding inscription.

The Inscriptions on the Jerusalemite Coins

On the reverse of this series only the date, LS ("year 6"), is depicted. The inscription on the obverse reads: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ("of Agrippa the king"). The spelling of the name, with one *pi* instead of the customary two, is the first conspicuous feature of the legend. We cannot explain this Jerusalemite spelling idiosyncrasy. The entire inscription comprises the second oddity. Following the edict of Claudius, Agrippa I consistently inscribed on his coins struck in Caesarea between 42 and 43 C.E. the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ ("The great king, Agrippa, the friend of the emperor"). We believe that the abbreviated inscription depicted on the Jerusalemite coinage was developed out of deference to the Jewish population of the city. The title "friend of the emperor" suggested Rome and Hellenism. Agrippa I may not have wished to stress these political affinities in the nationalistic, Jewish environment. Thus the Jerusalemite coinage may be termed "Jewish" in depictions, denomination, location of mint, and inscription.

The Mint of Caesarea

A. The Portrait Coins of "Year 7" and "Year 8" (nos. 6, 7 and 9)

In the seventh and eighth years of his reign, Agrippa I minted another series of coins depicting his portrait. While the first such issue was struck in Paneas, these coins were minted in Caesarea. Indeed, a different mint is indicated not only by the type of the new coins, but also by the designs they depict. The series minted in "year 2" presents only the *head* of Agrippa I, crowned with a diadem. The issues of "year 7" and "year 8" depict a draped bust.⁴⁰ The inscription surrounding the portrait reads: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ. ("The great king Agrippa, friend of the emperor"). This inscription indicates more than the gratitude of the Jewish king to the Roman administration. The addition of the term "great" (ΜΕΓΑΣ) reflects Agrippa's increased domain. No longer was he simply the king of the northern territories. Now the entire country was under his jurisdiction. Klimowsky believes that the inscription articulates "a king of a higher rank whose relation to the Roman emperor was that of a friend, a ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ or in the Augustan terminology, an *unicus principis*. Thereby Agrippa ceased to be a mere vassal."⁴¹

The problems involved in depicting human portraits on Jewish coins are discussed in our chapter on the coins of Philip. Although Agrippa I was aware of the reaction which may have been caused by such a transgression of

the Jewish injunctions, he nevertheless initiated the striking of portrait coinage. Like the issues minted by Philip, the coins of Agrippa I were minted and circulated in Caesarea, a city in which the Jews were apparently in the minority. Indeed, the Greco-Roman flavor of the city was an appropriate background for this issue. Obviously, Agrippa I could not strike portrait coins in Jerusalem.

The reverse of this series is no less interesting. The coins depict the Tyche (of Caesarea) standing over a small platform to the left. The figure is draped, holds a palm branch in her left hand, and rests her right hand over a rudder. The encircling Greek inscription, beginning in the upper right, reads: ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΙΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΛΙΜΗ[ΝΙ] ("Caesarea which is near the harbor called Sebastos"). The legend confirms that the figure depicted is the Tyche of Caesarea, the city goddess.⁴²

Caesarea is the second city mentioned by name in an inscription depicted on Jewish coinage. The first was Tiberias; its name appears on the coins of Herod Antipas.

The mint of Caesarea was apparently active during the early years of the reign of Claudius. Many coins struck by the mint depict on the obverse sides the portrait of this emperor, and on the reverse, maritime symbols, such as the anchor and rudder; no inscription is included.⁴³ More than 90 percent of these issues have been discovered in the environs of Caesarea. Thus the mint, in the middle of the first century C.E., struck two series of coins, one honoring Claudius, the other honoring Agrippa I.⁴⁴

B. The Temple Series

In the same years that the portrait coins were struck, the seventh and eighth years of the reign of Agrippa I (43–44 C.E.), coins of a larger denomination were also minted. The obverse of this series depicts the head of the emperor Claudius; the inscription reads: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ. ("Tiberius Caesar Augustus Germanicus"). The reverse of these coins depicts a fascinating and controversial scene: a facade of a building with a pediment. Within this "temple" is a scene involving four figures. Two figures, each holding a patera, confront each other. The image on the left wears a short chiton; the one on the right is dressed in a long toga. Between, stands a half-figure holding a cylindrically shaped object. Below, a fourth figure kneels to the left. The Greek inscription encircling the entire scene reads: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

Several interpretations of this depiction have been proposed. Madden, for unclear reasons, suggests "This coin represents a ceremony taking place in the temple of the god Marna at Gaza."⁴⁵ Reifenberg believes that the scene depicts the coronation of Agrippa I by Claudius.⁴⁶ He notes that the golden chain, held by the central half-figure, was given to Agrippa I by Caligula and was later installed in the Temple in Jerusalem. Following the publication of these proposals, a clearer specimen of this issue was discovered. Basing his interpretation of the scene on the details depicted on the new find, Sukenik

suggests that the coin represents a ceremonial offering in a Roman temple: the two figures are giving offerings from the patera over an invisible altar; the half figure is a female temple servant (*camilli*, *camillae*) holding an unrecognizable object.⁴⁷ Sukenik believes the scene represents the Roman emperor thanking the gods for his victory over Caratacus.

None of these interpretations are fully accepted by Meyshan. He comments:⁴⁸

The opinion that the coin describes the coronation of Agrippa I seems to be incorrect for Agrippa received the title of king from Caligula in 37, whereas this coin was issued in year 7 of his reign, i.e., in 43/44. Neither has this emblem any relation to the Temple. If the picture on the reverse had represented the Temple as rebuilt by Herod, it would have shown four pillars and not the two visible on the coin. According to Josephus, the Temple cloisters had four rows of pillars and this can be seen on the tetradrachms of Bar Kokhba (if what is shown there is indeed the Temple). As the coin was minted in 43/44 and 44/45...it seems highly probable that the coins were issued in honour of Claudius' victory over the Britons (as the Judaea Capta coins were issued in honour of the Roman victory over the Jews), but do not refer to the capture of Caratacus, which was effected in 51. The emblem shows a temple in Caesarea with two pillars; the third figure in the background looks like a torso on a pedestal, probably the statue of a god. The figure on the left seems to be that of the emperor clad in a chiton, like Vespasian on the Judaea Capta coins. The figure on the right might represent Victory (?). The crouching figure symbolizes the surrender of the Britons, as the kneeling Jewess on the Judaea Capta coins symbolizes the surrender of the Jewish people. Special celebrations honouring Claudius' victory over the Britons were held in Caesarea in 44.

These various interpretations indicate that the complex scene has yet to receive a satisfactory interpretation.

We cannot ignore the inviting comparison between the figures depicted in this scene, and those which appear on other coins minted by Agrippa I (such as no. 5). The central figure on coin no. 5 has been identified by all numismatists as Agrippa I. This figure looks remarkably similar to the character on the right in the "temple" scene. The toga covers his entire body as well as his head; he holds a similar round object (patera or wreath) in the same manner and in the same hand. The left hand of this figure can be traced behind the toga.

The figure standing on the left side of the scene depicted on coin no. 8 resembles a character who appears on coin no. 5. Both wear a short chiton. But whereas the figure on coin no. 5 raises a palm branch (?) in his extended right hand, the figure on coin no. 8 holds, in his lowered right hand, the same round object held by the character on the right side of the scene. Therefore, the only important similarity is the relationship between the central figure which appears on coin no. 5, and the figure depicted on the right side of the "temple" scene. If Agrippa I is indeed the central character depicted on the earlier issue, we may equate this representation with the figure depicted on coin no. 8.



The coin published by Sukenik

Although highly speculative, our interpretation of the complex scene, based partially upon these comparative observations, is as follows: The coin depicts two important stages in the life of Agrippa I.⁴⁹ The first incident is his freedom from prison. The figure on the left is Caligula. He extends a wreath or patera over the kneeling figure, representing Agrippa the prisoner.⁵⁰ The second incident is the coronation of the Jewish king by Claudius. The figure on the right, holding the patera (?) is Agrippa himself. He is being offered a crown (?) or some other symbol of his new position by the half-figure, which represents either Claudius or an aide involved in the ceremony. The building itself need not be interpreted as a specific edifice. The emphasis of the scene is on the interior of the structure, not on the façade. The scene cannot be equated with a specific event which occurred in the year the coins were issued. If it were so anchored, it would not have been repeated on the issues minted in the following year.

The Denominations

The denominations of the coins minted by Agrippa I are related to the particular city in which they were struck:

A. *Paneas*: The average weight of the first issue (no. 1) is 7 grams. This corresponds to the average weight of the coins minted in Paneas by Philip. This issue was struck in only one denomination.

B. *Tiberias*: The average weight of issue no. 2 is 10 grams. This represents a new denomination. Coin no. 3, weighing 5 grams, represents a half, and coin no. 4, weighing 2.5 grams, a quarter.

C. *Caesarea*: Three denominations were minted:

1. A large bronze (nos. 5, 8, and 10), average weight 15 grams.
2. A medium bronze (nos. 6 and 9), average weight 7.5 grams.
3. A small bronze (no. 7), weight 3.82 grams.

D. *Jerusalem*: One denomination, the prutah, averaging in weight 2.2 grams, was minted.

These denominations are probably connected to the Roman monetary system. They may be related to the standard imperial denominations as follows:

1. Nos. 5, 8, and 10 (Caesarea) = dupondius.
2. No. 1 (Paneas); nos. 6 and 9 (Caesarea) = as.
3. No. 7 (Caesarea) = semis.
4. No. 11 (Jerusalem) = quadrans

Coins 2, 3, and 4 are different, but nevertheless may have been as semis and quadrans, respectively.

Coins in Question

In the early stages of study of Jewish numismatics, scholars published descriptions of several coins for which we can today find no evidence of existence. Eckhel,⁵¹ followed by most contemporary scholars,⁵² published a coin described as follows:

Obv.: Head of Claudius.

Rev.: Inscription in a wreath: ΕΙΙΙ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕ/ΑΓΡΠΙΙ/ΤΙΒΕΡΙΕΩΝ.

Although this issue may indeed have been struck, we have not been able to locate a representative specimen. Consequently, we have excluded it from our catalogue. Other questionable coins can be easily explained as resulting from simple misinterpretations.⁵³

A third group of questionable coins is comprised of those issues that have not yet been definitively identified. We refer here primarily to the two coins published by Hill.⁵⁴ Both specimens were struck in the East, probably within the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa I.⁵⁵ They were minted during the reign of Gaius Caligula, whose head and name are depicted on the obverse. The reverse depicts either Nike or an eagle. The retrograde Greek inscription reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ("of the king"). If, as we believe, these coins were struck somewhere in northern Israel (either in Tiberias or in Paneas), they must have been produced under the authority of Agrippa I, who was the only local king during the reign of Caligula. Since these rare pieces have not been found in any specific area in large numbers, we cannot yet assign a definite identification to them (see Suppl. III, 2, 3).

AGRIPPA II

(50)56-97(100) C.E.

Marcus Julius Agrippa II, born in 28 C.E., was approximately 16 years old when his father, Agrippa I, died. The youth did not immediately succeed to his father's throne. Rather, in 44 C.E., control of Judaea was given to a Roman procurator, Fadus. According to Josephus, Claudius was persuaded not to entrust the kingship "to one who was quite young and had not even passed out of boyhood, and who would find it impossible to sustain the cares of administration."¹ But perhaps Agrippa II was denied his kingship primarily because of imperial, political considerations. During the final years of the reign of Agrippa I, there existed some antagonism between Rome and the Jewish government.²

Although partially distrusted because of his father's activities, Agrippa II remained a high-ranking Jewish leader, esteemed even in the Roman court. He attained his status not only by virtue of his birth, but also by engaging in political activities on behalf of Jews. Upon the death of his uncle, Herod of Chalcis, in 48/49 C.E., Agrippa II became, in the eyes of Rome, the most important and influential Jewish personality in the empire. Although during the period between 44 C.E. and 56 C.E., his power gradually increased, the exact titles and responsibilities of the future king are unclear. During the first five years of the reign of Nero, Agrippa II ruled vast territories in the northern section of Palestine. Yet not until 56 C.E. did his coins record the official title "king".³

Because of his great loyalty to Rome, Agrippa II achieved the longest term in office of any Jewish ruler of the Second Temple period. He survived the political idiosyncracies of eight Roman emperors.⁴ The attitude of Agrippa II toward Rome is clearly manifested by the coins minted under his authority. They were, in most cases, designed to honor the emperors; in some instances they were imitations of Roman prototypes.

The Chronology

The main question concerning the coinage of Agrippa II is one of proper chronology. Two factors make it difficult to date the coins properly. First, some issues are inscribed with two different dates. Second, many of the coins which depict the portraits, names, and titles of Vespasian and Titus are dated by the inscriptions to the time of Domitian.

Madden was the first to discuss these problems in detail.⁵ He was followed by Macdonald,⁶ Schürer,⁷ and finally by Hill, who states:⁸

One era is fixed to about 61 A.D. in which year 26 of Agrippa is equated to the twelfth consulship of Domitian (A.D. 86). Another era, beginning five

years earlier, is vouched for by the coins which equate year 6 to year 11. Assuming with Schürer that the lesser figure belongs to the era of 61 by which the later coins are dated, the higher figure must represent an era beginning about A.D. 56.

Thus one era of Agrippa II began in 56 C.E., the other in 61 C.E. The question remains: to which of these two periods should the Flavian coins, which all bear one dating, be assigned?

In 1960, J. Meyshan advanced the following theory:⁹

Judging from the custom of minting, prevalent among the members of the house of Herod, Rome's vassals, and from historical events, the writer has come to the conclusion that Agrippa II minted his coins according to two eras. The first began in 50 C.E., and the second in 61 C.E.

To explain the five-year gap between the double dates depicted on certain issues (see coins 5 and 6), Meyshan comments:

In order to explain two dates on one coin, it has been supposed that the coins [dated "year six" and "year eleven"] were minted according to two different eras, 56 and 61, and that it was minted in 67 C.E. In the writer's opinion, these coins were minted in 61 C.E., according to the first era of Agrippa. The year 6 can be explained as the sixth year of the city of Neronias. There is a historical basis for the supposition that the alteration of the name Caesarea Philippi, which Agrippa received from Claudius, to the new name Neronias, in honor of Nero, took place in 56 C.E.

In 1962, M. Weisbrem added to the confusion by suggesting that there were three eras: the first period noted by Josephus beginning in 50 C.E., when Agrippa II received control of Chalcis; the second in 56 C.E., and the third in 61 C.E.¹⁰ In the following year, B. Kanael published a long discussion on the chronology of the coins of Agrippa II.¹¹ Kanael distinguishes between the eras noted on the coins and Agrippa's official regnal years:

Why did Agrippa use two eras? Claudius and Nero granted privileges to several client kings: Agrippa I, king of a large and prosperous land and a strong personality, expressed his thanks by putting up buildings, holding games and minting coins in imperial homage; Agrippa II, less impressive and with a narrower domain, sought to show his gratitude in keeping with the more restricted means at his disposal.

Josephus recalls two important events during the rule of Agrippa II under Nero: the enlarging of his realm by the Emperor, who added Tiberias, Tarichaea, Julias and surrounding areas to Agrippa's bounds, clearly not long after Nero's accession, and the rebuilding of Caesarea Philippi and its renaming as Neronias.

It may be suggested that the institution of new eras to mark privileges given him by Nero was a regular part of the policy followed by Agrippa II. I refrain from voicing any view on how the device he adopted was regarded by his contemporaries; it does explain why the eras on his coins are not identical with his regnal years. He became king of Chalcis in 50 C.E., and in 53 C.E. king over the tetrarchy of Philip and other areas, while his eras, as already stated, begin in the years 56 and 61 C.E., respectively.

After reviewing suggestions made by other scholars, Kanael offers his conclusion:¹²

We may sum up as follows: Agrippa's coins bear two eras — one beginning in 56 C.E. and the other in 61 C.E. The first, it may be surmised, is index of the incorporation of Tiberias and other regions in his domains; the second of the dedication of Neronias. I do not regard the chronology based upon the foundation of Neronias as denoting that city's era, as Schürer and others hold; I regard it as a new era indicating that Agrippa was the builder.

In 1964, H. Seyrig offered an alternative solution to the problems of the dating.¹³ Previous scholarship had consistently preferred to date the Flavian coins of Agrippa II to the era beginning in 61 C.E.¹⁴ Seyrig, however, dates these coins to the era beginning in 56 C.E., although he excludes the "Latin" group (our nos. 25, 26, 33–36) from this discussion. Hence, according to Seyrig, coins which are dated "year 14" were minted in 69/70 C.E.; the name of the emperor depicted on the coins has no direct relationship to the date depicted on them.

"Year 14" is the earliest date depicted on the Flavian series; it corresponds to the year of Vespasian's accession to the throne. In our previous monograph, we accepted Seyrig's novel suggestion and commented as follows:¹⁵

It is surprising to find already in 69/70 C.E., as well as directly afterwards coins struck with the name of Titus, and it is particularly strange to come across this year associated with the name of Domitian. But however unusual it may seem, it is not impossible. In several cities in the East, coins were struck with the name of Domitian and Titus already from 70 C.E. The fact that Agrippa also struck coins with the names of Vespasian and Titus many years after their deaths is not incompatible with the numismatic material of the Roman world.

The coins of Agrippa under the Flavian emperors bear dates starting from the year 14 and concluding with year 35. This era could not possibly begin in 49/50 C.E., as Josephus would have it, for then "year 14," the year when Agrippa commenced to strike coins under the Flavians, would fall under the rule of Nero, four years before Vespasian's accession. The era commencing in 56 C.E. fits in well, for according to it Agrippa, immediately on the accession of the Flavians in 69/70 C.E., began to strike coins with their names on them. "Year 35," the last year mentioned on Agrippa's coins, corresponds therefore to 91 C.E.

The era beginning in 61 C.E., the existence of which is hinted at in the double dates, is likewise feasible. According to this era, "year 14" would correspond to 75 C.E. and "year 35" to 96 C.E., the year of Domitian's death. But this would create a numismatic vacuum between 69 C.E. and 75 C.E., during which Agrippa would have struck no coins at all, whereas the accession of Vespasian during this period would surely have prompted Agrippa to issue an immediate "vassal coinage." For this reason we are inclined to accept the era beginning in 56 C.E. The fact that the dates on all the coins of Agrippa II under the Flavian emperors begin from "year 14" reinforces the supposition that this year was 69/70 C.E. — in the days of

Agrippa the most decisive year in the history of the Roman empire — and not 75 C.E., which was a year of no special significance.

We were content with this explanation until 1979, when the question of the double dates was again raised, first by Barag and later, during an open discussion held in Jerusalem.¹⁶ Following this conference, we designed the tables presented below, which contain not only the chronology of the two eras, but also the various denominations associated with each year. This table will facilitate a new analysis of the numismatic material.

group	regnal year	56 era CE	61 era CE	VESPASIAN no coins	TITUS no coins	DOMITIAN no coins
a	14	69/70	74/5	A	B	C
b	15	70/71	75/6	A		C
	16	71/72	76/7	-	-	-
	17	72/73	77/8	-	-	-
c	18	73/74	78/9	A	B	C
d	19	74/75	79/80		A B	C D E
	20	75/76	80/81	-	-	-
	21	76/77	81/82	-	-	-
	22	77/78	82/83	-	-	-
	23	78/79	83/84	-	-	-
e	24	79/80	84/85	-	-	B C
f	25	80/81	85/86	-	-	B C D E
g	26	81/82	86/87	A	A B	A B C
h	27	82/83	87/88	A	(with Domitian) B	(with Titus) C D
	28	83/84	88/89	-	-	-
i	29	84/85	89/90	A	B	A C
j	30	85/86	90/91	-	A	A
	31	86/87	91/92	-	-	-
	32	87/88	92/93	-	-	-
	33	88/89	93/94	-	-	-
k	34	89/90	94/95	-	-	-
l	35	90/91	95/96	-	-	A B C D E
22				16	15	11

- no coins
A 1 (Large) unit B 1/2 unit C 1/4 unit D 1/8 unit E 1/16 unit

Analysis of the Table

A. The Era of 56

If we accept the theory that the Flavian coins of Agrippa II are dated to the era beginning in 56 C.E., we obtain the following sequence:

(a) Coins dated "year 14" (nos. 7-11) were all struck in 69/70 C.E. This marks the first year that the Flavian coins were minted and corresponds to the first year of the rule of Vespasian. The medium denomination, B, valued at one-half the denomination of A, depicts the head of Titus, son of Vespasian and the second most powerful man in the empire. The third denomination, C, having half the value of B and one-quarter the value of A, presents the portrait of Domitian, the third figure in the hierarchy of the ruling family, the brother of Titus. This series conforms both to the historical circumstances of 69/70 C.E., and to the ranks of the three Flavians, expressed by the denominations.

(b) Coins dated "year 15" share the same characteristics as the coins of denominations A and C, minted in "year 14" (see nos. 12-13). Yet amazingly, the medium denomination, B, which depicts the portrait of Titus, has apparently been omitted from the sequence. We are hesitant to derive any conclusions from this gap. The entire series dated to "year 15" is very rare, and consequently a coin of the second denomination may yet be discovered.¹⁷

(c) After a gap of two years, Agrippa II struck a third series in three denominations (nos. 14-16). Dated "year 18" these coins are similar to those of "year 14." "Year 18" corresponds, according to this system of dating, to 73/74 C.E., the end of the Jewish war and the fall of Masada.

(d) Whereas the first three groups of coins fit well into the pattern established by the era beginning in 56 C.E., the fourth series, dated "year 19", presents some problems. This new issue apparently does not contain coins depicting the portrait of Vespasian. Titus appears on denominations A and B, and Domitian, as in past cases, is shown on denomination C, as well as on even smaller coins, denominations D and E (see nos. 20 and 21). Yet "year 19" corresponds to 74/75 C.E., which falls in the middle of the reign of Vespasian. Why were the two sons of the emperor, rather than the ruler himself, honored by this series?

(e) This issue is dated to "year 24", which corresponds according to this system of dating to 79/80 C.E. By this year, Titus had assumed the throne. Yet the coins, which were struck in only two denominations, B and C, all depict the portrait of Domitian. The large denomination, which should have contained the portrait of Titus, is omitted (see nos. 22-24).

(f) The coins are dated "year 25," which corresponds to 80/81 C.E. They have the same features as their counterparts dated "year 24" (group e), except that this later issue was struck in four denominations, B, C, D, and E (see nos. 25-29). From this issue onward, several of the groups depict the title "Germanicus," a title Domitian did not use on his own issues until 84 C.E.¹⁸

(g) The series is dated to "year 26" or 81/82 C.E. After a gap of seven

years, Agrippa II again minted coins of denomination A, depicting the portrait of Vespasian, and after a gap of six years, denomination B with the head of Titus. Domitian is represented by two denominations, B and C (see nos. 30–37).

(h) The coins are dated “year 27”, which corresponds to 82/83 C.E. Although similar to the coins of “year 26,” this issue depicts all three Flavians on the large denomination. Vespasian appears alone on no. 38 and 39 and Titus and Domitian are portrayed together on the outstanding piece, no. 41.

(i) The coins, dated “year 29” were, according to this system of dating, struck in 84/85 C.E., when Domitian was sole ruler, following the death of his father in 79 C.E. and of his brother in 81 C.E. Like the coins dated “year 26” this issue contains denomination A, depicting the head of Vespasian (no. 44) and denomination B with the portrait of Titus (no. 45). Domitian, however, is depicted both on coins of the large denomination, A, and on denomination C (nos. 47–48).

(j) The coins are dated “year 30” which corresponds to 85/86 C.E. This issue is known to exist only in denomination A. The coins depict the portrait of either Titus (no. 49) or of Domitian (no. 50).

(k) The coins are dated “year 34” or 89/90 C.E. None depicts the portrait of an emperor (see nos. 51, 52). We assign coin no. 51, because of its general characteristics, to this year as well.

(l) The coins are dated to the thirty-fifth year of Agrippa II, or, according to this system, to 90/91 C.E. This series consists of four denominations, A, B, C, and D, all of which depict the head of Domitian. These coins were the last to be struck by Agrippa II. Yet if they are dated to 90/91 C.E., a problem arises. Agrippa II lived past 91 C.E.; why would he cease to mint coinage in his final years?

B. The Era of 61

If we accept the theory that the Flavian coins of Agrippa II are dated to the era beginning in 61 C.E., the following results are obtained:

(a) According to this system, the coins dated “year 14” (nos. 7–11) were struck in 74/75 C.E. All three Flavians depicted on the pieces were alive in that year. Yet why would Agrippa II have minted his tribute coins so late in the Flavian period? After all, he had previously struck coinage during the reign of Nero. Since Agrippa II aided the Flavians against his own people, we would expect him to mint coins with their names in 69 C.E., immediately after they attained power.¹⁹ Conversely, this system of dating may assign the first Flavian series to an overly early date. As Madden comments:²⁰

In any case it seems to me excessively improbable that coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, with the name of Agrippa II, should have been issued at the very moment when Vespasian was elected Emperor, and in the very midst of the excitement taking place at this time.

(b) The coins, struck in “year 15” or 75/76 C.E. are similar to those of

“year 14”. Again, the date provides no explanation for the apparent elimination of denomination B, depicting Titus.

(c) This series, dated “year 18” or 78/79 C.E., forms a pivotal point for our discussion. This date corresponds to the final year of the reign of Vespasian. The series is comprised of the large denomination, A, depicting Vespasian, denomination B with the portrait of Titus, and the small denomination, C, showing Domitian. The coins therefore correctly parallel the Flavian hierarchy; Vespasian, still the emperor, is honored with the largest denomination.

(d) The coins are dated “year 19” or 79/80 C.E. According to this system of dating, this series was struck immediately after the death of Vespasian and the elevation of Titus to the throne. If the date 79/80 C.E. is correct, the historical circumstances of that year provide a reasonable explanation for the first omission of Vespasian’s portrait on the Flavian coins of Agrippa II. In this series, denominations A and B both depict the new ruler, Titus; Domitian is portrayed on the smaller denominations C, D, and E. These coins were the only pieces minted during the sole reign of Titus (79–81 C.E.). the next dated series was struck after an interval of five years.

(e) The coins are dated to “year 24” which corresponds to 84/85 C.E. (nos. 22–24). All pieces, of either denomination B or denomination C, depict the portrait of Domitian. This is the first series minted by Agrippa II following the deaths of both Titus and Vespasian; thus it is appropriate that only Domitian is depicted. The title inscribed on the coins, Germanicus, was given to Domitian in 84 C.E.²¹

(f) The coins, dated “year 25” or 85/86 C.E., again depict only the portrait of Domitian. However, this series was minted in four denominations, B, C, D, and E (nos. 25–29). Two of these denominations are dated to the tenth consulate of Domitian, which occurred in 84 C.E., not in 85. This discrepancy could have arisen in the Roman dating of the consulate; such mistakes were not uncommon.²² The “error” was corrected on the issues of the following year; the coins dated “year 26” mention the twelfth (not the eleventh) consulate of Domitian (*COS XII*, see nos. 33–36).

(g) The coins, dated “year 26” were struck, according to this second system, in 86/87 C.E. As mentioned above, these pieces are quite impressive from the numismatic perspective. This series again presents the portraits of all three Flavians: that of Vespasian on denomination A (nos. 30, 31); of Titus on denomination B (nos. 32), and of Domitian on both denominations B and C. But why would the Jewish king depict on his coins the portrait of Vespasian, who had died eight years earlier, and of Titus, dead for five years? This question does not affect either system of dating. Even if the issues are assigned to the era beginning in 56 C.E., the coins of “year 26” would still have been struck after the deaths of both Vespasian and Titus.

(h) This series, dated “year 27” or 87/88 C.E., depicts the portrait of Vespasian on denomination A (nos. 38, 39), and the combined portraits of Titus and Domitian also on denomination A (no. 41). Titus appears alone on denomination B (no. 40) and only Domitian is portrayed on denominations C and D (nos. 42, 43).

(i) After a gap in minting of one year, coins dated "year 29" or, according to this system, 89/90 C.E., were struck. Portraits of Vespasian and Domitian appear on denomination A; Titus is depicted on denomination B and C. The third denomination, C, again portrays Domitian.

(j) Two types of denomination A are known of this series, dated "year 30" or 90/91 C.E. One issue depicts the portrait of Titus, the other presents the head of Domitian. A coin dated "year 30" which depicts the portrait of Vespasian may yet be discovered.

Coins of groups g, h, i, and j form a distinct part of the Flavian collection. These four series depict all three members of the imperial hierarchy, and so appear to be imitations of the early coins of Agrippa II, struck during the reign of Vespasian (groups a, b, c, and d).

(k) This group, struck in "year 34" or 94/95 C.E., depicts neither the name nor the portrait of a Flavian emperor.

(l) The coins, dated "year 35" or 95/96 C.E. form the last series minted by Agrippa II. These pieces were struck in denominations A, B, C, and D, and depict only the portrait of Domitian.

Conclusion

A comparison between the two possible systems of dating, that beginning in 56 C.E., and that beginning in 61 C.E., argues against the hypothesis of Seyrig which we had previously accepted. The era commencing in 61 C.E. is the less problematic of the two possibilities. The questions concerning the posthumous depictions of Vespasian are applicable to both chronologies; even if we begin the era at 56 C.E., the date of coin no. 44 will not fall into the period of the rule of Vespasian, nor can coin no. 49 be assigned to the reign of Titus. Conversely, if we accept the posthumous depiction as a numismatic fact, then the chronology beginning in 61 C.E. fits well into the general structure and composition of the coins of Agrippa II.

The renewal of minting activities in "year 24" after a cessation of four years, produced coins depicting only the portrait of Domitian. It is unlikely this series was struck in 79/80 C.E., the date corresponding to the era of 56 C.E., since at that time, Titus was still alive. Yet the series may be comfortably assigned to the year 84/85 C.E., the date suggested by the era beginning in 61 C.E., when Domitian was sole emperor. A similar comparison may be made for the coins dated "year 19". These issues depict the portrait of Titus on the large denominations and that of Domitian on the smaller units. It is illogical to assume these coins were minted in 74/75 C.E., the date assigned to them according to the era of 56 C.E.; Vespasian was still the emperor. But if the issues are dated, according to the era beginning in 61 C.E., to 79/80 C.E., the chronology is not strained. In that year, Vespasian was already dead and

Titus had assumed the throne. The numismatic material at our disposal is quite decisive. The relationships among the dates, denominations, and depictions in this now well-established structure, make the era of 61 C.E. the only logical choice.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COINAGE

A. Under Nero

The first coins struck by Agrippa II depict on the obverse the head of Nero. The reverse presents an inscription which mentions not only the Jewish king, but also Neronias, the new name given to Caesarea Paneas (see nos. 1-3). The city was renamed by Agrippa II in honor of the emperor.

Previously, we demonstrated that these coins, once thought to be undated, actually have a date depicted on them.²³ The inscription on the reverse of the series reads: ΕΠΙ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕ/ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΙ/ΝΕΡΩ/ΝΙΕ. Numismatists customarily have completed the final word as: ΝΕΡΩΝΙΕ[ΩΝ].²⁴ But a comparison of this inscription with other legends containing the name of the city (see, for example, no. 5), reveals that the name ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑΕ should appear either in the dative: ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑΔΙ or in the genitive: ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑΔΟC. Therefore, the letter Ε, depicted at the end of the inscription cannot be part of the name of the city. Rather, it represents the date, year "5". The inscription should be read: ΕΠΙ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ]/ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΙ[ΟΥ]/ΝΕΡΩ/ΝΙ[ΑΔΟΣ]Ε. The symbol for "year", the siglum Λ, is omitted as is the word ΕΤΟC (or its abbreviations ΕΤ or ΕΤΟ). Although this sign is not often absent from the dated coins, it does not appear on contemporary Tyrian shekels. On these issues, the dates are recorded only by letters bearing numeric equivalents.²⁵

We believe that this exceptional series of coins, minted in three denominations, was struck by Agrippa II to commemorate the refounding of Caesarea Paneas in honor of the emperor Nero. However, the date of the rededication was unclear, and the account by Josephus is ambiguous. Seyrig, basing his work on the obscure chronology provided by Josephus, dates the refounding of the city to 62 C.E.²⁶ Madden suggests 60/61 C.E.²⁷

The coins struck in commemoration of the refounding of Caesarea in honor of Nero are dated to the fifth year of Agrippa II. From the evidence provided by later issues, we have determined that the date year "5" should follow the chronology of the era beginning in 56 C.E. Hence the coins were struck in 61 C.E. The impressive series of three denominations not only celebrates the dedication of Neronias, it also signifies the beginning of the new era of Agrippa II.

This new era was characterized by the use of the mint of Paneas, where the Flavian coins were struck. A system of dating based upon the second era is depicted on these Flavian issues. This switch in dating was made not only because of the dedication of the new capital. Also, in 61 C.E., Agrippa II was granted a higher status, with more responsibilities, more territory, and more recognition by the Roman authorities.

B. The Portrait Coins of Agrippa II:

The image of Agrippa II was depicted twice on the coinage of his father. On the issue struck by Agrippa I in 38 C.E. (no. 1), the young prince is depicted astride a horse. He is again presented, as a youth, on coins minted in 41 C.E. (see Agrippa I no. 4). Upon his succession to power, Agrippa II struck only one issue depicting his portrait. On this series, the inscription does not read "the son of King Agrippa" but rather, simply "King Agrippa." The features on the portrait are no longer youthful, but mature²⁸ (see no. 4).

The issue bearing the portrait of the king is inscribed with the date "year 10". If the series follows the sequence beginning with 56 C.E., then the coins were minted in 65/66 C.E. If, however, they are dated according to the second era, they were struck in 70/71 C.E. We do not possess any information which would allow us to assign a definitive date to this series. The only chronological hint provided by the coins themselves is the design which appears on the reverse: an anchor. Usually this symbol is associated with maritime activity. However, we are aware of no important sea voyage or event concerning a port city which occurred either in 65/66 C.E. or in 70/71 C.E.²⁹

The year 65/66 C.E. corresponds to the first outbreak of the Jewish War against Rome. The end of the war occurred in 70/71 C.E. This historical data suggests that the portrait coins were struck during the earlier period. It is unlikely that Agrippa II would have struck an issue depicting his portrait under Vespasian, without minting a parallel series depicting the Flavians. Under the previous regime, headed by Nero, Agrippa II had minted coins in honor of that emperor.³⁰

C. Coins Depicting Double Dates:

Coins nos. 5 and 6 represent two denominations of one issue; no. 6 is equivalent to one-half the value of no. 5. Coin no. 5 appears as follows:

Obv.: Bust of the Tyche of Paneas (Neronias), facing right, with turreted crown. The Greek inscription reads: ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑΔΙ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.

Rev.: Double cornucopias with caduceus between the horns; the Greek inscription reads: ΒΑ ΑΓΡ ΕΤΟΥC ΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ⚭

Coin no. 6 may be described as follows:

Obv.: Hand holding ears of corn and fruit; the Greek inscription reads: ΒΑCΙΑΕΟC (sic!) ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΟΥ.

Rev.: Diadem encircling a Greek inscription which reads:

ΕΤΟΥC ΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ⚭

The interpretation of both the inscriptions and the designs depicted on coin no. 5 concerns the famous city of Neronias. The Tyche depicted is of the goddess of the city, and the inscription reads "Agrippa in" or "at Caesarea Neronias." The obverse of coin no. 6 contains the symbol for fertility and plenty and the full name and royal title of the king. The reverse sides of both issues have the date "year 11 which is also year 6". "Year 11" is based on the era beginning in 56 C.E.; "year 6" refers to the era beginning in 61 C.E. Therefore, the coins were struck in 66/67 C.E., the sixth year following the rededication of Neronias. The double dating marks the last notation of the earlier era on the coinage of Agrippa II.³¹

These two denominations were struck during the reign of Nero, at the outset of the Jewish War against Rome. The issues were struck in Neronias Paneas and their symbols have local connotations.

D. The Symbols on the Coin of Neronias

Coin no. 6 depicts a hand holding the symbols of agricultural fertility: ears of corn and fruit. The association of this symbolism with the city of Neronias Paneas is suggested by other coins minted there as well. See, for example, coin no. 1 in Suppl. III. This earlier piece depicts on the obverse the portrait, name, and title of Livia, the wife of Augustus, and on the reverse not only the hand holding ears of corn, but also the Greek inscription ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΟC which means "fruit-carrying" or "fruitful", "fertile". This interesting coin, dated "year 34" (ΛΔΔ) was apparently struck in Paneas under Philip.

The coin struck by the tetrarch expresses by its designs and inscription the fertility of Caesarea Paneas. Even Josephus notes the agricultural resources of the city.³² Indeed, today the site is still sustained by rich soil and an abundance of fresh water. Therefore, the symbolism of coin no. 6 as well, struck by Agrippa II, must relate to Caesarea Neronias Paneas, the capital of the Jewish king and the location of his mint.

DURING THE JEWISH WAR

That Agrippa II supported the Romans during the Jewish War is a well established fact. The king not only attempted to convince the Jews to accept the foreign domination, he also sent troops to aid the Roman legions. Nevertheless, it is not known if Agrippa II minted coins commemorating the Roman victory over Judaea. Although a supporter of imperial rulers and policies, he considered himself a devout Jew and believed he acted in favor of Jewish interests. Consequently, it is unlikely that Agrippa II rejoiced at the destruction of Jerusalem or at the sight of the Temple in ashes. We therefore believe that the series of coins, struck in Caesarea, which depicts the

inscription IOYΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ ("Judaea Capta") was issued by the Roman administration and not by the Jewish king.

The gap in minting during the reign of Agrippa II, which lasted five years, from the rise to power of the Flavian dynasty in 69 C.E. to the striking of the Flavian coins in 74 C.E. was probably occasioned by the war. The mint of the Jewish king remained silent until after the fall of Masada in 73 C.E. Only following the end of the conflict, when life under the new political situation achieved some stability, did the Jewish king mint coins honoring the three Flavians.

The first issue of this series, dated "year 14" or 74 C.E., was struck in three different denominations. The coins with the greatest value, denomination A, depict on the obverse the portrait of the emperor Vespasian, and on the reverse, Tyche together with the name and title of Agrippa II and the date (see no. 7). The coins of the medium denomination, B, depict on the obverse the head of Titus, the son of Vespasian and the second member of the Flavian hierarchy. On the reverse appears Nike (Victory), standing and holding a wreath and a palm branch (see nos. 9 and 10). The coins of denomination C depict Domitian on the obverse. The reverse presents Nike writing on a shield, and again, the name and title of the Jewish king, and the date (see no. 11).

Barag has suggested that the coins which depict Nike writing are to be associated with the Judaea Capta series.³³ This theory is problematic. Vespasian had taken an active part in the war; he commanded the first stage of the Roman attack. Titus was responsible for the final destruction of Jerusalem. Yet Domitian, whose portrait appears on the coins claimed by Barag to be part of the Judaea Capta series, was not involved in the war. Indeed, Domitian had never visited Judaea. Why would his portrait appear on coins depicting a symbol of the Roman victory over the Jews?

During his reign, Vespasian struck coins under his own name from 69/70 C.E. Beginning in 72 C.E., he also minted issues in honor of his son Titus,³⁴ and, in 73 C.E., in honor of his younger son, Domitian.³⁵ Thus the Roman mint simultaneously struck coins in gold, silver, and bronze for the three Flavians. In 74/75, Agrippa II copied these Roman issues, repeating both the various denominations and the symbolism. The designs which appear on the Jewish coins must therefore be related to the Roman vocabulary of symbols. For example, many of the coins minted by Vespasian for Domitian depict the symbol of victory.³⁶ The image of Nike, depicted on the coins of Agrippa II, does not bear a direct reference to the issues of Judaea Capta. Rather, this design often appeared on Roman coinage and did not always commemorate a specific victory.³⁷

THE SYMBOLS ON THE FLAVIAN COINS

Tyche (Fortuna)

The image of Tyche depicted on the coins of Agrippa II stands facing left. She is dressed in a long chiton and is crowned with a modius.³⁸ She holds in her left hand a cornucopia and with her right extends ears of corn. The portrayal of the goddess is not consistent on the coins of the period. Since there was no stereotypical image of Tyche, local mints and rulers depicted her according to their individual tastes. Generally, the image and character of the goddess was connected to the locality of the mint. For example, the Fortuna presented on the coins of Rome holds a rudder,³⁹ and the Tyche depicted on the coins struck by Agrippa I in Caesarea holds both a rudder and a palm branch.⁴⁰

The goddess represented on the coins of the Jewish king is characterized by the images of fertility which she holds. The figure resembles the depiction of Ceres on contemporary Roman issues; the Roman goddess also holds ears of corn and cornucopia.⁴¹ Both Tyche and Ceres wear a modius, another symbol of agricultural fertility, above their heads. The figure depicted on the coinage of Agrippa II is thus a local symbol of Caesarea Paneas, but it shows several affinities with the Roman conception of the goddess. This figure, depicted on the largest denomination of the Flavian issues, represents in part the post-war goals of the king. The emphasis is on prosperity and daily activity, not on political issues and rebellion. The land which had suffered through the bitter war was now to be restored to normal, agricultural concerns. The image of Tyche, similar to the depiction of Ceres on Roman coinage, is the most prominent figure on the issues of Agrippa II. Its symbolic interpretation remains consistent.

Nike (Victory)

On coin no. 9, Nike stands, facing right, and holds a palm branch and a wreath. Although this symbol of victory, which appears on the issue dedicated to Titus, would seem to commemorate the Roman defeat of the Jewish forces and the destruction of Jerusalem, Agrippa II may not have intended his coinage to bear this interpretation. The figure of Nike-Victory was a popular image, common to many Roman coins. It also appears frequently on the other Flavian coins of Agrippa II (see nos. 9, 10, 15, 32, 40, and 45, and on the coins dedicated to Domitian, nos. 22, 27, and 54). The same image of the goddess which is found on the coinage of the Jewish king is presented on contemporary Roman pieces issued by Vespasian,⁴² Titus,⁴³ and Domitian.⁴⁴

If Agrippa II had wished to commemorate the Roman victory over Judaea (which is unlikely), a more obvious symbol from the repertoire of images depicted on the coins inscribed "Judaea Capta" (IVDAEA CAPTA or IOYΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ) was available to him. Such figures include a

Jewess seated beneath a palm tree, or trophy,⁴⁵ or a Jewess standing beside a palm.⁴⁶ Yet Agrippa II was both a devout Jew and a loyal vassal of Rome. He would not have desired to arouse the antagonism of either side. Consequently, it is probable that the depiction of Nike on his coinage denotes no particular historical event.

Since this image was not historically anchored, it could of course be interpreted in several disparate manners. For the Romans it might indeed have represented Flavian success in Judaea. But for the local population, mainly of the Galilee and Samaria, where the coins were circulated, the dissimilarity between the coins of Agrippa II and the well-known Judaea Capta series struck in Caesarea was clear. Whereas the coins minted by the Romans commemorated the victory over Judaea, the coins of Agrippa II merely honored the Flavians — after the war had ended and stability had been restored.⁴⁷

Nike Writing on a Shield:

As already mentioned above, Barag has claimed that the image of Nike, depicted on the smaller denominations along with the portrait of Domitian, is related to the Judaea Capta issues.⁴⁸ However, there appears to be no obvious connection between the Nike depicted on the issues minted by Agrippa II and the figure which appears on the coins of Judaea Capta.⁴⁹ It is unlikely that Agrippa II imitated coinage which commemorated the Roman victory over Jerusalem. The image of Nike writing on a shield had appeared on Roman issues minted before the Flavian era. It is represented, for example, on the coinage struck by Claudius,⁵⁰ Nero,⁵¹ and Vitellius.⁵² Thus Agrippa II had many Roman prototypes from which to derive the design.

Historical circumstances also argue against Barag's contention. The figure of Nike appears on the reverse of coins which depict, on their obverse sides, the portrait of Domitian. Yet this member of the dynasty had no connection with the Roman victory or with the Jewish war. Therefore, the combination of Nike and Domitian cannot symbolize the conquest of Judaea. Rather, the coin depicts the general concepts of victory and success. The designs are not related to a specific event.

Not until 90 C.E. did Agrippa II mint obvious copies of Roman prototypes which commemorate the victory over Judaea (see the discussion on coin no. 46, p. 89).

The Coins of "Year 19"

Following the issues struck in years 14, 15, and 18, a new series containing significant changes was introduced. The head of Vespasian was no longer depicted on the large bronze coins of denomination A. The coins now present the portrait of Titus on the obverse and the depiction of Tyche on the

reverse (see no. 17). On the second denomination of the coins minted in "year 19," the head of Titus again appears on the obverse; the reverse depicts a galley (no. 18).

In the name of Domitian, two smaller denominations were struck: denomination C depicting Nike on the reverse (no. 19) and denomination D, again depicting the galley (no. 20). Coins of an even smaller size, denomination E, were also minted in "year 19." This issue depicts another maritime symbol, the anchor, as well as a veiled female head.⁵³ The inscription ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ encircling this figure may refer to Livia in her role of Pietas; under Titus, coins depicting a veiled Livia were struck in Rome.⁵⁴

Agrippa II minted this new series of Flavian coins in 79/80 C.E., following the death of Vespasian and the succession of Titus to the throne. The portrait of Vespasian was naturally replaced by that of Titus, the new emperor. But the change in Roman leadership was not the only event that occurred in 79/80 C.E. Evidently, Agrippa II also wished to publicize an important voyage made in that year to Rome. Of the five denominations struck in 79/80 C.E., three depict new symbols with maritime connotations.

These exceptional issues are probably related to the adventures of Berenice, the sister of Agrippa II. Basing his work on the ancient literary sources, Schürer has reconstructed the events of this year which led to the minting of these coins:⁵⁵

In A.D. 75 the brother and sister, Agrippa and Berenice, arrived in Rome, and there those intimate relations begun in Palestine between Berenice and Titus were resumed, which soon became a public scandal. The Jewish queen lived with Titus on the Palatine, while her brother was raised to the rank of a praetor. It was generally expected that there would soon be a formal marriage, which it is said that Titus had indeed promised her. But the dissatisfaction over the matter in Rome was so great that Titus found himself under the necessity of sending his beloved away. After the death of Vespasian, on 23rd June A.D. 79, she returned once more to Rome; but Titus had come to see that love intrigues were not compatible with the dignity of an emperor, and so left her unnoticed. When she found herself thus deceived she returned again to Palestine.

Apparently, Agrippa II encouraged these voyages to Rome. Berenice's final trip, made in 79 C.E., harbored great political opportunity both for the Jewish royal family and for the general populace. Consequently, Agrippa II publicized both the voyage, and so, his aspirations, on his new series of coins. The unexpected depiction of Livia on denomination E may be explained by these historical events. Because Berenice had the opportunity to become the empress of Rome, Agrippa II depicted on his coinage the image of the epitome of Roman womanhood: Livia was the wife of Augustus, the mother of Tiberius, and a prominent figure in the imperial court.

The Gap

After the production in "year 19" of five denominations, the mint of Agrippa II remained silent for four years. Then, in his twenty-fourth regnal year, or 84/85 C.E., the Jewish king struck a vast quantity of coins in denominations B and C. All the pieces depict the head of Domitian. Titus had died three years earlier, in 81 C.E., but Agrippa II had not yet established the practice of commemorating deceased Roman rulers by Jewish coins. The portrait of Domitian is depicted along with his title Germanicus, which he received in 83 C.E.⁵⁶ the occasion of the new title may have provided the catalyst for the resumption of minting operations.

The gap in coin production during the final year of the reign of Titus (80–81 C.E.) may have been caused by the failure of Berenice to improve her position. But this historical situation cannot explain the silence of the mint from 81 until 83 C.E., when Domitian was the emperor.

The coins of "year 24" depict two previously employed designs: the two versions of Nike (nos. 22 and 24). A new symbol was also introduced; coin no. 23 depicts the head of Domitian on the obverse and the Greek inscription "year 24 to king Agrippa" encircled by a wreath on the reverse.⁵⁷ The wreath does not represent the rank of Agrippa II; he wore a diadem to symbolize his kingship. Rather, the laurel wreath is an imperial design which is depicted on many Roman coins.⁵⁸

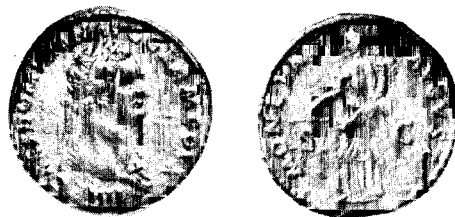
The Coins of "Year 25"

This series, minted in 85/86 C.E., marks a transitional stage in the coinage of Agrippa II. Of the five issues struck, all but one (no. 27) depict entirely new and surprising features.⁵⁹ Coins nos. 25 and 26 are imitations of Roman issues. No. 25 is a copy of the 'as' struck in Rome under Domitian in 84 C.E. Mattingly describes the Roman coin as follows:⁶⁰

Obv.: Bust of Domitian, laureate, bearded, r., with aegis. Latin inscription: IMP. CEAS. DIVI VESP. F. DOMITIAN. AVG. GER. COS. X.

Rev.: Moneta, draped, standing l., holding scales in r. hand and cornucopia in l. Inscription: MONETA AVGVST., in field S.C. The weight of this coin is 10.58 grams.

The coin minted by Agrippa II depicts on its obverse both the identical bust of Domitian and the identical inscription. This is the first occurrence of a Latin legend on Jewish coinage.



Roman Prototype of nos. 25 and 33

The reverse of this piece depicts both the design and the Latin inscription found on the Latin prototype, including the letters S.C. A Greek inscription was added, above, reading ΕΙΠΙ ΒΑ ΑΓΠΙ ("under" or "during the time of" or "by Agrippa the King") and, in field, also included is the date ΕΤΚΕ ("year 25").

Coin no. 26 is also a copy of a Roman 'as', struck by Domitian in Rome in 84 C.E.⁶¹ This second prototype appears as follows:

Obv.: Same bust of Domitian as no. 25; same inscription.

Rev.: Altar; on l. Latin inscription SALVTI AVGVST ("for the health of the emperor"), below: S.C. Approximate weight of this coin: 11 grams.



Roman Prototypes of nos. 26 and 34

The issue minted by Agrippa II, no. 26, depicts the identical head of Domitian and the same Latin inscription on the obverse. The reverse presents the altar and the Latin inscription as well as the additional Greek legend also found on no. 25: ΕΙΠΙ ΒΑ ΑΓΠΙ and the date in field: ΕΤ ΚΕ. Coin no. 26 weighs 11.26 grams.

The average weights of the issues minted under Agrippa II parallel the weights of contemporary Roman coinage. Therefore, the Judaeen coins conform to the denominations of the Roman prototypes. Like the Roman issues, the coins struck by Agrippa II are composed of copper, not bronze. When cleaned chemically, they appear to be of a reddish color and of a different fabric than the other coins struck by the Jewish king.

Mattingly interprets the symbols and inscriptions on the Roman issues as follows:⁶²

The altar of the shrine type, with legend SALVTI AVGVSTI, was undoubtedly dedicated by the senate, perhaps on the occasion of the safe return of Domitian from the German wars.

Moneta, with her scales and cornucopiae, is a type new to the coinage, which is repeated from this year to the end of the reign. She is no longer closely associated with any ordinary type of Juno, but is assimilated to Aequitas, the spirit of imperial 'fairness,' seen in just distributions to the people. 'Moneta Augusti' the 'mint goddess of the Emperor' must clearly symbolize the right control and output of money. In particular, we have to

think of the Emperor as paymaster of the troops and giver of bounties to the people of Rome. Domitian raised the pay of the troops by a third to twelve aurei per annum; he gave three bounties of three aurei each to the people, and, further, he restored the aureus to the old standard of before Nero's reform and slightly improved the weight and fineness (?) of the silver. The type of Moneta, then, represents a permanent feature of the policy of Domitian, which he was resolved to keep before the public eye — the care for the people and the army by which he won support against the hatred of the Roman aristocracy.

Suggested previously was the theory that the imitative coinage minted by Agrippa II depicts symbols with local, Judaeian or Panean interpretations. For example, it has been proposed that the coins inscribed *SALVTI AVGVSTI* were struck in Tiberias, since later issues from that city depict symbols of health.⁶³ This theory, however, has not been accepted. Madden proposes the alternate explanation:⁶⁴

The legend *SALVTI AVGVSTI*. (or *AVGVSTI*) here found on the coins of the 12th consulship occurs on the coins issued at Rome in the 10th and 11th consulship (A.D. 84, A.D. 85), and on a very rare coin of the 12th consulship. Whether Domitian had any serious illness in these years justifying this legend, it is impossible to say; but it would seem as if he was constantly fearing his death, and he may perhaps have wished frequent prayers to be made for his health and safety.

We are convinced that the depictions of Moneta and the altar on the coins of Agrippa II have no connection either with local concepts or events, or with Agrippa II himself. Rather, the coins imitate Roman prototypes; they are designed to flatter the emperor. Thus they reveal the obedience and loyalty shown to Rome by the Jewish king. Included in the inscription depicted on this series is the expression *DIVI*, which Agrippa II omitted on his later, imitative coinage struck in honor of Vespasian and Titus (see nos. 30–32, struck in “year 26”).

This *particular* series, struck in “year 25”, was copied to honor Domitian, for whom the senate minted the prototype. The letters *S.C.*, the abbreviation for *Senatus Consulto*, which were depicted on the Roman issue, were retained on the coins of the Jewish king. The letters neither indicate Agrippa's vassal status nor suggest the loss of Jewish territories, as some numismatists have proposed.⁶⁵ Therefore, no detail depicted on this series of Jewish coins refers to a local event or concept. The issues simply conform to the Roman prototypes.

The Problem of the Dates

The “Latin” issues, coins nos. 25 and 26, are dated to the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Agrippa II, or to 85/86 C.E. yet the date depicted in Latin on the obverse is *COS. X.* or 84 C.E. However, no real discrepancy exists. The date inscribed on the Roman prototype was simply copied onto the Jewish issue (as part of the design). It has no independent significance.

The Mint of the “Latin” Coins

The location of the mint which struck the “Latin” issues has received extensive examination.⁶⁶ Because these coins were produced according to a different technique and have a different fabric than the other pieces struck by Agrippa II, scholars have attempted to assign them to a mint other than the one(s) in which the majority of the types of Agrippa II were produced. For example, Hill comments that “Mr. Robinson points out that these coins have the inverted die-position, which was the rule in Rome at the time. Is it possible that they were not actually struck in Judaea, or by Agrippa's authority?”⁶⁷

Robinson's observation is correct. The axes of all the “Latin” coins are inverted: ↓ whereas those of the other issues minted under Agrippa II are upright: ↑. Yet the dissimilarities between these groups are even more extensive. Unlike the common coins struck by the Jewish king, the “Latin” series was minted from copper rather than bronze; it is thinner than other issues of equal diameter, and it has a slightly concave appearance. Therefore, the “Latin” coins were probably struck by an alternate mint. The “year 25” coins which depict only Greek inscriptions, nos. 27, 28, and 29, although dated to the same year as the “Latin” series, can be assigned according to their style and fabric, to the regular mint.

Although we doubt that the “Latin” series was struck outside the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, the possibility that the coins were produced either in Rome or another imperial mint cannot be excluded. These issues closely resemble the standard, Roman rather than typical Judaeian coinage. Archaeology provides some clues for the location of the mint. The “Latin” pieces have been discovered in the northern regions of Israel, south Lebanon, and the Golan Heights, but not in Rome. Therefore, unless we assume that the entire issue was struck in Rome but shipped for consumption only in Palestine, a Roman mint is unlikely. We believe that the “Latin” coins of “year 25” and of “year 26” were struck outside Rome, perhaps in a new mint founded by Agrippa II within his domain. We cannot, however, provide a more specific location. (Coin no. 25a was found in excavations in Switzerland).

The “Greek” Coins of “Year 25”

The “Latin” series was not the only type minted in “year 25”. Coins nos. 27, 28, and 29, which resemble the earlier issues of Agrippa II, were also struck in 85/86 C.E. Coin no. 27 repeats the designs of no. 22. Yet the issue represented by no. 28 depicts a new symbol, the palm tree. Coin no. 29, the smallest denomination minted by Agrippa II, depicts a single cornucopia.

The interpretation of the palm tree on no. 28 is problematic. Agrippa II did not customarily include on his coins images with a predominantly Jewish interpretation. Therefore, we are hesitant to define this palm tree as a Jewish

symbol. On the coins of Herod Antipas (no. 17) and on those minted under Bar Cochba (nos. 5, 7–10, 40–44, 47–49, 71–76, 79–82), the palm tree is consistently depicted with seven branches. The number of branches reflects the relation of the symbol to Judaism. But the palm tree depicted on coin no. 28 has eight branches, as do the trees which appear on the coins minted by the Roman procurators (nos. 1–5; 29–31 have six branches only).

Indeed, palm trees appear often on coins minted in the first century. They are depicted on issues struck in Tyre,⁶⁸ Caesarea,⁶⁹ and even in Rome.⁷⁰ In 82/83 C.E., an interesting series of coins was struck under Domitian in Neapolis (Shechem). These four denominations, minted by the city authorities, all depict Jewish symbols: the wreath, ears of grain, the vine, and the palm tree.⁷¹ The Jewish emblems were included apparently to placate the Samaritan population of the city. Coin no. 28, struck by Agrippa II three years after the Neapolis issue was minted, may have been inspired by these local productions. If so, the depiction of the palm may represent an originally Jewish motif. However, since the design was cross-cultural, it may well have been chosen by Agrippa II without regard to its specifically Jewish interpretation.

The third issue minted in "year 25", coin no. 29, depicts a single cornucopia. This symbol also had frequently appeared on Jewish coinage, and had carried a specifically Jewish meaning.⁷² Double cornucopias were depicted by Agrippa II on coin no. 5; on denomination A it is held by Tyche. Yet his intention was not to portray a Jewish emblem, even if the symbol on no. 29 was interpreted as such by the local population. A similar, single cornucopia also with clusters of grapes and other plants springing from its mouth appears on contemporary small bronze coins struck in Rome under Domitian.⁷³ Had Agrippa II wished to depict a Jewish symbol, more appropriate designs, already established in Jewish art, were available to him.

Coins Struck in "Year 26"

The greatest quantity of coins minted in one year by Agrippa II was struck in 86/87 C.E., or "year 26" (nos. 30–37). The most conspicuous groups in this series are the large bronze coins, which depict the portrait of the deceased emperor Vespasian, and the medium bronzes, which present, again posthumously, Titus. Yet Agrippa II had ceased to depict on his coinage the heads of these two emperors following their deaths. Why did he resume these motifs in 86/87?

The Jewish king consistently copied the coinage of the Roman mint. Posthumous issues honoring the former emperors had been recently struck by Domitian. Mattingly notes the origin of the Roman coins dedicated to Vespasian, "Domitian, who built a temple to the *Gens Flavia*, seems to have claimed immortality as a prerogative of his house."⁷⁴ Indeed, the coins issued by Domitian in 81 C.E. not only portray the head of Vespasian, but also

contain the inscription: *DIVVS AVGVSTVS VESPASIANVS* ("the divine Augustus Vespasian").⁷⁵

Agrippa II, even more than Domitian, had reason to commemorate the previous emperors, Vespasian and Titus. Not only had the Jewish ruler known the two Flavians, but also, he had aided them during the Jewish War against Rome. Agrippa II had exhibited complete loyalty to Vespasian and Titus; in return, he received their support. Therefore, he followed Domitian in depicting on his coinage the portraits of the deceased Flavians. This he did without fear of incurring the enmity of Domitian, who was, after all, a Flavian himself.

However, Agrippa II did not, in this case, copy the Roman prototypes directly, he merely used the idea of posthumous coinage. Notably, the Jewish king deliberately omitted the word *DIVVS* ("divine") from the inscriptions on his issues. Such homage was not acceptable even to the king who remained loyal to Rome during the Jewish War. Agrippa II could not assign the title "divine" to a man. Therefore, he depicted on his coinage only the titles held by the emperors during their lifetime.

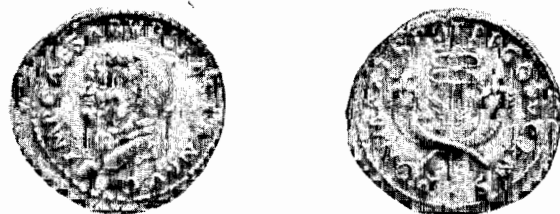
An interesting comparison can be made between these posthumous issues struck by Agrippa II and the coins honoring the recently deceased Titus, struck by the Roman administration in Caesarea under Domitian (see Suppl. VIII Roman administration, nos. 1–3). The Caesarean coins depict the title *DIVVS*, as do coins nos. 25 and 26, minted by Agrippa II. However, on these two issues the inscriptions were not composed by the Jewish king; they were simply copied from the Roman prototypes.

The issues struck in "year 26" or 86/87 C.E. were not only inspired by Roman coins, they were also imitations of earlier issues struck by Agrippa II himself. The first type, no. 30, and its variant, no. 31, are of denomination A and depict the portrait of Vespasian. These two issues are copies of types nos. 7, 12 and 14, minted in the previous decade. Issue no. 32, which depicts the head of Titus on coins of the middle denomination, is an imitation of groups nos. 9 and 15. Finally, type no. 37, a small bronze issue depicting the head of Domitian and the symbol of Nike writing on a shield, is a continuation of nos. 13, 16, 19, and 24.

The "Latin" coins, minted in "year 25," were also repeated the following year. Coins depicting Moneta (no. 33) and the altar (no. 34) were also issued in "year 26". Two smaller denominations complete this series. The first, no. 35, depicts double cornucopias with caduceus between the horns. The second, no. 36, presents as the principal design on the reverse, the letters *S.C.*

Except for the change in the date, nos. 33 and 34 have reverse sides identical to those of, respectively, nos. 25 and 26. The obverse sides of nos. 33 and 34 are also imitations of their prototypes, but they depict a different Latin date. Coins issued in "year 26" are inscribed: *IMP. CAES. DIVI. VESP. F. DOMITIAN. AVG. GER. COS. XII*. The prototypes, nos. 25 and 26, have the date *COS. X*. The chronology represented by the later series is correct; *COS XII* is marked on Roman coins struck in 86 C.E., and moreover, corresponds to the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Agrippa II (86/87 C.E.).

However, the obverse inscription of the coins dated to "year 26" is a continuation of the previous series issued by Agrippa II and not of the corresponding pieces, depicting Moneta, which were struck in Rome. The Roman coinage, minted in 86 C.E. is inscribed with the legend: *IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XII. CENS. PER. P. P.* This legend does not mention Vespasian: *DIVI. VESP. F.* Therefore, types 33 and 34 were not copies of contemporary Roman issues, but of Agrippa's nos. 25 and 26. We cannot attribute these types to the Roman mint, because it did not produce coins inscribed with the name of Vespasian in 86 C.E. or *COS XII.*



Roman Prototype of Coin no. 35

The obverse of type no. 35 is identical to that of types nos. 33 and 34. The reverse of this issue depicts an alternate design: the double cornucopias with a winged caduceus and the letters *S.C.* This emblem had been depicted earlier by Agrippa II on type no. 5, and on coins minted in Sepphoris in 67 C.E., apparently under his direction (see Suppl. III, no. 8). The double cornucopias with winged caduceus were also commonly portrayed on coins struck in Rome as well as on the imperial coinage of the provinces.⁷⁶ As depicted on the coins of Agrippa II, the emblem is reminiscent of the coins of Herod the Great, the king's great-grandfather (see Herod no. 17). However, there is no connection between these two issues. Again, Agrippa II based the designs on the symbols depicted on the coinage of his Roman masters.⁷⁷

The obverse of coin no. 36 is identical to that of types 33, 34, and 35. But the reverse of this issue depicts a design new to Jewish coinage: two large Latin letters, *S.C.*, the abbreviation for *Senatus Consulto*. This type is, again, an imitation of contemporary Roman issues struck by Domitian.⁷⁸



Roman prototype of coin no. 35

The abbreviation *SC*, depicted on the Roman issues, indicates that the coins were struck according to the public authority of the senate, in accordance with the constitution of the republic and the laws of the Roman mint. The letters appear on issues of both copper and bronze, but they are not inscribed on gold and silver coinage struck by the emperor himself. The abbreviation also appears on certain provincial issues, such as on the coins minted in Antioch.⁷⁹ It is present on the coins of Sepphoris which were struck apparently under Agrippa II in 67 C.E.⁸⁰

On the coins minted in Sepphoris, the term *Senatus Consulto* indicates the loyalty of the vassal king to Rome. Yet on the issues of the provincial mints, it has simply been retained from the Roman prototype and so has no independent or unique interpretation. The abbreviation which appears on coin no. 36 suggests a combination of these two symbolic values. Agrippa II may have wished not only to imitate Roman coinage and therefore honor the emperor, but also to declare his loyalty to the imperial government.

In "year 26" as in "year 25", two entirely different series of coins were struck in two separate mints. But the mint which issued the "Latin" coins (nos. 25, 26, 33-36) was in operation only for these two years. The establishment of the mint, and the production of the special "Latin" issues, may have been related to some particular event which occurred in 85/86 C.E. Unfortunately, because we have relatively little information concerning the reign of Agrippa II during this period, we cannot place either the mint or the coinage into a specific historical perspective.⁸¹

Coins of "Year 27"

In 87/88 C.E., Agrippa II continued to issue coinage depicting Vespasian (no. 38) and Titus (no. 40). These groups are continuations of previous types dedicated to the two deceased emperors. Also in this year, a new type of coin was produced. This innovative issue allows us to solve the question of the mint.

The exceptional coin, no. 41, was first published in an auction catalogue and later, included in our monograph.⁸² In this early study, we were unable to present either a detailed description of the symbols on the coin, or its complete inscription, because of the poor state of preservation of the piece. Since that time, however, several more specimens from this issue have been discovered. After examining these pieces we can now, with full confidence, describe the type as follows:

Obv.: Busts of Titus (l.) and Domitian (r.), facing each other, both laureate and undraped. The Greek inscription reads: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝ[ΟC]

Rev.: Pan, nude (horned?), walking l., playing syrinx held in r. hand, holding pedum (shepherd's staff) over shoulder with l. hand. Goat skin is draped over r. shoulder; the edges of the skin appear in front and behind the

figure. In the background is a tree trunk.⁸³ Greek inscription reads: BACIAEWC AΓPIIIIIA ETOYC KZ (year 27)

The combination of the portraits on the obverse of this issue is unique; one bust depicts Titus, who had been dead for six years; the other is of Domitian, the current emperor. Domitian had minted in Rome a series of coins commemorating his brother *DIVVS TITVS*,⁸⁴ but the issue struck by Agrippa II is not an imitation of that type. Rather, coin no. 41 may be compared to the Roman series minted under Vespasian, the only imperial issue which depicts the facing busts of Titus and Domitian. The combined portraits appear on both denarii and aurei.⁸⁵

The depiction of Pan on the reverse of coin no. 41 is not a motif common to the issues of Agrippa II. Whereas his coinage usually presents emblems related in some manner to Rome, this piece appears to have local rather than imperial connotations. It can be compared only with the minute coin, no. 6, which is also connected through its designs to the location of the mint.

The figure of Pan, depicted on the coins of Agrippa II, must be interpreted as a symbolic reference to Caesarea Paneas.⁸⁶ This city, also called Paneion,⁸⁷ was a cultic center for the worship of Pan. It was built on fertile ground beside a stream which flowed into the Jordan River. The natural setting is ideal for the cult of a god who is depicted as holding a shepherd's staff and playing the syrinx (thereby enchanting the flocks with music). In Paneas, there is an inscription dedicated to Pan, which is still extant, cut into the rocks surrounding a cave where cultic ceremonies were conducted. The many niches in the rocks housed statues of the god; several of these images are also depicted on the local currency of Caesarea Paneas, struck from 169 C.E. (during the reign of Marcus Aurelius) to 221 C.E. (under Elagabal).⁸⁸ On these late city coins, Pan is depicted as playing the flute rather than the syrinx. However, the syrinx appears as an independent object on other coins of Paneas; it is the mint mark of the city.⁸⁹

It would not be overly daring to suggest that among the many gifts granted by Agrippa II to his non-Jewish constituency was a new statue of Pan for the local sanctuary at Caesarea Paneas. This dedication may have been made either before or after his extensive investments in the city. As Josephus notes, "The natural beauties of Paneion have been enhanced by royal munificence, the place having been embellished by Agrippa at great expense."⁹⁰ The figure depicted on the coin may therefore represent a statue of the god given to the city by Agrippa II. The dedication of the statue may even have provided the impetus for this coin. Because the design is not repeated on later coins, it was probably struck to commemorate such a singular event.⁹¹

Other coins struck in "year 27" depict symbols common to the other issues of Agrippa II. Nike writing on a shield and the portrait of Domitian appear on type no. 42. The half-denomination, type no. 43, depicts the double cornucopias on its reverse; this symbol does not appear to have any special interpretation.

Coin No. 39

Recently coin no. 39 has been found, adding another type to the already known issues of Agrippa II. The coin, which is the largest in diameter among Agrippa's coins, depicts a strange figure representing Tyche standing in *military dress* holding a cornucopia in l. and a rudder in r., and wearing kalathos overhead. The inscription is around the design rather than across field. This figure resembles the Tyche on the later coins of Paneas struck under Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, and Caracalla (See SNG/ANS 6, nos. 866, 867, 873, 879, 880). If this is indeed the same figure, it could represent another statue erected at Paneas by Agrippa II in addition to that of Pan seen on coin no. 41.

Coins of "Year 29"

Although in his twenty-eighth year, Agrippa II did not strike coinage, minting operations were resumed in 89/90 C.E., in his twenty-ninth regnal year. The large denomination, A, of this series depicts the name of Vespasian (no. 44) and of Domitian (no. 47). As on previous issues, the middle denomination, B, is dedicated to Titus (no. 45). The coins of denomination C are again struck with the name of Domitian (no. 48). Finally, a new type of coin, no. 46, was also minted in "year 29".

The "Judaea Capta" Coin (No. 46)

This coin has previously been published in two studies; in both cases it was incorrectly identified.⁹² The issue depicts on the obverse the bust of Titus, not of Domitian, as we had previously thought. This correction allows us to interpret the coin properly. The description of no. 46 is as follows:

Ob v.: Bust of Titus r., laureate, encircled by a Greek inscription: AYTOKPTI[TOC KA]ICAP

Rev.: Nike standing r., her l. foot resting on a helmet. She is writing on a shield hanging from a palm tree. The Greek inscription reads: ETO KΘBAC AΓPIIIIIAC

This coin, which we believe was struck during the second half of the twenty-ninth year of Agrippa II, commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the fall of Jerusalem. Both Titus and this particular depiction of Nike appear on the Judaea Capta coins struck in Caesarea by the Roman administration in honor of the victory. Indeed, the majority of the Judaea Capta issues minted in Caesarea are dedicated to Titus, not to his father Vespasian (see the Judaea Capta coins, nos. 2-8). Therefore, coin no. 46 may be viewed as a commemorative issue honoring Titus (rather than emphasizing the destruction of the city) twenty years after his victory. Like previous coins struck for specific occasions, the symbols depicted on this issue were not repeated.⁹³

Coins of "Year 30"

In his thirtieth regnal year, 90/91 C.E., Agrippa II struck two issues, both of denomination A. The first depicts Tyche and Titus (no. 49), the second depicts the portrait of Domitian. There may have been a third issue containing the portrait of Vespasian, which would complement the series. The coins are quite rare and, consequently, such a third type may yet be discovered.

Coins of "Year 34"

Only one specific issue is known to have been struck in 94/95 C.E.; it is represented by coin no. 52, which does not depict the portrait of an emperor. The obverse presents the head of Tyche with a turreted crown; the reverse has a single cornucopia, the name and title of Agrippa II, and the date "year 34". This issue is reminiscent of type no. 5, struck by the Jewish king in 66 C.E., which also depicts the crowned head of Tyche on the obverse and the double cornucopias with caduceus on the reverse. The designs of the earlier issue symbolize Caesarea Paneas (Neronias); Tyche is the goddess of the city and the cornucopias are emblems of its fertility. The figures depicted on the coins of "year 34" should also be interpreted in this manner.

We propose to identify one other issue on our list of coins minted by Agrippa II in "year 34". A rare specimen, now in the possession of the Franciscan Biblical school in Jerusalem, depicts the head of Tyche, similar in form to the design on no. 52, on the obverse. The reverse depicts a palm branch and the encircling Greek inscription reads: ...ΙΙΙΙ We have reconstructed the legend as follows: [BAC AΓP] ΙΙΙΙ [A] (see no. 51).

The weight of the coin is double the weight of no. 52. Because of the connection of this weight to that of a known issue struck in 94/95 C.E., and because of the similar depictions of Tyche on the two pieces, we have assigned this rare coin to "year 34".⁹⁴

Coins of "Year 35"

The final dated issue struck by Agrippa II is inscribed "year 35". The coins were struck in 95/96 C.E. None have innovative designs or legends. Tyche is depicted on denomination A (no. 53) and the coins of denomination B present Nike holding a palm branch and wreath (no. 54). The coins of denomination C depict the expected figure of Nike writing on a shield (no. 55). Finally, type no. 56, which presents on the reverse an inscription encircled by a wreath, is an imitation of the first coins struck by Agrippa II

(nos. 1-3) and their later copies (no. 23, struck in 84/85 C.E.). The only notable feature of this last series is that all the issues depict only the portrait of Domitian. The last groups to present either the portrait of Vespasian or of Titus were minted in 90/91 C.E.

We do not know why Agrippa II ceased to mint coins in 96/97 C.E. The year 95/96 marks not only the end of his minting activities but also the death of Domitian. Perhaps events in Rome caused the mint of Agrippa to be silenced. Concluding his survey on Agrippa II, Schürer states, "According to the testimony of Julius Tiberius (on Photius, Bibliotheca, cod. 33) Agrippa died in the third year of Trajan, in A.D. 100; and there is no reason for doubting the correctness of this statement."⁹⁵ The coinage minted by Agrippa II suggests that he remained a sovereign king until at least 95/96 C.E. His rule was the longest of any Jewish king of the Second Temple period.

Stars and Crescents

In addition to the main design on many of the coins of Agrippa II, small stars or crescents are depicted.⁹⁶ Because these images are inconspicuous and do not appear to be part of the main design, they may not have any symbolic value. Rather, the stars and crescents may simply be mint marks.

The Roman coins issued by the Flavians, especially those minted under Vespasian, often employ stars as mint marks.⁹⁷ These small designs may have been copied onto the dies used to strike the coinage of Agrippa II by the mint masters. However, whereas the Roman issues provided the prototype for the star, the crescent which appears on the coinage of the Jewish king cannot be explained in this manner.

We believe that the stars and crescents were first depicted on the coins of Agrippa II in "year 24" or 84/85 C.E., during the reign of Domitian. In this year, the two-year-old son of the emperor died and was consecrated. His deification was commemorated in Rome sometime before 85/86 C.E. by the minting of gold and silver coins.⁹⁸ These memorial issues depict a boy, seated on a globe, surrounded by seven stars. The design indicates that the child has been "received into the ranks of the gods and placed amongst the stars."⁹⁹ Therefore, the stars depicted on the coins of Agrippa II may indicate the consecration of the son of the emperor.

The Mint

The earliest issues minted by Agrippa II, types nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, were clearly struck in the mint of Caesarea Paneas. Later issues, such as no. 41 which depicts the god Pan, and nos. 51 and 52 on which the Tyche of Paneas appears, suggest the same place of origin through their designs. Because of this data, we believe that the mint at Caesarea Paneas produced all the standard issues struck by Agrippa II. However, other mints in

Caesarea ("Maritima") and even in Sepphoris may have produced other types of his coinage.¹⁰⁰

The "Latin" issues, nos. 25, 26, and 33–36, were struck in a different mint. Either they were manufactured for Agrippa II in a region outside his territory, or, the king opened a new mint within the borders of his jurisdiction. The mint which produced these coins operated for only two years, and struck pieces in imitation of contemporary Roman coinage. There is some resemblance between the "Latin" specimens (particularly nos. 35–36) and the coins depicting Latin inscriptions which were minted at Caesarea under the Roman administration (see Suppl. VIII, nos. 5, 10). This detail may indicate that the "Latin" coins of Agrippa II were struck in Caesarea.

The Denominations

With one notable exception, all the coins minted by Agrippa II were struck from either bronze or copper. The unique piece, no. 14a, is plated with silver. This coin, now in the collection of the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, was struck from the same obverse die as no. 14. We analyzed this silver plated coin carefully before concluding that it is an ancient genuine piece. Our decision was based not only on the ancient plating, and designs depicted on the piece, but also on the countermark stamped over the silver. In other words, the countermark was added after the silver plate. Reconstructing the origin of this coin, we have found that it was minted first in bronze, and then plated by someone who hoped to trade it for either goods or currency of a greater value than the denomination of the original coin. Because no. 14a has the diameter and weight of a silver billon, it could easily be mistaken for the more valuable piece struck in Alexandria.

The denominations of the regular issues, minted in bronze and copper, are less problematic. The value of each issue is often linked to the particular designs depicted on it. Tyche appears most often on the large bronzes of denomination A (nos. 7, 12, 17, 30, 31, 38, 39, 44, 47, and 53). The depiction of Nike, walking right and holding a wreath and a palm branch, is reserved for denomination B (nos. 9, 10, 15, 22, 27, 32, 40, 45, and 54). On coins of the third denomination, C, Nike writing on a shield appears (nos. 11, 13, 16, 19, 24, 37, 42, 48, and 55). The remaining denominations, D and E, depict different designs. The only issues which do not conform to this pattern are the first coins struck in 61 C.E., which commemorate the founding of Neronias.

The specific value of each denomination is more difficult to determine. The lack of accuracy in the weights prevents us from defining denomination B, for example, as equal to one-half the value of denomination A in all cases. The coins which depict Nike walking are occasionally heavier than those containing the figure of Tyche. Discrepancies in weight not only appear

within each denomination, they also extend to the system based on the portraits of the emperors. The coins which depict both Nike walking and Titus are heavier than those containing the same symbolic figure, but with the portrait of Domitian rather than that of Titus.

The list which follows presents a proportional classification of the denominations; each division represents one-half the value of the section it follows. However, the reservations noted in the paragraph above must be heeded by the reader:

- (1) Denomination A: nos. 7, (8?), 12, 14, 17, 30, 31, 38, 39, 41, 44, 47, 49, 50, 53.
- (2) Denomination B: nos. (1), (8?), 9, 10, 15, (18?), 22, 27, 32, 40, 45, 54.
- (3) Denomination C: nos. (2, 4), 11, 13, 16, 19, (23), 24, 37, 42, (46), 48, 55.
- (4) Denomination D: nos. 3, 5, 20, 28, 51, 56.
- (5) Denomination E: nos. 6, 21, 29, 52.¹⁰¹

The "Latin" coins conform to a separate denominational system. The heaviest coins (nos. 25, 26, 33, and 34), struck in copper, most probably are to be equated with the Roman as. Coins nos. 35 and 36, which are half-denominations, are comparable to the Roman semis.

Denoting the Dates

The dates are indicated on the coins of Agrippa II in a consistent manner.

(A) Coins depicting the Greek word ETOC

The term is presented in the form ETOYC ("in the year"). The various variations are as follows:

- (1) ETOYC – nos. 5, 6, 39, 41.
- (2) ETOY – nos. 12b, 14, 16, 17, 30, 38, 44, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54.
- (3) ETO – nos. 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, 32, 37, 40, 42, 43, 55.
- (4) ET – nos. 7, 9, 12, 15, 25, 26, 28, 29, 33, 34, 35, 36, 45, 52, 56.

(B) Coins depicting the siglum L ("year")

- (1) LETO – no. 23a.¹⁰²
- (2) L – nos. 8, 10, 11, 21.

(C) On one series, nos. 1–3, no sign for "year" is indicated.

The Name and Title of the King

The following presents the principal versions of the name and title of the Jewish ruler.

- (1) BACIAE[ΩC]ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙ[A] or BACIAE[YC]ΑΓΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ(nos. 1–3).
- (2) BACIAEOC (sic!) ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΟΥ (no. 6).
- (3) BAC ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ (nos. 8, 8b, 10, 11).
- (4) BA ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ (no. 53 and many others).

The most common abbreviation is BA AΓP (see no. 56).

The shortest depiction, found on no. 21, is: B[ACIAEΩC]A[ΓPIIIIA].

A strange spelling, AΓPIIOY, appears on many coins dated "year 14". Macdonald suggests that this spelling indicates that the coins were struck in a different mint.¹⁰³ Coin no. 39, discovered recently has the full and clear version: BACIAEWC AΓPIIIIA.

Countermarks

Many countermarks were struck on the coins of Agrippa II.¹⁰⁴ They appear on issues depicting the portraits of Nero, Agrippa II himself, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. The countermarks occur in four forms: the head of the emperor (?) nos. 4a, 8b, 14a, 25a, 36a, 37g, 53a and 54a; the initials of the tenth Roman legion, nos. 1a, 36b, 37e; a standing figure (?) on no. 37f; and a geometric design or flower on no. 37h and 40a.

The phenomenon of countermarking has not yet been satisfactorily explained. However, it is interesting to note that all groups depicting countermarks which we have thus far encountered also depict the portraits of rulers. The coins of Herod the Great and of his son Archelaus, which do not depict portraits, are not struck with countermarks. The issues minted under Herod Antipas, which were circulated in the Galilee, also lack these countermarks. Yet the coins of Philip, circulated contemporaneously in the same region as those of his brother, depict both portraits and countermarks. Therefore, while it appears unlikely that the intended circulation of the coinage gave impetus to this phenomenon, perhaps the designs depicted on the coins did.

Two of the rulers whose portraits appear on the coinage of Agrippa II, Nero and Domitian, were condemned under the *Damnatio Memoriae* after their deaths. The countermarks which depict, we believe, the head of the emperor, may represent the new ruler who replaced those under the condemnation. Thus the countermark may have been used to reconfirm the value of an issue. The rarer countermarks on Vespasian and Titus heads are hard to explain.

The Dubious Dates

Because of the poor state of preservation of many issues, numismatists (including ourselves) have misread certain dates and inscriptions as well as have incorrectly described particular designs. Consequently, we have based our study on only well-preserved, clear coins. This method prevents us from finding dates which are not actually depicted; such non-existent dates have been discussed in numerous publications. Before compiling our list of dates, we not only checked the coins mentioned in these publications, we also analyzed many other pieces suggested to us by highly competent numismatists

and collectors. We are confident that the above discussed list presents the true chronological notations appearing on the coins of Agrippa II. The following dates, published in previous works, should be excluded:

Year K¹⁰⁵

Year KA¹⁰⁶

Year KΓ¹⁰⁷

Year AA¹⁰⁸

Year ΛΔ¹⁰⁹ (with the head of Domitian).

Circulation

The coins of Agrippa II, struck in Caesarea Paneas, were circulated in regions under his jurisdiction. Ninety-five percent have been discovered in the northern parts of Israel, southern parts of present-day Lebanon, and the Golan. These coins have also been located elsewhere; several were discovered in excavations of Jerusalem, Masada, and even Cyprus.¹¹⁰ Within the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa II, issues minted by other rulers were also in circulation.

After the cessation of the production of Tyrian shekels in 65 C.E., Roman coins formed the principal silver currency of the period. The Roman provincial tetradrachms were circulated throughout the Near East. Such silver issues, called in the Mishna *Sela'im*, minted under Nero, Otho, Galba, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, have appeared within the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa II. In addition, denarii from the mint of Rome were also popular in the East; they have been discovered in many regions and in large quantities.

Foreign issues minted in bronze were also circulated throughout the kingdom. Archaeologists have discovered within the borders of Agrippa's domain pseudo-autonomous coins of Tyre,¹¹¹ as well as of the Judaea Capta series, struck in Caesarea first under Vespasian and Titus (see Suppl. VII nos. 1-8) and later, under Domitian (Suppl. VIII nos. 1-10). Moreover, a large quantity of city coins from Neapolis and Sebaste,¹¹² Gadara and Hippos,¹¹³ were also locally available. Thus the bronze coins of Agrippa II formed only a part of the currency used in the markets of his kingdom during the second half of the first century, C.E.

THE JEWISH WAR

66-70 C.E.

The issues minted during the first Jewish war against Rome are among the most famous and most popular types of Jewish coinage. Indeed, these particular pieces were the first Jewish coins to be studied by historians and numismatists. The famous shekels and half-shekels (see nos. 2-10, 18-19, 23, 25, and 31) have attracted the attention of scholars and travelers from as early as the thirteenth century.

The first recorded attempt to identify this series of silver coinage appears in the writings of Moshe Ben Nachman, or, as he is more commonly known, Nachmanides. In his commentary on the Mishna, Nachmanides writes:

God has blessed me till now, so that I have had the merit to come to Acco, and I found there, in the possession of the elders of the Land a silver coin engraved like the engravings of a signet, with a pattern like a "rod of an almond tree" on one side, and on the other side a pattern like a jar, and around the two sides was an engraved writing, written very clearly. The writing was shown to the Kuthiim (Samaritans) and they read it at once, for that was the Hebrew script which was left to the Kuthiim, as is mentioned in Tractate Sanhedrin.

This early scholar was convinced that his coin was minted during the era of the First Temple, he was mistaken in his dating by over one-thousand years.

Since 1268, when this commentary was written, numismatics has developed into a formal science. The history of the research on the coins of the war alone exhibits the gradual evolution of the field. We recommend to the reader the monograph published by L. Kadman in 1960,¹ which presents in detail the development of the study of the series. Our comments in this chapter will be focused primarily upon material not discussed in that monograph, points on which we disagree with Kadman, and new material brought to light since his publication in 1960.

In recent excavations of Masada (destroyed in 73 C.E.) and of Jerusalem (destroyed in 70 C.E.), strata dating to the period of the war have been studied. The excavations yielded thousands of silver and bronze coins of several types. Previous to these finds, coins of similar types known from other collections and excavations were incorrectly identified. The results of these recent explorations have ended disputes caused by the lack of clear archaeological evidence relating to the coinage of the war. The new finds allow the numismatist to transcend the problems posed by the coins themselves: the pieces are not inscribed with the names of rulers or of contemporary personalities.

The Numismatic Background of 66 C.E.

At the outbreak of the Jewish War, the following currencies were circulated in Judaea, Samaria, and the Galilee:

A. Gold

Since the end of the Ptolemaic period in 200 B.C.E., gold coinage was both rarely employed and in relatively short supply in the local markets. The principal currency used in the Near East was of either silver or bronze. The predominance of silver over the more valuable gold issues is noted in the Mishna and in other documents of the period. Archaeological finds have confirmed the literary evidence; less than a half-dozen gold coins from the Hellenistic period have been found in Judaea or in the Galilee. Strata from the early stages of the Roman period, 63 B.C.E.-50 C.E., have yielded only three gold aurei.²

Gold first attained a large scale circulation in Judaea during the few years prior to the war. From strata dated to this period, several gold aurei of Nero have been found. The evidence provided by these discoveries is corroborated by the literary sources, which attest to the growing popularity of gold coinage. For example, Josephus relates an amazing account of the mass exodus from Jerusalem during the siege of 69/70 C.E.:³

The people however were incited to desert; and selling for a trifling sum, some their whole property, others their most valuable treasures, they would swallow the gold coins to prevent discovery by the brigands, and then, escaping to the Romans, on discharging their bowels, have ample supplies for their needs.

Yet such methods did not always meet with success:⁴

But even those who thus escaped were overtaken later by another catastrophe. For one of the refugees in the Syrian ranks was discovered picking gold coins from his excrement; these pieces, as we have said, they swallowed before their departure, because they were all searched by the rebels, and gold was so abundant in the town that they could purchase for twelve Attic drachms coins formerly worth five-and-twenty.

These descriptions, although perhaps hyperbolic, nevertheless reflect a period when gold coinage was relatively common. From the time of Nero, then, both gold coins as well as silver Roman issues were generally used in Judaea.⁵

B. Silver

The main currency of the period was struck in silver, and the popular Tyrian shekels still dominated the market place. Autonomous Tyrian shekels were produced until the outbreak of the Jewish War. Inscribed on certain of these Tyrian silver pieces is the date P⁴A, "year 191" of the era of Tyre. This date corresponds to 65/66 C.E.⁶

In our discussion of the coinage struck under Herod the Great, we suggest that these late Tyrian shekels may have been struck by the Jewish king himself from 18 B.C.E. onward. The earlier issues were minted according to a different technique and are of a distinct style from the later "Tyrian" issues produced after 18 B.C.E. Further, the later coins are distinguished by the insignia KP (see above, p. 9). We have also noted that Tyrian shekels were the only coins permitted for specific religious dues, such as the annual tribute to the Temple and the ceremonial requirement for the redemption of the first born.

Tyrian silver shekels ceased to be minted at the beginning of the Jewish War. There is, for Tyre, apparently no economic reason for discontinuation at this time; the year 66 C.E. has no special significance in the history of the city. But the numismatic picture is clarified when we turn to events in Judaea; at the outset of the Roman expansion into the east, local currencies continued to be circulated. The Romans did not introduce their own issues into the eastern provinces until a relatively long period after the initial annexation. For example, although Rome controlled Judaea, Samaria, and the Galilee from the middle of the first century B.C.E., Roman coinage did not enter the local markets until the first century C.E.; even then, the use of Roman coinage remained quite limited.⁷

Roman currency began to enjoy some popularity in the east during the reign of Nero. Under this emperor, an impressive series of Roman provincial tetradrachms was struck in Antioch.⁸ This series flooded local markets throughout the eastern provinces. Because the coins were composed of an inferior quality of silver, they replaced the Tyrian shekels, which were struck from a purer base. This particular phenomenon of displacement, the "law of the marketplace," could occur anywhere *except* in Judaea. The religious requirements of the Jewish population necessitated the use of pure, silver coinage.⁹

We believed that because of these religious needs, the Tyrian shekels minted in the first century C.E. were not only *struck for* the Jews, but also, were *produced by* the Jews. These later issues, although crude in style, are composed of 92 percent silver and are of good, accurate weights.¹⁰

With the introduction of the provincial tetradrachms into the markets of Judaea, Samaria, and the Galilee, two monetary systems found themselves in competition. The inferior Roman coinage eventually replaced the Tyrian shekels in daily use. But because the silver shekels were required for Temple dues, the demand for them did not cease. Therefore, the Jews continued to strike Tyrian shekels. The population favored the coins of high quality silver over the Roman issues minted under Nero even for ordinary commercial use. This preference is illustrated by Josephus,¹¹ who relates an account of the transactions between Galilean Jews and their brothers across the border. The Galilean businessmen not only sold their oil at inflated prices, but also, they required payment in Tyrian shekels, not in Roman currency.

In addition to the Roman provincial tetradrachms and the Tyrian shekels, other silver coinage was circulated in the markets of Judaea during the first

century C.E. Roman denarii were employed as were, on rare occasions, denarii from Nabataea.¹²

C. Bronze

Small bronze denominations minted by the Roman procurators between 6–59 C.E. as well as by Agrippa I dominated the local markets in Judaea and Samaria before the war. In the northern parts of the country, coins minted by Agrippa I and Agrippa II as well as issues struck in Antioch and Dora were used extensively.¹³ Complementing the bronze issues struck by the Jewish kings and by the Roman procurators were the city coins, principally those of Ascalon but also pieces minted in Nysa-Scythopolis and Caesarea.¹⁴

Coinage of Year "1"

In the summer of 66 C.E., the Jewish War against Rome began.¹⁵ The revolt started in the month of Marḥeshvan (or October), five months before Nissan, the beginning of the official civil year.¹⁶ Thus the first 'year' of the war lasted approximately five months, from Marḥeshvan to Nissan, 66 C.E.

The Jewish forces were not united under the direction of an authority acknowledged by all pockets of the rebellion. Several prominent leaders, such as John of Gischala and Simon bar Gioras the Gerasaeen, are mentioned by Josephus. The logical candidates for leadership, the king and the high priest, were occupied with other concerns. Agrippa II remained loyal to Rome, and the high priest was restricted by his cultic responsibilities. Indeed, Josephus himself commanded the Galilean forces at the outset of the revolt. Instead of a single leader, national assemblies controlled both political action and administrative policy. Josephus mentions the κοινοῦ τῶν ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρεσβεῦσαι¹⁷ as well as another council which voted to remove him from command.¹⁸ Because we do not know the extent of the authority wielded by these councils, nor who presided over them, we cannot determine which individual or assembly authorized the minting of Jewish coinage during the war. Kanael suggests that at least the first coins of this period were struck under the direction of the high priest.¹⁹

Coins were minted in Jerusalem immediately after the outbreak of hostilities. The first motivation to strike coinage was political: autonomous minting suggested independence. The striking of Jewish silver shekels was thus a declaration of both war and political sovereignty. The second motivation was primarily internal and theological; silver shekels were still required for religious needs.

The designs and inscriptions on these Jewish shekels must be studied in relation to the Tyrian issues (struck perhaps by the Jews until 65/66 C.E.) which they replaced. Several patterns of shekels were minted in Jerusalem

until the design of the first independent issue was finalized. Numismatists have noted distinct differences between the shekels minted during the first five months of the war and those struck after 66 C.E. Yet even among the shekels of "year 1" differences may be seen. The production of the first autonomous silver shekels in the history of Jewish coinage required both time and experimentation.

The Designs

The reverse of the autonomous Jewish shekels minted in "year 1" depicts a stem or branch with three pomegranates. On the obverse, a certain prestigious ceremonial vessel from the Temple is presented. The inscription reads: שקל ישראל (ŠQL YŠR'L), "Shekel of Israel" and ירושלם קדשה (YRWŠLM QDŠH), "Holy Jerusalem." The date א('), "1" is indicated above the vessel. The designs are rough and technically indelicate, as are, for example, the crudely produced final issues of the Tyrian shekels. The inscription appears in an abbreviated form; "Jerusalem" is depicted as "Yerushalem" and not as "Yerushalaym." The term for "holy," קדשה, lacks a full holam (ו) after the dalet (ד) and does not have the definite article (ה) before the kof (ק). All issues minted in the first year of the revolt do not depict the symbol for "year", the shin (ש, ש), which is the standard abbreviation for שנה, ŠNH).

As the designs on the shekels became more firmly established and as the mint masters became more familiar with the techniques used to produce the coins, the shekels attained better style and clarity of design and script. The later issues of year "1" are certainly less crude than the initial efforts.²⁰

In 1970, a unique shekel appeared in the antiquities market of Jerusalem. Because of the odd appearance of the coin, and because shekels were commonly produced in many styles by counterfeiters, the specimen was declared by all numismatists to be a forgery. The coin remained in the possession of the antiques dealer for several years during which we attempted to locate similar coins in the market; an analysis of several copies of an issue can easily prove that a series has been forged. Yet no similar specimens could be found. Since we were unable to prove the shekel to be a forgery, even though it was entirely distinct in style from the standard coinage of year "1" (see nos. 2 and 3) an alternate explanation for its existence had to be found.

Identification of this peculiar coin was contingent upon an in-depth study of the issues struck during the Jewish war against Rome. Motivated by other concerns as well, we made a chemical and physical survey of the shekels minted between 66–70 C.E. in order to gain a clear understanding of three factors: the techniques used in minting, the metallurgical composition of the pieces and the general characteristics of the coinage. The information provided by this survey would allow us to classify properly the suspect piece.

We were greatly aided in this project by A.P. Kushelevsky of the Department of Nuclear Engineering, Ben Gurion University in Beer-Sheva.²¹

With the scanning electron microscope (SEM) we analyzed the nature and structure of the surface of authentic shekels (found in excavations or taken from either the collections of the Israel Museum or private ones). Scanning revealed various imprints caused by the file used to polish the surface of the original dies. We also studied by means of the SEM the structure of the rims and edges of shekels which had been hammered and filed.²² These experiments were carried out simultaneously on coins manufactured by three techniques of modern forgery: molding, striking, and electroplating. Next, we analyzed the quality and quantity of the trace elements which appear as part of the composition of genuine silver shekels minted during the war, as well as of the late Tyrian issues. Finally, we analyzed the purity of the silver itself.

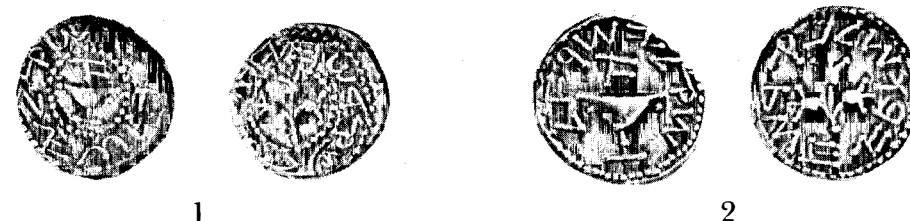
Equipped with the resulting data, we tested the unique coin (no. 1). The imprints caused by the ancient files, its technical features, its silver content, and the proportion of its trace elements all corresponded to the results derived from the SEM testing of the authentic specimens. We arrived therefore at the inevitable conclusion: the coin is genuine. It should also be noted that this unique piece has a partially preserved patina. Only parts of the surface were affected by the mechanical cleansing performed by the finder, who apparently hoped to improve its appearance. The patina, which was also analyzed proved to be of a type similar to that of the other ancient coinage.²³

Differences Between Shekels No. 1 and No. 2

A. The Designs

Obv.: The chalice depicted on coin no. 1 is encircled by a border of dots; coin no. 2 has no such border, either on the obverse or reverse side. The inscriptions on the two coins are identical, but that of no. 1 begins in the upper left, and not, as on the other issues of shekels, on the lower right.

Rev.: The branch with three pomegranates is crudely depicted on both coins; that on no. 1 has a border of dots. Again, only coin no. 1 depicts the encircling inscription beginning at the upper left.



B. The Letters

The major distinction between the unique specimen, no. 1, and the other shekels of the Jewish War is in the depiction of certain paleo-Hebrew characters (see table). The majority of the letters inscribed on coin no. 1 closely resemble those of the later issues: the shapes of the ד (D); ה (H); י (Y); and ל (L) are identical, and the מ (M) is only slightly different.

Bronze coins of year two	Bronze coins of year four	Shekels of year 1 nos. 3, 4	Shekel no. 1	
		𐤃 𐤃	𐤃 𐤃	𐤃 𐤃
		𐤃	𐤃	D 𐤃
		𐤅 𐤅	𐤅	H 𐤅
		𐤆 𐤆	𐤆	Y 𐤆
		𐤇	𐤇	L 𐤇
𐤈 𐤈		𐤈	𐤈	M 𐤈
		𐤑 𐤑	𐤑 𐤑	Q 𐤑
		𐤒 𐤒	𐤒	R 𐤒
	𐤔 𐤔	𐤔 𐤔	𐤔 𐤔	Š Š 𐤔

The letter מ (M) depicted on coin no. 1 does not resemble that depicted on no. 2; it is however, quite similar to the character inscribed on certain bronze coins struck in "year two" (see coin no. 11). While the depictions of the ק (Q) and ר (R) are identical on nos. 1 and 2, coin no. 1 presents a variant form of the ש (Š); the unique coin depicts round, not sharp corners, similar in style to the character inscribed on the majority of the bronze coins minted in "year four" (compare nos. 27, 29, and 30 with no. 30a).

We believe that the hitherto unpublished coin, the unique shekel of year "1" is part of an experimental issue minted in Jerusalem by the leaders of the Jewish War. It can be regarded as the first attempt in the minting of autonomous Jewish coinage. The final design was not produced until approximately six months later. The experimental nature of the first issue is revealed not only by its rarity, but also by its crude design and shape. Such flaws were corrected in the more common, later issues.

The Second Version

The second version of the experimental, independent coinage is well known. These shekels of year "1" which also have a comparatively rough design, have been previously published in several texts.²⁴ The chalice, and the pomegranates depicted on this version are not encircled by a border of dots. The characters in the inscriptions are still somewhat unusual, particularly the מ (M) and ש (Š). Both inscriptions begin at the lower right. Certain features of the first version are retained in this second issue: the abbreviated spelling as well as the clumsy appearance of both the chalice and the branch with the pomegranates.

The Third Version

Although the third version of the shekel closely resembles the second issue, the images depicted are more delicate in appearance. The chalice, the branch, and the letters are all both smaller and better executed (see no. 3). This third issue represents the final stage of the shekels produced in year "1".²⁵

The Development of Types and Denominations

Coin no. 1 represents an experimental and consequently limited issue. Shekels were not minted in large quantities until the second version received the approval of the minting authorities. Hundreds of these pieces are housed today in museums and in private collections. The silver for the second and third versions was provided by the Temple treasury. Originally, it existed either in the form of Tyrian shekels donated to the Temple and stored there as part of the national treasury²⁶ or as ingots from which the late Tyrian shekels may have been previously struck. The similar composition of the silver and trace elements in the late Tyrian shekels and in the Jewish silver coinage of the war suggest a common source of the metal.

The first type of Jewish shekels to be minted in quantity, version two (nos. 2, 2a, 5), was apparently meant to replace the Tyrian shekels in the market. This series was struck in three denominations. The shekels and half-shekels were minted in approximately equal numbers; the amount of the quarter-shekels was very limited.²⁷ Even larger quantities were later produced of version three (nos. 3 and 6). However, during the production of the third issue, the dies used for version two were still employed. Consequently, some hybrid coins, struck with a die of version two on one side and of version three on the other, were produced (see shekel no. 3a and half-shekel no. 6a).

The Quarter-Shekels

The quarter-shekel was struck in a limited quantity and only during a short period. This denomination was included in the first mass issue, version two, in order to enhance the prestige of this innovative, independent series. The quarter-shekel was equal in worth to the denarius, a denomination already known and used in Jerusalem. Denarii minted under Nero were not uncommon in the city. However, the unit of the quarter-shekels may have commanded a higher value on the market; they were composed of a better alloy than the standard Roman denarii.

We do not know why the quarter-shekel coins were not struck in greater quantities. This phenomenon may be compared with the production of the late Tyrian coinage. No Tyrian quarter-shekels were included in the later issues. Only specimens of this denomination minted during the earlier period have been discovered, and these exist in small quantities.²⁸

Quarter-shekels were again produced, also in very limited amounts, during the fourth year of the Jewish War (see below, pp. 114).

The Inscriptions

The Jewish shekels of year "1" as well as those of the following four years of the war were struck after, although as continuations of, Tyrian shekels. Indeed, the Jewish shekels actually replaced the Tyrian issues in the market place. The connection between the two series of coins is seen not only in their metallic composition and closeness of date, but also in the symbolic message each conveys.

Tyrian shekels depict, on their obverse, the head of Heracles (who was associated with the Tyrian god Melqart), and on the reverse, an eagle perched on the prow of a ship. The Greek inscription reads: ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ("Of Tyre the Holy and City of Shelter").

The similarity between the expression "of Holy Tyre" (ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ) and the Hebrew inscription depicted on the Jewish shekels "Holy Jerusalem" (ירושלם קדשה) cannot be ignored. Kadman does not believe that the Hebrew legend was inspired by the earlier, Greek inscription.²⁹ He notes that Jerusalem was termed "holy" prior to the minting of the Tyrian coins. However, Jerusalem was accorded other epithets as well. The particular title "holy" was inscribed on the coinage of the war *because* of the analogy with the Tyrian shekels.

The other inscription on the Jewish issue reads: שקל ישראל "Shekel of Israel". This phrase was depicted because of the repeated rabbinic instruction to use only Tyrian silver coins when paying tribute money to the Temple. In ancient numismatics, the name of the denomination each coin represented was not customarily depicted on the pieces themselves. Rather, each coin was

evaluated according to a flexible system based on its condition, origin, and age.³⁰ Hence, the emphasis of the inscription is both on the word "shekel" which signifies the denomination, and on the word "Israel" noted in contrast to the previous issues ascribed to Tyre.

The introduction of Jewish shekels in 66 C.E. had both political and religious consequences. The coins represented both Jewish autonomy and a shift in emphasis from "Holy Tyre" to "Holy Jerusalem". Israelite currency struck from the same purity of silver and of the same weight as the cultically acceptable Tyrian shekels ("מנה צורי") was finally produced.

The Silence of the Literary Sources

Although Josephus was undoubtedly familiar with the Jewish coinage minted during the war, he does not mention these issues in his writings. The silence is deliberate. Josephus did not wish to include any account of the independent and consequently, political and anti-Roman coinage. The historian, who wrote his account of the Jewish War among his superiors and friends in Rome, attempted to smooth all possible matters of dispute which would reflect negatively upon the Jewish community.

Certainly the production of these shekels antagonized the Romans. Independent Jewish minting was a conspicuous sign of rebellion and of rejection of their authority. Later, the Romans forbade the usage of these issues in the marketplace. By omitting the mention of Jewish shekels from his literary works, Josephus was actually complying with a Roman order which declared the coins obsolete. Yet his silence indicates the political power of the minting authorities as well as the degree of importance of the coins themselves.

In passages which date to the post-war period, the Jerusalem Talmud refers to מעות של סכנה or "Coins of danger."³¹ This expression is probably a euphemism for the Jewish shekels minted during the Jewish War against Rome. An alternate expression for these same issues, מעות ירושלמיות "Jerusalemite coins," is also recorded. In the Jerusalem Talmud, an interesting discussion concerning requisite currency for the payment of the second tithe is included in *Ma'aser Sheni*.³² To prevent the use of inferior coinage for the second tithe (and so to guarantee complete expenditure of one-tenth of each family's annual income in that city) the law states clearly which currencies were not to be employed. Included in this list are issues declared obsolete by the authorities:

The [second tithe] is not to be redeemed by the coinage of *the revolt*, nor by a coinage which is not current, nor by a money of which they are not in possession. How is this to be understood? When they have money of Bar Cochba or of *Jerusalem* they must not redeem with it.

This passage defines "coins of the revolt" both as issues minted under Bar

Cochba and as "Jerusalemite" coins. The latter phrase must refer to the coins of the Jewish War. Not only did the Roman authorities declare these shekels obsolete, the Jews as well forbade their usage after the war.³³

The Symbols

The coins of the Jewish War depict images which both appealed to the national and religious pride of the population, and contributed to the antagonization of the Roman forces.

A. The Chalice

The chalice depicted on the obverse of the Jewish shekels is not easily identified. Although its shape is clear, the size of the original model on which the image is based remains unclear. If the model were small, the chalice might represent a drinking vessel. If large, it may have had another, entirely different function.

The early tendency of numismatists was to identify the object as a drinking vessel.³⁴ But later, Romanoff rightly commented, "It is doubtful whether or not the vessel was a drinking cup. The dotted border would make drinking almost impossible." Romanoff, although he refers to the border depicted on the shekels of "year 2" through "year 5", does not mention the design which appears on the coins minted during the first year of the war. On these early issues, the rim has no border of dots, although it does fold outward. This feature also argues against the identification of the vessel as a drinking cup.³⁵

Romanoff associates the image depicted on the coin with the golden vessel which held the *omer*; this utensil was used on the second day of Passover when a measure of barley, representing the first fruits, was offered in the Temple.³⁶ After rejecting several earlier theories, Kadman proposes an alternate identification:³⁷

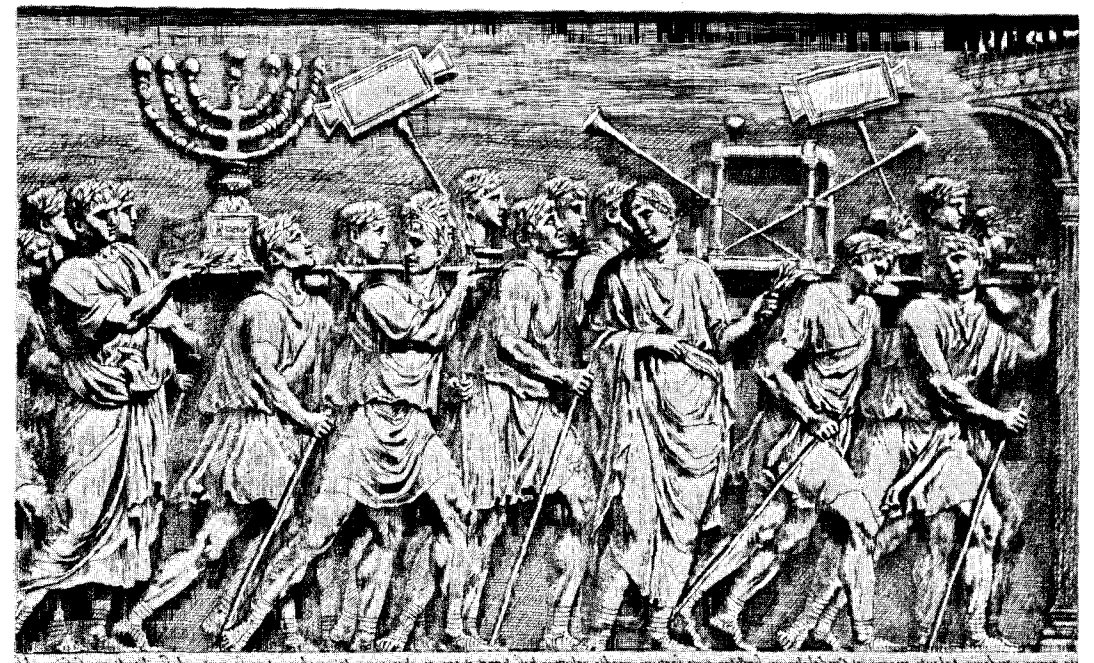
It is difficult to determine whether the chalice is intended to represent a drinking cup, or a vessel for storing and mixing wine, or to be used to pour out the wine at the sacrifices. It is quite possible that the chalice symbolized the wine-libation which was not only brought with almost all sacrifices, but could be brought by itself.

Klimowsky identifies the object as a "cup or chalice as symbol of bliss and sorrow bestowed by God upon men and nations."³⁸ He bases his hypothesis upon Biblical phrases such as "God's cup of fury and trembling" (Is 51:17), and "Cup of consolation" (Jer 16:7). But, as Romanoff notes, the vessel is not a drinking cup. Therefore, it cannot be directly associated with these passages.

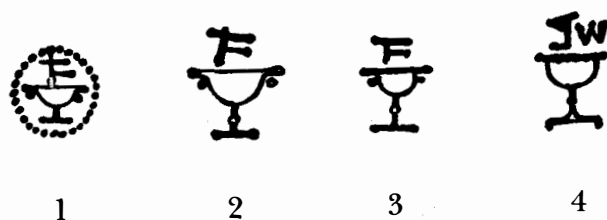
Because of the symbolic importance of the shekels themselves, the images depicted on them undoubtedly represent significant and well-known objects.

The chalice stands on a wide base attached to the bowl by a narrow foot. This structure suggests that the prototype was metallic. A similar vessel is depicted on the Arch of Titus; it appears, with other Temple utensils, on the table (the show-bread table).³⁹ This similar figure may enable us to identify the object depicted on the coin.

Of all the theories concerning the enigmatic vessel, Romanoff's contention that the design represents the utensil which held the omer appears to be the most sound. Although the literary sources do not record the name of this vessel, they do provide enough information to allow us to determine its proportions. The bowl could contain an *issaron* (עשרון), or one-tenth of an ephah of wheat "sifted through thirteen fine sieves."⁴⁰ Although the exact dimensions of the bowl are not known,⁴¹ it probably measured approximately 1,000 cc.⁴² This approximation provides us with the vertical measurement of 15 cm (not including the foot). The proportions of the object depicted on the Arch of Titus are similar; its measurements can be determined by a comparison with the size of the table (see vol. I, p. 95). Thus, according to the categories of size and shape, the vessel which held the omer is identical to that illustrated on the Arch. These are, in turn, both similar to the object depicted on the coin. Romanoff's theory may well be correct.



Scene depicted on the Arch of Titus, Rome



Four different versions of the vessels depicted on the coins.
Nos. 1-3 — year 1, no. 4 — years 2, 3, 4 and 5.

B. The Branch with the Three Pomegranates

Because of the stylized design of this image, no consensus upon its identification has been reached. The design has been termed "Aaron's rod which budded," "lilies or hyacinths," or simply "stem with three flowers."⁴³ In the past few decades, many artifacts from ancient Judaea which present depictions of pomegranates in various styles have been discovered. With the information provided by these new finds, we can confidently identify the image on the coin as a branch or stem with three pomegranates.⁴⁴

On the so-called "Herodian lamps" of the first and second centuries C.E., several Jewish motifs are depicted.⁴⁵ Among the designs, those of fruits which resemble the pomegranates depicted on the Jerusalemite shekels are common.⁴⁶ The use of the pomegranate as a form of ornamentation dates back to the early stages of Jewish art. For example, the robe of the high priest was adorned with this image. Exodus 39:24-26 states:

And they made upon the skirts of the robe pomegranates of blue and purple and scarlet, and twined linen, and they made bells of pure gold and put the bells between the pomegranates upon the skirts of the robe round about between the pomegranates: a bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate...

Indeed, the depiction of this fruit was popular before the list of the seven characteristic plants of Israel, mentioned in Dt 8:8, was established.⁴⁷ The pomegranate was also used to adorn the Temple built by Solomon; it was depicted, for example, on the pillars Jachin and Boaz.⁴⁸ The design also appeared on prominent objects within the Temple. Pomegranates were depicted together with lilies on the branches of the menorah, and they appeared on the table given to the Temple by Ptolemy II Philadelphus.⁴⁹

This popular image has several symbolic interpretations and metaphorical connotations. Because the outer shell was filled with minute, attractive seeds, the expression "full precepts like a pomegranate" arose.⁵⁰ The combination of the three pomegranates and the stem, as depicted on the Jerusalemite shekels, may bear a somewhat different interpretation. Mishna Kelim 17:1 states:

All utensils [of wood] belonging to private persons [and which are broken by reason of having contracted uncleanness, recover the status of cleanness if their breaches are of] such a size that pomegranates [can pass through them].

In Mishna 4, this measurement is specified: "The pomegranates of which [the sages] have spoken are three clinging to one another." Thus, the amount of space taken by three fruits on one stem, as depicted on the silver shekels, can be used to distinguish between clean and unclean. Moreover, the number three itself has an additional connotation; it indicates a substantial quantity and signifies a change of status or definition.⁵¹

The Coins of the Second Year — 67 C.E.

A. The Shekels

After three versions of the silver shekels were minted in year "1" the fourth and final design was introduced in 67 C.E., the second year of the war. The design of the vessel on the obverse of this fourth series was slightly modified. The cup of omer now has pellets (usually nine, rarely eight) decorating the rim. Its foot appears higher because of the two projections beneath it on either side. The inscription of the date now contains the abbreviation for "year", the letter ש (Š).

The design depicted on the reverse of this issue was not changed from that depicted on the earlier versions, although the inscription on the shekels of "year 2" was altered. The full spelling of "Jerusalem the holy" (ירושלים הקדושה YRWŠLYM HQDWŠH) is depicted in place of the shorter spelling ירושלם קדושה. The same changes appear on the half shekels of "year 2" as well. However, because these half-shekels are smaller, the rim of the vessel is adorned with only six, or at most seven pellets.

B. The Bronze Coins

Autonomous bronze coins were not minted by the Jewish authorities until the second year of the revolt. This new series consists solely of small denomination prutot. Apparently, the emphasis on minting Jewish shekels with obvious religious and political significance precluded for one year the production of bronze coinage used for more mundane purposes, such as small-scale commerce. Like the shekels, the obverse of the prutot presents a ceremonial vessel from the Temple, and the reverse depicts a typical Jewish floral design.⁵² The vessel depicted on the obverse has a wide rim and two handles. This type of amphora is encircled by the paleo-Hebrew inscription שנת שתיים (ŠNT ŠTYM), "year two". On the reverse is depicted a vine branch with a large five-lobed leaf, tendrill, and gleaning, surrounded by the paleo-Hebrew legend חרת ציון (HRT ŠYWN), "freedom of Zion". On later issues, the spelling of חרת (HRT) was altered to חרות (HRWT).

The question of the orientation of the axis of the vine leaf is still disputed. Generally, it is published in its natural form, falling downwards. However, the remainder of the coins, especially the shekels and bronze issues of "year four" (see nos. 27–30) have an upright axis, oriented upwards. If a prutah of "year two" is held with the leaf facing downwards, the axis is reversed. This problem is also related to the depiction of the legend. The only inscription which begins on the upper left is the paleo-Hebrew שנת שנים ("year two"), found on the obverse of this issue (but see, however, no. 1). The exceptional axis of the bronze prutot of "year two" may be related to the depiction of the amphora. The extra space above the vessel suited a larger letter. Because the largest character in the inscription is the מ (M), the last letter of the legend, it was inserted over the vessel. Consequently, the inscription had to begin on the upper left.⁵³

Leaves in nature, generally, but not necessarily, hang downwards. We believe, however, that at least in this case, the axis determines the position of the leaf. The coins should be held with the leaf facing upwards and the inscription beginning at the lower right. This orientation is not a unique phenomenon; in ancient Jewish art, the vine leaf is occasionally positioned in this manner.⁵⁴ Indeed, even the stem with the three pomegranates depicted on the shekel is oriented upwards; in nature this axis is reversed. Artistic license and not always nature, determines the style of the design.

C. The Inscriptions on the Bronze Prutot

Inscribed on the obverse of the prutot is the full date שנת שנים (ŠNT ŠTYM), or "year two", which corresponds to 67 C.E. The reverse depicts, for the first time in Jewish numismatics, not a simple inscription or statement, but a phrase akin to a slogan: "Freedom of Zion". "Zion" is more than a synonym for Jerusalem; it is a poetic term with nationalistic connotations. It symbolizes not only the city, but also its history, religion, culture, and desire for freedom.

The Designs

A. The Vessel

Caution must be observed when naming vessels which, although used as part of the Temple cult, are not clearly identified in the literary sources. Moreover, many of the vessels used or housed in the Temple were never given technical names. The object depicted on the prutot of "year two" is commonly called an "amphora" but what specific, Jewish, ceremonial object does it represent?

Romanoff correctly comments:⁵⁵

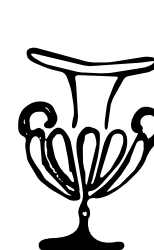
It is evident from their shape and size [of the various amphorae depicted on Jewish coins] that each vessel might have contained a different kind of

liquid. Considering them from the symbolic point of view, we shall be able to ascribe to them the proper liquids and their usage in the ritual, as it was pointed out in the beginning of this discussion that all emblems on the coins were used in the Temple ...

The amphorae are of two kinds, and they were therefore used for at least two of the three liquids: water, wine, and oil. A few amphorae have lids ... From Mishnaic sources we learn that only two liquids, water and wine, usually required covers ...

Since none of the emblems of this period suggest the Menorah, the amphorae were either for water or wine, both used for libation during Sukkot. As water libation at that time was an established ritual, one of the amphorae was definitely used for that purpose.

The vessel presented on the coins of "year two" is not identical to that depicted on issues of either "year three" or the Bar Cochba rebellion. Romanoff suggests that some amphorae are vessels which held oil used to nourish the flames of the Temple menorah. However, we cannot positively identify the particular function of these vessels; nor can we assert that all three vessels in figs. 1–3 were used for the same purpose.⁵⁶



1 "Year Two"



2 "Year Three"



3 Bar Cochba

Because the reverse of the bronze prutot depicts a vine leaf with a branch, the amphorae may have been used for wine libations. The vessel which held the wine required a lid, such as that depicted on the coins of "year three". This argument, first proposed by Kadman, is supported by the coinage of the local Roman administration. Two earlier issues struck by the procurator Valerius Gratus depict a vessel (amphora or kantharos) on one side, and a vine branch with leaf on the other (see Suppl. III, nos. 15, 16, and figs. 4, 5).



4



5

These coins were in circulation until the outbreak of the Jewish war. Although the procurators attempted to mint coins depicting designs which would not offend the local populace, the symbol of the amphora reminded the Jews of the Roman libations of wine poured out before idols. The Jewish coins of "year two" and "year three" depict symbols which may represent the antitheses of the Roman designs. The amphorae on the Jewish issues may symbolize the sacred libations of wine made in the Temple. The vessels depicted on the coins of the revolt are not copies of the Roman amphorae; they are Jewish and of a different style than the classical Greco-Roman models represented on the coinage of Valerius Gratus.

B. The Vine Branch with Leaf

We have previously discussed the symbolic value of the vine in Jewish art and literature. It was one of the most characteristic designs in ancient Jewish art as well as a popular decoration in the Temple. The importance of the symbol is indicated by a prominent feature displayed in the Temple:⁵⁷

A golden vine stood at the entrance of the Sanctuary, and was suspended over poles; and whosoever [desired to donate gold to the Sanctuary fashioned it into the form of] a leaf or a berry or a cluster [of grapes], [and] brought [it] and hung [it] thereon. R. Eliezer ben R. Zadok said; It once happened that three hundred priests were appointed thereto [to move it].

The five-lobed leaf is also depicted on numerous pieces of Jewish art.⁵⁸

Although we have suggested that the design of the vine leaf on the bronze prutot may symbolize the wine stored in the amphora represented on the obverse of the coins, this identification does not exhaust the possible interpretations of the image. The vine represented various aspects of Jewish life. For example, people adorned the golden vine in the Temple with leaves to show their love and devotion to both the Sanctuary and Jerusalem. The symbolic value of the vine is well indicated by the following discussion, which occurred shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem:⁵⁹

It was taught: R. Eliezer says, The 'vine' is the world, the 'three branches' are [the patriarchs] Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; 'and as it was budding its blossoms shot forth,' these are the matriarchs; 'and the clusters thereof brought forth ripe grapes,' these are the tribes. Thereupon R. Joshua said to him, Is a man shown [in a dream] what has happened? Surely he is only shown what is to happen! therefore I say, The 'vine' is the Torah, the 'three branches' are Moses, Aaron and Miriam; 'and as it was budding its blossoms shot forth,' these are [the members of] the Sanhedrin; 'and the clusters thereof brought forth ripe grapes,' are the righteous people of every generation. R. Gamaliel said, We still stand in need of the Modiite, for he explains the verse as referring to one place. For R. Eleazar the Modiite says, The 'vine' is Jerusalem, the 'three branches' are the Temple, the King and the High priest; 'and as it was budding its blossoms shot forth,' these are the young priests; 'and the clusters thereof brought forth ripe grapes,' these are the drink-offerings. R. Joshua b. Levi interprets it in regard to the gifts

[bestowed by God upon Israel]. For R. Joshua b. Levi said, The 'vine' is the Torah, the 'three branches' are the well, the pillar of smoke, and the manna; 'and as it was budding its blossoms shot forth,' these are the first fruits; 'and the clusters thereof brought forth ripe grapes,' these are the drink-offerings.

R. Jeremiah b. Abba said, The 'vine' is Israel, for so it is written, Thou didst pluck up a vine out of Egypt. The 'three branches' are the three Festivals on which Israel go up [to the Temple] every year.

The Coins of the Third Year — 68 C.E.

The shekels and half-shekels minted during the third year of the rebellion are identical in style to those struck in "year 2". The bronze prutot, which are similar to the earlier coinage, do reveal slight modifications of design. On the prutot, the reverse inscription is depicted with the full spelling **חרות ציון** (HRWT ŠYWN), "Freedom of Zion;" the vaw (ו, W) appears after the resh (ר, R) in the first word. The coins of "year three" which were struck with dies depicting the shorter spelling **חרת** (HRT, see no. 21) are hybrid issues. The major shift in design appears on the obverse sides of the coinage of "year three." The amphora depicted has both a decorated lid and a rim with a maximum of nine pellets. The inscription reads **שנה שלוש** (ŠNT ŠLWŠ), "year three." Because of the changes in both text and symbol, the axis on this issue is corrected to its normal position. The obverse inscription begins at the standard location, the lower right. However, the depiction of the date, with the longer spelling of **שלוש** (ŠLWŠ) instead of the more common **שלש** (ŠLŠ) represents an accommodation made for the aesthetic quality of the obverse side. The extra letter was required to balance the beautifully symmetrical design of the amphora. Seven letters, rather than the expected six were needed: three on each side of the vessel and one above the lid.

Overstruck Coins

Certain prutot issued in "year two" and "year three" were overstruck on previous coins of the same denomination, such as those minted by both Agrippa I and the Roman procurators. If this phenomenon represented an attempt to deface the Roman coinage and replace it with Jewish issues, then the coins of Agrippa I would not have been subjected to the same process. The explanation for this procedure may be found in an analysis of the inscriptions depicted on the independent coinage. All issues minted during the war have Hebrew legends. Yet the prutot of both Agrippa I and the Roman procurators are inscribed with Greek characters and phrases. These earlier issues may simply not have been "Jewish" enough to be endorsed by the minting authorities.

The Coins of the Fourth Year — 69 C.E.

The fourth year of the war saw the continuation of the minting of silver shekels and half-shekels and the reintroduction of quarter-shekels. Bronze coinage was produced in three denominations which were previously attributed by numismatists to Shimeon the Hasmonaeon.⁶⁰ Recent archaeological excavations have yielded evidence which argued against this identification. The materials discovered at Masada finally established the date of "year four" for this series.⁶¹

A. Silver Coins

By 69 C.E., only Jerusalem and Masada remained in Jewish hands. Although Jerusalem was under siege, the minting authorities continued to strike silver shekels and half-shekels dated "year 4" (ש[נ]ה ד'). The designs depicted on these coins remained unchanged from those of the previous two years. However, these later issues were struck in much smaller quantities; the number of half-shekels was extremely limited. This year also saw the introduction of a new type of quarter-shekel. We have today only one specimen of this rare issue, which depicts entirely new designs. The obverse presents three palm branches (Lulavim) encircled by the paleo-Hebrew inscription רבע השקל (RB'HSQL) or "quarter of a shekel." On the reverse, the letter ד (D) which represents the numerical value of "4" is inscribed in the center. This date is surrounded by a wreath of palm branches.

We are not sure what catalyst provided the motivation for the minting of this new issue. The coinage may simply represent an unfortunate episode in this period of Jewish history; even while Jerusalem was surrounded by Roman troops, contention among the several rival leaders of the revolt did not cease.⁶² One of these divisions, not associated with the production of the standard shekels and half-shekels, may have minted the unique quarter-shekel (no. 26). The weakness of this party is suggested by the small denomination as well as by the limited number of coins.

B. Bronze Coins

The bronze coins struck in the fourth year of the war are among the most interesting and attractive issues in Jewish numismatics. They depict not only inscriptions related to the deteriorating political condition of Jerusalem, but also, they represent a singular instance in Jewish coinage: they were produced during a political and economic emergency.

The denominations of the bronze coins as well as their symbols and inscriptions suggest this unusual background.⁶³ The bronze coins of "year four" were struck in the following denominations:

1. Large bronze: weighing 14–15 grams, depicts the name of the denomination on its reverse: חצי (HSY), "one-half".

2. Medium bronze: weighing 9 grams, depicts the name of the denomination on its reverse: רביע (RBY'), "one-quarter".

3. Small bronze: weighing 5 grams. No depiction of the denomination occurs, although the coins apparently have the value of שמינית (SMYNYT), "one-eighth".

Denominational names are rarely depicted on ancient coinage. They appear only if special circumstances demand, to indicate a change in value or to prevent a potential misunderstanding. The context of this phenomenon is best illustrated by a case similar to the minting of the Jerusalemite bronze issues, the production of coinage by the Nabataean king Aretas IV in 1/2 and 2/3 C.E.⁶⁴

Between 4 B.C.E. and 5 C.E., Aretas IV ceased to mint silver coinage. He apparently lost his resources of silver. It was, however, economically unfeasible for him not to strike some form of coinage. Nabataean minting during this period was carried out on a large scale. To substitute for silver issues, Aretas struck bronze coins of three denominations during his tenth and eleventh regnal years, or 1/2 and 2/3 C.E.

The first denomination, weighing on the average twelve grams, depicts the same designs which appeared on the earlier silver Nabataean drachms. But an additional, important inscription was added to the bronze issues: מעה כסף (M'H KSP), "silver coin." The second denomination, weighing six grams, copies the designs of the silver Nabataean half-drachm; the new inscription reads חצי כסף (HS KSP), "half-silver [coin]." The third denomination follows this pattern. These coins, weighing three grams, depict the designs of the Nabataean silver quarter-drachm and the inscription רביע (RB'), or רביע (RBY'), "quarter". These bronze issues temporarily replaced silver coinage. The new inscriptions established and guaranteed their value in the marketplace.⁶⁵ The Nabataean bronze issues have the values of, respectively, one, one-half, and one-quarter silver drachm.⁶⁶

The Jewish issues represent fractional denominations of an unspecified standard unit of silver. Apparently, a shortage of silver occurred during the crucial months of 69 C.E. in Jerusalem. The limited quantity of silver minted at this time was a direct result of this economic situation. The shortage of silver coinage was compounded by the inflated prices in the city as well as by the decline of the Temple treasury. Because of these critical circumstances the minting authorities were forced to develop a system of emergency coinage both to fulfill the needs of the war effort as well as to provide the population of Jerusalem (estimated to have been between 500,000–1,000,000) with currency.

The problems facing the Jewish authorities were more complex than those of the Nabataean king. Whereas Aretas IV needed currency only for secular, economic purposes, the Jews required special issues for religious purposes. Only coinage of the highest quality of silver was acceptable for payments to the Temple. Indeed, the sages continually updated the standard of currency which the Temple could accept. *Mishnah Shekalim* 2:4 states: כשעלו ישראל מן הגולה היו שוקלים דרכונות, חזרו לשקול סלעים, חזרו לשקול טבעין, ובקשו לשקול

דינרים. "When the Israelites returned from exile, they paid the *half-shekel* in darics; then they reverted to pay the *half-shekel* in selas, they then returned to pay the *half-shekel* in tebain, and finally, they sought to pay the *half-shekel* in denars." The famous money-changers stationed near the Temple gates provided correct silver currency in return for inferior coinage of an equal value and of course, for an additional percentage for themselves.

Because the Nabataeans had no religious institutions which required special currency, they were able to inscribe the word "silver" on the temporary bronze replacements. The Temple in Jerusalem could not, however, accept bronze issues in place of silver shekels, even in periods of emergency. Consequently, only the denominational names "half" and "quarter" were inscribed on the Jerusalemite bronzes; the words "silver" and "shekel" were omitted. The coins were therefore applicable only for secular activities.

Some numismatists have suggested that the denominational names of the emergency bronze coinage refer not to the silver standard, but to some current, new bronze denominations.⁶⁷ This theory must be rejected. Ordinary bronze coinage did not require an indication of denominational value; no standard bronze issues in ancient numismatics were so inscribed. The denominational indicators on the Jerusalemite bronzes are the direct result of a fiscal, economic, and political emergency. They represent, respectively, the half-shekel (nos. 27, 28), quarter-shekel (no. 29) and eighth-shekel (no. 30).

Bronze shekels struck with the dies of the silver ones were also struck during the fourth year of the war. Currently, only two specimens are known.⁶⁸ This issue, dated "year 4", was struck on flans of the same trapezoidal configuration as those on which the other issues of the same year were struck; these flans are noticeably different from those used to produce the contemporaneous silver coinage. Apparently, special flans were prepared for the emergency issues. The production of bronze shekels was quite limited; the coins bear a close resemblance to their silver counterparts and may have been substituted in the same manner as the other bronze pieces minted in 69 C.E.

Silver shekels were also struck in a limited quantity during the fourth year of the war. Although they were minted primarily for cultic purposes, their presence helped to enhance both the political and the religious prestige of the local authorities.

THE SYMBOLS

Three principal symbols are depicted on the bronze coinage of "year four": the four species of the feast of Tabernacles (Sukkoth): lulav, ethrog, willow, and myrtle, all in a bundle; the palm tree between two baskets of fruit; and the Temple utensil previously depicted on the silver shekels minted during the early years of the war.

A. The Symbols of the Feast

All three denominations of the bronze coinage depict images associated with the feast of Tabernacles; coin no. 29 devotes both obverse and reverse sides to these emblems. This prevalence reinforces the special significance of the symbols. Throughout the history of ancient Israel, the feast of Tabernacles was celebrated with great pomp and religious fervor. Its Biblical origins commemorate the dwelling in tents during the forty years in the wilderness:

Ye shall dwell in booths (tabernacles) seven days; all that are born in Israel shall dwell in booths, that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt.

(Lev 23:42-43)

The prophet Zechariah records the future importance of the feast. He proclaims that all Gentiles will come to Jerusalem not only to pray, but also to celebrate the Sukkoth. Following the Hasmonaean victory over the Seleucids, II Mac 10:6-8 notes:

And they kept eight days with gladness, as in the feast of the Tabernacles, remembering that not long afore they had held the feast of the Tabernacles, when as they wandered in the mountains and dens like beasts. Therefore they bore branches, and fair boughs, and palms also, and sang psalms unto Him that had given them good success in cleansing His place. They ordained also by a common statute and decree, that every year those days should be kept of the whole nation of the Jews.

Palm branches, or lulavim had previously been depicted on Hasmonaean coinage (B1-B3, 01-06, T1-T4) as well as on issues minted by Herod the Great (nos. 7, 8, 14, 15). But whereas the earlier groups depicted the lulav alone, the coins minted in the fourth year of the war present the branches along with the three other symbols of the feast tied in a bundle. Thus the emphasis was on the feast, not on the palm itself.

On three annual occasions, Tabernacles, Passover, and Pentecost (Shavuot or the 'feast of weeks'), Jews were enjoined to go up to Jerusalem "to appear before the Lord thy God in the place which He shall choose" (Dt 17:16). During the second commonwealth the Jews of Judaea, Samaria, and the Galilee, who were mostly engaged in some form of agriculture, were unable to leave their fields during the month of Nissan to celebrate the Passover in Jerusalem. The festival coincided with the wheat and barley harvest. It was equally difficult to leave the fields during Pentecost; grapes and other fruits were just beginning to ripen. The only practical time for the population to journey to Jerusalem was the feast of Tabernacles, celebrated in the month of Tishrei. The last fruits were by then collected, and the fields had been seeded for the following year. Further, at Tabernacles, prayers for rain were officially begun.⁶⁹ Therefore, the population of the city was at its height during the feast.

The national hopes and anti-imperial feelings of any Jew entering the city during the month of Tishrei must have been greatly reinforced by the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims as well as by the beautiful and fortified city itself. Tabernacles thus gradually changed from a feast commemorating the years in the wilderness to a celebration of the final harvest of the year, and ultimately, to a festival of national pride.

The symbols of the festival also contributed to the attitude engendered by the feast itself. Palm branches, associated with Nike, were symbols of victory in the Greco-Roman world. The Jewish sources also attribute to the lulav a special symbolic value. The Midrash on Lev 3:2 states:

Israel go forth from the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He, bearing their palm-branches and their citrons in their hands we know that it is Israel who are victorious, that Israel were successful in the judgment and that their iniquities were pardoned, and the nations exclaim: 'Israel are victorious!' As it says, 'And also Israel is victorious; he will not lie nor repent' (I Sam 15:29). It is this that David has in mind when he says to Israel: If you fulfil the commandment of lulab, which is called pleasant (*na'im*) — as it says, 'In thy right hand *ne'imoth*' — then you are assured that you have vanquished the nations of the world; as it says, 'And also Israel is victorious.' Accordingly Moses exhorts Israel and says to them: AND YE SHALL TAKE YOU ... BRANCHES OF PALM TREES.

Other emblems of the festivals also entered into the list of Jewish metaphors. Although the Midrashic interpretations of these symbols may date to a period later than 69 C.E., they may also reflect much older traditions. In these texts, the ethrog represents the "Great Sanhedrin", the branches of the myrtle the three rows of disciples, and the willows "the pair of judges' scribes who stand before the judges and write down the words of those who acquit and the words of those who condemn."⁷⁰


The feast of Tabernacles itself was infused by the rabbis with special values. *Lev. R.* 30:7 notes the new prospects that may begin at that auspicious time:

On the first feast-day of the Festival all Israel stand in the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He, with their palm branches and citrons in honor of the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, and He says to them: "Let bygones be bygones; from now we shall begin a new account."

The interpretations of both the emblems and the feast itself explain the symbolic importance of the coinage. The designs associated with the feast of Tabernacles appear only on the coins of the Jewish War and on the issues minted under Bar Cochba. They express the national pride and the political aspirations of the Jews. The first victory of the war of 66–70 C.E., the defeat of Cestius Gallus, occurred during the feast of Tabernacles. This historical incident increased the symbolic value of the holiday.⁷¹

The Four Species

1. The Palm Branch ("Lulav"):

Mishna Succah 3.1 describes the proper shape of the lulav: "If its tip be broken off or if its leaves were split, it is invalid; if its leaves were separated it is valid." The description corresponds to the depiction of the lulav on the coins minted during the fourth year of the war; it is not however, applicable to the coins of the Bar Cochba rebellion or to present-day practice. According to the Mishna, the palm frond may have separated leaves: ; the leaves are depicted in this manner on coins nos. 26–30. *Niddah* 26:1 states "The spine of the lulav must be long enough to project a handbreadth above the myrtle." *Succah* 32b adds, "It should also be twenty-five percent higher than the myrtle and willow." The depictions on the coins conform to these injunctions.

2. The Myrtle (*Myrtus Communis*):

The proper shape of the myrtle is discussed in *Mishna Succah* 3.2 although modern depictions do not conform to this rule. On the bronze issues of the fourth year of the war, the lulav complex depicts, beside the leaves, small, round pellets which are actually the small berries of the myrtle. These pellets can be clearly seen on the reverse sides of coins nos. 27–30 and especially of no. 30b. The Mishna states "If its tip be broken away or if its leaves were split or if its berries were more numerous than its leaves, it is invalid." This passage explains the presence of the berries on the coinage minted during the war. Yet apparently from the time of the destruction of the Temple until the present day, berries ceased to appear on artistic renditions of the myrtle.⁷²

3. The Willow (*Salix*):

Although the willow is often associated with medicinal powers, its symbolic interpretation cannot be separated from the context in which it is depicted. On the coins issued during the war, the willow functions simply as an emblem of the feast of Tabernacles. A distinction cannot be made between the leaves of the willow and those of the myrtle, although willow fronds are usually comparatively longer both in nature and in artistic depictions. If all the leaves which appear on the coins represent the willow, the myrtle is symbolized only by the berries.

4. The Ethrog (*Citrus Medica* Linn):

The Mishna lists damages and irregularities which invalidate the ethrog. The depiction on the coins of "year four" conforms to the prescriptions. For example, the ethrog which appears on the coinage consistently contains the depiction of the required nipple. The design which appears on the coins (similar to the shape of a lemon) appears elsewhere in Jewish art, such as on

the "Herodian" clay lamps. However, the shape depicted on the coinage of the Jewish War differs from that depicted on the coins minted by Bar Cochba.

Only one ethrog is required to symbolize the feast of Tabernacles. However, apparently for artistic symmetry, two are depicted on issue no. 30, one on each side of the lulav. On coin no. 29, and other well-preserved specimens, the rough outer peel of the ethrog is clear. This feature vivifies the appearance of the fruit.

5. The Bundle: Lulav, Myrtle, and Willow

The amount of each species included in the bundle varied among the different schools. *Succah* 3.4 states:

R. Ishmael says, three myrtle-branches, and two willow-branches, one palm-branch and one citron — even if two be broken off and one be not broken away. R. Tarfon says, Even if the three of them be severed. R. Akiba says, Just as one palm-branch and one citron, even so one myrtle-branch and one willow-branch.

On the coinage of the Jewish war, the lulav is consistently represented by a single branch, and two or more stems of the myrtle and willow are depicted. On well-preserved specimens, a maximum of six different stems can be seen.

Several types of ties which bound the stems are listed in the literary sources. In *Mishna Succah* 3, 8, we find the following:

The Lulav must not be tied up with aught except of its own species; this is the view of R. Judah; but R. Meir says, Even with a cord. R. Meir said, It is a fact that the men of Jerusalem used to bind up their Lulavim with threads of gold. They answered him, With strands of its own species did they bind it up below.

The bundle was apparently tied with threads (cords? gold strands? fillets?) positioned at various places along the stalk. This design differs from other depictions in Jewish art as well as from the design found on the coinage minted under Bar Cochba. However, the bundle portrayed on the coinage of "year four" appears to be the earliest rendition of the design. The tradition represented by this depiction was modified after the destruction of Jerusalem.

The presentation of the bundle, the shape of the lulav itself, the berries, and the tie signify one stream of Judaism active during the war. These designs may represent the *Halacha* (practice) of the faction which controlled the mint in 69 C.E. The modifications of the emblems which appear in later art may signify the traditions of a later, or even of a contemporaneous school.⁷⁴

6. The Palm Tree with Two Baskets of Fruit

The beautiful evergreen foliage of the date palm as well as its impressive height and nourishing fruit make this tree, which grows abundantly in the Land, an appropriate ornamentation to appear both in the Temple and

on coinage. The palm tree developed into a most popular Jewish motif; it appears in ancient art as a symbol of both Judaea and of righteousness (Ps 92:13). In the list of the seven fruits of Israel (Dt 8:8), "honey" refers to the product of the dates of the palm. Even Roman coinage employs the depiction of the palm tree to symbolize Judaea.⁷⁵

The best interpretation of the palm tree in ancient Jewish literature is found in the Midrash on Numbers (3:1). The tree is used to symbolize the various attributes of Israel:

As the palm-tree throws its shade only at a distance, so is the reward to be given to the righteous far away from them, even as far as the world to come. As the palm-tree yields juicy dates, nicolaos dates, and dates of an inferior quality and also produces thorns, so it is with Israel: there are scholars among them and there are plain country-people among them and there are boorish persons among them. As the palm-tree contains among its fruit dates of an inferior quality which never enter the storehouse, so it is with Israel: having been in the wilderness, some of them entered the Land of Israel and some did not enter.

Another interpretation: As the palm-tree contains no waste matter, the dates being for food, the palm-branches for service of praise, the dried-up twigs for covering the sukkah, the bast for ropes, the leaves for sieves, the planed trunks for roofing the house, so it is with Israel — they contain no worthless matter. Some of them are masters of Scripture, some of Mishna, some of Haggadah, some devote themselves to the performance of pious deeds, some to charitable acts, and so forth.

Another interpretation: As the heart of the palm-tree shoots straight up, so is Israel's heart directed to their Father who is in heaven; as it is said: Mine eyes are ever toward the Lord; for He will bring forth my feet out of the net (Ps 25:15). As the palm-tree has palm-branches for praise and dried-up twigs for the sukkah, its bast moreover being useful for strengthening and its wood for firing, so in Israel there are righteous, upright, pious, and learned men; even the bad among them are charitable.

The baskets below the palm tree depicted on the coinage contain dates. These small pellets resemble the fruits which hang from the tree. We must agree with Romanoff, who suggests that the baskets hold the *Bikkurim*, the first fruits of the season which "began on Pentecost and continued throughout the summer and ended at Sukkoth."⁷⁶ The Bible defines the *Bikkurim* as two loaves made from wheat flour. During the second commonwealth, the loaves attained a new interpretation; they began to signify the "first fruits of the garden which were brought in baskets and presented to the Temple."⁷⁷ *Mishna Bikkurim* 3:2-8 describes the dramatic procession in which the fruits were brought in baskets to the Temple. When the farmers lowered the baskets and grasped the brims, the priests put their hands under the baskets and raised them slightly. After the relevant Biblical text, Dt 26, was read, the baskets were placed by the side of the altar. Following the ceremony, the fruits were distributed among the priests.

The large baskets depicted on the coins are tied in the middle; they may represent original objects of gold, silver or even of reeds. These baskets

provide an excellent artistic expression of the fertility and abundance of the land as well as symbolize the rituals concerning the *Bikkurim*, and the method by which the population gave thanks for heavenly generosity.

7. The Vessel

The vessel depicted on the small denominations minted during the fourth year of the war is identical to that depicted on the contemporaneous silver shekels, identified as the omer cup (see pp. 106–108).

The Inscriptions

In 67 C.E. and 68 C.E., the inscription **חֵירוּת צִיּוֹן** “Freedom of Zion” appeared on the coinage of the war. In the fourth year, the legend was changed to **לְגֹאֵלֶת צִיּוֹן** “For the redemption of Zion.” The switch from “freedom” (**חֵירוּת**) to “redemption” (**לְגֹאֵלֶת**) reflects the political conditions of Jerusalem in 69 C.E. “Freedom” suggests that the Jews expected to end Roman domination of Judaea by their own hands. But in the fourth year of the war, they had lost all but Jerusalem and Masada. The Romans had conquered the Galilee and Samaria, and were preparing to lay siege to Jerusalem itself. Hope no longer focused on the power of the people. Rather, a heavenly redemption was required. Many dreamers and “fiery prophets” as well as the devoted leaders of the revolution had confidence in divine intervention; they truly believed that redemption was near. Their hopes were strengthened by rumors of the fall of Rome. In short time, 68/69 C.E., four Roman emperors, Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, were killed. In order to encourage the populace, the leaders of the Jewish community noted such signs as well as other “omens” of the coming salvation. Josephus comments on such phenomena:

Thus it was that the wretched people were deluded at that time by charlatans and pretended messengers of the deity; while they neither heeded nor believed in the manifest portents that foretold the coming desolation, but, as if thunderstruck and bereft of eyes and mind, disregarded the plain warnings of God. So it was when a star, resembling a sword, stood over the city, and a comet which continued for a year. So again when, before the revolt and the commotion that led to war, at the time when the people were assembling for the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night, so brilliant a light shone round the altar and the sanctuary that it seemed to be broad daylight; and this continued for half an hour. By the inexperienced this was regarded as a good omen, but by the sacred scribes it was at once interpreted in accordance with after events. At that same feast a cow that had been brought by some one for sacrifice gave birth to a lamb in the midst of the court of the temple; moreover, the eastern gate of the inner court — it was of brass and very massive, and when closed towards evening, could scarcely be moved by twenty men; fastened with iron-bound bars, it had bolts which were sunk to a great

depth into a threshold consisting of a solid block of stone — this gate was observed at the sixth hour of the night to have opened of its own accord. The watchmen of the temple ran and reported the matter to the captain, and he came up and with difficulty succeeded in shutting it. This again to the uninitiated seemed the best of omens, as they supposed that God had opened to them the gate of blessings; but the learned understood that the security of the temple was dissolving of its own accord and that the opening of the gate meant a present to the enemy, interpreting the portent in their own minds as indicative of coming desolation. Again, not many days after the festival, on the twenty-first of the month Artemisium, there appeared a miraculous phenomenon, passing belief. Indeed, what I am about to relate would, I imagine, have been deemed a fable, were it not for the subsequent calamities which deserved to be so signalized. For before sunset throughout all parts of the country chariots were seen in the air and armed battalions hurling through the clouds and encompassing the cities. Moreover at the feast which is called Pentecost, the priests on entering the inner court of the temple by night, as their custom was in the discharge of their ministrations, reported that they were conscious, first of a commotion and a din, and after that of a voice as of a host, “We are departing hence.”⁷⁸

The expression “Redemption of Israel” was closely associated with the feast of Tabernacles, a festival which already celebrated national pride and the desire for independence. In 69 C.E., the Jews may have celebrated the feast with new fervor, believing that redemption and political independence would be occasioned by the very God to whom they offered their thanks.⁷⁹

The coins minted in 69 C.E. depict legible inscriptions and clear designs. The modifications made in the emblems indicate the desperate position of the minting authorities. They hoped that the new designs and legend would encourage the Jews to persevere.

The Coins of the Fifth Year — 70 C.E.

The fifth year of the war actually lasted for only four months, from Nissan to the ninth of Ab, 70 C.E. During these final weeks, the Jewish population of Jerusalem suffered both economic and political pressures caused by disagreements among rival leaders within the city, and attacks by Titus and the Roman army without. In these critical months, a number of shekels dated **שָׁה** (ŠH) or “year 5” were struck.

The motivations behind the minting of these coins are unknown. Perhaps the shekels were required for the religious needs of the people. Possibly, they represent a final effort made by the authorities to encourage the local population. The several different dies indicated that the quantity of coins struck in the last four months of the war was not small. Surprisingly these issues are not among the most rare in Jewish coinage. At least ten specimens are housed today in various collections.

Paleography

All issues minted during the war show an amazing consistency in the depiction of characters. The silver shekels, half-shekels, and quarter-shekels depict only minor paleographical variations, such as the two forms of the letter \aleph (Q). The bronze issues present only one major inconsistency: the shape of the mem \aleph (M). The coins minted in the fourth year of the war depict minor variations in epigraphy, but in general the characters remain consistent with the overall pattern. The principal variants on coins of this year are of the letters \aleph (B); \aleph (H); \aleph (L); \aleph (Š). A major variation between the groups is the three shapes of the \aleph (S), one for each of years two, three and four. The \aleph (R) has sharp corners on the silver issues, but a round body on the bronze coins. The \aleph (B) depicted on the bronze coinage minted in the fourth year is also somewhat different from that depicted on the pieces struck earlier. Finally, striking differences appear between the \aleph (') on the bronze coins of the fourth year and on the contemporaneous shekels, and of the character \aleph (W) among all the groups.

Because we can properly date all the issues, we must regard the paleographical differences as typological rather than as chronological in origin. The variations result from the personal styles of the die engravers. We do not believe that they indicate different mints or minting authorities.

ŠQL YSR'L

LF9WZL'PW

HŠY HŠQL

L'PWZ L'WZ

YRWŠLYM HQDWŠH

YW44P3WZLW49Z

ŠNT ŠTYM

WZxW xYW

ŠNT ŠLWŠ

W4LW xYW

HRT ŠYWN

W4LW x9W

Examples of inscriptions from coins of years 2 3.

		SILVER	BRONZE YEAR 2/3	BRONZE YEAR 4
	ⲁ	ⲁ ⲁ ⲁ		ⲁ ⲁ ⲁ ⲁ
B	Ⲃ	Ⲃ Ⲃ		Ⲃ Ⲃ Ⲃ
G	ⲃ	ⲃ		ⲃ ⲃ
D	Ⲅ	Ⲅ Ⲅ Ⲅ		
H	ⲅ	ⲅ ⲅ ⲅ		
W	Ⲇ	Ⲇ Ⲇ Ⲇ	Ⲇ Ⲇ Ⲇ	Ⲇ Ⲇ Ⲇ
H	ⲇ	ⲇ ⲇ ⲇ	ⲇ ⲇ	
Y	Ⲉ	Ⲉ Ⲉ Ⲉ	Ⲉ	Ⲉ Ⲉ Ⲉ
L	ⲉ	ⲉ ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ ⲉ ⲉ ⲉ
M	Ⲋ	Ⲋ Ⲋ Ⲋ	Ⲋ Ⲋ	Ⲋ
N	ⲋ		ⲋ ⲋ	ⲋ ⲋ ⲋ ⲋ
	Ⲍ	Ⲍ		Ⲍ Ⲍ Ⲍ Ⲍ
Š	ⲍ	ⲍ ⲍ	ⲍ	ⲍ ⲍ
Q	Ⲏ	Ⲏ Ⲏ Ⲏ	Ⲏ	
R	ⲏ	ⲏ ⲏ	ⲏ ⲏ	ⲏ ⲏ ⲏ
ŠŠ	Ⲑ	Ⲑ Ⲑ	Ⲑ	Ⲑ Ⲑ Ⲑ
T	ⲑ		ⲑ ⲑ	ⲑ ⲑ ⲑ

Paleographic Table

This table does not include the characters depicted on coin no. 1 (see separate table, p. 102). The letters included in the right hand column of each section are the "barbaric" characters inscribed on the cruder issues.

The End of the War

Some Jews were able to escape from Jerusalem in 70 C.E. and find shelter at Masada. Shekels dated to the fifth year of the war have been discovered at the fortress, which indicates that the inhabitants fled from the city within four months of its destruction.

Although autonomous Jewish coins were no longer struck after the fall of Jerusalem, their system of dating continued to be employed. We have, for example, a marriage contract written at Masada, which is dated "year six."⁸⁰ The coins of the war were circulated at Masada, although their use was undoubtedly quite limited. This infrequency of use is suggested by one artifact found at the site: a perforated bronze coin dated "year four" (type no. 27) used not as currency but as a charm. The function of the coin must have been altered sometime between 69 C.E., the year in which it was minted, and 73 C.E., the year the Romans destroyed Masada.

After the fall of Jerusalem, the Romans forbade the use of the currency minted during the war. We have already suggested that these issues are the *מעות של סכנה* ("money of danger") mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud.⁸¹ If so, the coins would be comparable to the pieces struck by Bar Cochba; neither series was to be used to pay the second tithe; both were declared obsolete by the Jewish as well as by the Roman authorities.⁸²

Finds

Coins minted during the Jewish War have naturally been found in Jerusalem and Judaea. Yet many pieces, including silver shekels, were discovered in the Galilee and in Samaria. Excavations of Masada and of Herodion have also yielded large quantities of these coins. The shekels have been found principally in hoards which were hidden during the war. Later, some of the coins had been collected either by Roman soldiers or by Jewish survivors; ingots made from the melted coins could easily provide a source of income during the early occupation. Hence, most of the shekels which survived were hidden by individuals unable to collect their hoards; they had been either killed or sold into slavery. Some caches are comprised only of Jewish silver shekels and half-shekels; others contain Tyrian shekels, and rarely, other issues as well.

The most famous hoards discovered are:

1. Jericho, 1874: pottery vessel containing approximately 100 shekels, dated "year 1" — "year 4."⁸³
2. Jerusalem, near St. Stephen's Gate, 1935: 160 shekels dated "year 3" with some Tyrian shekels.⁸⁴
3. Bir Zeit, north of Jerusalem, 1940: 49 Tyrian shekels and five Jewish ones dated year 1 — year 3.⁸⁵

4. Jerusalem, in Siloam, 1940, bronze pyxis containing a maximum of 30 shekels. The pyxis, containing only three Jewish shekels of "year 1" and "year 2" and nine Tyrian shekels was purchased by A. Reifenberg.⁸⁶ (See plate 34).
5. Excavations of Dominus Flevit, Jerusalem, 1961: 9 Jewish shekels, 4 Tyrian shekels, and one Roman provincial tetradrachm of Nero. This excavation marked the first appearance in a cache of a shekel minted during the fifth year of the war.⁸⁷

Since 1961, several additional hoards have been discovered, some at Masada (one in a bronze pyxis), others in the excavations of Jerusalem. These collections have not yet been properly published. Occasionally, large numbers of shekels appear in the market, which indicates a discovery of a hoard by local peasants. In 1960, Kadman had traced only 407 shekels and half-shekels dated to the years of the war.⁸⁸ Since that time, the number of specimens has quadrupled. A similar increase in the quantity of bronze coins, especially those of the larger denominations of "year four" has also occurred.

Because the coins of the war were in circulation for a limited period (those of the first year being used at most for five years) they have remained in excellent condition. Those pieces which are poorly preserved were damaged by corrosion, not worn from use.

The Denominations

With the exception of the special bronze coinage minted to replace silver issues during the fourth year of the war, all issues struck during this period may be assigned to the following denominational groups:⁸⁹

1 silver shekel —	average weight 14.17 gr.	(years 1–5).
1/2 silver shekel —	average weight 6.83 gr.	(years 1–4).
1/4 silver shekel —	average weight 3.35 gr.	(years 1, 4).
	(based on only three specimens)	
1 bronze prutah —	average weight 2.60 gr.	(years 2, 3).

The so-called half-prutot, coins published by Hill,⁹⁰ and mainly by Kadman,⁹¹ are not products of the Jewish war. They are minimas of Caesarea and are therefore discussed in the supplement (see Suppl. VI).

The denominations of the coins minted during the war may be compared with the Roman system of currency. One silver denarius equaled 64 Roman quadrans, each of which weighed approximately 2.25 grams. The Jewish silver shekels were of a higher quality of silver than the contemporary Roman denarii minted under Nero and than the silver provincial tetradrachms struck in Antioch. Because their silver issues were more valuable than the Roman coinage, the Jewish minting authorities may have increased the amount of bronze in the prutot to justify the denominational equivalency of 64 prutot as

equal to one quarter-shekel. In other words, one silver shekel was worth 256 prutot.

Interestingly, the half-shekels weigh less than half the average weight of the whole shekels; the average weight of two half-shekels is only 13.66 grams, while a full shekel weighs 14.17 grams. Perhaps the discrepancy is related to the amount of time and effort needed to strike the coins of the two denominations. It took an equivalent number of hours to manufacture shekels and half-shekels; the minters may have been compensated for their efforts by the silver from the ingots used to strike coins of the lower denomination. A similar discrepancy exists among the Tyrian shekels. The popularity of the shekel over the half-shekel is related to this imbalance. The Temple preferred whole shekels, and indeed, the practice of paying the tribute half-shekel by full shekels may have arisen to avoid paying the extra bronze prutot needed to compensate for the loss of silver.⁹²

The discrepancy between the weights of the two denominations may explain the comparative rarity of the half-shekels. During the first year of the war, the two denominations were struck in equal quantities. But by the fourth year, half-shekels were rarely minted and by the fifth year, they were no longer produced.

Crudely Styled Coins

Silver

Very few of the silver coins struck during the war were minted in a crude or "barbaric" style. These technically imperfect pieces were not known to Kadman and to others. One coin, a shekel dated year "1" (no. 4), has a crude style similar to that of the experimental issues, nos. 1 and 2. Recently discovered, has been a hoard of shekels containing two "barbaric" pieces dated to the second year of the war. These coins are of an entirely new character, distinct from the standard issues of that year (see nos. 9, 9Sp). The two pieces were struck from the same die, which was apparently prepared by an inept cutter. The poor execution of the pieces is complemented by their crude finish; the edges of these shekels were also not smoothed by hammering. Finally, the weight of these two pieces is comparatively higher than that of the standard issues of "year 2". On no. 9 Sp, a fragment of the bronze pyxis still adheres to its rim. Some of the shekels of "year 5", although of an inferior style, cannot be classified as crude.

Bronze

Because most bronze prutot were struck in huge quantities, a certain amount of crudely styled coins were produced. The dies for these pieces were

often prepared by apprentice engravers lacking the skill of their masters. The largest group of prutot, that of "year two" contains the greatest number of technical irregularities (see nos. 13-17).

In contrast, the bronze issues minted during the third year of the war are of a generally good style; crude pieces are rare (see nos. 22, 22a).⁹³

Several coins minted in the fourth year of the war are somewhat crude. Coin no. 30c has one letter missing. Coin no. 30d has a retrograde obverse and a poorly styled reverse. Both sides of no. 30e are retrograde. A distortion of the first two letters of the obverse inscription appears on no. 30b. Irregularities in the size of the flans caused the crude appearances of coins 29a and 29b. Finally, the edges of few coins of type 30 were hammered, as were the rims of the silver shekels.

The Coin from Gamala

In 1980, during the final editing of this monograph, a fascinating and unique coin was discovered in an excavation at Gamala (Gamlā) in the Golan. This specimen adds a new facet to the numismatic picture of the first Jewish War against Rome.

Gamala was a well-known Jewish stronghold in the Golan during the final years of the Second Temple period. In the second year of the war, 67 C.E., the local Jewish forces were engaged in a fierce battle against the Roman troops led by the legate Vespasian, who was eventually joined by his son Titus. Gamala was conquered by these two Flavians on the tenth day of November, 67 C.E.⁹⁴

The patriotism of the community of Gamala is manifested by the unique coin discovered there.⁹⁵ Once cleaned, the specimen proved to be of a previously unknown type. It has the following characteristics (see no. 32):

Obv.: Chalice (the omer cup?) similar in design to that depicted on the Jewish shekels (nos. 1-10); encircling crude paleo-Hebrew inscription לְגַאֲלֵת (LG'LT) "For the redemption."

Rev.: Crude, paleo-Hebrew inscription יְרוּשָׁלַם קָד (YRŠLM QD) "Jerusalem hol(y)."



יְרוּשָׁלַם קָד יְרוּשָׁלַם קָד

The specimen is both primitive and clumsy. Had it not been discovered during an archaeological dig, its authenticity would certainly be doubted. Since only one example of this type has been found, and since it is entirely distinct from the coinage minted in Jerusalem, it is reasonable to suggest that the piece is a local product, actually struck at Gamala.

During the first stage of the war, many coins struck in Jerusalem were circulated throughout the country. A vast number of both shekels and bronze pieces have been discovered in various excavations of the Galilee. There is no doubt that the people of Gamala not only saw, but also used this coinage. They were impressed by the nationalistic inscriptions and designs depicted on the pieces and they appreciated the political impact made by the issues. The authorities at Gamala probably also minted coinage during the early stage of the war; indeed, the Galileans carried the burden of the first several months of fighting as well. The type struck in Gamala, represented by the unique coin, was struck during the war, and was inspired by the silver shekels minted in Jerusalem.

Although the vessel depicted on the coin is of a crude style, it is similar to the utensil which appears on the shekels minted in Jerusalem and dated [year] "1". The rev. seems to have no design except for the crude inscription that occupies most of the field.

Despite the crude lettering the inscription surrounding the vessel, "for the redemption" can be read. This legend is complemented by the inscription which appears on the obverse, "hol(y) Jerusalem". The complete message thus reads "for the redemption of holy Jerusalem". The designers of this issue knew that the inscription surrounding the vessel depicted on the Jerusalemite shekels was שקל ישראל "shekel of Israel." Yet this legend could not be copied onto the local types; it could not appear on bronze coinage. Therefore, although the designs could be imitated, a new inscription had to be found.

Spatial considerations also caused the inscription on the local issue to differ from that on the Jerusalemite coinage. The spelling of "Jerusalem" on the unique piece is even more abbreviated than that which appears on the shekels. The term for "holy" הקדושה contains the initial article which also appears on the later shekels minted from the second to the fifth year of the war in Jerusalem.

Although many features are shared between the Jerusalemite shekels and the unique specimen, these two types reveal several independent features, including the contents of the inscriptions and the style of the characters. The bronze coinage struck in Jerusalem in 67 and 68 C.E. depicts the inscription חרות ציון "freedom of Zion". The issues of "year four," 69 C.E., however, are inscribed לגאלת ציון "for the redemption of Zion". Because the unique specimen must have been struck before November 10, 67 C.E., it could not have copied the legend depicted on the Jerusalemite issues of "year four". Yet the motivation and meaning of this legend are the same for both the local and the general issues. Like the later patriots in Jerusalem, the men of Gamala, under siege from Rome, sought redemption by means of divine intervention.

A systematic discussion of Galilean minting efforts during the Jewish War cannot be based on the discovery of a single specimen. Yet this unique piece serves to illustrate the political importance of coinage, even if it was only circulated in a limited area.

THE BAR COCHBA WAR

132-135 C.E.

Historical Background

After the Roman conquest of Judaea in 70 C.E., Jerusalem ceased to be the political and religious center of world Jewry. For both the Jews remaining in the Land of Israel as well as for those in the Diaspora, the following decades were a time of disappointment if not desperation. At the beginning of the second century C.E., such intense feelings could no longer be contained.

In 115 C.E., during the reign of Trajan, Jewish communities in the Diaspora revolted against the Roman administration.¹ The rebellion, which began in Cyrenaica, spread quickly to Egypt, Cyprus, and throughout the Mesopotamian world. Only after three years of sporadic fighting was the unrest settled, in 117 C.E., during the reign of Hadrian.² No evidence suggests that the Jews in Palestine participated actively in this rebellion. However, they may have provided both moral and economic support to their brothers in the Diaspora.³

Although the Jewish forces had been defeated, the spirit of the community in Judaea was quickly raised. One of the sources of this new optimism was the activity of the converted Jew, Aquila,⁴ a relative of Hadrian. Aquila was sent by Rome to Judaea ostensibly to inspect the progress of the reconstruction of Jerusalem. Roman interest in the refounding of the city was thus heralded.

In 130 C.E., Hadrian himself visited Judaea, perhaps in order to celebrate the reconstruction of Jerusalem. This important journey was commemorated by the minting in Rome of several types of bronze coins in different denominations.⁵ These pieces depict the bust of Hadrian on the obverse. The reverse presents the emperor, standing to right, facing a female personification of Judaea, who holds a patera and box. Between the figures is a burning altar. "Judaea" is flanked by two children, each holding a palm branch. The Latin inscription reads *ADVENTVI AVG IVDAEAE / SC*, "the visit of the Caesar to Judaea."

This visit caused a change in the dating system depicted on the coinage minted in Gaza. On pieces minted between Hadrian's arrival at the harbor of that city in 130 C.E., and the end of the Bar Cochba War in 135, double dates appear. The first date recorded is according to the Pompeian era of Gaza; the second date refers to the arrival of the emperor to Judaea.⁶

The visit of Hadrian ultimately served only to crush Jewish hopes. The Romans did not rebuild the political and cultic center of the Jews. Rather, on the ruins of Jerusalem, the emperor founded a colony named Aelia Capitolina.

Jews were not permitted to reside in this city. This final act provoked the local Jewish population to participate in an armed revolt. The events which occurred just prior to the war are described by Dio Cassius:⁷

At Jerusalem, he [Hadrian] founded a city in place of the one which had been razed to the ground, naming it Aelia Capitolina, and on the site of the temple of the god he raised a new temple to Jupiter. This brought on a war of no slight importance nor of brief duration, for the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites planted there. So long, indeed, as Hadrian was close by in Egypt and again in Syria, they remained quiet, save in so far as they purposely made of poor quality such weapons as they were called upon to furnish, in order that the Romans might reject them and they themselves might thus have use of them; but when he went farther away, they openly revolted. To be sure, they did not dare try conclusions with the Romans in the open field; but they occupied the advantageous positions in the country and strengthened them with mines and walls, in order that they might have places of refuge whenever they should be hard pressed, and might meet together unobserved under ground; and they pierced these subterranean passages from above at intervals to let in air and light.

For centuries, the history of this rebellion was known only from such fragmentary sketches in a few Roman sources and from scattered passages in the rabbinic literature. Yet in comparison to this insufficient information, the numismatic evidence — a vast number of silver and bronze coins — provides substantial data about this period of Jewish history. Indeed, until quite recently, the coinage was almost the only archaeological evidence available from this era.

Within the past 30 years, the meager collection of artifacts from the war of Bar Cochba has been greatly augmented by the surprising discoveries in the Judaeian desert.⁸ This new evidence, distinguished by letters written by Bar Cochba himself, has stimulated modern investigations of the early second century C.E. For the numismatist, these discoveries shed new light on the nature of both symbols and inscriptions depicted on the coinage struck during the war.

The Question of Jerusalem

One prevailing issue faced by most historians of this period is the continuing status of Jerusalem. Did it remain in Roman hands, or was it conquered by the Jewish forces? Many scholars assume that Bar Cochba gained possession of the city in one of the early battles. For example, Schürer writes, "Jerusalem also was certainly beset by rebels."⁹

This common assumption has caused numismatists to interpret the symbols and legends depicted on the Bar Cochba coinage of "year one" in terms of the conquest. Moreover, scholars have also supposed that the coins were minted in Jerusalem. These assumptions must now be reconsidered.

Recent archaeological excavations have been made at several locations within the city of Jerusalem: near the Western and Southern walls, in the Jewish quarter of the upper city, on Mount Zion, and elsewhere. These sites have yielded impressive artifacts from the various stages of the history of the city. Yet material from the Bar Cochba era was surprisingly scarce. Of the 40,000 coins discovered, only one could be dated to this period (see type no. 74). This piece was struck in 135 C.E., during the last stage of the war. It may therefore have been left in Jerusalem by a Roman soldier, and not by a rebel. Yet the coins of the first and second years of the war, which were struck in large quantities, were not present among the archaeological finds. This absence suggests that the Bar Cochba coins were minted elsewhere.

The historical sources do not mention any battle waged by Bar Cochba in Jerusalem.¹⁰ Yet the locations which are noted in the Roman and Jewish epigraphic evidence as well as in the Bar Cochba letters, places such as Bethar, Herodion, Arbaia, Ein-Gedi, and Gofnah, have yielded many coins issued during the war. Surface finds of these specimens have long been common in Bethar, and the largest hoard of Bar Cochba coins was discovered there.¹¹ An impressive number of coins has been found at Herodion, the administrative center of the provincial government of the Jewish leader.¹² Hoards have come from Ramalla (near Gofnah), located north of Jerusalem, and from the environs of Hebron.¹³ The finds made in the caves in the Judean desert have included coins struck by Bar Cochba,¹⁴ as have the discoveries made in the caves of Arub.¹⁵

This archaeological evidence forces us to conclude that Jerusalem was never conquered by Bar Cochba. Therefore, an alternate background for the coins minted during the war must be found.

The Coins of "Year One" (132 C.E.)

Dio Cassius, Eusebius, Jerome, and other ancient writers all tell us that the revolt against Rome waged by the Jews began in 132 C.E. and was suppressed three and one-half years later, in 135.¹⁶ The outbreak of the rebellion was publicized by the minting of an impressive series of coins struck in two silver denominations and in three denominations of bronze. Because the attitude of many Jews toward the revolt was ambivalent, the coins were struck for purposes of propaganda on behalf of the rebel leaders.¹⁷ The value of this issue for public relations is manifested in all aspects of the coinage.

A. Overstriking

All coins minted by Bar Cochba are actually overstriking of contemporary, circulated issues. Because each type of coinage employed in Judaea in

132 C.E. was pagan in nature, the technique of overstriking served political and religious, as well as economic purposes. The principal silver issues of the period were the Roman provincial tetradrachms struck at Antioch and Tyre. These pieces were produced from the reign of Augustus until the death of Trajan, but were also widely circulated during the tenure of Hadrian. Also common were the Roman silver denarii struck both in the provinces and in the capital during this same extended period.¹⁸

The most common bronze issues were the Roman provincial pieces struck in several mints. The large coins were produced in Antioch and Alexandria; the medium size coins came mainly from the mints of Ascalon and Gaza as well as from Caesarea (including here the Judaea Capta issues) and other provincial cities.¹⁹ The small bronze coins were produced primarily in Ascalon.²⁰

Coins from all of these issues were restruck in the mint improvised by Bar Cochba at his administrative center. The majority of the pagan pieces depicted the portrait of the emperor on one side and various non-Jewish symbols and scenes on the other. Although the Jews were forced by necessity to use these coins, many considered such close association with pagan images to be personally defiling. Elaborate rituals were developed in order to negate the impure properties of these coins. The best illustration of a reaction of a religious Jew to the pagan coinage is the anecdote concerning a certain Nahum, called "Holy of Holiness." "And why was he called Nahum the man of Holy of Holiness? Because he never looked at the design of a coin."²¹

By overstriking the pagan pieces, Bar Cochba made both a political and a religious statement. Not only did he deface the portraits of the despised emperors by this technique, he was also able to depict Jewish symbols and nationalistic inscriptions. The method of overstriking was also employed for a much more pragmatic reason. Bar Cochba neither controlled an already established mint, nor possessed a city large enough to support a new one. Overstriking did not require the possession of an equipped mint. Bar Cochba also did not need a source of silver or bronze ingots or a kiln in which to melt them or to prepare alloys. He did not need to fashion molds or cast flans for his coins. In other words, the Jewish leader found a way to make the minting procedure quite simple. His source of metal was coins from circulation. He cut new dies depicting his political message, which he reproduced on the existing Greek and Roman coins by means of an anvil and hammer.

B. The Inscriptions

We shall include in this section only the coins that depict the legend "year one." However, many pieces with this date were struck in the years following 132 C.E. Dies which were not broken remained in use. Hybrid coins, which have an obverse struck by a die fashioned in "year one" and a reverse struck by a die prepared in a different year, are common among the Bar Cochba issues. Apparently, the leaders of the revolt did not have the financial resources needed to make many new dies.

The date inscribed on the earliest issues reads: שנת אחת לגאולת ישראל "Year one of the redemption of Israel." The legend clearly reveals the goals of Bar Cochba and his allies. The special connotations of "redemption" (גאולה), discussed in our chapter on the Jewish War, were retained by this inscription. Bar Cochba apparently wished to convince the Jews that he was the messiah, that he would bring about the redemption of Israel. His original name, Bar Coziba ("Son of Coziba" or "one who was born in [the village of] Coziba"), was changed to Bar Cochba, or "son of the star," a name with messianic pretensions. From the discoveries in the Judaean desert, we learn that his given name was שמעון בר כוסבא (Shimon bar Cosiba). Therefore, the other title accorded him in several literary sources, בר כוזבה (bar Cozba) "the deceiver" (from the Hebrew כוזב "lie"), is not a legitimate derivation.²² In *TJ Taanith*, 4,8, we find the interesting comment: "R. Shimon ben Jochai said, 'R. Akiba my teacher expounded the passage 'There shall go a star (Kochav, כוכב) out of Jacob' (Num 24:17) as follows: 'There goes Coziba (כוזבה) out from Jacob.'"

R. Akiba may have represented the minority view, however. The text continues, "Then said to him R. Jochanan ben Torta, 'Akiba, the grass will grow out of thy jaw bone and yet the Son of David will not have come.'"²³ There can be little doubt that the followers of Bar Cochba did view him as the messiah.²⁴

The first task of the inscription containing the word "redemption" was to convince the Jews that their military leader was directly entrusted with a holy mission. Its second aspect reflects the desperate situation of the Jewish community; Jerusalem was now Aelia Capitolina, a pagan city in Roman hands. The revolutionaries were, as Dio Cassius notes, poorly equipped. Bar Cochba realized that the only method available to encourage his people was the promise of divine aid and sanction. His first victories, both surprising and impressive, served to solidify his claims and to reinforce the message of the coins.

The second inscription on the issues struck in "year one", שמעון נשיא ישראל (ŠM'WN NSY' YŠR'L), "Shimon, prince of Israel," is related to the first legend. The term "Israel" here refers to the people, not to the state, although the two concepts certainly remained related. The depiction of the title NSY' or "prince" on this series is an innovation in Jewish coinage. Because Bar Cochba was from neither a royal nor a priestly family, he could assume neither the title king nor that of priest. He therefore adopted a prestigious and ancient epithet which served to recall the leaders of the twelve tribes.²⁵ The most important use of this title appears in Ezek 34:24, in which we read, "And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David prince (נשיא) among them." The prophet employs the title on several occasions as a circumlocution for "redeemer of Israel." Thus NSY' has messianic overtones.²⁶

The remaining inscriptions on the coins minted in "year one" are ירושלם (YRWŠLM) "Jerusalem" and אלעזר הכהן (L'ZR HKHN) "Eleazar the priest." The word "Jerusalem" encircles the Temple facade on the silver tetrad-

rachms. It is inscribed beneath the palm tree on the small bronzes (see no. 10) and is surrounded by a wreath on the large bronze issues (see no. 4). All the symbols depicted on these coins are related to the city. Indeed, the simple mention of Jerusalem indicates the major concern of Bar Cochba and his followers.

Yet this Jewish leader, despite his charismatic role, was not the only important figure of the period. The coins of "year one" (as well as later, hybrid issues), are inscribed with the name of "Eleazar the priest." The omission of his name from the standard coinage of the later years has not yet been explained. Nor is his identity certain. Schürer comments as follows:²⁷

Since in late rabbinical documents the R. Eleazar of Modein, who is also known from the other sources, is described as the uncle of Bar Cosiba (*Mid Echa* II,2), some have ventured to conjecture that this man is the same as the one named "Eleazar the priest" on the coins. But there is nothing anywhere to indicate that Eleazar of Modein was a priest.

The discussion in *Midrash Echa* 2, 2-4 (*Midrash Lamentations*) concerns a certain R. Eleazar who was in Bethar with Bar Cochba. Because of the accusations of a Samaritan, Eleazar was suspected of disloyalty. The text reads:

For three and half years the Emperor Hadrian surrounded Bethar. In the city was R. Eleazar of Modim, who continually wore sackcloth and fasted, and he used to pray daily, "Lord of the Universe, sit not in judgment today!" so that [Hadrian] thought of returning home. A Cuthean went and found him and said, "My lord, so long as that old cock wallows in ashes you will not conquer the city. But wait for me, because I will do something which will enable you to subdue it today." He immediately entered the gate of the city, where he found R. Eleazar standing and praying. He pretended to whisper in the ear of R. Eleazar of Modim. People went and informed Bar Koziba, "Your friend, R. Eleazar, wishes to surrender the city to Hadrian." He sent and had the Cuthean brought to him and asked, "What did you say to him?" He replied, "If I tell you, the king will kill me; and if I do not tell you, you will kill me. It is better that I should kill myself and the secrets of the government be not divulged." Bar Koziba was convinced that R. Eleazar wanted to surrender the city, so when the latter finished his praying he had him brought into his presence and asked him, "What did the Cuthean tell you?" He answered, "I do not know what he whispered in my ear, nor did I hear anything, because I was standing in prayer and am unaware what he said." Bar Koziba flew into a rage, kicked him with his foot and killed him. A *Bath Kol* issued forth and proclaimed, "Woe to the worthless shepherd that leaveth the flock! The sword shall be upon his arm, and upon his right eye" (Zech 11:17). It intimated to him, "Thou has paralysed the arm of Israel and blinded their right eye; therefore shall thy arm wither and thy right eye grow dim!" Forthwith the sins [of the people] caused Bethar to be captured.

G. Alon²⁸ supports the theory that the priest whose name appears on the coins was Eleazar of Modein. He notes that Modein was famous both for its

priests and for its political leaders; the city was the home of the Hasmonaeans.²⁹

The conflict mentioned in *Midrash Echa* may be our primary evidence for the identification of Eleazar. The coins which depict his name were either issued during the first year of the war (see nos. 2, 7-9) or are hybrid pieces struck with dies of "year one" (see nos. 17, 18, 48 issued in "year 2" and no. 79, struck during either the third or fourth year of the war). Some numismatists believe the omission of the inscription on the later issues was occasioned by Eleazar's death. While the hybrid pieces produced during the third and fourth years of the war are not very rare, those coins which depict the name of Eleazar and which were minted in "year 2" are extremely rare. The discrepancy may be related to the hypothetical fall from favor. Perhaps, by the third year of the rebellion, Bar Cochba had pardoned his former compatriot, and so had permitted the legitimate striking of hybrid issues. If our reconstruction of this historical and numismatic evidence is correct, then the inscription may refer to Eleazar of Modein.³⁰

C. The Symbols

The designs that appear on the Bar Cochba coins are well depicted and highly symbolic. They clearly evoke both love of the land and the desire for its redemption. On the coins issued during the first year of the war, the following symbols are presented:

- (1) Facade of the Temple.
- (2) The lulav (the four species of the feast of Tabernacles: the lulav (palm branch) tied together with the willow and myrtle branches, and the ethrog).
- (3) Jug (a Temple vessel).
- (4) Amphora (a Temple vessel).
- (5) Cluster of grapes.
- (6) Vine leaf.
- (7) Palm tree.
- (8) Palm branch encircled by a wreath.
- (9) Harp (or *Nehel*, a musical instrument used in Temple ceremonies).
- (10) Wreath.

These ten designs form the main images depicted on all the Bar Cochba issues. Added during the later years of the war were some variations of these images, and the depictions of other musical instruments.

The Temple Facade and the Lulav

We have already noted that the principal goal of the Jewish forces was to regain Jerusalem and to restore its Temple. Therefore, the most valuable coins minted by Bar Cochba, the silver tetradrachms, all depict the facade of

the Temple. Yet the relation of the design which appears on the coinage, to the Temple built by Herod the Great is not clear. The coins present the facade of a tetrastyle temple, four pillars rather than the expected two, Jachin and Boaz, appear in the foreground. Several scholars have offered explanations of this apparent error.

At first, numismatists simply identified the depiction on the coinage with the Temple that had been destroyed by Titus.³¹ Madden proposes that the design represents the beautiful gate of the Temple,³² and Reifenberg summarizes the early scholarship which addressed the problem as follows:³³

The representation on the obverse of the tetradrachms has caused many discussions. Levy and Merzbacher thought the building represented the Temple, whereas Graetz considered it to be a tabernacle. Cavedoni first thought the building to be the "Beautiful Gate of the Temple," a view to which Madden and others agree. Rogers suggested that the building represented the four pillars for the veil before the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle, with a conventionalised representation within of the Ark and Mercy Seat, an identification with which Hill agrees. Lambert draws attention to the fact that the chest between the columns is of a type known in Egypt from the Old Kingdom onwards and quite recently H. Rosenau considered this chest to be a representation of the Mercy Seat in the Temple. Some ninety years ago, however, Cavedoni proposed to see in the type the sacrarium of a synagogue, the middle being the ark containing the sacred books, an identification which comes remarkably near the truth.

Although many wish to identify the building in some way with the Temple, the alternate theory, first suggested by Rogers,³⁴ and later followed by Hill,³⁵ associates the design on the coinage with the description given by Josephus of the Tabernacle of Moses:³⁶

Internally, dividing its length into three portions, at a measured distance of ten cubits from the farther end he set up four pillars, constructed like the rest and resting upon similar sockets, but placed slightly apart. The area within these pillars was the sanctuary; the rest of the tabernacle was open to the priests. Now this partitionment of the tabernacle was withal an imitation of universal nature; for the third part of it, that within the four pillars, which was inaccessible to the priests, was like heaven devoted to God, while the twenty cubits' space, even as earth and sea are accessible to men, was in like manner assigned to the priests alone.

Romanoff also supports the equation of this description with the image depicted on the coinage:³⁷

The construction with the four pillars pictured on the coins represents the inner part of the Temple as described by Josephus. The dotted design between the columns suggests the Ark, hidden behind the veil. The two circles in the Ark represent the rings or staves. The oval lines above the Ark signify the covering or the cherubs, and the star over the Temple — divine glory.

Characteristic is the fact that according to late Jewish tradition the Holy of Holies in the time of the Second Commonwealth did not house the Ark of the Covenant. It is quite possible that because of inaccessibility for the laymen to

the sanctuary, this fact was known only to the High priests and a few others, the general belief being that the Ark was there.

Acceptance of either major theory does not alter the original *intent* of the symbol. We may offer a third explanation of the style of the Temple, which nevertheless accords with the symbolic intent: the wish of regaining Jerusalem and the reconstruction of the Jewish religious center.

Perhaps Bar Cochba was aware of the rabbinic injunction against idolatry which is recorded in *TB Avodah Zarah* 43a: "Abaye explained: The Torah only forbids the making of His attendants which can be reproduced in facsimile, according to the teaching: A man may not make a house after the design of the Temple, or a porch after the design of the Temple porch, a courtyard after the design of the Temple court." Indeed, the design on the coinage is highly schematic; no specific or distinguishing details are depicted. The design is definite enough to express the concept of the Temple, yet sufficiently abstract to conform to the religious requirements. Thus the image on the silver tetradrachms symbolizes the *concept* of the Temple in Jerusalem; it does not need any more specific features.

The historical position of this rebellion must also be noted. The Temple built by Herod had been destroyed by Titus 62 years before the silver tetradrachms were minted. Consequently, the actual design of the building may have been in dispute because of the passage of time. Specific details may not have been remembered. Therefore, Bar Cochba used the design of the Temple to symbolize a concept, rather than the original building itself.

The symbolic value of the image is augmented both by the encircling inscription "Jerusalem" and by the four species of the feast of Tabernacles depicted on the reverse of the tetradrachms. Following the destruction of the Temple, the symbolic meanings of the lulav, willow, myrtle, and ethrog, were somewhat modified. For example, *Mishna Sotah* 9, 12 (cf. 9, 15) states:

When the Temple was destroyed the *shamir* and the *honey-comb* of *Tsophim* ceased to exist; and men of trustworthiness ceased to exist, as it is said, "Help, O Eternal, for the goodly man ceaseth ..., etc." Rabban Simon ben Gamaliel says in the name of R. Joshua, From the day when the Temple was destroyed there has been no day wherein there was no curse, and the dew has not come down in blessing and the flavor of fruit has been taken away. R. Jose says, The fatness of the fruits has also been taken away.

The fall of Jerusalem also brought changes in certain rituals. The following citation may be related to the symbolic value of the designs depicted on the Bar Cochba coinage:³⁸

After the Temple was destroyed, Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai ordained that the lulav should be used for seven days in the provinces, in remembrance of the Temple, and on the whole of the Day of the Waving it should be altogether forbidden.

The new ordinance was enacted in remembrance of the Temple and was promulgated by R. Jochanan, who taught during the first war against Rome.

Therefore, by the time of the Bar Cochba War, the practice was well-established. The lulav came to symbolize the Jewish desire to rebuild the Temple.

The depiction of the lulav on the Bar Cochba coinage is slightly different than the design which appears on the issues struck in "year four" of the Jewish War against Rome (see nos. 27-30). The latter depiction presents closed leaves on the palm branch and omits the small fruits symbolizing the myrtle; the stalk is tied in four places.³⁹ The alterations in the ritual, made by Jochanan b. Zaccai, may also have inspired modifications in the design of the ethrog. The coins struck under Bar Cochba depict the type of ethrog used today by several Jewish communities, such as the Yemenites. The fruit is no longer lemon-shaped, but has a waist. The ethrog remains consistently depicted to the left of the lulav. This placement conforms to the Talmudic injunction which states that the lulav is to be lifted in the right hand, the ethrog in the left.⁴⁰

In addition to symbolizing the desire to rebuild the Temple, the lulav had another, special value for the Jewish community of the early second century C.E. Between the two wars against Rome, it was extremely difficult to acquire any of the four species;⁴¹ their use was forbidden by the Roman administration in Palestine. The rarity of these religious objects is expressed by two letters, one written in Greek the other in Hebrew, discovered in the Judaean desert.⁴² The Hebrew text, written by Bar Cochba, reads:⁴³

Shimeon to Yehudah bar Menashe of Qiryath 'Arab(v)aya, I have sent to you two donkeys that you shall send with them two men to Yehonathan bar Be'ayan and to Masabala in order that they shall pack and send to the camp, towards you, palm branches [lulavim] and citrons [ethrogin]. And you, from your place, send others who will bring you myrtles [hadasin] and willows [aravin]. See that they are tithed and send them to the camp. [The request is made] since the army is big ...

Thus the depiction of the lulav on the coinage represented not only the desire to rebuild the Temple, but also a reaction against the Roman laws concerning the celebration of the feast.

The Jug

Several ceremonial vessels employed for Temple rituals may have been fashioned in the shape of a jug with a single handle. The following description may be related to the design found on the Bar Cochba coinage.

a. *Šeloḥit* (flagan) of gold:⁴⁴ צלוּחִית שֶׁל זָהָב

The water-libation: How so? — A golden flagon holding three logs was filled from the pool of Shiloah. When they arrived at the Water Gate they sounded a prolonged blast, (and) a quavering note, and a prolonged blast. He went up the ramp and turned to his left where there were two silver bowls. R. Judah says, They were of plaster, but their surfaces were blackened because of the wine. And they each had a hole like a narrow spout, one wide and the

other narrow, so that both were emptied out together, the one to the west was for water and that to the east for wine. If one emptied out that for water into the one for wine or that for wine into the one for water, it was valid. R. Judah says, with one log they could carry out the libations all the eight days. To him who performed the libation they used to say, 'Raise thy hand!', for on one occasion he poured it over his feet and all the people pelted him with their citrons.

b. Mizrack (basin): מזרק

Concerning the duties of the high priest, *Mishna Yoma* 5,4 states:

They brought the he-goat to him. He slaughtered it and received its blood in a *basin*. He went into the place where he had entered and stood in the place where he had stood and tossed from it once upwards and seven times downwards ...

c. Kuz (oil jar) and Bazach (fire-pan?):

These two vessels, the oil jar (כֹּז) and the pan (בִּזָּךְ) described in *Mishna-Tamid* 7,2, may also have had the same shape as the design depicted on the Bar Cochba coinage:

[All the priests who had performed their allotted duties] came and stood on the steps of the Porch. The first [who finished their allotted tasks] stood to the south of their fellow priests, and [they held] in their hands five utensils, the basket [for the ashes] in the hand of one, and the [oil-]jar in the hand of one, and the firepan in the hand of one, and the [incense] dish in the hand of one, and the ladle with its cover in the hand of one. (And) they recited the [Priestly] Benediction over the people as a single Benediction, but in the provinces it was pronounced as three Benedictions, and in the Temple as a single Benediction.

Of all these descriptions, that of the golden flagon (צלוחית של זהב) seems the most likely corollary to the design on the coinage. It not only has the correct shape, but also it possesses a high degree of importance. For example, *Succah* 5, 1-4 states that "Anyone who has not witnessed the rejoicing of the libation water well has never seen rejoicing in his life." Again, the golden flagon has an association with the festival of Tabernacles. Therefore, it too symbolizes the national aspirations of the displaced Jewish community.

The shape of the flagon can be deduced from the description of its use. Because the utensil was employed to pour water over the altar, it required a large handle placed opposite a spout. Romanoff, who was the first to associate the flagon with the symbol on the coinage,⁴⁵ has noted the depiction of a small lulav on the right of the vessel and has commented on the relationship between the water libation and the feast of Tabernacles:

The water-libation, besides the lulav, was connected with the season, and was a form of sympathetic magic to induce abundance of rain during the winter-season needed for the crops of Palestine. Such an agricultural festival was no doubt known to every Jew irrespective of whether he was living in Palestine or in the Diaspora. The symbol of water-libation, the celebration of abundance, was the pouring of water from a golden vessel ...

The reason for employing this vessel as a symbol is also borne out by contemporary Tannaitic literature. Since the destruction of the Temple, the people complained that the rains upon which the welfare of Palestine depended, were not blessed and did not come at the proper time, as without the altar, libations could not be performed. In this symbol, Bar Cochba pointed out that the rebuilding of the Temple and the renewal of the ritual would bring abundance once more.

In the first year of the revolt, only the silver denarii struck with the name of Eleazar the priest depicted this utensil. It is not inconceivable that Eleazar might have been the candidate who would perform the water libation ritual in the rebuilt Temple.

The Grapes

The design depicted on the reverse of this issue, a cluster of grapes, may also be associated with cultic ceremonies and with the Temple. The grapes may symbolize the golden vine, a prominent decoration in the Temple. Grapes or vine leaves have also been depicted on the coinage struck by Herod the Great (see no. 16), Herod Archelaus (see no. 6) and by the authorities who controlled the Jewish mint during the first war against Rome (see nos. 11-17, 20-22a). Yet the earlier depiction of the bunch of grapes (Archelaus no. 6), is comparatively simple; it contains one triangular cluster, rather than the three-section which appears on the Bar Cochba coins. This latest design, an innovation in Jewish numismatics, is, however, identical to one that appears on other ancient artifacts, such as the frieze on the tomb of Helena of Adiabene, on the Jewish sarcophagoi, and on the Jewish lamps of the first and second centuries.⁴⁶

The question of the axis of the design is problematic. If the grapes are depicted as hanging downward, the way in which they appear in nature, the axis is reversed and the inscription cannot be read in the normal manner, from the lower right. This same consideration arises in our discussion of the coins of the Jewish War which depict the vine leaf.

Our safest procedure is to follow the numismatic rules, and present the design with an upright axis and with the inscription beginning on the lower right.

The bunch and the vine leaf thus appear to rest horizontally, with the edge protruding forward, see figure below.



The Bronze Coins of "Year One"

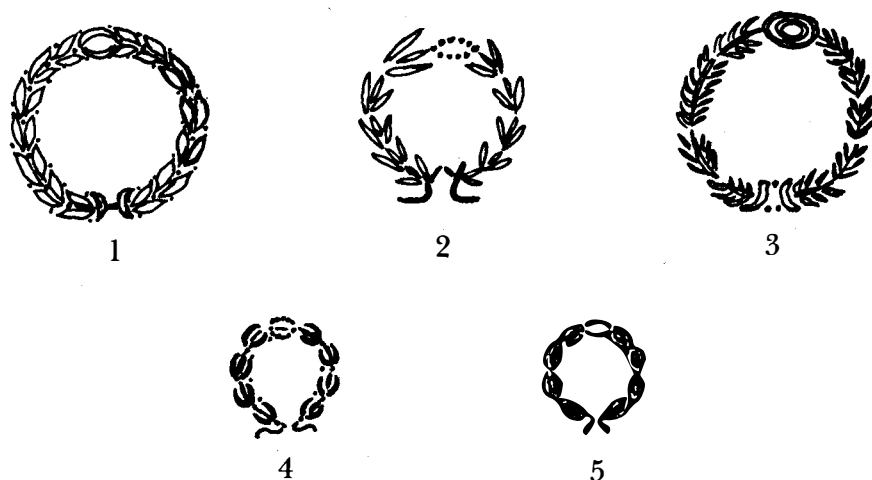
The large bronze coins depict the amphora on the reverse and a wreath encircling an inscription on the obverse. The utensil has already been compared with a similar amphora which appears on the issues of the first Jewish War. The symbolic value of the design remains consistent: it expresses the desire of the Jews to restore Temple rituals. Less clear is the interpretation of the wreath. This image encircles either the inscription "Shimon prince of Israel" (type no. 3) or the legend "Jerusalem" (see no. 4).

Although four types of wreaths appear on the coins of "year one" and a fifth version was added on the later issues, all the designs apparently have the same interpretation. The wreath represents the enhanced prestige of the name it symbolically crowns. Thus the designs on the reverse of the large bronzes emphasize either the importance of the prince or the idealization of the city.

The Wreath

The wreaths are composed of olive leaves or laurels (see figs. 1 and 2), or perhaps are of palm branches (fig. 3). All depict a central decoration as well as a tie or ribbon. Nos. 1-3 appear on the large bronzes (nos. 3, 4, 38, 39); no. 4 is depicted on the medium bronze issues (nos. 6, 46, 50, 77), and no. 5 appears on the silver denarii.

Two coin types of medium bronze were struck during the first year of the revolt. Type no. 5 depicts the palm tree and the vine leaf. On type no. 6, a harp and a palm branch encircled by a wreath appear. Both types have the identical inscriptions: "Shimon prince of Israel" depicted on the obverse and "year one of the redemption of Israel" appears on the reverse. While the interpretation of the vine is apparently similar to the symbolic value of the grapes which are presented on the denarii, the palm tree is the only design on the Bar Cochba coinage that does not bear a *direct* relation to either the Temple or Jerusalem.



The Palm Tree

The palm tree symbolized the city of Tyre long before it became associated with the province of Judaea.⁴⁷ In Jewish numismatics, the design was first depicted on the coins of the fourth year of the Jewish War (see no. 27, struck in 69 C.E.). Following the destruction of the Temple, the symbol became more intimately associated with Judaea. It is depicted, for example, on the Judaea Capta coins struck by the Roman authorities in Rome and in Caesarea. In 96 C.E., when the emperor Nerva abolished the Jewish tax, he struck bronze sestertii with the inscription *FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA* (abolishing the calumny caused by the Jewish tax) encircling a palm tree. Thus this design came to symbolize both Judaea and Jewish affairs.⁴⁸

Bar Cochba was familiar with both the Judaea Capta issues and the international symbolic value of the palm tree. He employed the design to represent his hope for the deliverance of Judaea. Like the images depicted on the coins struck during the reign of Herod Antipas, the palm tree on the Bar Cochba coinage has seven branches, a number which enhances the Jewish flavor of the symbol.⁴⁹

Palm Branch Encircled by a Wreath

Type no. 6 depicts the palm branch (or lulav) encircled by a wreath. These two symbols may be interpreted individually, or they may be viewed as a complex having a new, distinct value. The inscription encircling the wreath, "Shimon prince of Israel," suggests the wreath is related to the royal title. The palm may also represent the royalty of Bar Cochba. This symbol of the festival of Tabernacles was also employed to represent the concept of victory. For example, *Midrash Leviticus* 30, 2 develops this connotation:

It is like the case of two people who have come to a judge, and regarding whom we do not know which has been victorious. But if one of them takes a palm-branch in his hand we know that he is the victor. So it is with Israel and the nations of the world.

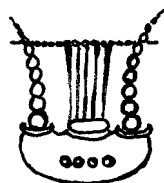
If the palm does symbolize victory, then this symbol, as well as the wreath, represents the hopes and goals of the Jewish leaders.

Coin no. 6 depicts on its obverse a stringed musical instrument. While this form of the design is unique to the medium bronze coinage of "year one", other instruments appear on the later issues. Because all the designs have the identical symbolic value, all are presented in this section. We shall first attempt to define the instruments and then suggest some possible interpretations.

Harp and Lyres

Despite the many forms of stringed musical instruments depicted on the silver and bronze coins struck under Bar Cochba, the designs may be

classified into two general types (see figs. 1 and 2). The two instruments most probably represent the נבל וקנור (NBL and KNWR) mentioned in the Jewish literary sources and used during Temple services. Both instruments are mentioned, for example, in Ps 150:3: "Praise him with lyre (קנור) and harp (נבל). The English names of these instruments are obtained through the Greek and Latin translations of the Hebrew text and have several different versions. However, these translations are somewhat misleading. When the Septuagint was composed, the Greek names of similar, but not identical instruments were used to translate the Hebrew terms. Because the pairing of these two instruments appears not only in the Bible, but also in the Mishnaic texts contemporary with the time of Bar Cochba, we shall employ the Hebrew names NBL (Neḅel) and KNR or KNWR (Kinor) to prevent confusion.



1 Neḅel (Harp)



2 Kinor (Lyre)

Neḅel and Kinor are not two terms for the same instrument. Their distinctions can be found in the Jewish literary sources. For example, in *Mishna Arachin* 2,3, it is stated "[They played] on not less than two נבלין (NBLYN) or more than six." In chapter 2, 5, the text adds "[They did] not play on fewer than nine קנורות (KNWRWT) and they could add [to their number] without end." From these two texts we learn that the Kinor was the smaller instrument; more were needed to compensate for the stronger sound of the Neḅel. In the Talmud, *Arachin* 13d, we are also told that the proportion between the two instruments was nine Kinors for every two Neḅels.⁵⁰

The meaning of the term "NBL" in Hebrew is "goat skin," usually used as a container. Therefore, the instrument was probably constructed from goat skin or some other similar material. Fig. 1 conforms to this description: its body appears to be shaped like a goat skin container, and its arms are

fashioned like deer horns. This instrument, the Neḅel, which is often translated as "harp", appears in several forms on the coinage. Occasionally the body is wider, the arms are straight, and in most cases, the skin from which the body is constructed is distinguished by the "rim" created at the juncture where the arms are attached. The number of strings also varies. Coin no. 6 presents seven strings, no. 6a has six, nos. 6b, 6c, 6d, 46 and 50 have five, nos. 6e, 6f, 6g, 46a, and 50a have four, and nos. 19 and 21-23 have three strings. Sometimes on type no. 46, three strings are depicted by strong lines, and two others, suggested by vague lines, appear in between; the lighter lines apparently represent a parallel row of strings located behind the main three strings. The remainder of the issues appear to possess only one row of strings.

We cannot determine three other pieces of information concerning this instrument. We do not know the actual size of the Neḅel, if there were different sizes of this same instrument, and what was the usual number of strings attached to the body. Josephus, in *Ant* 7, 305-306, describes the instruments as follows: "Now, the forms of these instruments were somewhat as follows: the Kinyra (קנור) had ten strings stretched on it which were struck with a plectrum; the nabra (נבל) which had twelve notes, was plucked with the fingers." If the observations are correct, then the number of strings depicted on the coins has no connection with the number attached to the instrument. However, we do have other references which indicate that there were several types of these two particular instruments. The principal difference among the various types was the number of strings; secondary considerations include the size of the body, and the materials out of which they were constructed. For example, Psalm 33:2 mentions a Neḅel of ten strings, which is referred to elsewhere as an 'Asor (עשור), or "the one with ten [strings]."⁵¹

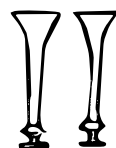
The body of the Kinor was probably composed of some type of wood. It has fewer strings than the Neḅel, and its arms are thinner. The Talmud (*Arachin* 13b) states that the Kinor used in the Temple had seven strings, but other forms of the instrument may have had six or even five. The depictions on the coins conform to the ratio of the number of strings suggested in the Talmud between the Kinor and the Neḅel. On coins no. 55-58, the Kinor is presented with three strings, and on nos. 24a and 25a, four strings are depicted. The Neḅel in comparison, is presented with from three to seven strings.

The difference in the volume and tonal quality produced by the two instruments is illustrated in the Mishnaic tale:⁵²

R. Joshua says, This is it which they have said [of a horned beast], while it lives it has [only] one voice, but when it is dead its voice becomes seven. What is meant [by the saying that] 'its voice is multiplied sevenfold'? — Its two horns are [fashioned into] two trumpets, its two leg-bones are [made into] two flutes, its hide is [made into] a drum, its [large] intestines are [made into strings] for harps (נבלין NBLYN) its small intestines are [used] for citherns (קנורות KNWRWT).

The Two Trumpets

The two elongated objects represented in the figure are two musical instruments that can easily be identified, because they appear on the Arch of Titus among the depictions of the spoils from the Temple. These objects, the two trumpets, appear in a slightly modified manner on the coins. While the Arch is large enough to present certain figures in correct proportions, the coins are too small to allow the true elongated form of the trumpets to be depicted. Because they are comparatively short (on the coins), the instruments were mistaken for two candlesticks by some scholars.



Although the trumpets were not the only wind instruments used in the Temple rituals, they are the only ones to appear on the Bar Cochba coinage. The reason for this choice of the trumpets, called in Hebrew *חצוצרות* (ḤṢWṢRWT), is suggested by the literary sources. Their first appearance was ordered by the Lord himself: "And the Lord spoke unto Moses saying, 'Make thee two trumpets of silver, of beaten work shalt thou make them, and they shall be unto thee for the calling of the congregation.'⁵³

During the Second Temple period, the trumpets were blown on various occasions: For the daily offering, "They gave him the wine of the libation and the chief stood (beside him) at each (corner) with a trumpet in his hand, and two priests stood by the (marble) table of the fat pieces with two silver trumpets in their hands. They sounded a plain blast and (sounded) a tremulant blast and (sounded) a plain blast."⁵⁴

The two trumpets were also employed during the prestigious procession and ceremony of the water libation at the feast of Tabernacles. "And two priests stood at the Upper Gate which led down from the Israelites court to the court of the women with two trumpets in their hands. At cock crow they sounded a prolonged blast (and) a quavering note, and a prolonged blast. When they arrived at the tenth step they sounded a prolonged blast (and) a quavering note and a prolonged blast."⁵⁵ Because the trumpets were always used in pairs, they are portrayed only in this manner on the coins.⁵⁶

In addition to their cultic functions, the trumpets may have had another connotation that Bar Cochba wished to emphasize. These instruments were commonly used in battle. In his study of the trumpets and their place in the eschatological battle described in the Qumran text *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, Yadin suggests that there is a principal distinction between the use of trumpets by the Israelites and their employment by other nations.⁵⁷ Non-Jewish nations used the trumpet for ceremonies, for encouraging their warriors in battle, and even for terrifying

their enemies with the frightening sound. However, in Israel, the blasts of the trumpets (as well as of the shofar) were used to recall the presence of God in battle.

The best illustration of this special function of the instruments is found in the *Midrash* to Leviticus (29,3).

R. Josiah said: It is written 'Happy is the people that know the sound of the blast.' But do not the nations of the world know how to sound the blast? What a host of horns they have! What a host of bucinae they have! What a host of trumpets they have! Yet you say, "Happy is the people that know the sound of the blast"! It can only mean that they know how to win over their Creator with the blast, so that He rises from the Throne of Judgment and goes to the Throne of Mercy; He is filled with compassion towards them and changes for them the Attribute of Justice to the Attribute of Mercy. When? In the seventh month.

Musical Instruments

All of the musical instruments depicted on the Bar Cochba coins have similar symbolic values. Their prime function is to represent the goal of the minting authorities: the desire to rebuild the Temple. Not only do these designs suggest the building itself, but also, they evoke the flavor of the services and the dedication of the people to the cult. The instruments may well have been associated with the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem by David (II Sam 6). The *Midrash* on Numbers 4,20 describes this occurrence as follows:

When they had brought it up, ninety thousand elders advanced in front, the priests helped to carry it and the Levites played music, while all Israel made merry, one holding a lulav, another a timbrel or other musical instrument; hence it is written: And David and all the house of Israel played before the Lord with all manner of instruments ... and with sistra, etc. The latter denotes the lulav, which one shakes.⁵⁸

In the Babylonian Talmud, *Shebuoth* 15b, in a discussion concerning the rebuilding of the Temple, we find this additional information:

And with song. Our Rabbis taught: The song of thanksgiving was [accompanied by] lutes (NBL), lyres (KNWR), and cymbals at every corner and upon every great stone in Jerusalem; and [the psalm] is intoned: I will extol Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast raised me up etc.; and the song against evil occurrences, and some call it the song against plagues. He who calls it [the song] against plagues [does so] because it is written: Neither shall any plague come nigh thy tent; and he who calls it [the song] against evil occurrences [does so] because it is written: a thousand may fall at thy side; [that is to say this psalm] is intoned: O Thou who dwellest in the secret place of the Most High, and abidest in the shadow of the Almighty, till for thou hast made the Lord who is my refuge, even the Most High, thy habitation; and then again [this psalm] is intoned: A Psalm of David, when he fled from Absalom his son. Lord how many are mine adversaries become! till Salvation belongeth unto the Lord: thy blessing be upon Thy people. Selah.

Thus, the depiction of the musical instruments on the coinage of "Year one" symbolizes both the Jewish cultic rituals and the actual hope for the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem. The concerns of the Jewish leaders, Bar Cochba and Eleazar the priest, were both political and religious. Their symbolism well expresses their hopes.

The Coins of "Year 2"

The most outstanding feature of the coinage minted during the second year of the revolt is the change in the inscription following the date. On these new issues, the text reads: **ש ב לחר ישראל** (ŠBLHRYŠR'L or, fully, Š(NH)B LHR[WT] YŠR'L), "Year 2 of the freedom of Israel." On the coins minted during the first year of the war, the inscription mentioned the "redemption" of Israel.

Before the results of the most recent excavations of Jerusalem were made available, scholars assumed that the change in the inscription was related to the conquering of the city by Bar Cochba. We also had subscribed to this hypothesis and had accepted the view of G. Alon⁵⁹ that

The city was taken and held by Bar Cochba's men for two years. While Jerusalem was in their hands, their slogan was directed at the whole Land of Israel. In the third year of the war, however, when they were forced to withdraw from Jerusalem, their slogan became "for the freedom of Jerusalem," in which they expressed their hopes of returning and reconquering the city.⁶⁰

This interpretation can no longer be supported. As we have noted, the recent excavations suggest that Bar Cochba did not capture Jerusalem. Therefore the change in the text must be explained in another way.

In our discussion of the coinage minted during the Jewish War against Rome, we note that the original inscription, "Freedom of Zion" was changed during the last stage of the war to "For the redemption of Zion." We believe that the expression **גאולה** (redemption) was employed to suggest deliverance by heavenly means. The order of the inscriptions depicted on the Bar Cochba coinage is the reverse of the order found on the coinage of the Jewish War. On the issues minted during the first year, the inscription reads "For the redemption of Israel," and on the coinage of "year 2" the legend was changed to "For the freedom (חרות) of Israel." The change apparently refers to the political situation of the beginning of the war.

When the revolt began in 132 C.E., few people believed that Bar Cochba had any chance for success. Because Bar Cochba wished to stress his association with the messianic concerns of the people, he used the term "redemption" on his coins. The leader next achieved several major military successes, and may have come to believe that he could win the war by means of his own sword. Because the second year of the war was a period in which

the expectation of regaining the country had some possibility of realization, Bar Cochba changed the inscription on his coinage from "redemption" to "freedom."

The political freedom of the country is suggested partially by the letters found in the Judaean desert. In several of the documents we read about the commercial transactions of the Bar Cochba administration, transactions which suggest an organized Jewish administration which had political control over various territories.⁶¹ Although some of these documents, dated "year two of the redemption of Israel,"⁶² might suggest that the political hopes of Bar Cochba were still focused on divine aid rather than his own sword, we see no reason to retract our suggestion concerning the change in the inscription found on the coins. The coins themselves had a value for political as well as religious propaganda; the contracts expressed only private concerns.

The designs depicted on the coins of the second year of the revolt are similar to those found on the earlier issues. The tetradrachms depict the same images, but present the Temple as standing on two parallel lines combined with a row of vertical lines. This base is sometimes described as a portico. Above the Temple appears an enigmatic sign, which has been described as a star or as a rosette. The three main variations of this design are presented in figs. A, B, and C.



A



B



C

The inscriptions on these issues have comparatively more paleographic variations as well. The silver denarii are numerous and are of twelve different types (and three hybrid issues in addition).

As well as those designs depicted on coins minted during the first year of the revolt, issues minted in "year 2" contain the following symbols: the lyre (כנור KINOR) found on coins no. 24-25; and the trumpets, found on coins 26-27. The interpretations of these symbols are discussed above.

The inscriptions which appear on the coins minted in "year 2" (not those which appear on the hybrid issues) are as follows:

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | Š B L H R Y Š R ' L | ש ב לחר ישראל | Year 2 of the freedom of Israel. |
| 2. | Y R W Š L M | ירושלם | Jerusalem. |
| 3. | Š M ' W N | שמעון | Shimon |
| 4. | Š M ' | שמע | Shimo [n]. |

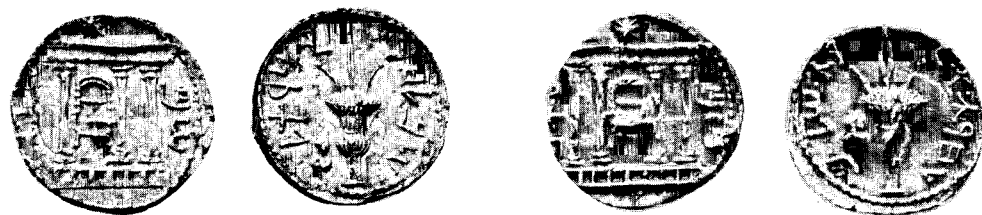
The title **נשיא ישראל** Shimon, prince of Israel, does not appear on any issue minted either in this year, or on coinage struck during the final years of the war. The reason for this omission is not yet known. Compounding this problem is the evidence by the documents found in the Judaean desert. On the artifacts, Bar Cochba's title "prince of Israel" appears for all

the years of the war. Perhaps the simple inscription "Shimon" represents the leader's attempt to reveal either his modesty, or his solidarity and equal status with the people of Israel. However, modesty does not appear to have been one of the virtues of this general.

The Undated Coins

Since the publication of Mildenberg's paper on the die sequences of the Bar Cochba tetradrachms,⁶³ scholars have agreed that the undated silver and bronze coinage containing the inscription לחרות ירושלם (LHRWT YRWŠLM) "for the freedom of Jerusalem" were minted during the third or fourth years of the war. The undated coins are the most numerous of all the Bar Cochba issues, primarily because their span of production lasted for at least eighteen months.

Mildenberg was able to determine the die sequence of the Bar Cochba issues by observing the die cracks that appear on the coins. In antiquity, dies were expensive and time consuming to produce. Therefore, any die which was slightly defaced or cracked because of the force of the hammers employed in the minting process remained in use until completely split. Between the time of the initial crack and the final destruction of the die, several dozen or even hundreds of coins could be struck, each successive piece revealing a progressively larger crack. Such coins can actually be placed in the order in which they were struck by examining the size of the flaw. For example, the coin published by Mildenberg in his paper concerning the die sequence was a tetradrachm bearing the date "year 2." This date encircled the lulav on the reverse side. On the obverse, a crack was apparent. Mildenberg was able to trace the use of the die on coins with slightly larger flaws. The later issues did not bear a date, but did contain the inscription "for the freedom of Jerusalem." Because of the evidence provided by the crack, Mildenberg was able to conclude that the later issues were struck by Bar Cochba sometime after the second year of the war.



1

Tetradrachm of year 2

2

Undated tetradrachm

Note the larger crack on the obv. of coin 2

On the obverse of the tetradrachm dated "year 2" (fig. no. 1), the crack which appears in the middle of the second column from the right and which extends toward the center of the coin is visible. On coin no. 2, which has an undated reverse, the crack on the obverse is much longer and deeper. The differences between the obverse sides of nos. 1 and 2 are caused by the traces of the earlier issues over which these tetradrachms were struck.

The patterns and types of the undated coins are similar to those of their predecessors. The tetradrachms present the same designs, although certain variations were introduced, such as the "wavy line" over the Temple (see no. 53). The standard types of large bronzes (nos. 3, 4, 38, 39) were not produced in the third and fourth year of the war, although a few large bronze coins were struck with the designs used for the middle bronzes (see no. 71, 72). Among the denarii and the bronze coins, the design of the Nebel was omitted after the second year of the war; the other designs continued to be produced. Although no new type of coinage was introduced in the third or fourth year, another combination, the two trumpets and the cluster of grapes, have been struck (see no. 60).

The inscriptions on the undated coins (not including the hybrid issues) are:

1. לחרות ירושלם LHRWT YRWŠLM For the freedom of Jerusalem.
2. שמעון ŠM'WN (or ŠM' only) Shimon.
3. ירושלם YRWŠLM Jerusalem.

From the changes in the inscriptions, we can observe that each year was accorded its own message. Coins minted in "year one" have a slogan which emphasizes heavenly redemption. Issues struck in the second year stress the possibility of military victory. While the undated coins, struck in 134/135 C.E. continue the emphasis on freedom and retain the implicit hope of victory through Bar Cochba's own powers, they no longer stress the goal of freedom for Israel. These last issues are not inscribed with the name of the country (or the nation), but mention only Jerusalem, occasionally recorded twice on the same coin (see no. 80).

We may speculate on the motivation behind the modification of the inscription. Perhaps Bar Cochba came to believe that he would be unable to end Roman control over all of Israel and so decided to concentrate his attention on Jerusalem. Or, perhaps the modification was made for stylistic reasons only. Jerusalem could be used as a symbol for all of Israel, and of course, the rebuilding of the Temple and the resettlement of the Jews in that city was the initial goal of the revolt.

A more intriguing question is the cause of the omission of the date on the final issues. Because the war lasted for three and one-half years, we would expect to find specimens inscribed with the dates "year three" and "year four". Thus the coinage would correspond to the documents from the Judean desert which are dated to "the third year of Shimeon ben Kosiba, prince of Israel."⁶⁴ Yet we must remember that official documents, such as

contracts, have no special historical or philosophical function. The date recorded on them established a reference point, and is part of the established form of the record. Yet all designs which appear, or, in the case of the date, which fail to appear on coinage have a special function. The coins are carefully designed to convey specific messages from the minting authorities to the population.

We believe that the date was deliberately omitted from the last issues struck by Bar Cochba, and that the omission was caused by a particular superstition. Counting (and other forms of enumeration) was considered a bad omen by many ancient civilizations. For example, the census in Israel was always taken in conjunction with a special ritual, so that the people would not be harmed by the enumeration (see Ex 40:17; Num 1; and Ex 36:12). Speiser has shown the techniques used not only in Israel, but also by ancient Mari, for warding off the effects of the census.⁶⁵

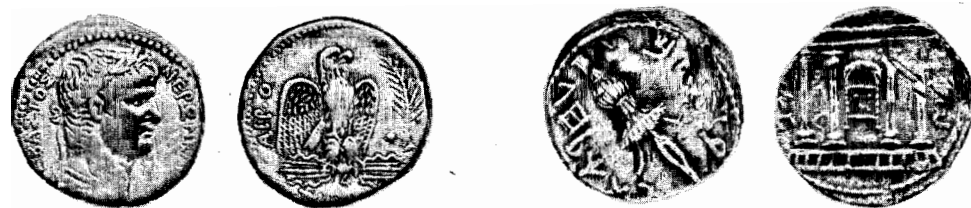
In Israel, the population maintained the belief that their fate was decided on the first day of each year.⁶⁶ Therefore, the cessation of recording the year on the coinage may be connected with the belief that the fate of the army would be decided in a negative manner.

The Denominations

A. Silver

1. The tetradrachms

The large silver coins minted by Bar Cochba are all overstruck on Roman provincial tetradrachms which were minted primarily in Antioch or, to a lesser extent, in Tyre. These provincial issues are called סלעים ŚL'YM (plural of סלע ŚL') in the rabbinic sources. The majority of the Roman coins which were overstruck were minted under Nero, Vespasian, and Titus. The issues struck under Nero, called in the rabbinic literature סלע נירונית (ŚL' NYRWNYT, "Neronian sela")⁶⁷ were most commonly overstruck (see figures). The identification of the Sela' with the tetradrachm of Bar Cochba is proven not only by the Mishnaic statements but also by the documents found in the



Judaean desert. In one of the letters, a payment is recorded as "twelve silver zuzim which are three sela'im;" and, in another document, we read of "one-hundred and sixty silver dinars which are forty sela'im."⁶⁸

2. The denarii

These small silver denominations struck by Bar Cochba are equivalent to one quarter of a tetradrachm (or a sela'). They are overstruck on Roman silver denarii, minted originally either in Rome or in one of the provinces. As shown in the documents from the desert noted above, these issues were called either דינרים (DYNRYM [denarii]; in singular דינר (DYNR [one denarius]), or זוזים (ZWZYM [Zuzim]; in singular זוז ZWZ [one zuz]).

It is possible that the Bar Cochba denarii are overstruck on coins which themselves had been overstruck. In other words, the Bar Cochba dies formed the third minting on the original flans. Those Bar Cochba specimens struck over the Roman provincial denarii of the Provincia Arabia type are likely candidates for this phenomenon. After 106 C.E., Nabataea was annexed by Rome and renamed Provincia Arabia. To commemorate this event, the Romans minted a large series of silver and bronze coins depicting the personification of Arabia standing beside a camel. Many of these coins, especially the silver denarii with the Greek inscriptions, were struck in the East, probably in the mint of Bostra.⁶⁹ And several of these specimens were overstruck on Nabataean silver denarii. Such coins have recently been published,⁷⁰ and have been traced in many collections. Since some of the Bar Cochba denarii are clearly overstruck on the denarii of the "Provincia Arabia" type, it is likely that several specimens were originally Nabataean issues.

In our study of Nabataean coinage⁷¹ we observed that many of these issues were overstruck in either debased silver or on plated coins which were composed originally of bronze. D. Hendin has published a paper in which he demonstrates that silver plated denarii may also be found among the Bar Cochba coins.⁷² These specimens may have been overstruck on the Nabataean coinage which had been restruck by the Romans or they may represent a single overstriking on the Nabataean issues themselves, which were still in circulation at the time of the revolt.⁷³



Bar Cochba denarius overstruck on a "Provincia Arabia" type. Note the head of Trajan and the Greek inscr. on the obv. and the camel and the Greek inscr. on the rev.

B. Bronze

It is often difficult to determine the denominations of bronze coins minted in the ancient world especially if the issues were struck in the provinces. From our observations of the coinage minted during the war, we suggest that the Bar Cochba pieces were struck in three denominations.

Denominations of bronze coins are determined by a combination of three factors: weight, diameter, and design. Consideration of only one of these aspects can lead to erroneous conclusions. For example, the so-called "Roman provincial city coins" were struck with a minimum of accuracy in regard to both weight and diameter. Coins struck with *identical* dies, and which should represent the same denomination, can differ by 100 percent in their weights. Thick specimens can represent the same denomination as thin pieces; narrow specimens as well as wide pieces can be of the same issue. Although each denomination is usually characterized by a particular design⁷⁴ occasionally different denominations which present the identical design were struck.⁷⁵

Before presenting our discussion of the denominations of the bronze coinage struck during the war, we would like to once again note that Bar Cochba *did not* prepare his own flans. His coins were overstruck on circulated Roman provincial issues minted originally at Ascalon, Gaza, Caesarea and Dora on the Mediterranean coast, at Alexandria in the south, Syria and Phoenicia in the north, and Provincia Arabia and the Decapolis in the east. Other originals were struck at Samaria and Galilee. Different denominational systems were employed by these diverse areas. Therefore, the minting authorities who struck the coins for Bar Cochba had to adjust their new issues to original pieces which varied greatly in terms of weight and diameter.

1. Large bronzes (see nos. 3, 4, 38, 39)

For the production of the large bronzes, the Jewish minting authorities overstruck a select group of coins based on a minimum weight. No maximum weight appears to have been used. The minimum weight of this denomination appears to have been approximately fourteen grams, whereas several specimens weighed not only 30 but even 40 to 45 grams. Some of the pieces are quite large in diameter, measuring up to 36 mm (see no. 38), while others measure only 23 mm (see no. 3a). Although the coins reveal this extreme difference in diameter and weight, they all apparently represent the same denomination. This can be determined by the design. All the specimens depict an amphora on one side; and an inscription encircled by a wreath on the other.

2. Middle bronzes

Although similar discrepancies of weight and diameter appear in this denomination as well, the differences are not as extreme. The middle denomination ranges in weight from 6 grams to 14, but most of the specimens weigh approximately 9 grams (see nos. 5-6, 40-45, 73-76). These issues present two distinct designs: the palm tree and the vine leaf appear on

the most common type, and the nebel (harp) and palm tree are depicted on the rarer pieces (see no. 6).

3. Small bronzes

The small bronze coins represent the lowest denomination of the Bar Cochba issues (see nos. 7-11, 47-49, 79-82). The range in weight of this denomination extends from 2.5 grams to 7 grams. The majority of the pieces were overstruck on coins minted in Ascalon; these original specimens were the principal currency of this denomination employed in local markets.

4. Intermediate denominations?

Issue no. 77 appears to represent an intermediate denomination which falls between the middle and the small bronzes. This series ranges in weight between 5 and 8 grams. One earlier group of a similar type, nos. 46, 50, may also be assigned to this intermediate group. The design of this series follows the prototype depicted on coins struck during "year one" and which are of the middle denomination (type no. 6). Yet the weight of these two series is on the average less than that of the standard middle denomination.

5. Irregularities

During the third and fourth years of the war, no large bronze coins were struck by Bar Cochba. However, in very rare cases, the large Roman provincial coins from which the earlier large bronzes were produced were collected together with the smaller pieces and struck, by mistake, with dies of the middle bronze denomination. Thus we have found coins depicting the palm tree, struck on a large flan (see, for example, no. 72, which weighs 21.70 grams).

Another exceptional case is represented by no. 15, a middle bronze coin struck with the dies of a silver tetradrachm. This specimen may represent a simple mistake, or even a practical joke carried out by the minters.⁷⁶

C. The Relation Between the Silver and Bronze Denominations

The question of the relationship between the silver and bronze issues is complicated when provincial coinage is involved. Again, the question of weight and diameter as well as of design must be considered.

One clue toward solving this question is provided by the Mishna. In *Kelim* 17,12, a Neronian tetradrachm is compared to an "Italian pundion" which appears to have had an equivalent diameter.⁷⁷ Since the Neronian sela' is a common coin, we can easily compare its features with those of the contemporary bronze issues which had a similar diameter (approximately 25 mm). There can be no doubt that the "Italian pundion" is the same as our so-called middle bronzes. Indeed, this particular denomination is the most common of the Bar Cochba minting efforts.

The name "Italian pundion" apparently derives from the Roman dupondius. However, while the Roman dupondius weighed on the average between

12 and 13 grams, very few coins of the middle bronze denomination have this relatively high weight. The Bar Cochba middle bronzes are actually much closer in weight to the Roman as. Only during the reign of Hadrian did the average weight of the dupondius decrease, to approximately 10 grams.

Because the Bar Cochba coins were overstruck on various pieces produced in provincial mints, they do not correspond directly to the various Roman denominations. Therefore, the expression "Italian pundion" should be related to the Bar Cochba coinage, and not to the original Roman denomination. The pundion was equated with the Bar Cochba middle bronze, the value of which can be determined by a late Talmudic reference. The third century passage in *TB Kiddushin* 12a, while revealing some unclarity on the subject, suggests that two pundions were worth one *ma'ah*, and one pundion worth two *issars*. According to the same passage, the *ma'ah* is equivalent to one-sixth of a denarius. Therefore, the large bronze coin of Bar Cochba may be the *ma'ah* mentioned in this passage. The middle bronzes would then be half-*ma'ah* or one-twelfth of a denarius and the small bronzes quarter-*ma'ah* or one-twenty-fourth of a denarius. If an intermediate denomination, located between the middle and small bronzes, were struck, it would have the value of one-eighteenth of a denarius. Thus one tetradrachm would be equal to four denarii, twenty-four large bronzes, forty-eight middle bronzes, and ninety-six small bronzes. Because the local provincial *ma'ahs* were lighter than the sestertii, there were six *ma'ahs* in the denarius instead of four, twelve dupondii instead of eight, and twenty-four asses instead of sixteen.

Although the denominations of individual coins can be determined with some amount of surety, the local merchants appear to have had no strict rules concerning accepting the face value of the pieces. The coins were continually subject to re-evaluation. We believe that the heavier coins were more appreciated than the lighter issues and that both the silver and bronze pieces were often evaluated on an individual basis.

The Minting of the Coins

As noted above, Bar Cochba did not require a fully functional mint to produce his coinage. He simply needed the tools for cutting the dies, and hammers, tongs, and anvils for striking the pieces. The silver coins, collected from those pieces already in circulation, were first hammered on both obverse and reverse sides in order to deface the original, pagan designs as well as to enable a clearer relief of the new image to appear. Occasionally, specimens of such prepared coins which were not overstruck are found (see no. 85, a defaced denarius of Trajan).

The bronze coins were prepared in a different manner. Rather than being defaced by hammering, the bronze pieces were filed. This procedure could not be employed for the silver coinage since too much of the precious metal would have been lost. This consideration is suggested in the rabbinic literature: (*TB Baba Kama*, 98a):

Rabbah further said: One who disfigures a coin belonging to another is exempt, the reason being that he did not do anything [to reduce the substance of the coin]. This of course applies only where he knocked on it with a hammer and so made it flat, but where he rubbed the stamp off with a file he certainly diminished its substance [and would thus be liable].

On many of the bronze pieces, clear signs of filing are still visible (see no. 81d). In some cases, the original bronze coins collected from the local markets were struck with countermarks. These marks are quite deep and are, consequently, difficult to remove by filing. The countermarks of the original issues can be seen clearly on several of the Bar Cochba coins. On some specimens, the mark is so clear that inexperienced observers consider it to be a countermark struck *over* the Bar Cochba design (see nos. 6g, 76, 78).

Most of the coins which were overstruck were either silver Roman denarii and tetradrachms struck in various mints or bronze Roman provincial issues struck in local mints such as Ascalon and Gaza. Yet in rare cases, actual Jewish issues were also defaced and restruck. For example, coin no. 77c was overstruck on an issue minted by Mattathias Antigonus (no. V). Another interesting rarity is no. 81c, which was overstruck on a Ptolemaic issue (apparently of Ptolemy Philadelphus II, and dated to the third century B.C.E.). Coin 81d is overstruck on a Seleucid prototype.

Because many of the Bar Cochba coins were produced by hammering previous issues, many of them have cracks (see nos. 15, 38, 57b, and 73).

The Location of the Mint

It is unlikely that Bar Cochba established a specific location in which his coinage was minted. His administrative center was in Ein Gedi and his coinage may have been produced there. Other issues may have been minted in the other Jewish strongholds, such as Bethar, Herodion, and Arbaia. Indeed, the mint master may have followed Bar Cochba during the military campaigns, and so struck coins wherever camp was made. Perhaps some issues were even produced in the caves where the general and his staff hid from the Romans.

The Barbaric Coins

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the Bar Cochba coinage is the relatively large number of crudely produced, or "barbaric" pieces which were struck. While both silver and bronze pieces were poorly produced, the bronze issues appear to have been struck with comparatively less care. The degree of crudeness varies among the particular issues.

The barbaric coins may be a direct result of the special circumstances under which the issues were produced. Because of the unstable position of

the Jewish administration, and the lack of a central mint, the mint masters were often changed. Occasionally, unskilled people prepared the dies, and not only do the coins with the barbaric designs reveal bad style and obvious lack of skill, but also, they indicate work done under the pressures of the time limitations. Several issues were produced hastily in order to supply the population with a vast amount of currency in a relatively short period. Bar Cochba not only had to meet the fiscal needs of the local Jewish communities, but also, he had to pay his soldiers. Dio Cassius notes, for example, that many foreign nationals joined the Jewish forces "for eagerness of gain". Many of these soldiers were simple mercenaries to whom Bar Cochba could not delay payment of salary. These foreign collaborators even had their own camps, which had to be maintained.⁷⁸

All of these factors resulted in the production of barbaric coins, such as the tetradrachms nos. 14, 52a; the denarii nos. 32, 32a, 34, 37, 37a, and others; and the bronzes, including nos. 9, 11, 44, 44a, 44b, 75, and 75a. In an analysis of the epigraphy of the inscriptions of these specimens, the lack of paleographic value must be acknowledged. Many of the letters are so crude that they appear as simple strokes or meaningless incisions.

In addition to the barbaric style of the Bar Cochba issues, several irregularities also appear on the coins which were produced by skilled minters. For example, coin no. 54, a tetradrachm, lacks the design of the ethrog which commonly appears to the left of the lulav. Apparently, the die cutter simply forgot to include this feature. The denarii nos. 67, 67a, and 69, lack the palm-branch to the right of the jug. Again, these issues do not represent new types, but indicate unintentional mistakes.

Other mistakes in the minting procedure include no. 74d, which lacks the standard clusters of dates. No. 47 lacks an obverse design. This omission may be connected with the status of Eleazar the priest, or it may simply indicate another mistake. Coin no. 30 is a denarius struck by a revised die. The inscription which appears on the specimen belongs to the first stage of the die. However, during its later stage, a palm branch was added after the initial design, a similar palm branch, had been cancelled. Traces of the original design are still visible. The new palm branch had been cut at a different angle to the inscription than that of the standard denarii.

One interesting phenomenon which appears among the Bar Cochba issues is the presence of chopped coins. Several specimens, primarily of the bronze denominations, have been deliberately split into halves or even thirds. The sharp impressions caused by the chisel which split the specimens can still be seen (see nos. 83 and 84). This phenomenon can be explained in two ways. Perhaps the coins were split during the war and then used as small change (instead of smaller denominations which were temporarily missing). Alternatively, the coins may have been split after the war, when they were already rendered obsolete. Thus the chopping could be considered a method of invalidating the pieces. However, the process of chopping bronze coins in order to create smaller denominations cannot be proven historically or numismatically.

The most conspicuous of all the phenomena associated with the Bar Cochba issues is the presence of hybrid coinage. A great percentage of the specimens are hybrids, or coins struck with dies of two different years. As noted above, the cutting of dies is a complicated and expensive procedure. Therefore, even cracked dies remained in use until the break was complete. Many of the dies survived for more than one year, and therefore remained in use. In the process of minting, the life span of the lower dies was longer than that of their upper counterparts. This occurred because the upper die received the direct blows of the hammer.⁷⁹ Many of the upper dies which did survive longer than one year were constructed from a piece of iron which had been extremely case hardened.

The surviving dies account for the following well-known hybrid issues:⁸⁰

Silver:	A. Tetradrachms:	no. 12 Obv. year one; Rev. year two. no. 51 Obv. year two; Rev. undated. no. 54 Obv. year two; Rev. undated.
	B. Denarii:	no. 17 Obv. year two; Rev. year one. no. 19 Obv. year two; Rev. year one. no. 20 Obv. year two; Rev. year one. no. 55 Obv. year two; Rev. undated. no. 66c Obv. year two; Rev. undated.
Bronze:		no. 38b Obv. die year one (see no. 4); Rev. die year two. ⁸¹ no. 40 Obv. year two; Rev. year one. no. 46 Obv. year one; Rev. year two. no. 48 Obv. year one; Rev. year two. no. 50 Two reverses: year two and undated. no. 70 Two obverses: undated. no. 79 Obv. year one; Rev. undated. no. 80 Obv. year two; Rev. undated.

Additional hybrid coins were produced when bronze pieces were struck with dies normally used for denarii. See, for example, type no. 2, a denarius, the reverse of which was used to strike the bronze coins nos. 7-8 (or, perhaps the reverse dies used to produce nos. 7-8 were then used to strike the silver denarius, no. 2, and the hybrids, nos. 19 and 20).

Paleography

Following the pattern set by the minting authorities of the Jewish War against Rome, and corresponding to the style of the coins struck by the Hasmonaeans, Bar Cochba inscribed his coins in paleo-Hebrew script. This script, the Da'atz, provided the Jewish leader with additional prestige, since it evoked the glories of the past, the Temple, and political autonomy. However, paleo-Hebrew was not the common script of the time. The letters from the Judaeian desert clearly reveal that Aramaic square script was the standard form of writing.

Occasionally, deformations in the shapes of the letters were caused by the designs and letters which appeared on the coins over which the Bar Cochba issues were struck.⁸³ This factor of overstriking should be considered in any analysis of the paleography of these coins.

A		F F f F f
B	B	G G g
C	C	H H h
D	D	I I i
E	E	J J j
F	F	K K k
G	G	L L l
H	H	M M m
I	I	N N n
J	J	O O o
K	K	P P p
L	L	Q Q q
M	M	R R r
N	N	S S s
O	O	T T t
P	P	U U u
Q	Q	V V v
R	R	W W w
S	S	X X x
T	T	Y Y y
U	U	Z Z z
V	V	
W	W	
X	X	
Y	Y	
Z	Z	

н	N	Г	Г	Г	Г	Г	Г	Г
у	'	О	О	О	О	⊕		
г	R	Г	Г	Г	Г	Г		
ш, ѡ	Ś, Š	ш	ш	ш	ш			
т	T	Х	Х	Х				

The name Shimon (ŠM'WN), encircled by the wreath, which is depicted on the denarii of the second year of the war, and on the undated coins as well, is occasionally misspelled. Disorder in the letters of the second line is common (see nos. 22, 24, and others).

The Phenomenon of the Perforated Denarii

In the ancient world only a negligible proportion of all types of coins were perforated and used as ornaments or as charms. But this is not so with the

denarii of Bar Cochba. Among them the number of perforated coins is out of all proportion to the unperforated ones if we exclude those which, hidden away during the Bar Cochba War, were thus withdrawn from circulation and prevented from being turned into ornaments.

This phenomenon of the perforated coins has a bearing on certain passages in the Mishna and the Talmud. In the Mishna, *Kelim* 12,7 which treats the laws of Levitical cleanness and uncleanness of vessels, we find the following: "A denarius which was invalidated and fashioned for hanging around the neck of a young girl is susceptible to uncleanness." This means that when a denarius, which is normally not susceptible to uncleanness, is converted into a "vessel" by being pierced in order to transform it into an ornament, the laws of Levitical cleanness and uncleanness apply, as they would to any other vessel.



Two perforated denarii

For the present, we are interested in the fact that this Mishna concerns a denarius which was invalidated and then made into an ornament. The Jerusalem Talmud, *Ma'aser Sheni* 1,2, discusses the types of coins into which the second tithe may be turned, reference being made there to doubtful or invalidated coins. The text reads as follows:

With regard to a coin which was invalidated but is accepted by the government, R. Yose in the name of R. Yonatan (said): 'It is like a blank.' R. Hiyya in the name of R. Yonatan (said): 'It is like a coin of the former kings.' Should it be accepted as currency because it bears a recognizable design, (the second tithe) is exchanged for it, but if not, (the second tithe) is not exchanged for it. (*The second tithe is not exchanged for a coin issued by one who rebelled, such as Ben Koziva* (Bar Koseva).

The significant point of this quotation is that the coins of the Bar Cochba revolt serve as a classic example of those which have been invalidated. And indeed, except for the coins of Bar Cochba, we know of none in the period of the Mishna (that is, before 200 C.E.) which was withdrawn from use. We may thus connect the coins of Bar Cochba with the Mishna quoted above, which deals with an invalidated denarius. Hence we may state that this Mishna was composed after the Bar Cochba War, and refers to the denarii of Bar Cochba which had been invalidated and now had no further use except to be hung around "the neck of a young girl." One may well imagine that these beautiful coins had not only an aesthetic but a great sentimental value as reminders of the former national independence and glory of the Land of Israel and its

people, while the symbols on them recalled the Temple service and its ceremonial vessels. For this reason people were undoubtedly loath to melt them down, even though they were no longer used as currency.

This Mishna refers specifically to a denarius, and not simply to a coin. Because the only perforated denarii found in Israel have been the issues struck by Bar Cochba, we may date the literary reference to a time between the end of the war and the final redaction of the text, that is, between 135 and 200 C.E.⁸⁶

After the Bar Cochba War

With the suppression of the Bar Cochba War by the Roman legions in 135 C.E., the national independence of the Jewish people in the Land of Israel came to an end for many generations. With this event, autonomous Jewish coinage also drew to a close. But the Roman victory did not bring extinction of the Jewish people or of its hopes of ultimate rebirth and independence in the land.

In some cities with large Jewish populations, such as Sepphoris, which maintained Jewish councils, Jewish influence can be seen in minting efforts dated from the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. to the beginning of the third century C.E.⁸⁷ Thus, while autonomous Jewish coinage was no longer produced, the Jewish community and tradition continued to influence numismatic production.

SUPPLEMENT III

The Coins Minted Under the Herodians Philip, Agrippa I, Agrippa II

In 31 C.E., a very interesting type of coin was struck by Philip in the mint of Caesarea-Philippi-Paneas (Suppl. III, no. 1, pl. 29). This coin depicts the head of Livia (Julia) and a hand holding three ears of corn. Surrounding the images is the unique inscription ΚΑΡΙΟΦΟΡΟΣ or "fruitbearing". Both the depictions and the inscription are related to the nature of the city in which the coin was minted. Paneas was renowned for its fertile soil and abundant supply of water. These natural gifts are represented by the symbolism which appears on other issues minted in this city as well. Philip, who founded Paneas, struck this issue in the same year in which his coins no. 11 and 12 were minted. These three issues represent three denominations. The large bronze series, no. 11, depicts the portrait of the emperor Tiberius. The second series presents the figure of his mother, Livia. The third issue, no. 12, presents the portrait of Philip himself. These coins should be compared with Agrippa I coins 2-4, representing a series which we believe was minted by Agrippa I in Tiberias in 41 C.E. In our chapter on the coins of this Jewish ruler, we describe one issue, struck during his fifth year, which depicts the head of Caligula on one side, and the portrait of Germanicus astride a quadriga on the other (see Agrippa I no. 2). A small denomination struck by the king in that same year depicts the portrait of the youthful Agrippa II (see no. 4). Therefore, the "Antonia" coin, no. 3, probably represents the middle denomination. On this issue, the name of the Jewish king does not appear. Rather, Antonia and Drusilla are mentioned in the inscription.

Coins 2 and 3 (of Suppl. III) are two different denominations of the same group. These rare coins depict the head of Caligula and his name on the obv., and Nike (or an eagle on the smaller one) on the rev. The retrograde character of the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ indicates that this Greek-inscribed coin was struck by a vassal king in honor of his emperor. The few coins known of these types were all found in the Holy Land, and we can find no better candidate for them than Agrippa I. In the absence of the name of a king, we have chosen to include these coins in the supplement rather than in the chapter on the coins of Agrippa I, as previously done by Hill in the B.M.C.

The mint of Tiberias also saw the production of an interesting series of coins which were apparently intended as a continuation of the issues struck by Herod Antipas between 20 and 34 C.E. (coins 4-7). The designs which appear on this imitative issue are the palm branch on one side and the inscription "Tiberias" encircled by a wreath on the other. Coin no. 4 reads...ΝΙΚCEB; across field, date ET IH (year 18). This coin, published by Hill in 1913,¹

should be dated 37/8 C.E. The date must fall within the years of Caligula's reign, as his title "Germanicus" is indicated. "Year 18" cannot be other than the 18th year of the era of Tiberias (19/20 C.E.), thus dating the coin to the first year of Gaius Caligula. The mint of Tiberias, still under Herod Antipas, minted this "municipal" coin in honor of the newly appointed emperor just one year before the series of Antipas, nos. 17-19, bearing the full name and titles of Gaius Caligula. Later municipal coins of Tiberias, suppl. 5-7, were struck in 53 C.E. We cannot determine from the evidence provided by Josephus whether Agrippa II may have had some connection with this minting effort. The Jewish historian does suggest that the king had authority over Tiberias from as early as 50 C.E.

Two additional types of coins which also do not depict the name of Agrippa II have also been attributed to this ruler.² Both issues were struck in the mint of Sepphoris in the fourteenth year of Nero. They bear the interesting inscription: ΕΠΙ ΟΥΕCΙΙΑCΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΙΡΗΝΟΠΟΛΙ ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑC CΕΙΦΩΡ ("During Vespasian, in Irenopolis-Neronias-Sepphoris"). In an essay published in 1979, we described these coins as follows:³

The date, year 14, relates to Nero's reign and corresponds to A.D. 68. The coins struck in Sepphoris, also called the City of Peace, are in the name of Nero. Seyrig suggests that the title "City of Peace" (Irenopolis) is connected with the closing of the Gate of Janus which took place in Rome in A.D. 64, as an act of "pax romana", the Roman peace. However, I prefer Narkis's suggestion connecting this title with the political events in Sepphoris in 68. We saw before that the people of Sepphoris, unlike those of most of the other Jewish cities in the Holy Land, welcomed Vespasian and his army in peace. Moreover, Josephus emphasizes that out of all the cities in Galilee, the people of Sepphoris were the only ones who preferred to make a peace-treaty with the Romans and not join their brothers in revolt. Josephus uses the expression Εἰρηνικά Φρονούντες "people who 'think peace'." The same word, "peace" appears as an additional title for the name of the city of Sepphoris.

During the Jewish War against Rome (A.D. 66-70) the people were divided into two main camps: one preferred all-out war against the Romans and was headed by the various Zealots; the other, led by Agrippa II, saw the political situation more realistically and tried to convince the Jewish people to give up the revolt and the fight against the Romans. A few more elements later joined this second camp from among the pupils of the sages, headed by Rabbi Yochanan ben Zakai, who thought it better to lose political independence but have the right to study Torah freely. Josephus, who in the beginning was himself one of the leaders of the Zealots, later changed his mind and threw in his lot with the Romans. Within this perspective, Josephus presented the people of Sepphoris of A.D. 68 as realists who foresaw what would happen and preferred to live in peace rather than fight a losing battle. We must not forget that Sepphoris was a principal city for Agrippa II; undoubtedly, many of his people lived there and had a strong influence on this exceptional decision taken by Sepphoris during the war. This action of the people of Sepphoris resulted in the fact that it was one of the few cities not destroyed in the Jewish War; the result, therefore, was a large

immigration of Jews escaping from less fortunate cities and villages. These new elements were composed both of religious people from the schools of the sages who sought cities where they could study peacefully, and of former extremists.⁴

The other interesting phenomenon on these coins is the appearance of the name of Vespasian one year before he was appointed emperor, — in 68 Vespasian was the commander of the army of the land of Israel and maybe even of a higher rank.⁵ In a parallel case, his name is mentioned on the coins of Caesarea, struck in the same year.⁶

Seyrig⁷ believes that the name of the commander of the Roman army never appears on Roman provincial coins, but on municipal coins alone. This seems then to have been done on the private initiative of Sepphoris' local municipality and not under an order from a higher official. This initiative of Sepphoris and Caesarea in 68 to honor Vespasian by mentioning him on their coins in association with the name of the Roman emperor Nero gives more foundation to Josephus' writings concerning the prediction that Vespasian would be made a Roman Caesar:⁸

"On hearing this, Josephus expressed a desire for a private interview with him. Vespasian having ordered all to withdraw except his son Titus and two of his friends, the prisoner (Josephus) thus addressed him: "You imagine, Vespasian, that in the person of Josephus you have taken a mere captive; but I come to you as a messenger of greater destinies. Had I not been sent on this errand by God, I knew the law of the Jews and how it becomes a general to die. To Nero do you send me? Why then? Think you that (Nero and) those who before your accession succeed him will continue? You will be Caesar, Vespasian, you will be emperor, you and your son here."

This prediction, made during Nero's lifetime, is also mentioned by Tacitus⁹ and Suetonius.¹⁰ It is possible that, in the East, mainly in the land of Israel, the prestige of Vespasian was already very high in the years 67–68, much more so than his military rank implies. He was very greatly appreciated, his personality and skill probably contrasting strongly with the negative personality of Nero. Mentioning Vespasian on the coins of Sepphoris in 68 establishes the claim that the people of the Holy Land predicted his appointment as caesar.

Neronias

The additional name, Neronias, for Sepphoris was given in honor of the Emperor Nero, it being the custom in those days to add the names of different Emperors to various cities, apparently to gain prestige for both the city and the caesar. The city of Caesarea-Paneas, also called Neronias by Agrippa II, was dedicated to Nero Caesar apparently in A.D. 61.¹¹ In most cases, when the name of an emperor was given to a city, it was preserved after his death, sometimes for a considerable time,¹² but in the case of Sepphoris (as well as Caesarea-Paneas), the name Neronias disappeared immediately after Nero's death, undoubtedly due to the "damnatio memoriae" of the emperor by the Senate and the Roman people. Here again, we see the connection between Rome and Sepphoris — what Rome ordered was fulfilled by the provincial ally.

The Symbols

The symbols and designs depicted on these coins are remarkable; there can be no doubt that the coins were struck by Jewish authorities. They do not bear the image of the Roman emperor or any other pagan element that might raise antagonism among the Jewish population of the city. The double cornucopias with the caduceus between the horns was well-known in Jewish numismatics — it was depicted on the coins of Herod the Great and his son, Herod Archelaus,¹³ on the coins of the Roman procurators of Judaea,¹⁴ and on the coins of Agrippa II struck in Paneas.¹⁵ The double cornucopias without the caduceus was even more popular.¹⁶ The two Latin letters, S C (coin 2) are especially interesting as they are characteristic of the bronze coins of Rome struck by the Roman Senate (Senatus Consulto). These letters on the coins of Sepphoris seem to represent the submission of the people of Sepphoris to Rome during the Jewish War against the Romans.¹⁷

One final coin, represented here in Suppl. III, no. 10, has been related previously to Agrippa II.¹⁸ The most complete report on this specimen is presented by Madden,¹⁹ who writes:

...this interesting little coin has been assigned by Cavedoni to Agrippa II. He says, "The year R K, that is 26, of this Χαλκοῦς coin, if it denotes a year of the reign of Agrippa II., coincides with A.D. 73 [read A.D. 74], at which time nothing but ruins remained of the Temple, but this small piece of money might very well have served for the offerings which the Jews were compelled to bring every Sabbath to the synagogue during the reign of Agrippa." This attribution, though not proved, is not improbable, as the type of the anchor is of common occurrence on the coins of Herod I., and may even be found on a coin of Agrippa II. without the name of Emperor. The word ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ has been supposed by Sestini to indicate rather the name of a magistrate than the name of a coin, since, says this writer, we ought to have ΧΑΛΚΟΝ and not ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ in the nominative case, but Eckhel has rightly argued that χαλκοῦς is the proper nominative, and quotes the authority of Pausanias, who, speaking of the people of Pharæ (on the left bank of the *Kamenitza*, near *Prevezô*), says that they have a country coinage and call it *chalcus* (νόμισμα ἐπιχώριον, καλεῖται δὲ χαλκοῦς τὸ νόμισμα). There cannot be the slightest doubt that the word χαλκοῦς on this coin indicates the name of the piece.

There is no more we can add to this information, nor can we be sure of the correct identification. This coin is still intriguing.

SUPPLEMENT IV

The Herodian Kings of Chalcis

A. Herod of Chalcis 41–48 C.E.

Herod, the brother of Agrippa I, was appointed king of Chalcis by Claudius in 41 C.E.¹ Following this appointment, additional responsibilities, related to the Temple in Jerusalem, were bestowed upon him. Josephus states that “Herod, brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was at this time charged with the administration of Chalcis, also asked Claudius Caesar to give him authority over the Temple and the holy vessels and the selection of the high priest — all of which he obtained.”² This Jewish king manifested his position by removing and appointing several high priests in Jerusalem, until his death, which Josephus dates to the eighth year of Claudius, or 48 C.E.³

The elevation of the brother of Agrippa I by Claudius is indicative of the trust bestowed on the Herodian family by the Roman administration. The case of Herod is perhaps the most extreme manifestation of the empire’s regard for the loyalty of this family; Herod was appointed king over a country which not only was never considered a part of Jewish territory, but also was not inhabited by Jews. Perhaps because of the Gentile population, Herod of Chalcis was able to depict his own portrait on *all* of his coinage. This practice (but in very limited issues) had also been followed by other members of the Herodian family, such as Philip, and Agrippa I. From the portraits which appear on the coins, we can observe that Agrippa I appears older than his brother.

Despite the role which Herod of Chalcis played in the religious affairs of Jerusalem, his coinage was not circulated in Judaea or in the Galilee. The only finds of his minting efforts have been in parts of modern Lebanon, or the territory of ancient Chalcis.

The inscription depicted on these specimens indicate that the title of this ruler was ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ “King Herod — friend of Claudius”. The relationship between these two rulers is also attested by Josephus, who states that after the death of Herod, “Claudius Caesar assigned [his] kingdom to the younger Agrippa”⁴ that is, Agrippa II.⁵

B. Aristobulus of Chalcis (King of Minor Armenia)

54–92 C.E.

Aristobulus was the son of Herod of Chalcis by his first wife, Mariamme.⁶ But, as noted above, this apparent heir to the territory did not immediately succeed to the throne upon his father’s death. Rather, he had to wait for his crown until the death of Claudius. Josephus briefly mentions these circumstances which occurred in 54 C.E.:⁷

In the first year of Nero’s reign, Azizus, the overlord of Emesa, died, and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Sohaemus. The government of Armenia Minor was placed by Nero in the hands of Aristobulus, son of Herod, king of Chalcis.

The son of Herod is mentioned once again by Josephus, but is there described as “Aristobulus of the region named Chalcidice.” This text is connected with circumstances which occurred between 72 and 74 C.E.⁸ Aside from these two passages, the details concerning this Jewish ruler, including the dates of his reign and the date of his death, remain a source for debate.

Reifenberg, who dates the reign of Aristobulus from 57 C.E. to 92 derives this last year from the numismatic material of Chalcis.⁹ In 92 C.E., the first Roman provincial city coins were minted there. Thus, this year marks the end of the authority of the Jewish leader. Reifenberg’s first date, 57 C.E., is less easily supported. According to Josephus, Aristobulus began his rule in the first year of Nero, 54 C.E. The evidence provided by his coinage conforms to this earlier dating. The issues dated “year eight” (see nos. 4 and 5) and which are inscribed with the name of Nero, would, according to the dates given by Josephus, have been minted in 62 C.E., a year in which Nero was still the emperor. The coins dated “year seventeen” (see no. 6) depict the name of Titus. This year would correspond to 71 C.E. Although Vespasian, not his son, was the emperor in this year, the appearance of the name of Titus on the coinage is not surprising. This Roman leader was reknowned for his victory over the Jewish forces in the war which had just ended.¹⁰

SUPPLEMENT V

The Roman Procurators 6-59 C.E.

The relationship between Herod Archelaus and his subjects, the Jews of Judaea, had so deteriorated that in 6 C.E., the ethnarch was stripped of his title and banished. Augustus replaced the Jewish ruler with a Roman procurator. Thus Judaea became the first Jewish province to be placed directly under the Roman rule. At this time, the brothers of Archelaus, Herod Antipas and Philip, still retained their official positions over the other districts of the country.¹ The change in leadership was representative of standard Roman policy. Judaea and provinces like it which were not considered to be threatened by external attacks were placed under the jurisdiction of the Roman senate, who appointed the procurators and oversaw their administrative activities.

The procurators, whose government was at first confined to the province of Judaea, remained the local authorities until 41/2 C.E., when Agrippa I got Judaea as well. Following his death in 44 C.E., not only Judaea, but also the territories formerly held by Antipas as well as by Agrippa I reverted to direct Roman control. Only certain cities, given by Rome to Agrippa II, were not ruled by a procurator.

The title "procurator" may be considered a misnomer when applied to the earlier Roman administrators. The first governors of Judaea, appointed by Augustus and then Tiberius, received the title of *Praefectus* or *Praefectus Judaeae*. Archaeological evidence has confirmed the use of this alternate designation. For example, an inscription found in Caesarea accords to Pontius Pilate the title *Praefectus*.² The change from *Praefectus* to procurator did not occur until the reign of Claudius.³ However, to facilitate our discussion, we shall employ the title procurator to refer to all of the Roman governors of Judaea.

The Coins of the Procurators

The uniqueness of the coins minted by the procurators in Judaea is best illustrated by a comparison of these issues with the coinage struck in other provincial mints. Although the provinces were governed by officers of various ranks, the coins minted in these areas did not fall under the direct supervision of the Roman senate. Therefore, they often reflect the flavor of the local culture. Perhaps the most natural and appropriate jurisdiction with which to compare the province of Judaea is Antioch, the capital of the Roman province of Syria. The Roman legate was stationed in Antioch along with the highest concentration of the imperial army in the East. The early provincial

coins minted in Antioch depict the head of Zeus. Later, this design was often replaced by the portrait of the Roman emperor on the obverse and a Greek inscription on the reverse which records the name of the city as well as of the legate. The officials mentioned in these legends are Varus (7-4 B.C.E.), Saturninus (4-5 C.E.), Silanus (11-17 C.E.), Flaccus (32-35 C.E.), Quadratus (51-60 C.E.) and Gallus (63-66 C.E.).⁴

These provincial coins, minted under the Roman procurators, do not differ from issues struck by local authorities. Nor do they depict any design which would be considered insulting or disagreeable by the Syrians.⁵ But this type of coinage, with its notable depictions of human portraits, would not have been found acceptable by the Jewish population of Judaea.

The Roman administration was both aware of and often sympathetic to the religious sensibilities of the Jews. The general practice of the procurators was to avoid antagonizing the population of Judaea and so to maintain peaceful conditions. The Roman administration did not want a recurrence of the local discontent which was aroused during the rule of the Jewish ethnarch, Herod Archelaus. Because the procurators did not wish to create any source of tension, they designed their coinage with great care. Indeed, it is likely the coins were planned in consultation with the Jewish leadership of Jerusalem. Because of these special circumstances, the coins issued by the procurators for the province of Judaea acquired a unique flavor.

The Numismatic Material

The Roman procurators did not inscribe their names on their Judaeian coinage. Rather, the legends depict only the name of the current Roman emperor and his *regnal* year. It is through these dates that we can identify the procurator who struck each issue.

The following chart presents the names of the emperors and the dates which are inscribed on the Judaeian provincial coinage:

Inscription	coin no.	translation	year
1. KAICAPOC/LAS	1	(of) Caesar (Augustus)/year 36	6 C.E.
2. KAICAPOC/LAΘ	3	(of) Caesar (Augustus)/year 39	9 C.E.
3. KAICAPOC/LM	4	(of) Caesar (Augustus)/year 40	10 C.E.
4. KAICAPOC/LMA	5	(of) Caesar (Augustus)/year 41	11 C.E.
5. KAICAP/TIB LB	6	Caesar/Tiberius year 2	15 C.E.
6. IOYAIA/TIB LB	7	Julia/Tiberius year 2	15 C.E.
7. KAICAP/LB	9	Caesar/year 2	15 C.E.
8. IOYAIA/LB	8	Julia/year 2	15 C.E.
9. KAICAP/TIBPIOY LF	10	(of) Caesar/Tiberius year 3	16 C.E.
10. IOYAIA/LF	11,12,13	Julia/year 3	16 C.E.
11. KAICAP/LF	14	Caesar/year 3	16 C.E.
12. TIBPIOY/KAICAP LA	15	(of) Tiberius/Caesar year 4	17 C.E.
13. TIBKAICAP/IOYAIA LA	17	(of) Tiberius Caesar/Julia year 4	17 C.E.
14. IOYAIA/LA	16	Julia/year 4	17 C.E.
15. TIBKAICAP/IOYAIA LE	18	Tiberius Caesar/Julia year 5	18 C.E.
16. TIBKAICAP/IOYAIA LIA	19	Tiberius Caesar/Julia year 11	24 C.E.

17. TIBEPIOY KAICAPOCLIS (obv.)	21	(of) Tiberius Caesar year 16	29 C.E.
IOYΛIA KAICAPOC (rev.)		(of) Julia Caesar	
18. TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC/LIZ	23	(of) Tiberius Caesar/year 17	30 C.E.
19. TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC/LIH	24	(of) Tiberius Caesar/year 18	31 C.E.
20. NEPWKAAYKAICAP (obv.)	29	Nero Claudius Caesar	54 C.E.
BPIT KAI LIA (rev.)		Britannicus Caesar year 14	
21. TIKAAAYΔIOC	32	Ti(berius) Claudius Caesar	54 C.E.
KACAPTEPM LIA (obv.)		Germanicus year 14	
IOYΛIA AΓPIΠΠIINA (rev.)		Julia Agrippina	
22. NEPWNOC/LE KAICAPOC	35	(of) Nero year 5 of the Caesar	59 C.E.

Although thirteen procurators ruled Judaea between 6 C.E. and 66 C.E., apparently just six issued coins. The fourteen dates inscribed on the provincial issues correspond to the governorship of only six procurators. The twelve Roman procurators were:

1. Coponius 6–9 C.E.
2. M. Ambibulus 9–12 C.E.
3. Annius Rufus 12–15 C.E.
4. Valerius Gratus 15–26 C.E.
5. Pontius Pilate 26–36 C.E.
6. Marcellus 36–41 C.E.?
7. Cuspius Fadus 44–46 C.E.
8. Tiberius Alexander 46–48 C.E.
9. Ventidius Cumanus 48–52 C.E.
10. Antonius Felix 52–59 C.E. (About the chronology of his term, see below.)
11. Festus 59–62 C.E.
12. Albinus 62–64 C.E.
13. Gessius Florus 64–66 C.E.

According to the dates inscribed on the issues, the following six procurators minted coins:

1. Coponius (no. 1).
2. Ambibulus (nos. 3–5).
3. Valerius Gratus (nos. 6–20).
4. Pontius Pilate (nos. 21–28).
5. Antonius Felix (nos. 29–34).
6. Festus (no. 35).

Coponius 6–9 C.E.

Describing the events which transpired after the banishment of Archelaus, Josephus states:⁶

The territory of Archelaus was now reduced to a province and Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was sent out as procurator (ἐπίτροπος), entrusted by Augustus with full powers, including the infliction of capital punishment.

At the beginning of his term, Coponius received the unfortunate task of accompanying the Syrian legate and Roman senator Quirinius who was sent by Augustus to Judaea “in order to make an assessment of the property of the Jews, and to liquidate the estate of Archelaus.”⁷ This Roman census was initiated in order to facilitate the levying of taxes upon the Judaeans.

Aside from this fiscal necessity, the Romans did not try to impose upon the Jews anything which would conflict with their religion or tradition. Therefore, Coponius designed his coins with utmost caution. Not only did he refrain from depicting the portrait of the emperor on his issues, but also he employed what may be considered specifically Jewish symbols in order to please his constituency. The Jews were sensitive to any intrusion of paganism, even the designs depicted on coinage, into daily life. With the exception of the inscription, which records the name of the emperor and his regnal year, the coins conform to Jewish law. An ear of corn is depicted on one side; a palm tree appears on the other. (See the discussions of the palm tree on pp. 120, 121 and of the ear of corn, pp. 58, 59.) We believe that the coins struck by Coponius were designed in consultation with the Jewish leadership, who apparently proposed or at least granted approval to these symbols. The only modification of the Jewish emblems depicted on the early issue is the number of branches on the palm tree. On the coins minted by the Jewish rulers, seven branches are depicted; the coins struck by Coponius present eight.⁸

Coponius minted his coinage in 6 C.E., the first year of his term and the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Augustus. The number of pieces struck by this procurator was significant and the coins sufficiently met the needs of the marketplace for several years. Apparently, no additional pieces were struck during the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth regnal years of the emperor. The next date to appear on the coinage of the procurators, “year 39,” denotes the minting efforts of the next Roman governor, Ambibulus.

Ambibulus 9–12 C.E.

The coins dated “year 39” were struck in 9 C.E. In this year, the office of the procurator of Judaea was transferred from Coponius to Ambibulus. Although this issue could have been struck under the direction of either or both of these administrators, we prefer to assign it to the term of Ambibulus. It is likely that this minting effort, which occurred following a gap of two years, marks the appointment of the new governor.

The coins of Ambibulus were struck in three consecutive years; they are dated “year 39” (9 C.E.), “year 40” (10 C.E.), and “year 41” (11 C.E.). The issues depict the same designs found on the coins of Coponius. Indeed, this is the only case in which the change in administrator did not also result in a new type of coinage. Either Ambibulus did not realize that the designs could be altered or he was content with the original emblems. Perhaps the Jewish

leadership recommended that the ear of corn and the palm tree continue to be depicted on these issues.

We have very little information concerning the terms of both Coponius and Ambibulus. Josephus simply notes that Ambibulus succeeded Coponius and preceded Annus Rufus.⁹ We also have a lack of detail concerning the numismatic situation. The procurators did not mint coins between the forty-first regnal year of Augustus and the second year of the reign of Tiberius. What occasioned the cessation of minting activities is unknown. Perhaps Annus Rufus did not strike coinage because the vast number of pieces struck by Coponius and Ambibulus (nos. 1-5) was sufficient for the needs of the province. Conversely, Annus Rufus may simply not have been interested in this facet of his office.

Valerius Gratus 15-26 C.E.

Valerius Gratus served longer than any other procurator of Judaea.¹⁰ He was apparently an active personality involved in both the political and the religious affairs of his subjects. For example, Josephus notes that he interfered with the appointment of the high priest:¹¹

He [Tiberius] dispatched Valerius Gratus to succeed Annus Rufus as procurator over the Jews. Gratus deposed Ananus from his sacred office, and proclaimed Ishmaël, the son of Phavi, high priest. Not long afterwards he removed him also and appointed in his stead Eleazar, the son of the high priest Ananus. A year later he deposed him also and entrusted the office of high priest to Simon, the son of Camith. The last-mentioned held this position for not more than a year and was succeeded by Joseph who was called Caiaphas. After these acts Gratus retired to Rome, having stayed eleven years in Judaea. It was Pontius Pilate who came as his successor.

Valerius Gratus may have involved himself in the religious activities of the Jews because they were related to his personal interests. This theory helps to illuminate the nature of his coinage. The issues struck by Gratus are the most numerous as well as the most beautiful of all the coins minted by the Roman procurators of Judaea. Many of the pieces depict ceremonial vessels, which may indicate his interest in the high priesthood. The amphorae and kantharoi which appear on the coins (nos. 15, 16), do not resemble the vessels which were used in the Temple. Yet the procurator may not have realized the discrepancy. We may assume that Gratus, like the other Roman administrators, had little detailed knowledge of local customs and ceremonies. Like many non-Jewish historians of the Temple cult, the Romans usually compared the little known customs of the Jewish religion with their own ceremonies and cultic accoutrements. For example, Gratus may have associated the offering of wine made in the Temple with similar libations of the Greco-Roman cults. Therefore, he depicted on coins nos. 15 and 16 utensils which indicate a relation to the ceremony of wine libations.

The pagan character of these vessels does not indicate a deliberate slight of the Jews. Rather, the fact that Gratus did not depict the portrait of the emperor on his coinage, as well as his presentation of Jewish symbols such as wreaths, cornucopias, laurel and palm branches, and especially the lily, indicate that the procurator wished to please the Jews.

The repertoire of designs which appear on the coins struck by Valerius Gratus show his desire to emphasize features common to Jews and Romans. The only emblem which does not have a Roman analogue is the lily; this specifically Jewish symbol was depicted to continue the good relations with the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judaea.

Gratus began his minting efforts immediately upon assuming his position in 15 C.E., during the second year of the reign of Tiberius. He struck two different types in this first year, one depicting the laurel branch and the other presenting the cornucopias. Both issues were well received by the constituency. The following year, 16 C.E., saw two more types enter the market. On the first appeared the double cornucopias with caduceus and on the second, three lilies were depicted. In 17 C.E., the fourth year of Tiberius, three additional types were struck by Valerius Gratus. Two of the issues depict the vessels discussed above and a vine; a palm branch appears on the third. The passion this procurator had for minting new types of coinage is matched by the standard and quality of his issues.

The coins which depict the palm branch were favorably received, but the designs of the amphora and vine possibly obtained a negative reaction from the Jews, who associated these depictions with pagan ceremonies. Because of this reaction, and possibly because he received advice from the Jewish authorities, Gratus depicted only the palm branch on his subsequent issues. These coins were struck later in the fifth year of Tiberius (see no. 18, minted in 18 C.E.) and later, in the eleventh year (see no. 19, minted in 24 C.E.). The last three issues, nos. 17, 18 and 19, are the only types struck by Gratus in vast quantities. He apparently realized that these types received the best reaction from his subjects.

We do not know why the procurator did not strike coins from the sixth to the tenth regnal year of Tiberius, nor from the twelfth to the thirteenth. However, it is clear that the quantity of issues nos. 18 and 19 was extensive enough to make further coinage unnecessary for several years.

Pontius Pilate 26-36 C.E.

Because of his role in Christian as well as in Jewish history Pontius Pilate is perhaps the most famous of the Roman procurators of Judaea. His activities, chronicled in many literary sources, provide insights into the personality of this complex figure as well as illuminate the nature of his coinage. Josephus offers one description of the irritating policies of Pontius Pilate:¹²

Now Pilate, the procurator of Judaea, when he brought his army from Caesarea and removed it to winter quarters in Jerusalem, took a bold step in subversion of the Jewish practices, by introducing into the city the busts of the emperor that were attached to the military standards, for our law forbids the making of images. It was for this reason that the previous procurators, when they entered the city, used standards that had no such ornaments. Pilate was the first to bring the images into Jerusalem and set them up, doing it without the knowledge of the people, for he entered at night. But when the people discovered it, they went in a throng to Caesarea and for many days entreated him to take away the images. He refused to yield, since to do so would be an outrage to the emperor; however, since they did not cease entreating him, on the sixth day he secretly armed and placed his troops in position, while he himself came to the speaker's stand. This had been constructed in the stadium, which provided concealment for the army that lay in wait. When the Jews again engaged in supplication, at a prearranged signal he surrounded them with his soldiers and threatened to punish them at once with death if they did not put an end to their tumult and return to their own places. But they, casting themselves prostrate and baring their throats, declared that they had gladly welcomed death rather than make bold to transgress the wise provisions of the laws. Pilate, astonished at the strength of their devotion to the laws, straightway removed the images from Jerusalem and brought them back to Caesarea.

He spent money from the sacred treasury in the construction of an aqueduct to bring water into Jerusalem, intercepting the source of the stream at a distance of 200 furlongs. The Jews did not acquiesce in the operations that this involved; and tens of thousands of men assembled and cried out against him, bidding him relinquish his promotion of such designs. Some too even hurled insults and abuse of the sort that a throng will commonly engage in. He thereupon ordered soldiers to be dressed in Jewish garments, under which they carried clubs, and he sent them off this way and that, thus surrounding the Jews, whom he ordered to withdraw. When the Jews were in full torrent of abuse he gave his soldiers the prearranged signal. They, however, inflicted much harder blows than Pilate had ordered, punishing alike both those who were rioting and those who were not. But the Jews showed no faint-heartedness; and so, caught unarmed, as they were, by men delivering a prepared attack, many of them were actually slain on the spot, while some withdrew disabled by blows. Thus ended the uprising.

The controversy surrounding the standards and the busts of the emperor is confirmed by Philo. He presents his detailed opinion of Pontius Pilate as follows:¹³

I can quote in addition one act showing a fine spirit. For though I experienced many ills when he was alive, truth is dear, and is held in honour by you. One of his lieutenants was Pilate, who was appointed to govern Judaea. He, not so much to honour Tiberius as to annoy the multitude, dedicated in Herod's palace in the holy city some shields coated with gold. They had no image work traced on them nor anything else forbidden by the law apart from the barest inscription stating two facts, the name of the person who made the dedication and of him in whose honour it was made. But when

the multitude understood the matter which had by now become a subject of common talk, having put at their head the king's four sons, who in dignity and good fortune were not inferior to a king, and his other descendants and the persons of authority in their own body, they appealed to Pilate to redress the infringement of their traditions caused by the shields and not to disturb the customs which throughout all the preceding ages had been safeguarded without disturbance by kings and by emperors. When he, naturally inflexible, a blend of self-will and relentlessness, stubbornly refused they clamoured, 'Do not arouse sedition, do not make war, do not destroy the peace; you do not honour the emperor by dishonouring ancient laws. Do not take Tiberius as your pretext for outraging the nation; he does not wish any of our customs to be overthrown. If you say that he does, produce yourself an order or a letter or something of the kind so that we may cease to pester you and having chosen our envoys may petition our lord.' It was this final point which particularly exasperated him, for he feared that if they actually sent an embassy they would also expose the rest of his conduct as governor by stating in full the bribes, the insults, the robberies, the outrages and wanton injuries, the executions without trial constantly repeated, the ceaseless and supremely grievous cruelty. So with all his vindictiveness and furious temper, he was in a difficult position. He had not the courage to take down what had been dedicated nor did he wish to do anything which would please his subjects.

The trial and crucifixion of Jesus may also have aroused some local resentment although in this case Pilate's actions do not appear to have been irregular or in opposition to the majority of the population. However, immediately afterwards, the procurator was involved in the massacre of Samaritans on Mount Gerizim.¹⁴ This last action prompted Vitellius, the governor of Syria, to order Pilate back to Rome, in order to present a full report to Tiberius concerning his incendiary policies. Pilate left Judaea in 36 C.E. and Marcellus assumed the procuratorship;¹⁵ he was later replaced by the Jewish king, Agrippa I. During the king's rule, the office of procurator of Judaea was left vacant.¹⁶

The literary sources provide us with a general impression of Pontius Pilate. He was ignorant of the traditions and attitudes of the people in his jurisdiction. He operated on the basis of a purely Roman mentality and therefore, clashes with the Jewish population of Judaea were inevitable. For example, Pilate's use of funds obtained from the Temple to build the aqueduct to Jerusalem was, for a Roman official, a natural and correct procedure. In any other province, this action would not have met with resistance. Pilate failed to realize that the Temple in Jerusalem did not operate under the same general system as did temples in other provincial capitals and major cities.¹⁷ His efforts to erect the Roman military standards with the busts of the emperor also show his lack of knowledge of local sensibilities. It may have been Pilate's ignorance rather than his unsympathetic nature which was the major cause of his difficulties. The activities of this procurator reveal a mixture of good will and creative rule combined with continuous disputes, misunderstandings, and a lack of communication with the Jews. This situation

is suggested by certain passages in the rabbinic literature. For example, *Shabbat* 33b discusses Roman activities in Judaea:

R. Judah commenced [the discussion] by observing, 'How fine are the works of this [Roman] people! They have made streets, they have built bridges, they have erected baths.' R. Jose was silent. R. Simeon b. Yohai answered and said, 'All that they made they made for themselves; they built market-places to set harlots in them; baths, to rejuvenate themselves; bridges to levy tolls for them.'

This information helps us to understand the people's reaction against Pontius Pilate and to analyze the nature of the coins struck by him. His issues depict the following designs: three ears of corn (no. 21), a simpulum (no. 21), a lituus (nos. 23–25) and a wreath (nos. 23–25). Had the procurator deliberately wished to antagonize the Jews, he could have depicted the portrait of the emperor on his coinage. Perhaps Pilate was advised against this action by the local, Jewish authorities or by the officers in charge of the mint. On the other hand, two of the objects depicted on his coins are emblems of the Roman cult.

The simpulum is a small ladle with a handle which was used during sacrifices to make libations and to enable the celebrants to taste the wine which was later poured over the head of the animal offering. Specifically, it was the sign of the priesthood. The simpulum is not depicted on any coin issued in Rome under Tiberius. Is it possible that Pilate may have deliberately attempted to depict a vessel used in Roman as well as, so he believed, Jewish cultic ceremonies? This possibility, however, seems unlikely.

The lituus, an augural staff, is another Roman cultic object. No parallels to its shape or function, however, exist in Jewish art. Perhaps Pilate depicted this object on his coinage to symbolize Roman rule and supremacy. Although we have no evidence that Pilate attempted to introduce the Roman cult into Judaea, the designs of the simpulum and the lituus were undoubtedly irritating to the Jews who found it necessary to use his coinage. Therefore, the prutot struck by the procurator added to his conflict with the local population.

Yet these coins must be interpreted also in connection with Pilate's alternative issues which depict the three ears of corn. This design reveals that the intentions of the procurator were not consistently negative or destructive, but rather, may simply reflect his ignorance of local customs.

The coins of Pilate were struck in three consecutive years: 29, 30 and 31 C.E. They were produced in relatively large quantities. (On the barbaric coins see below, p. 184).

Antonius Felix 52–59 C.E.

Upon the death of Agrippa I in 44 C.E., Roman procurators were again assigned to Judaea. Fadus held the office from 44–46 C.E.; he was succeeded

by Tiberius Alexander, who ruled from 46 to 48 C.E. and who, so Josephus comments, "by abstaining from all interference with the customs of the country kept the nation at peace."¹⁸ The office was next received by Cumanus (48–52 C.E.) under whom "disturbances broke out resulting in another large loss of Jewish lives."¹⁹ Cumanus was exiled by Claudius in 52 C.E. His replacement was Antonius Felix.²⁰

The governorship of Felix was characterized by much local unrest. The procurator married Drusilla, the beautiful sister of Agrippa II,²¹ but she was apparently unable to soften her husband's attitude toward the Jews. Felix engaged in activities such as executing certain "brigands who deceived the mob,"²² as well as instigating the murder of Jonathan the high priest²³

Felix also bore a grudge against Jonathan the high priest because of his frequent admonition to improve the administration of the affairs of Judaea. For Jonathan feared that he himself might incur the censure of the multitude in that he had requested Caesar to dispatch Felix as procurator of Judaea. Felix accordingly devised a pretext that would remove from his presence one who was a constant nuisance to him; for incessant rebukes are annoying to those who choose to do wrong. It was such reasons that moved Felix to bribe Jonathan's most trusted friend, a native of Jerusalem, named Doras, with a promise to pay a great sum, to bring in brigands to attack Jonathan and kill him. Doras agreed and contrived to get him murdered by the brigands.

By the final months of his tenure, Felix had so antagonized the Jews of Caesarea that they brought charges against him to Rome. Nero then replaced Felix with a new procurator, Porcius Festus.

The date of the transfer of power is unclear. Until recently, most scholars believed Festus took office in 60 C.E. However, a new approach to this question suggests an earlier date. Because this problem has a specific bearing on the numismatic material, we shall comment upon it in detail. The best report on the date of the dismissal of Felix is given by M. Stern:²⁴

The reasons of those who give a later date for the end of Felix's procuratorship, assigning it to 60 C.E. or around that year, are in the main as follows. a) There are the numerous events which, as related in the *Antiquities*, also took place under the procuratorship of Felix after Nero's accession in 54 C.E. b) In his account of the history of Felix's procuratorship after Nero's accession, Josephus tells of the exploits of the false prophet from Egypt, which he does not include among the earliest events. Mentioned also in the Acts of the Apostles, this incident already belonged to the past at the time of Paul's imprisonment. To this must be added, the advocates of this theory maintain, the two years during which Paul was imprisoned in the time of Felix until the latter was succeeded by Festus. c) From Josephus' autobiography we learn that he set out in 63/64 C.E. for Rome to obtain the release of Jewish priests imprisoned by Felix. This date is more consistent with the assumption that Felix continued to occupy his post until the beginning of the sixties than with the alternative view that he relinquished it in c. 55 C.E. The main argument of those who favour the earlier date is based on the chronology of Eusebius. In the Latin version of St. Jerome, which reflects

Eusebius' original version more faithfully than does the Armenian rendering, we read that Festus succeeded Felix as early as 56 C.E. and that he in turn was succeeded by Albinus in 60 C.E. It is, however, doubtful whether any importance is to be ascribed to these dates. From other instances relating to the history of Judaea in this period, it can be seen to what extent Eusebius was inaccurate ...

Another objection against the later date of Felix's dismissal is that in the *Antiquities* it is related that after Felix had concluded his term of office he was accused by the Jews before the emperor, but was acquitted thanks to the entreaties of his brother Pallas, whom Nero at that time held in the highest esteem. It can be argued that this comment is inconsistent with the later date, since Pallas had already been dismissed from his office (that of a *rationibus*) by Nero in 55 C.E. and thus could not be of help to his brother in c. 60 C.E. It should, however, be noted that his dismissal did not cancel his influence; and it may be assumed that he retained a certain status so long as Burrus, the commander of the praetorian guard with whom he was on friendly terms, was alive, that is until 62 C.E.

The explanation which refers the two years mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles to the period of Felix's tenure of office and not to Paul's imprisonment is very improbable, being even in conflict with Eusebius' assertion that Felix ended his procuratorship in 56 C.E., for according to this explanation it took place as early as in 54 C.E.

To sum up it may be stated that the hypothesis which upholds the later date of c. 60 C.E. as marking the end of Felix's procuratorship is more probable than that which refers it to the earlier date of 55 or 56 C.E. At the same time it is quite possible to agree that the dismissal of Felix could be assigned to the somewhat earlier date of 58–59 C.E., seeing that in this year we find a new minting of coins in the province of Judaea. It seems not unreasonable to assume that Festus, having succeeded Felix as procurator, struck these coins at the beginning of his term of office.

Indeed, the numismatic evidence provides additional data concerning the date of the dismissal of Felix. His coins, minted in 54 C.E., may be compared with the later issues struck under a different procurator.

The Numismatic Material

Only the coins dated to the fourteenth regnal year of Claudius (54 C.E., the year of his death), can be attributed with confidence to the authority of Felix. The issues (nos. 29–34) depict a mixture of Jewish and Greco-Roman designs. The palm tree and the pair of crossed palm branches are certainly part of the Jewish repertoire of symbols. Even though the coins depicting these emblems also contain the inscription denoting the name of the emperor, they would have been favorably received by the population of Judaea. These two symbols indicate the desire of the procurator to compete against the Jewish forces who were opposed to his brother-in-law, Agrippa II. Conversely, by depicting on his coinage crossed shields and spears, Felix clearly emphasized Roman sovereignty and power. These designs were copied from the imperial coinage issued in Rome under Claudius,²⁵ and they represent the

weapons used to crush local rebellions. The dual nature of Felix is thus well indicated by his coinage: his connection with the Jewish royal family is suggested by the Jewish designs and his official position is revealed by the Roman symbols.

The coins of Felix were minted in vast quantities. They supplied the needs of the market from 55 to 58 C.E.; no further issues were struck during this period. The next series of coins, minted in 59 C.E., are of a different nature and so represent the appearance of a new procurator, Festus.

Festus 59–62 C.E.

Festus apparently assumed office in 59 C.E. His only one issue, dated to the fifth year of the reign of Nero (no. 35), was struck immediately upon his arrival in Judaea. The only design depicted on this issue is the palm branch. On the reverse, the inscription is encircled by a wreath. These coins, struck before any official actions were undertaken by the procurator, represent his general approach to his new position. Festus appears to have assumed his office with good intentions and the desire to ameliorate the relationship between the Jews and the Romans. The palm branch functioned not only as a symbol of Judaism, but also represented many positive aspects of Roman culture such as victory, joy, abundance, equity, piety, health, and felicity.²⁶

Festus supervised projects designed to be beneficial to Jewish life and to public order. Josephus presents the following report of these particular activities:²⁷

When Festus arrived in Judaea, it happened that Judaea was being devastated by the brigands, for the villages one and all were being set on fire and plundered. The so-called *sicarii* — these are brigands — were particularly numerous at that time. They employed daggers, in size resembling the scimitars of the Persians, but curved and more like the weapons called by the Romans *sicae*, from which these brigands took their name because they slew so many in this way. For, as we said previously, they would mingle at the festivals with the crowd of those who streamed into the city from all directions to worship, and thus easily assassinated any that they pleased. They would also frequently appear with arms in the villages of their foes and would plunder and set them on fire. Festus also sent a force of cavalry and infantry against the dupes of a certain imposter who had promised them salvation and rest from troubles, if they chose to follow him into the wilderness. The force which Festus dispatched destroyed both the deceiver himself and those who had followed him.

The series of coins minted by this procurator in the fifth regnal year of Nero is the largest group of Roman procurator coinage issued in Judaea. Although the number of specimens belies the theory that they were all struck during a single year, no indication of a later minting exists (unless we ascribe the many "barbaric" coins to later years).

"Barbaric" Coinage

When large numbers of a particular issue of coins are struck, many crude pieces will be produced. "Barbaric" coins were either minted by unskilled craftsmen, or were hastily produced under the pressure of a particular time limitation. Although these pieces did not cause any fiscal problems for the consumer, they do create a certain confusion for the modern numismatist. Because the inscriptions on the barbaric pieces are often illegible, scholars have found it difficult to assign them to specific dates or minting authorities.

A table of dates should be based on two major points: the maximum number of specimens available for analysis and the use of only well struck and uncorroded pieces. From our study of several thousand coins struck by the procurators, we have determined that only fourteen separate dates appear on the issues (see table, p. 173/4). Other dates, proposed in various publications, are derived from misinterpretations of badly preserved or "barbaric" coins.²⁸ In our monograph we comment upon the misreading of crude specimens:²⁹

In an article on the coins of the procurators, A. Kindler (*IEJ* 6 (1956), pp. 54-57), gives a list of what he contends are additional dates hitherto unknown. In our view the instances mentioned by him provide no decisive evidence of the unquestionable existence of additional dates over and above those already known from the coins of the procurators. This applies to all the types of coins referred to in his article. The dates Θ and AC (years 9 and 36 respectively) on the coins of Gratus have in every instance been engraved with extreme carelessness. The letters are quite unlike the usual ones and give the impression of existing dates carelessly executed. It should be mentioned that the coins of Gratus on which a palm branch occurs on the one side and an inscription within a wreath on the other are frequently marked by very careless workmanship. Not only the dates but the symbols and the designs are crude, the inscriptions are upside down and contain mistakes.

It is quite usual to find ancient coins with designs and inscriptions that have been crudely made. For the most part this was due to engravers who were ignorant of what was written on the coins and indifferent to producing precise and clear dies. Thus, for example, the coins of Pontius Pilatus on which there appears a lituus were often struck with great carelessness. It is precisely on these types that "additional dates" have been discovered.

The appearance of "new" dates even on the legible, well-struck coins of Pontius Pilatus may be simply explained. The date HZ, for example, which frequently appears on them, is nothing but a mistake for the date LIZ. What happened was that the bottom stroke of the sign L was engraved a little too high and, together with the following letter I, formed the letter H. Under no circumstances can this be regarded as a new date, that of year "15" (the sum of H=8 plus Z=7), for nowhere do we find year 15 written in this strange manner, the only accepted way being IE.

The monograph presents many examples of such crude coins, and uses these pieces to illustrate the nature and composition of the coinage of the procurators.

We can easily see that the barbaric pieces occur frequently in the larger issues. For example, nos. 2 and 5a represent the comparatively rare, crude versions of nos. 1-4. The date ΛΓ or "33" which appears on coin no. 2 is a schematic variant of the correct inscription ΛΣ or "36". Although crude pieces are rare among the first issues struck by Valerius Gratus (nos. 6-16), they appear in great numbers in his later series. See, for example, coin no. 18b, on which the date E ("5") is depicted in the shape of a small ring, and is consequently often misread as Θ ("9").

The most common barbaric issues were struck under Pontius Pilate. Especially conspicuous are the coins depicting the lituus (nos. 23-25) which present the greatest number of inscriptional errors of any series struck by the procurators.³⁰ The most frequent mistakes occur in the rendition of the date LIZ; the character Z often appears in retrograde form as Σ. This letter cannot be read as the Greek digamma which does appear, in its usual shape, Σ, on other issues struck under Pilate (see no. 21). The crude style of these pieces is not confined to the date. The designs and inscriptions are also affected by the poor technique of the craftsmen. For example, many of the designs are in retrograde form. The obverse of coin no. 23f presents an interesting combination of the final two letters of the inscription; instead of OC, the characters appear as Θ. Further, several hybrid pieces, struck from the obverse and reverse dies of different types, were produced, such as nos. 26, 27, 27a, 27b, and 28.³¹

Although crude specimens occur among the coins minted by Antonius Felix (types 30, 30a, and 32b), the style of these issues is generally good. We have found that over one third of the vast type, no. 35, struck by Festus, has some irregularity, either a mistake in the inscription or a certain degree of crudeness. The exceptional number of barbaric pieces was caused by the time limitation imposed upon the minters. Although this series was the largest struck by any procurator, all the pieces, which may have numbered in the millions, were produced in one year. In several cases, hastily minted coins became attached to the dies. Because the minters did not immediately realize this had occurred, they struck many coins which depict on one side an incuse design which appears correctly on the other side (see no. 35q).

The Countermarks

The presence of countermarks on the coins of the procurators is an odd phenomenon. This feature does not usually appear on small denominations and, indeed, these coins represent the only "prutot" on which countermarks are depicted. Several of these countermarks, which have the shape of a palm branch flanked by the letters CII³² have been discovered since the first specimen was published by A. Spijkerman.³³ This design appears to be confined to the coinage of Valerius Gratus (no. 20, three examples) and of Pontius Pilate (no. 22, two examples). This indicates that countermarks were not employed on issues struck after 29 C.E.

Both the interpretation of the mark as well as of the phenomenon itself are obscure. Because the marks are confined to the earlier issues, they may

reflect a period during the reign of Agrippa I in which the Roman administration wished to reassess the use of the Roman procuratorial coinage. However, we have too little information to support this, or any other theory.



Countermark on a coin of Pontius Pilate

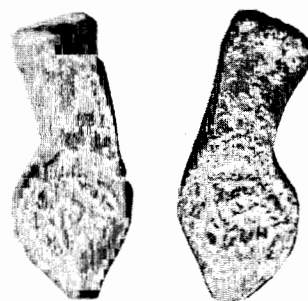
Circulation

The coins minted by the procurators were circulated beyond their target area, Judaea. They have been discovered not only both east and west of the Jordan River, but also in remote areas, such as Dura and Antioch.³⁴ Of course, the vast majority of these issues have been found in Judaea; hundreds have been discovered in various excavations of Jerusalem.

The coins of the procurators were circulated together with the Jerusalemite issues of Agrippa I. Specimens from both these minting products have been found, together with coins struck by the Jewish authorities who controlled the mint during the war, in the ruins of houses destroyed by the Roman army between 66 and 70 C.E.

The Mint

The question of the mint which struck the coins of the procurators has two possible answers. Either the issues were produced in Caesarea, where the procurator and his entourage were stationed, or in Jerusalem, the former capital of Archelaus and the location of his mint, which had been functioning for more than one-hundred years prior to the Roman direct control of the city in 6 C.E. We believe the coins of the procurators were minted in Jerusalem. Supporting our contention is the discovery of the uncirculated "mint piece" (see figure), struck as a by-product of the mint used by Pontius Pilate. This specimen was apparently found either in Jerusalem or in its immediate environs.³⁵



A coin of Pontius Pilate, still having the end of the strip which joined the flans in the mould attached to it.

The Denominations

All issues struck by the Roman governors are prutot. The average weight of the coins, 2–2.5 grams, makes the standard identical to that of the Roman quadrans. Consequently, sixty-four coins issued by the procurators had the equivalent value of one silver denarius.

Coin no. 13, apparently a half-prutah, seems to be an exception. We cannot yet determine whether this piece was actually struck under Valerius Gratus, or if it is a minima struck in the mint of Caesarea.³⁶

Hybrid Coins

The earliest hybrid coins were struck under Valerius Gratus in the 2nd year of Tiberius (nos. 7 and 9, including 9a), and in the 3rd year (nos. 11 and 14). The later coins of Gratus have no hybrids. We cannot be certain whether these coins are 'authentic' hybrids or were made as secondary types to the main prototypes, deliberately using the obverse of other types.

More obvious hybrids are the coins of Pontius Pilate (nos. 26–28), which can be nothing other than hybrids and are published here for the first time.

Another rare hybrid is coin no. 34, struck under Felix, combining types 29 and 32. No hybrid between two different procurators exists.

Epilogue

The year 59 C.E. saw the final minting efforts of the Roman procurators of Judaea. Their coins remained in circulation until the end of the Jewish War against Rome in 70 C.E. Following the destruction of the Temple and of Jerusalem by Titus, the Roman administration of Judaea was completely reorganized; the Jews were stripped of the rights they had enjoyed before the outbreak of the hostilities. Their new, subordinate position is suggested by the nature of the next local Roman issues. These pieces, minted by the Roman authorities in the conquered territory, have no Jewish flavor (see Suppl. VIII).

SUPPLEMENT VI

The Minimas of Caesarea

In our first book on Jewish coins, we attributed the coins which had been consistently identified as "half-prutot" of the Jewish War to the mint of Caesarea, and suggested that these issues should not be identified as Jewish coins. Our comments on these specimens were as follows:¹

While on the subject of the coins found at Masada, mention should be made of the remarkable absence there of minute half-prutot of the period of the war of the Jews. This is particularly surprising in view of the large number of coins of the first revolt uncovered there, in quantities such as have been found nowhere else in Israel. This, we believe, can be explained as follows. These minute half-prutot all emanate from Caesarea, for all the coins of this type which we have been able to trace were found there. Hence we assume that they were minted at Caesarea and intended for local use only. There, too, many thousands of other minute bronze coins have been discovered, some of which were struck at Alexandria or at Tyre, or are local imitations of them, while others are typical Caesarean coins.

During the war of the Jews a further group of minute coins was apparently struck at Caesarea for local use, in denominations of less than a prutah, and copying the prutot of "year two" and "year three". These coins it seems did not go beyond the limits of Caesarea, at least not in considerable numbers. A large proportion of these minute coins of the revolt are so like those of Tyre that it is at times difficult to distinguish between them.

That these minute coins were struck at Caesarea and were not an organic part of Jewish minting at Jerusalem during the Jewish war against the Romans is an assumption that would explain the apparently unusual circumstance that on some of these minute coins there appear designs, such as the head of Tyche or of a Roman emperor, which are wholly alien to the coins of the Jewish war.

These coins are undoubtedly hybrids which combined the dies of pseudo-Tyrian or pseudo-Alexandrine and of minute coins that were imitations of those of the Jewish war. Characteristic of all these minute coins is their very careless workmanship, for there is not a single one which bears a clear, complete inscription. Obviously the engravers of the dies did not understand the inscriptions.

Many minimas were indeed struck in Caesarea during the first two centuries C.E. These minute coins depict designs culled from the entire repertoire of circulated currency available in the area. The types which are imitated include Roman coins, provincial city issues, and coins minted in Tyre, Sidon and Alexandria as well as issues struck by Jewish rulers and the procurators of Judaea. Some of the minimas present both obverse and reverse sides inspired by a particular issue. Others combine designs from two different types of coinage. Thus, the coins identified by Kadman as "half-prutot" of the Jewish war² are all minimas from the mint of Caesarea.

These issues should be published in a volume dedicated solely to them. Here we shall include only the principal types and variants which bear some connection to the Jewish coinage or to the coins of the procurators of Judaea. These coins have the following characteristics:

1. Minimas imitating coins of the Jewish War.
2. Minimas imitating coins of the procurators.
3. Hybrid coins of groups 1 and 2.
4. Hybrid coins with either obverse or reverse imitating other Jewish coinage.
5. Hybrid coins presenting a combination of Jewish and non-Jewish original designs.

Notes

Suppl. VI

¹*Jewish Coins* pp. 89-90.

²See plate no. V in L. Kadman, CNP, *The Coins of the Jewish War*, etc. (Tel Aviv, 1960).

SUPPLEMENT VII

The Judaea Capta Coins 71-79(81) C.E.

The bitter war between Rome and Judaea began in 66 C.E. during the reign of Nero. The hostilities continued for four years during which control of the empire passed from Nero to three other rulers: Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, all of whom reigned for very brief periods. Finally, on the first day of July, 69 C.E., the commander of the Roman forces in the Galilee and Judaea, the Flavian Vespasian, was proclaimed emperor. The new ruler, who during the reign of Nero had held the rank of legate in Judaea, entrusted command of the army to his equally well experienced son Titus. In 70 C.E., Titus conquered Jerusalem and destroyed the Temple, thereby ending the war.

The victory over Judaea, the most important military success of the Flavian house, was celebrated by a great triumph held in Rome in 71 C.E. Josephus describes the ceremonies at length; the following is a small section of his report:¹

But nothing in the procession excited so much astonishment as the structure of the moving stages; indeed, their massiveness afforded ground for alarm and misgiving as to their stability, many of them being three or four stories high, while the magnificence of the fabric was a source at once of delight and amazement. For many were enveloped in tapestries interwoven with gold, and all had a framework of gold and wrought ivory. The war was shown by numerous representations, in separate sections, affording a very vivid picture of its episodes. Here was to be seen a prosperous country devastated, there whole battalions of the enemy slaughtered; here a party in flight, there others led into captivity; walls of surpassing compass demolished by engines, strong fortresses overpowered, cities with well-manned defences completely mastered and an army pouring within the ramparts, an area all deluged with blood, the hands of those incapable of resistance raised in supplications, temples set on fire, houses pulled down over the owners' heads, and, after general desolation and woe, rivers flowing, not over a cultivated land, nor supplying drink to man and beast, but across a country still on every side in flames. For to such sufferings were the Jews destined when they plunged into the war; and the art and magnificent workmanship of these structures now portrayed the incidents to those who had not witnessed them, as though they were happening before their eyes. On each of the stages was stationed the general of one of the captured cities in the attitude in which he was taken. A number of ships also followed.

The spoils in general were borne in promiscuous heaps, but conspicuous above all stood out those captured in the temple at Jerusalem. These consisted of a golden table, many talents in weight, and a lampstand, likewise made of gold, but constructed on a different pattern from those which we use in ordinary life. Affixed to a pedestal was a central shaft, from which there

extended slender branches, arranged trident-fashion, a wrought lamp being attached to the extremity of each branch; of these there were seven, indicating the honour paid to that number among the Jews. After these, and last of all the spoils, was carried a copy of the Jewish Law. Then followed a large party carrying images of victory, all made of ivory and gold. Behind them drove Vespasian, followed by Titus; while Domitian rode beside them, in magnificent apparel and mounted on a steed that was itself a sight.

This description represents only a part of the long and dramatic commemoration of the Flavian victory, staged both in Rome and in the provinces. Statues depicting scenes of battle,² and the subsequent erection of the triumphal arch, or Arch of Titus, were part of the tremendous imperial effort made to publicize the conquest of Judaea. As part of this procedure, during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus (until 81 C.E.), enormous quantities of commemorative gold, silver and several bronze denominations of coins were struck both in Rome and in some provincial mints. The majority of the bronze pieces are distinguished by the inscription: "Judaea Capta."

Commemorative Issues

News of an addition of a new province to the empire or of a victory over an enemy was promulgated by the Roman administration through the minting of coinage which depicted relevant inscriptions and designs. For example, following his conquest of Egypt, in 28 B.C.E., Augustus issued a series of coins depicting the Nile crocodile and the inscription *AEGVPTO CAPTA*.³ Also well known are the coins struck in commemoration of the Roman victories over the Germans,⁴ the Daciens,⁵ and the tribes of Spain.⁶ This method of announcing a particular message is described by M.P. Charlesworth:⁷

The Romans had not wireless, but they did possess a means of propaganda which they used with extraordinary skill and which no government after them had the sense to use, that is, coinage. Coins passed through the hands of the highest and lowest, into the coffers of the rich and under the country farmer's hearthstone, might be stored in imperial Rome itself or in some hut among the mountains of Lusitania, and upon these coins were placed words and symbols that could be understood by the simplest. This use of coinage, with its legends and pictures, gave emperors, and the city mints that echoed Roman policy, a most potent instrument in the ancient world for fashioning opinion and influencing men's views ...

A comparison of the various types as well as of the quantity of commemorative pieces produced in each issue reveals that the Judaea Capta coins far outnumber the comparable issues.⁸ There are several reasons for this disproportionate amount of coinage. The Roman victory over Judaea was an impressive effort which involved a force of over three legions,⁹ but Rome had undertaken greater campaigns and had gained more territory with other

military activities. The Flavians desired to publicize this particular victory because of their lack of other memorable or important campaigns.¹⁰

We shall limit our comments in this chapter to the Judaea Capta coinage struck in Caesarea and intended for circulation in Judaea, Samaria and the Galilee. Other issues minted in Caesarea will be considered in a separate section.¹¹

A discussion of the Judaea Capta coins must begin with a brief description of the issues struck in Rome and in several provincial mints.¹² These coins, which formed the prototypes for the Caesarean types, have the following characteristics:¹³

I. Gold and Silver Issues

A. Principal designs on the reverse

1. "Judaea" mourning, seated beneath a trophy (fig. 1).
2. "Judaea", hand held behind her back, seated beneath a palm tree (fig. 2).
3. Palm tree, flanked by victorious emperor on left, and mourning "Judaea" on right (fig. 5).
4. "Judaea", hands tied in front, standing beside a palm tree (fig. 4).
5. Trophy (fig. 3).

B. The Inscriptions

1. *IVDAEA* (types 1 and 2).
2. *IVDAEA DEVICTA* (type 4).
3. *DE IVDAEIS* (type 3).

The obverse inscriptions on the majority of the coins depict the name of Vespasian. With much less frequency, and on the later issues, the name of Titus appears.

II. Bronze Issues

A. Sestertii

1. Palm tree flanked by captive Jew, hands tied behind his back, and by Jewess, seated and mourning (figs. 6, 12). This type has many variants.
2. Palm tree flanked by victorious emperor and mourning Jewess (figs. 7, 11).
3. Victory writing on a shield which hangs from a palm tree; beneath, a mourning Jewess (fig. 8).
4. Roman emperor standing before supplicating Jew and Jewess; palm tree on left (fig. 9).

B. Smaller Bronzes

1. Mourning Jewess and pile of arms beneath palm tree (figs. 10, 13, 15).
2. "Judaea" seated beneath trophy (fig. 14).

These issues generally depict the inscription *IVDAEA CAPTA*. On the coins which present the figure of Victory, either the legend *VICTORIA AVGVSTI* or *DEVICTA IVDAEA* appears. Note also the spelling *IVDEA* on figs. 10, 14.

On the obverse sides of these bronze issues, the portrait of Vespasian appears; less frequently, that of Titus is depicted.



Drawings of Roman prototypes of Judaea Capta coins.
All illustrations, except for fig. 14, are taken from Maddens' *Coins of the Jews*.

The Coinage of Caesarea

Numismatists are agreed that the Judaea Capta coins struck in Palestine are products of the mint of Caesarea, the capital of the province. The coins were intended for circulation in Judaea, Samaria, and the Galilee. Because the issue were produced for a primarily Jewish, rather than Greek or Roman population, certain modifications of the imperial prototypes were made by the minting authorities. The Latin inscription *IVDAEA CAPTA*, which appears on the coins issued by Vespasian and Titus, is translated to Greek on the Caesarean issues. The legend reads *IOYΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ* or "captured Judaea." The administration in Caesarea also attempted to de-emphasize the more blatantly insulting nature of the Roman issues. Although several designs were available, the provincial authorities chose to depict symbols which would be the least offensive to the Jewish community. The principal design presented on the Caesarean issues is derived from the Roman type inscribed mainly *VICTORIA AVGVSTI*. The coins depict Victory (or Nike, as this personification was known to the Greek-speaking world) writing on a shield which is attached to a palm tree (see nos. 1 and 2). The mourning, semi-clad figures which appear on the Roman prototypes are omitted, as are the bound captives (figs. 6 and 12) and the emperor and the mourning Jewess (figs. 7 and 11). The Caesarean issues thus emphasize the victory of Rome, rather than the defeat of the Jews.¹⁴

Following the production of this early issue, a second Judaea Capta coin type was struck in Caesarea. This version depicts Victory writing on a shield which rests on her knee; a palm tree appears on the right. Eventually a third and final type (no. 5), depicting "Judaea" seated beneath a trophy, was minted.¹⁵ Yet even this third series, with its more explicit emphasis on the defeat of the Jews, remains quite modest in comparison to the Roman prototypes.¹⁶

The majority of the Judaea Capta coins struck in Rome depict the portrait of Vespasian, the ruling emperor. Yet on more than ninety-nine percent of the coins minted in Caesarea, the bust of Titus appears and only the first issue is dedicated to Vespasian. This change between the Roman and Caesarean types is easily explained. The Roman issues naturally served to honor the emperor whereas the Judaeian coinage publicizes the victory of Titus, the conquerer of Jerusalem.

The Sequential Development of Types

The development of the Judaea Capta coin types and the relationship between the Roman and the Caesarean issues is discussed at length by Hart.¹⁷ A more recent study of the Caesarean types by Barag has also appeared.¹⁸ For additional information on this subject, we refer the reader to these two comprehensive works.

The Judaea Capta coins were first issued under Vespasian in Rome and were dated *COS III* (71 C.E.). The Caesarean coins were minted immediately after the production of the Roman prototype; the first provincial issue was struck in 71/2 C.E. The initial Roman type, a sestertius, depicts Victory writing on a shield which is attached to a palm tree. The inscription on the shield reads *OB/CIVES/SERV*. Another legend, encircling the design, reads *VICTORIA AVGVSTI/SC*. A similar type, issued concurrently in Rome, depicts "Judaea" seated beside a palm tree and the inscription *IVDAEA DEVICTA/SC*.¹⁹

The first imitative type, issued in Caesarea, retains the depiction of the portrait of Vespasian on the obverse. The reverse presents a similar Victory writing on a shield. Along with the change in denomination, the Caesarean issue depicts inscriptions in Greek rather than in Latin. The encircling legend reads *IOYΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ*; the wording is derived from either the prototype *IVDAEA DEVICTA* or the inscription which appears on the other Roman issue struck in 71 C.E.: *IVDAEA CAPTA*. Also modified is the wording depicted on the shield. Although we have been unable to find a Caesarean coin of type no. 1 which preserves a clear rendition of this inscription, we are able to reconstruct the reading from later Caesarean types which depict the portrait of Titus. The clear inscription on these similar specimens reads *AYTOK/T/KAICAP* (see no. 2a), or, occasionally: *AYT/T/KAIC* (see no. 2). Therefore, the shield depicted on coin no. 1 probably contained the legend: *AYT[OK]/OY/KAIC[AP]*.

The inscription which encircles the portrait of Vespasian on the obverse of coin no. 1 begins at the lower left and reads: *AYTOKOY ΕΣΠ ΚΑΙΣ ΣΕΒ*. Barag suggests that the second Caesarean issue, which depicts the portrait of Titus, must have been struck either contemporaneously with or immediately after no. 1.²⁰ He bases this claim on the equal distribution of letters on the two issues. The obverse inscription on type no. 2 reads: *AYTOKPTI ΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ*. The modification in the wording of the first inscription is caused by the difference in status between father and son. Vespasian is accorded the title *ΣΕΒ [ΑΣΤΟΣ]* ("Augustus") but, since Titus had not yet assumed the crown, he could not be assigned this epithet. This type of shift in titles provides an important source for establishing an accurate chronological frame for the Judaea Capta coins of Caesarea.²¹ Because none of the Caesarean coins which depict the portrait of Titus (nos. 2-6) contain the title *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ*, we may assign them all to the reign of Vespasian, 71-79 C.E., and not to the years 79-81 C.E., when Titus ruled the empire.²²

If the coins which depict the portrait of Titus were struck during the reign of Vespasian, the issues may be placed in the following chronological sequence:

1. coin no. 1 — 71/2 C.E.
2. coins nos. 2 and 2a — 71/2-73 C.E.
3. coins nos. 2b-6 — 73-79 C.E.

The obverse inscription which appears on type no. 2b, ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, begins at the upper right and so follows the pattern of the later issues. The variants of each type which depict the bust of Titus in comparatively larger dimensions (nos. 2b, 2d, 4, and 5a) are also later productions. We base this conclusion on the smaller designs appearing on nos. 1 and 2, which are clearly early.

Type no. 3, depicting Nike or Victory writing on a shield which rests on her knee, may be assigned, according to the distribution of letters in the obverse inscription, to a period post-dating the minting of type no. 2. Rather than an imitation of a Roman prototype, no. 3 is a local variant. Type no. 4, which is known from a single specimen,²³ does not depict the palm tree which appears in all other versions of the design. Either there occurred a mistake in the die, or the type represents another variant produced in a limited quantity.

Type no. 5 depicts "Judaea" seated at the foot of a trophy; her hands are tied behind her back and a shield appears at her right.²⁴ This design represents a combination of several features which appear on the Roman Judaea Capta coins. The trophy is depicted on these issues containing the inscription *DE IVDAEIS* (see fig. 3) and the seated "Judaea" appears on the majority of the other issues. The closest Roman prototype is illustrated on fig. 14.

"Judaea"

The Romans commonly used the technique of personification to symbolize concepts, places, and events on their coinage. Judaea is represented by a Jewess who appears in various forms and positions. On several issues, the figure is either sitting on the ground, her hands bound behind her back, or standing, with hands tied in front. On most types, "Judaea" sits on the ground and rests her head on her palm, in the traditional position of a mourner. The figure is often accompanied by spoils of war, a palm tree, or both. The message conveyed by this symbol is clear; she is a representative of Judaea and its conquest by Rome.

The Denominations

The Caesarean Judaea Capta coins were issued in only two denominations, one represented by nos. 1-4 and the other, having twice the value of the first, by nos. 5 and 6. It is possible that the first division is the equivalent of the Roman semis and the second of the Roman as.

The Countermarks

Many countermarks are depicted on the Caesarean Judaea Capta coins. The most common forms are the head of the emperor, facing right (nos. 1a, 2c, 5b), the galley (nos. 1a, 2d, and 3b), and the letters KAI (no. 2f). Appearing less frequently are the wild boar and the dolphin accompanied by the inscription *L·X·F* (no. 2e). These countermarks are all to be associated with the tenth Roman legion, Fretensis. Barag has demonstrated that the

marks were struck in the last quarter of the first century C.E., during the reign of Domitian. He also comments upon their meaning:²⁵

Varied as they are, on the whole all these countermarked coins can be ascribed to about 68-96 or 132 A.D. at the latest. I have come across only one coin, countermarked with *LXF*, which may possibly belong to the time of Trajan.

The End of the Judaea Capta Coinage

During the reign of Titus, 79-81 C.E., no Judaea Capta coins were struck in Caesarea. However, in 80/81 C.E., a numerous issue of the type dated *COS VIII*, was minted in Rome. By the time this late series reached Judaea, Titus had died. Consequently, the type was not imitated.²⁶ The reason why coins were not struck in Caesarea during the reign of this second Flavian emperor is not known.

We have already commented in our monograph that no coinage minted by Domitian should be considered part of the Judaea Capta series:²⁷

Many years ago there was published a sesterce of the mint of Rome, on one side of which appears the usual design of the Roman Judaea Capta coins, namely, Judaea mourning beneath a trophy, opposite a Roman soldier, and around, the inscription *IVDAEA CAPTA SC*, while on the other side there occur the head of Domitian and the inscription *IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XI CENS POT PP*. This would imply that the emperor Domitian also struck coins perpetuating the victory of Rome over Judaea. But this coin is a hybrid type of a coin of Vespasian or Titus and of Domitian, the dies of his predecessors having been used in his days by mistake. It is therefore an exceptional case and no justification for assuming that Domitian was also associated in some way with the victory over Judaea. With the solitary exception of this unusual instance, not a single coin of Domitian mentions Judaea, which is only to be expected, since he personally had no share in the victory of Vespasian his father and of Titus his brother over Judaea. Had he struck on his coins any symbols of victory, these would surely have been associated with his wars in Germany.

The Judaea Capta coinage of Caesarea was minted in a large quantity. Moreover, the coins remained in circulation for an extended period, as the many specimens which are worn from long use indicate. The pieces have been discovered throughout Judaea, Samaria, and the Galilee as well as in the Transjordan, Syria, and Phoenicia. Although several specimens which we have examined appear to have been damaged by sharp tools, we do not have enough evidence to support the theory that the Judaea Capta coins of Caesarea underwent a deliberate program of defacement by Jews opposed to and insulted by their symbolic intent. Nevertheless, it is likely that many Judaea Capta coins were overstruck during the Bar Cochba period, 132-135 C.E., when all types of Roman provincial coinage were reminted with new dies.

SUPPLEMENT VIII

THE ROMAN ADMINISTRATION IN JUDAEA

We have already commented in the last chapter that no coinage minted by Domitian should be considered part of the Judaea Capta series.

The coins struck in Caesarea under Domitian are in a way a continuation of the minting of the Judaea Capta series, though not a part of the series itself. They were struck for the entire geographical area of Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee and are indeed found all over these places. This series has four different denominations and some of the pieces are very common (such as nos. 7 and 8). In most cases, the types are imitations of Roman coins except for coin no. 9, depicting the palm tree, which may refer to Judaea.

In a paper published in 1968 by Kindler,¹ the author not only published two additional types of this group (our 1, 4), but was also convincing in suggesting a new chronology for this group. Except for one change we made (putting type 4 among the early issues), we follow Kindler's system; the first group, coins 1-4, is still under the impression of the late emperor Titus who died in 81 C.E. Although we cannot quite see the letter Γ on coin 1, as Kindler suggests, we are still convinced that this coin, as well as nos. 2-4, were struck during the very first years of Domitian's reign, as already shown by Kindler who stated (p. 10) when discussing the inscription *IMP DOMITIAN CAESAR DIVIFAVG*: "On quite a number of Roman Imperial coins Domitian calls himself the 'son of the divine' and the formulas are variant. With the exception of a few which appear on coins of years 84 and 86 A.D. all these formulas appear on coins from years 80-82 A.D."

It is worth noting that there is a clear difference in style between the portraits of Domitian depicted on the "*DIVI*" coins (nos. 1-4) and the later ones. On the first four types, Domitian's features are rather similar to those of Titus, while the later issues (nos. 5-10) depict much more accurate portraits of Domitian as known on the Imperial coinage. It seems that the reason is that Domitian's portrait was not known enough to the local artists who engraved the dies during his first reign. Unlike Vespasian and Titus before, Domitian had never been to Judaea and it took some time before his Imperial coins reached local markets.

Many of the coins of Domitian bear countermarks which may refer to his "*Damnatio Memoriae*"; by the addition of these countermarks by later emperors, the coins of the "*Damnated*" emperor were again reassured in circulation.

¹ A. Kindler, "The Coin Issues of the Roman Administration in the Provincia Judaea During the Reign of Domitian", *Bulletin, Museum Haaretz* 10 (1968) pp. 6-16.

Epilogue

Although the Bar Cochba coins, minted between 132 and 135 C.E., were the last issues struck by the Jewish people in ancient times, many coins, struck in various mints in Israel, present designs inspired by Jewish civilization. Several Roman, provincial issues, the so-called "city coins," depict what can be considered Jewish symbols. Notable among such issues are the coins of Sepphoris, Neapolis-Shechem, and Tiberias.¹ Other issues depict images which bear some connection with events directly related to Jewish history.²

Yet only after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 were autonomous Jewish coins again introduced into local markets. To emphasize the continuation of Jewish history and symbolism, these modern issues depict images which appear on the ancient coinage. Thus the symbolic vocabulary of ancient Judaism on coins has been revised and interpreted for modern Israel.

¹ Meshorer, Y. Jewish Symbols on Roman Coins Struck in Eretz-Israel, *The Israel Museum News*, 14 (1978), pp. 60-63.

² Meshorer, Y. Sepphoris and Rome, *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology*, Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson, (Watteren, 1979), pp. 159-171.

Abbreviations

AJS	Association for Jewish Studies
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society (Hebrew), continuing:
BJPES	Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (Hebrew)
BMC	British Museum Catalogue
	Palestine — G.F. Hill, London, 1914
	Phoenicia — G.F. Hill, London, 1910
	Galatia — Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria, W. Wroth, London, 1899
	Alexandria, R.S. Poole, 1892
CNP	Corpus Nummorum Palaestinensium
	Aelia — L. Kadman, The Coins of Aelia Capitolina, Jerusalem, 1956
	Caesarea — L. Kadman, The Coins of Caesarea Maritima, Jerusalem, 1957
	Jewish War — L. Kadman, The Coins of the Jewish War of 66–73 C.E., Jerusalem, 1960
EI	Eretz-Israel. Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies (Hebrew and Non-Hebrew sections)
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
INB	Israel Numismatic Bulletin, continued by:
INJ	Israel Numismatic Journal
JA	Journal Asiatique
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
NNM	Numismatic Notes and Monographs (American Numismatic Society)
NS	New series
PFWCJS	Proceedings, Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 1969
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine
RN	Revue numismatique
SNG	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum
	ANS Palestine-South Arabia — The Collection of the American Numismatic Society, Pt. 6, Palestine-South Arabia, New York, 1981
	Deutschland, Von Aulock — Sammlung von Aulock, Berlin, 1957
IMN	Israel Museum News

Notes

Herod the Great

¹Ant. 15, 317–341, 387–402, 410–420; 16, 136–145.

²The Nabataeans minted both half-shekels and drachms. See Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins*, pp. 20–63.

³Madden, pp. 106–107.

⁴Ant. 15, 112.

⁵Ant. 16, 335

⁶See Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins*, nos. 40–45; M. Grant, *Herod the Great* (New York, 1971), p. 174.

⁷Ant. 17, 189. Another ancient source refers to Herod's minting of gold and silver coins with metal provided by vessels and from furniture. Zonanas, *Annales* (in *Patrologiae Graecae* V, 16) states: κατὰ τὰ βασιλεία κόσμον συγκόψας εἰς νόμισμα. Madden, p. 105, n. 1, suggests this quotation may have been taken from Josephus, with only the words εἰς νόμισμα ("into coins") added.

⁸See the reference to John of Gishchala, who paid "Tyrian coin of the value of four Attic drachms for four amphorae (of oil)," in *Wars* 2, 592.

⁹See TB *Qidd.* 13, a: "Whenever silver money is mentioned in scripture, Tyrian coinage is meant." See also TB *Bek.* 9, a.

¹⁰During the first year, the monogram was **ΚΡ** (KAP).

¹¹See *BMC Phoenicia*, pl. XXX; and compare nos. 1–6 with nos. 7–9.

¹²Kadman, L. *INB* 1 (1962), pp. 9–11.

¹³E.L. Sukenik, "A Find of Tyrian Shekels at the Hebrew University Campus," *Sefer Dinaburg* (Jerusalem, 1949), pp. 102–103 (Hebrew).

¹⁴Spijkerman, *Trésor*, pp. 25–32.

¹⁵See *BMC Galatia*, pp. 166–174. Coins were also struck at Caesarea in Cappadocia beginning in the reign of Tiberius. See *ibid.*, pp. 46–47.

¹⁶See Y. Meshorer, "Alterations of the Shekel Standards during the Jewish War and the Bar Kokhbeh Revolt," *PFWCJS*, pp. 81–86 (Hebrew; English summary, pp. 231–232).

¹⁷In *BMC Phoenicia*, pp. cxxxv–cxxxvi.

¹⁸The first Tyrian shekels bearing these letters indicate that there is apparently an A between the K and the P. The shekels of year "108" show the monogram **ΚΡ**, suggesting to us the word καρτός (an Ionic form for κρατός) or καρτερός (i.e. κρατερός), both words meaning "strong". This may refer either to the validity of the coin itself or to the authorities. It is worthwhile mentioning that this Greek word also survived in the Hebrew קרטיסים, קרטיסין, meaning "dominion" or "power", e.g. in TB *Abod. Zar.* 8a, referring to the festival commemorating the Roman conquest of eastern lands.

¹⁹See above, n. 7.

²⁰These Jewish shekels have the same weight and metallic composition. The expression "Holy Jerusalem" appearing on them is undoubtedly connected with the legend "Holy Tyre" on the Tyrian shekels.

²¹B. Kanael, "Ancient Jewish Coins and their Historical Importance," *BA* 26 (1963), p. 48; see also p. 108; Meyshan, *Herodian Chronology*, pp. 104–107 (Hebrew; English, pp. 31*–32*).

- ²²See U. Rappaport, "Note sur la chronologie des monnaies hérodiennes," *RN6* sér., 10 (1968), pp. 64–75; and Madden, p. 108.
- ²³A. Schalit, *König Herodes* (Berlin, 1969), p. 87.
- ²⁴Kanael, *BA* 26 (1963), p. 48.
- ²⁵G.A. Reisner et. al., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908–1910 I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), pp. 266–267.
- ²⁶J.W. Crowfoot et al., *Samaria Sebaste III. The Objects* (London, 1957), p. 54.
- ²⁷Goodenough I, p. 274.
- ²⁸Kanael, *BA* 26 (1963), p. 48.
- ²⁹De Saulcy, p. 127.
- ³⁰Madden, p. 107.
- ³¹*BMC Palestine*, p. 220.
- ³²Reifenberg, p. 42.
- ³³Kanael, *BA* 26 (1963), p. 48.
- ³⁴Meyshan, *Herodian Chronology*, p. 106.
- ³⁵C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas II* (Leipzig, 1935), p. 24.
- ³⁶Meyshan, *Herodian Chronology*, p. 107.
- ³⁷See E.A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952), nos. 1289, 1290, 1302 and 1303.
- ³⁸*Ibid.*, no. 1358.
- ³⁹*Ibid.*, no. 1292, "Tripod between flamen's cup (apex) and simpulum".
- ⁴⁰*Ibid.*, nos. 1303 and 1308.
- ⁴¹*Ibid.*, nos. 1189 and 1190.
- ⁴²*Ibid.*, no. 1311.
- ⁴³*Ibid.*, no. 1287.
- ⁴⁴Meyshan, p. 110; following *BMC Palestine* and Reifenberg.
- ⁴⁵Meyshan, *Herodian Chronology*, p. 106.
- ⁴⁶Kanael, *BA* 26 (1963), p. 48.
- ⁴⁷See Madden, p. 108; Romanoff, p. 51; Kanael, *BA* 26 (1963), p. 291; Reifenberg, no. 28; and Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, no. 39.
- ⁴⁸So *BMC Palestine*, p. 221; Meyshan, *Herodian Chronology*, p. 107, and others.
- ⁴⁹Goodenough III presents a few examples of later, gnostic amulets whose relationship to Jewish art and origins is far from clear.
- ⁵⁰*BMC Palestine*, pp. 79–81.
- ⁵¹J.W. Crowfoot et al., *The Objects from Samaria* (London, 1957), p. 37, no. 12. This inscription is dated to the 4th century C.E.
- ⁵²Kanael, *BA* 26 (1963), p. 48.
- ⁵³See J. Tabori, "The Household Table in Rabbinic Palestine," *AJS Revue* 4 (1979), pp. 211–215; Avigad, *Upper City*, p. 170.
- ⁵⁴See *TB Abod. Zar.* 43, a; and Vol. I, pp. 93–94.
- ⁵⁵Kanael, *BA* 26 (1963), p. 48.
- ⁵⁶E.W. Klimowsky, "Religious Symbols on Ancient Jewish Coins," *INB* 3–4 (1962), pp. 86–87.
- ⁵⁷Meyshan, *Herodian Chronology*, p. 107.
- ⁵⁸*Ant.* 15, 22. Later, other high priests were appointed by Herod.
- ⁵⁹Romanoff, p. 19.
- ⁶⁰*Ant.* 15, 395.
- ⁶¹The Jewish council members of Sepphoris, (the בולוויטין, *bouleutin*) are mentioned in several Talmudic tractates, such as TJ Pea A, 16a.

- ⁶²See Y. Meshorer, "Sepphoris and Rome," *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology, Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson* (Wetteren, 1979), pp. 159–171.
- ⁶³Another possible reference to the interpretation of this symbol is found in *TB Ber.* 57a: "If one sees a serpent in a dream, it means that his living is assured; if it bites him, it will be doubled." Thus, the caduceus may also represent material prosperity.
- ⁶⁴D. Littman Collection, Gland, Switzerland.
- ⁶⁵See Y. Meshorer, "The Double Cornucopiae as a Jewish Symbol," *Judaica Post* (Newton Center, Massachusetts) 4/2 (1976), pp. 282–285.
- ⁶⁶See Meshorer, *Jewish Symbols*, p. 61, no. 2.
- ⁶⁷See *Suppl. III*, no. 8 (pl. 17).
- ⁶⁸See Agrippa II, no. 5.
- ⁶⁹See *Ant.* 15, 331–341; 16, 136–137.
- ⁷⁰See Goodenough VIII, pp. 121–123.
- ⁷¹Another tiny eagle appears to project from the top of the scepter of Germanicus as depicted on Agrippa I, coin no. 2. The design clearly suggests the top of the Roman scepter.
- ⁷²*Wars* 1, 648–655, repeated in the form of the quotation herein presented in *Ant.* 17, 150–152.
- ⁷³Goodenough VIII, p. 924.
- ⁷⁴A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (Oxford 1938), p. 148.
- ⁷⁵Goodenough VIII, p. 924.
- ⁷⁶The classical Roman eagle is shown with spread wings, while the eagle on the coins of Herod the Great is shown with wings closed, following the Hellenistic tradition.

Notes

Herod Archelaus

¹Josephus notes the terms of the will left by Herod the Great in *Ant.* 17, 188–189: "Then, because of the change of mind he had undergone, he once more altered his will and designated Antipas, to whom he had left his throne, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, while he bestowed the kingdom on Archelaus. Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Paneas were to be given as a tetrarchy to his son Philip, who was a full brother of Archelaus (incorrect), while Jamneia, Azotos and Phasaelis were given over to his sister Salome." Josephus later reports a speech given by Archelaus in the Temple (*Ant.* 17, 202): "For the moment, however, he (Archelaus) would refrain from taking the name of king, for he would not validly be honored with this title until Caesar should confirm the will." Augustus eventually accorded him the title "ethnarch" or "ruler of the people".

²See Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, p. 69; *idem.*, "Maritime Symbols on Ancient Jewish Coins," *INB* 2 (1964), pp. 8–10.

³*Wars* 1, 646.

⁴*Wars* 2, 20–23.

⁵*Ant.* 17, 230.

⁶*Ant.* 17, 248–249.

⁷See the accusations brought against Archelaus by the Jews, as well as the responses: "But Archelaus, fearful that he might not be considered a legitimate son of Herod, without any delay and with great promptness, showed the nation what his real intention was, and this he did before he obtained complete possession of the sovereignty, which only the Caesar had the authority to give or to withhold" (*Ant.* 17, 312).

⁸After according Archelaus the title "ethnarch", Augustus "promised to reward him with the title of king if he proved able to act in that capacity" (*Ant.* 17, 318).

⁹Archelaus manifested a general tendency to continue the policies and actions of his father; see Schürer I, pp. 354-357.

¹⁰Having lines written in alternating directions, from left to right, then from right to left with the script retrograde, and so forth.

¹¹*Ant.* 17, 340.

Notes

Herod Antipas

¹*Ant.* 18, 27.

²See Schürer I, p. 43; M. Avi-Yonah, "The Foundation of Tiberias," *IEJ* 1 (1950), pp. 160-169.

³*Ant.* 18, 36-38; *Gen. Rabba* 79, 6.

⁴Schürer, II, p. 179.

⁵Discussed previously in *BMC Palestine*, pp. xiii-xiv.

⁶Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.* (above, n. 2), p. 168.

⁷Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, pp. 73-75.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 73-75.

¹⁰TB *Pesah* 53a: "The indication of streams (נחלים) is reeds."

¹¹See, for example, the coins of Alexandria which consistently depict the god of the Nile holding a reed; *BMC Alexandria*, pls. XIX, XX.

¹²TB *Sanh.* 105b-106a.

¹³See also *Midrash Cant.* 1b.

¹⁴Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, p. 74.

¹⁵See catalogue, four denominations of "year 24", Antipas, nos. 1-4; four of "year 33", nos. 5-8; four of "year 34", nos. 9-12; and four of "year 37", nos. 13-16.

¹⁶Schürer I, p. 384.

¹⁷Coins were struck by Antipas and Philip for Judaea, Galilee and Trachonitis. While Pilate's name does not appear on his coinage, Antipas and Philip inscribed both names and titles on their issues; the coins struck by Philip also bear the name of the emperor.

¹⁸See the account of the activities of the people of Tiberias in *Ant.* 18, 36-38, 149, 269-270; 19, 338.

¹⁹A story concerning the growing of palm-trees in this area by Elisha ben Abuya (circa 90 C.E.) is recounted in *Midrash Ruth Rabba* 4, 4.

²⁰In Meshorer, *Jewish Coins* (nos. 66 and 71), we suggested that this group was struck in two other years as well. We now believe this theory to be erroneous. No. 66

there is not to be read as AA but rather as ΛΔ, as clearer coins of the same die show (see no. 11 here). No. 71 there (no. 6 here) is to be read ΛΓ.

²¹The three examples of countermarked coins of Antipas, now at Vienna and Munich, are forgeries.

²²We have discussed the identity of this last design in Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, p. 73: "Up to the present the 'branch' on coin no. 75 has not been identified. For the most part referred to simply as a 'branch', it has been described by Madden as a 'fig' or 'orange branch' (!). Since several beautiful, clear specimens of this type are now extant, it can readily be seen that the 'branch' which hangs down vertically and has oblong fruit, is none other than a bunch of dates with a stem. And since a bunch of dates has no leaves, here, too, there is none, unlike other branches with fruit, which appear with leaves in the designs on coins. Further support for our contention is to be found in the fact that almost all the designs on the coins of Antipas are associated with the date tree. This bunch of dates thus complements the series of the various parts of the palm tree on the coins of Antipas."

²³*Ant.* 19, 165-167. The new rank accorded to Agrippa resulted from his close association with Caligula, a friendship which had begun in Rome under the impetus of Caligula's grandmother Antonia, a close friend of Berenice, Agrippa's mother. For the problems between Agrippa and his sister, see *Ant.* 18, 147-151.

²⁴*Ant.* 18, 240.

²⁵See Agrippa I, no. 1, dated "year 2" (=38 C.E.).

²⁶This interesting variation in declensions, which has not previously been analysed, increases our understanding of the coins dated ΜΓ as well as justifies their association with the circumstances surrounding the appointment of Agrippa I to the kingship.

²⁷Bagatti & Milik, *Dominus Flevit*, p. 163, no. 2.

²⁸The coins have been found in Galilean synagogues, such as at Hamat Tiberias, Meiron, Gush-Halav, Nabratein, Arbel and Capernaum.

²⁹L. Waterman, *Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan Excavations at Sepphoris, Palestine, 1931* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1937), pl. I, no. E 35.

Notes

Philip

¹See *Ant.* 17, 146, for Herod the Great's dislike of Philip.

²*Ant.* 17, 188.

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Ant.* 18, 28.

⁵Matt. 16: 13; Mark 8: 27.

⁶*Ant.* 15, 363.

⁷The theory that the building depicted on the coins represents the structure built by Philip at Bethsaida (renamed "Julias") cannot be supported. This edifice is Philip's tomb, which was erected during his rule. See Madden, p. 127.

⁸*BMC Palestine*, p. xcvi.

⁹Other coins struck under Claudius and Nero are also attributed to this mint. See SNG ANS, *Palestine-South Arabia*, nos. 858-888; Rosenberger III, p. 38, no. 5.

¹⁰See SNG ANS, *Palestine-South Arabia*, no. 877, and the references there to the Diadumenian coin.

¹¹*Ibid.*, no. 878.

¹²*Ant.* 18, 106.

¹³It has been suggested that the head behind that of Augustus represents not Livia but Philip. Since the inscription surrounding the portraits mentions the emperors (ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ, "of the Caesars"), but not the tetrarch, this theory is precluded.

¹⁴See C.H.V. Sutherland and C.M. Kraay *Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire in the Ashmolean Museum I, Augustus* (Oxford, 1975), nos. 1274–1285, 1305–1315 and 1361.

¹⁵Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, no. 77.

¹⁶See Agrippa II, nos. 1–3, also minted at Paneas, and the Roman provincial coins of Antioch, in *BMC Galatia*, pp. 169–176.

¹⁷The portrait coins of Philip were first published by Kindler, *IEJ* 21 (1971), pp. 161–163.

¹⁸See Stevenson, pp. 505–506.

¹⁹Compare the coins minted by Agrippa I.

²⁰*Ant.* 18, 107.

²¹Ex. 20: 4.

²²The base of this statue with only one foot was found at Si'a and was last seen in the mid-nineteenth century; see M. Grant, *Herod the Great* (London, 1971), p. 138. The inscription on the base reads: [Βα]σιλεῖ Ἡρώδῃ κυρίῳ Ὁβασίματος Σαόδου / ἔθηκε τὸν ἀνδριάντα ταῖς ἐμαῖς δαπάναι[s]. See W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae I* (Hildesheim, 1960), no. 415.

²³The practice of depicting personal portraits on coinage was continued by Agrippa I, Agrippa II, Herod of Chalcis, Aristobulus of Chalcis with his wife Salome, and other Herodians in more remote territories.

²⁴L. Anson, *Numismata Graeca, Greek Coin Types V* (London, 1910), pl. VI, nos. 280, 293.

²⁵The lily may have been employed here as a Jewish symbol.

²⁶These countermarks were first published by A. Spijkerman, *Liber Annuus* 13 (1962), p. 302, no. 16.

²⁷See, for example, the many Roman provincial coins of Elagabal which were used after his *damnatio memoriae*; *BMC Phoenicia*, p. 275, nos. 396, 398, 400 and 411.

²⁸See Cox, *Curium*, p. 25, no. 194, which depicts a coin of Philip discovered in Cyprus.

²⁹No. 10 was discovered in the Meiron excavations; nos. 1, 3 and 6 were discovered at Tel Anafa in Upper Galilee.

Notes

Agrippa I

¹For a previous study of this series of coins, see Meyshan, *Agrippa I*.

²*Ant.* 18, 164.

³*Ant.* 18, 237.

⁴*Ant.* 18, 257–261.

⁵See Mattingly I, p. 160, no. 93.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 160 (our description is briefer).

⁷Stevenson, p. 672.

⁸Agrippa was born circa 10 B.C.E.; Germanicus, circa 15 B.C.E.

⁹*Ant.* 18, 194.

¹⁰Previously, the lack of well-preserved specimens led to the date "year 6" being read on this coin as well. This interpretation is no longer accepted. See Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, no. 87.

¹¹On only two other issues of local coinage do direct references to coins or minting appear. "Moneta" is depicted on the issues of Agrippa II (nos. 25 and 33) and the three Monetas appear on the coinage of Aelia Capitolina struck under Antonius Pius. See *CNP Aelia*, no. 31. The Greek term νόμισμα was known and used in the territories ruled by the Herodian kings, but the word eventually became distorted to מלוזמה (MLWZMH, *meluzmah*); see TB *Ber.* 53b: "Near enough to distinguish between a meluzmah of Tiberias and a meluzmah of Sepphoris."

¹²See *BMC Palestine*, pl. XLII, 2; Reifenberg, no. 74; Kanael *BA* 26 (1963), no. 30; Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, no. 94.

¹³The inscription may also contain the title βασιλεύς; however, no specimen with this complete inscriptin has yet been discovered.

¹⁴*Ant.* 19, 265.

¹⁵Not only did Claudius grant Agrippa I dominion over an extensive territory, he also declared the full rights of the Jewish people "to observe the customs of their fathers without ... hinderance" (*Ant.* 19, 290) "... on account of their loyalty and friendship (πίστιν καὶ φιλίαν) to the Romans" (*Ant.* 19, 289).

¹⁶The type has been described in detail in A. Kindler, *Bulletin, Museum Ha'aretz* 11 (1969), pp. 10–16 (Hebrew).

¹⁷The Latin expression for this symbol is *manus humana*; see Stevenson, p. 536.

¹⁸See Mattingly I, Augustus, pl. 20, 2.

¹⁹Madden, p. 136.

²⁰Narkiss, p. 109.

²¹No. 63.

²²See n. 16, p. 12.

²³See p. 136.

²⁴*Alon* 5 (1976), pp. 67–68 (Hebrew).

²⁵Stevenson, p. 241.

²⁶Kindler, *op. cit.* (above, n. 16), p. 12.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁸Similar canopies or "parasols" are depicted on coins struck at Aelia Capitolina under Elagabal; the canopy there shelters the quadriga of the stone of Elagabal. See

CNP *Aelia*, no. 148; Kanael, *BA* 26(1963), p. 51; and A.B. Cook, *Zeus* III, (Cambridge, 1940) pp. 902 and 905.

²⁹See TB *Sotah* 49a.

³⁰TB *Baba Mezia* 119b: "The halachah agrees with R. Shimeon. When this was told to King Shapur, he observed, 'Let a palanquin be put up for R. Shimeon.'"

³¹See, for example, B. Kirschner, "The 'Umbrella' Coins of Agrippa I," *BJPES* 11 (1944/45), pp. 54–56 (Hebrew).

³²TB *Ber.* 57a.

³³A group of three pomegranates is depicted on shekels minted during the Jewish War of 66–70 C.E., as well as a group of three palm-branches.

³⁴Narkiss, p. 65.

³⁵See TB *Suk.* 13a; *Shab.* 109a; *Yoma* 72b.

³⁶See, for example, J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniae* (Paris, 1955), p. 256.

³⁷Y. Meshorer, *IEJ* 27 (1977), pp. 40–41.

³⁸Although several specimens are lighter in weight than standard prutot, we do not believe that they represent a smaller denomination. See Kindler, *Bank of Israel*, nos. 52, 53.

³⁹This type has also been discovered in other regions. See Cox, *Curium*, p. 26, no. 196.

⁴⁰Meyshan, *Agrippa I*, pp. 186–187, describes the portraits as follows: "The face of Agrippa looks intelligent and good natured. A prominent chin and protruding lower forehead proclaim energy and courage. The long nose is a family characteristic, as can be observed from the representation of his brother Herod of Chalcis and his son Agrippa II."

⁴¹See E.W. Klimowsky, *RSD* (Jerusalem, 1954), giving a list of other kings with similar titles.

⁴²In 67/68 C.E., a large quantity of coins depicting the city goddess was struck at Caesarea under Nero. See *CNP Caesarea*, nos. 1–17. This figure of Tyche does not, however, resemble the depiction on the coins of Agrippa I. She wears a short chiton and holds a bust and scepter on the Roman issue. Other images of the Caesarean goddess were depicted on later coinage. See J. Ringel, "La Fortune de Césarée ...," *RN* 6^e sér., 16 (1974), pp. 155–159. Because the cult of Tyche was practiced in several temples at Caesarea, various distinct conceptions of the goddess undoubtedly existed.

⁴³See *CNP Caesarea*, pl. XIX, nos. VIII and IX. Although Kadman does not attribute these issues to the mint of Caesarea, the coins were indeed struck there; see SNG ANS, *Palestine-South Arabia*, nos. 744 and 745.

⁴⁴The coins depicting Claudius may have been minted after the death of Agrippa I and hence they would be a continuation of the series struck by the Jewish king and belong to the period between 44 and 54 C.E.

⁴⁵See Madden, pp. 137–138.

⁴⁶A. Reifenberg, "A Memorial Coin of Herod Agrippa I," *BJPES* 5 (1935), pp. 117–118 (Hebrew).

⁴⁷E.L. Sukenik, "On Some Coins of Agrippa I," *Kedem* 2 (1945), pp. 19–22 (Hebrew).

⁴⁸Meyshan, *Agrippa I*, pp. 189–190.

⁴⁹The depiction of different stages of scenes within a single frame is known from other examples of coinage; see the famous issue struck at Apamea Kibotos depicting Noah and the Ark in two different scenes, both on the reverse; SNG, *Deutschland*, Von Aulock, nos. 8347, 8348.

⁵⁰Similar kneeling figures are depicted on early Roman imperial coins, symbolizing captured foreign kings; see Mattingly I, pl. 2, 2–3.

⁵¹I. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* 1/III (Vienna, 1828), p. 492, following Vaillant.

⁵²Madden, p. 138; Meyshan, *Agrippa I*, p. 196, no. 6.

⁵³See, for example, the issue described by Madden, p. 134, no. 4; p. 136, no. 4, as well as the discussion of non-existent alternative dates for the Jerusalemite prutot, p. 132.

⁵⁴*BMC Palestine*, p. 238, nos. 22 and 23. They are described here in Suppl. III, nos. 2 and 3.

⁵⁵A specimen, similar to Suppl. III, no. 3, was purchased in Jerusalem and is now in the collection of the Archaeological Institute, the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

Notes

Agrippa II

¹*Ant.* 19, 362.

²See, for example, the efforts undertaken by Agrippa I to build the "third wall" in Jerusalem and to consult with other vassal kings at Tiberias; *Ant.* 19, 326–327, 338–342; see also Stern, *Compendia*, p. 300.

³See *Ant.* 20, 138; Stern, *Compendia*, p. 301.

⁴These emperors were Claudius, Nero, Otho, Galba, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

⁵Madden, pp. 144–151.

⁶Macdonald, p. 291.

⁷Schürer I, p. 480.

⁸*BMC Palestine*, p. xcvi.

⁹Meyshan, *Herodian Chronology*, pp. 111–114 (Hebrew; English, pp. 33*–34*).

¹⁰M. Weisbrem, *INB* 2 (1962), pp. 51–52.

¹¹B. Kanael, *INB* 5 (1963), pp. 8–13.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹³H. Seyrig, "Les erves d'Agrippa II," *RN* NS 6 (1964), pp. 55–65.

¹⁴Mainly because the groups of coins dated "year 26" are also dated to the twelfth consulate of Domitian. See nos. 33–36.

¹⁵Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, pp. 81–87.

¹⁶D. Barag, "The Palestinian 'Judaea Capta' Coins of Vespasian and Titus and the Era of the Coins of Agrippa II Minted under the Flavians," *NC* 7th ser., 18 (1978), pp. 14–23; *Cathedra* 8 (1978), pp. 48–68 (Hebrew).

¹⁷If this second series had been minted in 70/71 C.E., rather than — according to the second system — in 74/75 C.E., we might conclude that Agrippa II deliberately omitted the second denomination; during 70/71 C.E., Titus burned the temple and destroyed Jerusalem.

¹⁸See Mattingly II, p. 307.

¹⁹See Suppl. III, nos. 8, 9.

²⁰Madden, p. 151.

²¹Mattingly II, p. 307.

²²See Suppl. VIII, no. 9. We shall indicate later that the Roman style of dating was part of the prototype imitated; it should be considered as part of the design rather than as a separate indication of the year the Jewish series was struck.

²³Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, pp. 85–86.

²⁴Madden, p. 145.

²⁵See *BMC Phoenicia*, pp. 248–249.

²⁶Seyrig, *op. cit.* (above, n. 13), pp. 55–65.

²⁷Madden, p. 146; Kanael, *op. cit.* (above, n. 11), p. 10. The proposal by Meyshan, *Herodian Chronology*, p. 34*, and others, that the city was rededicated in 56 C.E., cannot be accepted.

²⁸We do not understand why Reifenberg, p. 26, described the features as “insignificant, the expression effeminate and unintelligent”.

²⁹Schürer I, p. 476, dates Agrippa II's voyage to Alexandria to 66 C.E., but it was both short and insignificant.

³⁰See nos. 1–3, 5; and Suppl. III, nos. 8, 9.

³¹Meyshan, relating “year 11” to the era suggested by Josephus (beginning in 50 C.E.), and “year 6” to the era of the foundation of Paneas (in 56 C.E.), has proposed that these coins were struck in 61 C.E. He states (*Herodian Chronology*, p. 34*) that “the coin was minted in Agrippa's 11th year's reign, the sixth year since the foundation of the city Neronias.” But, as already mentioned, the early dating of the foundation of Neronias to 56 C.E. is impossible.

³²*Wars* 1, 404; 3, 509, 513–514; *Ant.* 15, 364.

³³Barag, *op. cit.* (above, n. 16), p. 21.

³⁴Mattingly I, p. 14.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 23.

³⁶*Ibid.*, and p. 30, nos. 157, 158.

³⁷See, for example, the coins minted by Claudius; Mattingly II, pl. 33, nos. 23, 24; by Nero, pl. 49, No. 18; by Galba, pl. 54, no. 26; and by Vitellius, pl. 63, no. 6, pl. 64, no. 2.

³⁸On certain coins Tyche appears bareheaded; on one issue, no. 53, she wears a turreted crown.

³⁹Mattingly II, pl. 4, no. 7.

⁴⁰The various depictions of Tyche are quite impressive. See also the designs of the coins of Aelia Capitolina, which include the signae and standards of the tenth Roman legion stationed in the city; *CNP Aelia*, nos. 126–129, and esp. nos. 162–165, etc.

⁴¹Mattingly II, pl. 12, no. 5.

⁴²*Ibid.*, pl. 2, 18, 19, pl. 17, 9, and others.

⁴³*Ibid.*, pl. 46, 20; pl. 52, 3.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pl. 60, 16, 20. A similar presentation of Nike appears on a coin inscribed with the name of Caligula, which was apparently minted by Agrippa I. See Suppl. III, no. 2.

⁴⁵Mattingly II, pl. 1, 11–13.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, pl. 12, 11–12, pl. 20, 5–10, pl. 23, 10–11, etc.

⁴⁷A Nike similar to that depicted on the coins of Agrippa, but standing on the

prow of a galley, appears on Roman coins minted under Vespasian. See *ibid.*, pl. 27, 6. This particular symbol refers to the emperor's victory over the fleet of Vitellius at Rome in 69 C.E.; it is not, as previously suggested, related to the Jewish War, a suggestion based on a misreading of the inscription as IVDAEA NAVALIS.

⁴⁸See above, n. 16.

⁴⁹See no. 11, and *Judaea Capta*, nos. 1–6. These coins minted by Agrippa II do not resemble the “classical” *Judaea Capta* issues. See also Hart, *Judaea and Rome*, pl. 2, nos. 2–5.

⁵⁰Mattingly I, pl. 33, 23.

⁵¹Hart, *Judaea and Rome*, pl. I, 10.

⁵²Mattingly I, pl. 63, 6.

⁵³The suggestion that this coin should be assigned to the reign of Agrippa II was first made to me by S. Qedar.

⁵⁴See Mattingly II, p. 287, no. 291; pl. 55, no. 7.

⁵⁵Schürer I, p. 479, citing Tacitus, *History* II, 2; Dio Cassius LXV, 18; Suetonius, *Titus* 7, and others.

⁵⁶See Mattingly II, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxv.

⁵⁷On no. 23a, the date is indicated by LETOKA; this is an unnecessary duplication of the sign for “year” — both L and ETO(C).

⁵⁸See Mattingly II, pl. 16, 4–5, 13–15. See also Agrippa II, nos. 1–3.

⁵⁹The unique type, no. 27, is not in perfect condition. Though the reading of the date as KE, “year 25”, is uncertain, it is best interpreted thusly, and we can therefore include this type in this series.

⁶⁰Mattingly II, p. 378.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 359.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. xc.

⁶³See, for example, the coins of Tiberias struck under Trajan, depicting the symbol of the local hot springs.

⁶⁴Madden, pp. 166–167.

⁶⁵Reifenberg, p. 27, following Schürer.

⁶⁶See Madden, pp. 166–167; *BMC Palestine*, p. c; Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, pp. 82, 151.

⁶⁷*BMC Palestine*, p. c, n. 1.

⁶⁸*BMC Phoenicia*, p. 258, no. 279; which was also struck in 84/85 C.E.

⁶⁹See Suppl. VIII, Roman Administration, no. 9.

⁷⁰Mattingly II, pl. 24, 1–3, 6.

⁷¹See *BMC Palestine*, pp. 45–46; for the interpretation of these symbols see Meshorer, *Jewish Symbols*, pp. 60–63, nos. 11–16.

⁷²See the Hasmonaean issues of groups F–L, with double cornucopias; V, with a single horn; coins of Herod the Great, nos. 17, 23; of Herod Archelaus, nos. 1, 3 and 4; and even of the Roman Procurators, nos. 6, 7, and 10.

⁷³Mattingly II, p. 409, no. 481; pl. 81, 12.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. xix.

⁷⁵The title *divus* was assigned to an emperor following his consecration.

⁷⁶Mattingly II, pl. 43, 5–7.

⁷⁷The Romans used this emblem to symbolize “Concord”. See Stevenson, p. 149.

⁷⁸Mattingly II, pl. 69, 9–10, pl. 81, 8, 9, 16, 17.

⁷⁹*BMC Galatia*, pl. XX, 9, 15; compare, pl. XXII, 7.

⁸⁰See Suppl. III, no. 9.

⁸¹See Schürer I, pp. 480–483; Stern, *Compendia*, p. 304.

⁸²Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, no. 119. This piece is now in the collection of the Bank of Israel (see Kindler, *Bank of Israel*, no. 61; see also Monnaies et Médailles S.A., Basle, *Vente Publique* 32 (20 October 1966), no. 211).

⁸³On one specimen there seems to be a small figure standing on the tree trunk and offering a wreath to Pan; a small crescent may be present in the left field.

⁸⁴Mattingly II, p. 358, nos. 284, 285.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, pl. 16, 7, pl. 15, 8, 12, pl. 12, 3, 4, pl. 11, 3. Denarii of this type were found in the excavations at Meiron in Galilee.

⁸⁶The figure of Pan was not depicted on coins struck at Rome, nor can we find any other model which may have served as a prototype for this issue. However, the cult of Pan had been practiced in Rome for several centuries. See Stevenson, p. 579.

⁸⁷*Wars* 1, 404; 2, 95, etc.

⁸⁸SNG ANS, *Palestine-South Arabia*, nos. 860–888.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, no. 860. The symbol of the syrinx was a later emblem of the mint.

⁹⁰*Wars* 3, 514.

⁹¹Pan is the only (demi-)god depicted on Jewish coinage. Other figures, such as Tyche and Nike, are simply symbolic personifications of abstract concepts such as fortune, victory and fertility. A distinction between divinities and personifications is made in Mishna, *Abod. Zar.* 3, 1, which states: "All images (צלמים) are forbidden since they are worshipped once a year. This is the opinion of R. Meir. But the sages say, only such is forbidden as bears in its hand a staff or a bird or an orb. Rabban Simon ben Gamaliel says, that which has aught whatsoever in its hand is forbidden." The figure of Pan depicted on the coins of Agrippa II carries a staff.

⁹²See J. Meyshan, *IEJ* 11 (1961), pp. 181–183; Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, no. 139.

⁹³Barag, *op. cit.* (above, n. 16), p. 21, n. 31, has stated that "In that year [twenty-nine] a mistake happened when Agrippa II issued the same type with palm-tree. The die engraver, for unknown reason, confused this type with the Titus type." However, this was no mistake. The coin was deliberately minted with the portrait of Titus, not that of Domitian. Further, this type clearly shows that the other issues, which depict Nike without the palm-tree, have no connection with the symbolic intent of the Judaea Capta pieces.

⁹⁴Often a publication of an unknown coin stimulates other numismatists to detect similar specimens, and thus, ultimately, to obtain a better description of the issue.

⁹⁵Schürer I, p. 481.

⁹⁶Stars appear in the reverse fields of nos. 32a, 37 and 38. Crescents are depicted in the reverse fields of nos. 24, 30a, 37b, 37c and 38a.

⁹⁷Mattingly II, pp. lxiv, 99, 100, pl. 17, 4.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁹⁹Stevenson, p. 761.

¹⁰⁰The mint of Sepphoris struck coins in 67 C.E., probably under the direction of Agrippa II. See suppl. III, nos. 8, 9. The flans of these coins are trapezoidal in section. Similar flans were used for several of the coins minted under Agrippa II in "year 14" (nos. 8 and 10) as well as later issues. See also Macdonald, p. 291, and n. 103, below.

¹⁰¹It is tempting to compare these five denominations to the Roman monetary system of sestertius, dupondius, as, semis and quadrans. However, too many discrepancies between the Jewish and Roman issues exist to enable proof of a direct relationship.

¹⁰²Apparently a mistake. See *BMC Palestine*, p. c.

¹⁰³Macdonald, p. 291. See also above, n. 100.

¹⁰⁴See also the discussions of the countermarks which appear on the coins of Philip and Agrippa I.

¹⁰⁵Madden, p. 153, no. 5.

¹⁰⁶Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, no. 114.

¹⁰⁷Madden, p. 156, no. 4.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, p. 159, no. 18.

¹⁰⁹Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, p. 144. This coin was actually struck in year A; see no. 50.

¹¹⁰See Cox, *Curium*, no. 197. Recently, a rare coin (no. 25) was found in Switzerland (I am grateful to Dr. H. Cahn, Basle, for this information).

¹¹¹*BMC Phoenicia*, pp. 257, 271–274; 258, 275–282.

¹¹²*BMC Palestine*, pt. 45–47, nos. 1–19; 79–79, nos. 1–6.

¹¹³Spijkerman, *Decapolis*, Gadara, nos. 22–30; Hippos, nos. 1–5.

Notes

The Jewish War

¹*CNP Jewish War*.

²Two are gold aureii minted under Julius Caesar, said to have been found near Hebron and placed on the market by an antiquities dealer in Jerusalem in 1967; the third is a gold aureus of Claudius, found in Jerusalem. See Mattingly I, p. 177, no. 92.

³*Wars* 5, 420–422.

⁴*Wars* 5, 550.

⁵Josephus mentions the devaluation of gold from the official rate of twenty-five silver denarii (which he calls "drachms") to one gold aureus, to only twelve denarii. In *Wars* 2, 317, he states: "The standard of gold was depreciated to half its former value." However, the devaluation reflects an economic oddity. If many who had deserted the city sought to exchange both property and silver coinage for gold, gold coinage should have appreciated in value. The explanation of this peculiar phenomenon may be found in a study of Roman coinage; Nero had devalued his gold issues, reducing both their weight and their purity. See Mattingly I, p. xx.

⁶See *BMC Phoenicia*, p. 253, no. 244. The later date attributed to no. 245 there may reflect a misreading. The clearly marked dates end at 66 C.E. See also A. Reifenberg, "A Hoard of Tyrian and Jewish Shekels," *QDAP* 11 (1944), pp. 83ff., no. 70, a Tyrian shekel dated to 64/65 C.E.

⁷See J.T. Milik & H. Seyrig, "Trésor monétaire de Murabb'at," *RN* 1 (1958), pp. 11–12. Over 100 denarii struck under Augustus and Tiberius were found in the Ushiyeh hoard on Mount Carmel. See also L. Kadman, "Temple Dues and Currency," *INB* 1 (1962), p. 9.

⁸W. Wrück, *Die Syrische Provinzialprägung von Augustus bis Trajan* (Stuttgart, 1931), nos. 29–54; *BMC Galatia*, pp. 174–175, nos. 187–200; note also סלע נירונית ("Neronian tetradrachm") in *TB Bek.* 38a.

⁹See Mishna, *Seqal.* 2, 4 (which makes mandatory the use of Tyrian shekels); *TB Bek.* 9, b; *TB Qidd.* 11a, *TB Bik.* 36, b, and elsewhere.

¹⁰The "newer" Tyrian shekels have been found predominantly in Judaea, mostly in hoards discovered in the vicinity of Jerusalem. Conversely, very few shekels of the later issues have been discovered in Phoenician districts.

¹¹*Wars* 2, 592.

¹²See Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins*, nos. 123–139.

¹³*BMC Galatia*, pp. 160–175; *BMC Phoenicia*, pp. 113–115.

¹⁴*BMC Palestine*, pp. 116–118, p. 75 and pp. 12–16; see also SNG ANS, *Palestine-South Arabia*, nos. 669–678, 1045–1047, 744–759.

¹⁵*Life*, 23–25.

¹⁶Mishna, *Roš Haš.* 1, 1.

¹⁷*Life* 65, "The assembly of the Elders of Jerusalem."

¹⁸*Life* 90.

¹⁹Kanael, *BA* 26 (1963), p. 57.

²⁰Compare, for example, the crudely made nos. 1, 2 and 2a with later coins, nos. 3 and 6. See also *CNP Jewish War*, nos. 1 and 3, compared with nos. 2 and 4.

²¹The technical operations and their results were published in our "A Preliminary Study of the Application of SEM to the Study of Coins," *Scanning* 2 (1979), pp. 167–170.

²²It is not our intention to present a full description of this research, nor shall we note the full extent of our discoveries (lest we help potential forgers).

²³Prior to the analysis of the unique coin by the SEM, we presented it to L. Mildenberg for analysis; on the basis of the patina, he tended to regard it as genuine.

²⁴See *CNP Jewish War*, no. 1; *BMC Palestine*, pl. XXX, 1; SNG ANS, *Palestine-South Arabia*, no. 419.

²⁵*CNP Jewish War* lists only 62 specimens of the Jewish shekels and half-shekels of year "1". However, since the publication of Kadman's study, hundreds of these coins have come to light, in legal excavations and in two occasional finds — including the hoard from near Bethlehem, which yielded over 100 such pieces.

²⁶Pontius Pilate once utilized this source; see *Wars* 2, 175–177. Boxes in which the shekels were stored are mentioned in *TB Seqal.* 2a and *Qidd.* 54a.

²⁷Only two quarter-shekel pieces have been found; see no. 7.

²⁸For Tyrian quarter-shekels of the first century B.C.E., see *BMC Phoenicia*, suppl., pl. XLIV, no. 5, p. cxxxiv.

²⁹*CNP Jewish War*, pp. 96–97.

³⁰See *TB Bek.* 99b; Tos., *Ma'aser Sheni* 1, 15–30.

³¹*Ibid.*, 1, 2 (52b).

³²The expression *ma'aser sheni* ("second tithe") refers to a donation which was not received directly by the Temple. Rather, the Jews redeemed this tithe with money to be spent in Jerusalem. This practice, which persisted throughout the Second Commonwealth, was intended to make Jerusalem the economic center of the land; it required all Jews to spend a tenth of their annual income in the city.

³³There can be no doubt that the Romans forbade the use of the Jerusalemite coinage. They adopted a similar stance concerning the issues minted under Bar Cochba. TJ *Ma'aser Sheni* 1, 2 notes: "[The second tithe] is not exchanged for a coin

issued by one who rebelled, such as Ben Koziba." מטבע שמרד כגון בן כוזיבא אינו מחלל

³⁴Madden, p. 67; *BMC Palestine*, p. 185; Narkiss, p. 96, and others.

³⁵Romanoff notes that the vessel called the *kos*, which was displayed in the Temple, was not used for drinking, but held sacrificial blood. Furthermore, consumption of wine within the Temple was forbidden (*Mishna, Zebah* 8, 6).

³⁶Romanoff, p. 23, followed by Goodenough.

³⁷*CNP Jewish War*, p. 86.

³⁸*Dating*, pp. 87–88.

³⁹We cannot definitively equate the image on the coin with that depicted on the arch of Titus. The exact proportions, either of the original vessel appearing in the relief or of the design depicted on the coin, cannot be determined.

⁴⁰Mishna, *Menah.* 10, 4.

⁴¹See *Encyclopaedia Hebraica* XXII (Jerusalem, 1970/71), cols. 229ff., s.v. *Midot Umishqalot* (Hebrew).

⁴²See *Ant.* 3, 142.

⁴³See *BMC Palestine*, p. 269.

⁴⁴See *CNP Jewish War*, p. 87, where the image is described as "stem with three pomegranates in their transition from blossom to fruit".

⁴⁵See Sussman.

⁴⁶See *ibid.*, no. 31, pomegranate with two stems, each bearing three fruits; no. 32, stem with three pomegranates; no. 34, stem with four pomegranates; and no. 35, stylized pomegranate, one or six fruits appearing on each branch.

⁴⁷See Philo VI (Moses 2).

⁴⁸I Kgs 7: 42; 2 Kgs 25: 17; Jer. 52: 22–23; and others.

⁴⁹*Letter of Aristeas* 63.

⁵⁰*TB Ber.* 57a; compare *Gen. Rabba* 32.

⁵¹See Mishna, *Sukk.* 5, 5; and the discussion above, p. 58.

⁵²Neither side of these coins displays characteristics enabling identification as obverse or reverse. Our designation of the side depicting the vessel as the obverse is arbitrary.

⁵³On coins of "year three", this strange orientation was corrected, along with a modification of the design.

⁵⁴See the beautiful sarcophagus found at "Dominus Flevit" in Jerusalem; Bagatti & Milik, *Dominus Flevit*, pl. 16, no. 35; see also Sussman, nos. 25, 26, 178–180; Goodenough III, no. 142.

⁵⁵Romanoff, p. 28–31.

⁵⁶Although the three types of amphorae depicted on the coins may represent three distinct vessels, they all may have been used for the same purpose, such as storing pure olive oil for the menorah.

⁵⁷Mishna, *Mid.* 3, 8; *Wars* 5, 210.

⁵⁸See, for example, the "Herodian lamps" in Sussman, nos. 25, 176, 178, 180; Goodenough III, nos. 142, 563; and others.

⁵⁹*TB Hul.* 92a.

⁶⁰*BMC Palestine*, pp. 184–187; Reifenberg, nos. 4–6.

⁶¹Coins of "year four" have been discovered together with the silver shekels and half-shekels and the bronze prutot of "year two" and "year three" respectively, in strata dated to the destruction of Jerusalem (70 C.E.) and to the fall of Masada (73 C.E.). See Avigad, *Upper City*, p. 25; and Yadin, *Masada*, pp. 107–110, 168–171.

⁶²Shimon bar Giora controlled one faction of the insurgents; Eleazar son of

Shimon and John of Gischala represented the rebels centered around the Temple.

⁶³Y. Meshorer, "Alterations of the Aeqel," *PFWCJS*, pp. 81–86 (Hebrew).

⁶⁴Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins*, nos. 79–84.

⁶⁵Similar bronze coinage replaced silver issues of the Ayyubids; see G. Edham, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes* (Constantinople, 1894), p. 154, n. 192.

⁶⁶The drachm/denarius was the standard silver unit of Nabataean coinage in that era.

⁶⁷See Y. Weiss, *Alon* 4 (1969), pp. 64–69 (Hebrew). Weiss suggests that the term "half" refers to the Roman as and "quarter" to the Roman semis.

⁶⁸See *CNP Jewish War*, no. 29, and our no. 24.

⁶⁹Mishna, *Ta'an*. 1–3.

⁷⁰*Lev. Rabba* 30, 11. In *Lev. Rabba* 30, 2, the following is recorded: Another exposition: The fruit of the Hadar tree symbolizes Israel; just as the ethrog has taste as well as fragrance, so Israel have among them men who possess learning and good deeds. Branches of Palm-Trees, too, applies to Israel: as the palm-tree has taste but not fragrance, so Israel have among them such as possess learning but not good deeds. And Boughs of Thick Trees likewise applies to Israel; just as the myrtle has fragrance but no taste, so Israel have among them such as possess good deeds but not learning. And Willows of the Brook also applies to Israel: just as the willow has no taste and no fragrance, so Israel have among them people who possess neither learning nor good deeds." Compare also the presence of the lulav in dreams, in *TB Ber.* 57a.

⁷¹*Wars* 5, 24.

⁷²Sussman, nos. 8, 9, 10, as well as examples from a later period in Goodenough III, nos. 639, 877 and 967.

⁷³Sussman, nos. 10, 11.

⁷⁴See the discussion of this design and its relationship to the coins of Bar Cochba, below, p. 141.

⁷⁵See the Judaea Capta coins as well as the coins struck by Nerva concerning the Jewish tax, struck in 97 C.E.; Hart, *Judaea and Rome*, p. 190, pl. IV, no. 8; Mattingly III, pl. 5, 7. On the majority of the issues minted during the Jewish War, seven (see no. 27) or nine (see no. 28) branches are depicted. Compare the coins of Antipas, no. 17, and the coins of Bar Cochba, on which only seven branches appear. Kadman suggested that the number nine is also represented by the quantity of the pellets depicted on the rim of the chalice on shekels minted from the second to the fifth year, as well as on the smaller denominations of the fourth year. He quite correctly does not speculate on the possible meaning of this phenomenon (see *CNP Jewish War*, p. 94).

⁷⁶Mishna, *Bik.* 1, 6. See also Sussman, nos. 14–23. No. 16 depicts one basket of dates, and several baskets similar in shape to those depicted on the coins appear on nos. 22 and 23.

⁷⁷Romanoff, pp. 19–20.

⁷⁸*Wars* 6, 288–300.

⁷⁹See also *Midrash Ex.* 6, 4, which comments on the Exodus from Egypt, the first Israelite redemption: "And I have rememebered my covenant. Wherefore say unto the children of Israel. the expression *wherefore* implies an oath, as it is said: *and therefore I have sworn unto the house of Eli* (1 Sam. 3:14). God swore unto Moses that he would redeem them, so that Moses need have no fear lest the Attribute of Justice should retard their redemption. *And I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians*,

etc. (7: 6). There are here four expressions of redemption: *I will bring you out — I will deliver you — I will redeem you and I will take you.*

⁸⁰Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, p. 188.

⁸¹Mishna, *Ma'aser Sheni* 1, 6; see also Madden, p. 313.

⁸²One specimen, dated "year four", was found to be struck with a countermark (see no. 30f). Although the mark may indicate the continuing validity of the coin, its presence is inexplicable.

⁸³Madden, p. 69.

⁸⁴G.F. Hill, "The Shekels of the First Revolt of the Jews," *QDAP* 6 (1938), pp. 78–83.

⁸⁵E.L. Sukenik, "The Date of the 'Thick Shekels'," *Kedem* 1 (1942), pp. 15–19 (Hebrew).

⁸⁶Reifenberg, pp. 30–31.

⁸⁷Spijkerman, *Trésor*.

⁸⁸*CNP Jewish War*, p. 74.

⁸⁹The average weights are based on the tables in *ibid.*, p. 103.

⁹⁰*BMC Palestine*, pl. XXX, 15, 16.

⁹¹*CNP Jewish War*, nos. 46–59.

⁹²This practice is reflected in Matt. 17: 24: "Thou shalt find a piece of money; that take, and give unto them for me and thee."

⁹³The crude bronze coins of "year three" were not published in *CNP Jewish War*. They were first presented, in 1976, by F. Jacobs, "Barbaric Coins of the Revolt Years Two and Three," *The Shekel* 9 (1976), pp. 26–27.

⁹⁴See the detailed description of the battle, in *Wars* 4, 11–83.

⁹⁵We wish to thank S. Gutmann for permission to publish this coin.

Notes

Bar Cochba

¹The revolt is termed in Jewish literary sources פּוֹלֶמוֹס קִיטוֹס ("Polemos Quietus"); see D. Rokeah, ed., *The Jewish Rebellions in the Time of Trajan 115–117 C.E.* (Jerusalem, 1978; Hebrew); *Historia* 11 (1962), pp. 500–510; *JRS* 2 (1976), pp. 98–104; Schürer I, pp. 529–534.

²See Dio Cassius LXVIII, 32, 33.

³Note, for example, the voyages made by R. Akiba to such areas as Arabia, North Africa, Babylonia and Cappadocia.

⁴עֲקִילָס; *TJ Meg.* 1, 9; *Qidd.* 1, 1.

⁵The most notable issue was the sestertius. See Mattingly III, pp. 493, nos. 1655–1661.

⁶See *BMC Palestine*, pp. 146–151.

⁷*Roman History* LXIX, 12, 1–3.

⁸Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*.

⁹Schürer I, p. 545.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Schürer admits that even Dio Cassius, who presents the most detailed account of the war, does not locate any battles in Jerusalem

¹¹On the various archaeological sites of this period, see the recent study published by S. Applebaum, *Prolegomena to the Second Jewish Revolt* (British Archaeological Reports, Suppl. Ser. 7) (Oxford, 1976).

¹²See Spijkerman, *Herodion III, Catalogo delle Monete* (Jerusalem, 1972).

¹³See Y. Meshorer, "The Hoard of Coins in the Hebron Mountains District," in "Mered Bar-Cochba," *Sugiot* 10 (1980), p. 69 (Hebrew); see also Applebaum, *op. cit.* (above, n. 11), p. 8.

¹⁴Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, pp. 186, 194; L.Y. Rahmani, *IEJ* 11 (1961), p. 64; N. Avigad, *IEJ* 12 (1962), p. 179.

¹⁵Y. Tzafrir, "A Cave of the Bar-Kokhba Period near 'Ain-'Arrub," *Qadmoniot* 8 (29)(1975), pp. 24-27 (Hebrew).

¹⁶See the full presentation of the chronological material in Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁷R. Akiba, who supported the efforts of Bar Cochba, may have been an adherent of the minority position. See *Lam. Rabba* 2.

¹⁸For further information concerning the silver coinage, see W. Wrück, *Die Syrische Provinzialprägung von Augustus bis Trajan* (Stuttgart, 1931); SNG, *Deutschland*, Von Aulock, 14 (1967), nos. 6389-6408; SNG ANS, *Palestine-South Arabia*, nos. 1153-1165.

¹⁹See no. 10b, overstruck on a coin minted in Arabia (Bostra) under Trajan.

²⁰See, for example, *BMC Galatia*, Antioch, nos. 166-168, 177-186, 201-223, 235-254, 259-266, 270-286, 289-297; *BMC Palestine*, Ascalon, nos. 72-190.

²¹*TJ Meg.* 4,1; *Mishna, Abod. Zar.* 4, 5.

²²See Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, p. 124; Schürer I, p. 543.

²³See also *Lam. Rabba* 2, 4: "R. Johanan said: Rabbi used to expound 'There shall step forth as a star (*kokab*) out of Jacob' (Num. 24: 17), thus: read not *kokab* but *kazab* ('lie'). When R. Akiba beheld Bar Koziba he exclaimed, 'This is the king Messiah!' R. Johanan b. Torta retorted"

²⁴Schürer I, p. 544.

²⁵Num. 7:24-78.

²⁶The leaders of the war of the sons of light against the sons of darkness are also נְשִׂיָא (NŠY') and כְּהֵן (KHN); see Yadin, *War Scroll*, pp. 263, 273, 293.

²⁷Schürer I, p. 544.

²⁸Alon, *History of the Jews* II, p. 37.

²⁹See also A. Kindler, "The Eleazar Coins of the Bar-Kokhba War", *Numismatic Circular* (Feb. 1962), p. 14; L. Hamburger, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 18 (1892), pp. 241ff., suggested that the inscriptions refer to Eleazar son of Azaria, but there is no evidence linking this figure with Bar Cochba. See also L. Mildenberg, "The Eleazar Coins of the Bar Kokhba Rebellion," *Historia Judaica* 11 (1949), pp. 77-108.

³⁰No. 47 was originally struck as type 7 (or 8), minted in "year one". The reverse has been defaced with a file, possibly for reasons connected with the account in *Midrash Lam.*

³¹See Levy, *Jüdischen Münzen*, p. 92. Kanael, *BA* 26(1963), p. 61, not only identifies the design as "the temple of Jerusalem" but also adds that a Torah shrine appears within.

³²Madden, pp. 202-203.

³³Reifenberg, p. 36.

³⁴E. Rogers, "A New Jewish Tetradrachm," *NC* (1911), pp. 205-208.

³⁵*BMC Palestine*, p. cvi.

³⁶*Ant.* 3, 122-123.

³⁷Romanoff, p. 40.

³⁸*Mishna, Roš Haš.* 4, 3.

³⁹Or three, if the lower line represents the base.

⁴⁰*TB Men.* 37,b.

⁴¹See Tos., *Dmai* 3, 14.

⁴²Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, p. 130.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴⁴See *Mishna, Sukk.* 4, 9; 5, 1-4.

⁴⁵Romanoff, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁶See Goodenough III, no. 31; Avigad, *IEJ* 21 (1971), pp. 192-194; and Sussman, nos. 47, 48.

⁴⁷See *BMC Phoenicia*, pp. 254, 258. The Greek name of the country is a derivation of the word φοῖνῆξ, meaning, *inter alia*, "palm-tree". In the second century B.C.E., all the Seleucid rulers, from Antiochus IV on, struck bronze coins at Tyre, depicting this image.

⁴⁸See Mattingly III, p. 15, no. 88; p. 17, no. 98.

⁴⁹*Gen. Rabba* 30, 8; *Lev. Rabba* 29, 11.

⁵⁰Here we are indebted to the splendid paper by B. Bayer, "The Biblical Nebel," in *Yuval* (Studies of the Jewish Music Research Center, Jerusalem) 1 (1968), pp. 89-131. See also C. Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York, 1940), pp. 115-117; and A. Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York, 1969).

⁵¹The *shoshanin*, a second instrument mentioned in Pss. 45: 1, 69: 1 and 80: 1, apparently has six strings. The *shminit*, or eight-stringed instrument, is mentioned in Pss. 6:1 and 12:1. See also *TB Arak.* 13b, which states that *shminit* refers to eight strings.

⁵²*Mishna, Qinnim* 3, 6.

⁵³Num. 10:2.

⁵⁴*Mishna, Tamid* 7, 3.

⁵⁵*Mishna, Sukk.* 3, 4.

⁵⁶*Mishna, Arak.* 2, 5.

⁵⁷Yadin, *War Scroll*, p. 105.

⁵⁸It is interesting to compare this text with coin types 6, 46, 50 and 77, on which musical instruments and lulavim appear together.

⁵⁹Alon, *History of the Jews* III, pp. 31-33.

⁶⁰Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, pp. 95-96.

⁶¹See the contracts on leasing property, in Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, p. 183.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁶³L. Mildenberg, "Numismatische Evidenz zur Chronologie der Bar-Kokhba-Erhebung," *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 34 (1948/49), pp. 19-27.

⁶⁴Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, p. 172.

⁶⁵*BASOR* 149 (1958), pp. 17-25.

⁶⁶*Mishna, Roš Haš.* 1, 2: "On the New Year, all the inhabitants of the world pass before him, like flocks of sheep."

⁶⁷See *Mishna, Kelim* 17, 12: "And the size [of the light hole] fashioned by man's hands is fully equal to that made by a large borer [that was kept] in a [temple] chamber [and whose diameter was equal to that] of an Italian pondion or of a Neronian sela or of a hole in a yoke."

⁶⁸Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, pp. 179-180.

⁶⁹SNG ANS, *Palestine-South Arabia*, nos. 1155–1159.

⁷⁰A. Negev, "Notes on Some Trajanic Drachms from the Mamphis Hoard," in Spijkerman, *Decapolis*, pp. 32–35, pls. 1–5.

⁷¹Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins*.

⁷²D. Hendin, "Plated Coins of Bar Kokhba," *INJ* 4 (1980), pp. 34–37.

⁷³Nabataean specimens were found in a hoard of Roman coins from as late as the early third century C.E.; cf. Negev, *op. cit.* (above, n. 70), p. 32.

⁷⁴See, for example, the four different designs which correspond to the four denominations of the issues struck in Sepphoris under Trajan; *BMC Palestine*, pl. I, nos. 1–5.

⁷⁵See *CNP Aelia*, nos. 11 and 12, 73 and 74, 140, 141; as well as our Agrippa II, nos. 1–3, and others.

⁷⁶The coin is genuine and has a dark patina. The irregular inscription which appears on the reverse reads: שְׁבִלְחָר לַת יִשְׂרָאֵל, ŠBLHR LT YSR'L, "year 2 of the freedom ...[redemp]tion of Israel". This bronze piece may have been struck during the first year of the war with a die of type 5b, and then restruck partially with a die used for the tetradrachms of "year 2". Another possibility: a "year one" die recut in "year 2".

⁷⁷See also *Tb Bek.* 37d/38a.

⁷⁸Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, p. 132.

⁷⁹See the studies of the dies used to produce the shekels of the Jewish War, in C.F. Hill, *QDAP* 6 (1938), pp. 82ff.

⁸⁰The denarii contain many hybrid features; this list is not complete and does not include even all the hybrids in our catalogue. For further information on these combinations, see L. Mildenberg's forthcoming corpus and study of the Bar Cochba coinage.

⁸¹Alternatively, the obverse may reflect a die from "year 2", while the die of the reverse of type 4, which shows the date "year one", may have been used to restrike this specimen.

⁸²The letter Z on type 2 is also partially retrograde.

⁸³Overstriking may, for example, result in irregular inscriptions such as the legend: לְחֵרֻת יְרוּשָׁלַם (LHRWT YRWŠLM), "For the freedom of Jerusalem", which was reproduced on the new issues as לְחֵרֻת וְשָׁלָם (LHRWT... WŠLM), or "For freedom and peace." See Madden, p. 238.

⁸⁴Levy, *Jüdischen Münzen*.

⁸⁵De Saulcy, F., *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque* (Paris, 1854), pls. XI, XII.

⁸⁶Y. Meshorer, "The Perforated Denars of Bar-Kokhba," *International Numismatic Congress Jerusalem 1963* (Jerusalem, 1967), pp. 209–211.

⁸⁷For further discussion of numismatic material struck after the Bar Cochba rebellion but related to Jews or bearing Jewish influence, see Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Symbols*, pp. 60–63.

Notes

Suppl. III, Under the Herodians

¹*BMC Palestine*, p. 5, no. 2.

²*Ibid.*, p. 239, no. 5; M. Narkiss, *BIES* 17 (1953), pp. 108–120 (Hebrew); H. Seyrig, "Irenopolis-Neronias-Sepphoris", *NC* 10, (1950), pp. 284–289; cf. *NC* 15, (1955), pp. 157–159.

³Y. Meshorer, "Sepphoris and Rome," *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology, Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson* (Wetteren, 1979), pp. 160–163.

⁴Immigration of Jews to Sepphoris involved not only refugees from ruined places in the Holy Land itself, but also Diaspora Jews coming to Sepphoris to live close to the Sages. See, for example, "the Synagogue of the Babylonians in Sepphoris", in *TJ Ber.* 3, 1, 1.

⁵Seyrig suggests (see n. 2) that in 68 C.E. Vespasian was regarded as the supreme governor of the country.

⁶*CNP Caesarea*, nos. 18, 19.

⁷Seyrig, *op. cit.* (above, n. 2), p. 158.

⁸*Wars* 3, 399–401.

⁹Tacitus, *History*, 1, 10 and 5, 13.

¹⁰Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 4, 5.

¹¹Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, pp. 85–87.

¹²From 71 C.E. to at least the third century C.E., Neapolis (ancient Shechem), was called "Flavia" in honor of Vespasian and his family.

¹³Herod, no. 17; Archelaus, no. 1.

¹⁴Procurators, nos. 6, 10.

¹⁵Agrippa II, nos. 5, 35.

¹⁶This is the principal design on the Hasmonean coins; nos. E–N, P–Q, S, U, W.

¹⁷We should not try to compare the S C on Sepphoris's coins to the S C on the "provincial" coins of Antioch or Hatra. These coins of Sepphoris are, as stated before, civic issues, with basically Jewish types and do not bear the image of the emperor. Thus, we believe that in the case of Sepphoris these letters represent a close association between this city and the Romans. Agrippa II, the Jewish king who was behind all this, later minted coins bearing his name, again with the letters S C, and we believe that, in this case, they have the same meaning.

¹⁸*BMC Palestine*, pl. XXVII, 15.

¹⁹Madden, pp. 147–148.

Notes

Suppl. IV, The Herodian Kings of Chalcis

¹Wars 2, 217: "he [Claudius], moreover, presented Herod, who was at once the brother and, by his marriage with Berenice, the son-in-law of Agrippa, with the kingdom of Chalcis."

²Ant. 20, 15.

³Ant. 20, 104.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ant. 20, 13–14; cf. Reifenberg, p. 24.

⁶This Mariamme was a granddaughter of Herod the Great and the daughter of Olympias; see Ant. 18, 134.

⁷Ant. 20, 158.

⁸Wars 7, 226.

⁹Reifenberg, pp. 24–25.

¹⁰Even the Judaea Capta coins struck at Caesarea are inscribed with the name of Titus, and very few of Vespasian (who is mentioned on fewer than one in two-hundred of these issues).

Notes

Suppl. V, The Roman Procurators

¹On the various aspects of the change in administration, see Stern, *Compendia*, pp. 308–311; and *EI* 10 (1971), p. 274 (Hebrew).

²A. Frova, "L'iscrizione de Ponzio Pilato a Caesarea," *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo* 95 (1961), pp. 419–434. This inscription, now at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, reads: TIBERIEVM/ [PO]NTIVS PILATVS/ [PRAEF]ECTVS IVDA[EAE].

³See Ant. 20, 14; Stern, *Compendia*, p. 316.

⁴See *BMC Galatia*, pp. 158–175.

⁵See the issues similar to the provincial coins of Antioch, in *ibid.*, Seleucia–Pieria, p. 273.

⁶Wars 2, 117–118.

⁷Ant. 18, 2.

⁸See Herod Antipas, no. 17; Jewish War, no. 27; and Bar Cochba, nos. 5, 7–10, 40–45, 48–49, 71–76 and 79–82. The palm tree of Coponius preceded all these.

⁹Ant. 18, 31–32.

¹⁰The usual term, represented by the governorships of Coponius, Ambibulus, Rufus, Fadus, Alexander, Festus, Albinus and Florus, was two or three years.

¹¹Ant. 18, 33–35.

¹²Ant. 18, 55–62.

¹³Philo, *Embassy to Gaius*, 299–303. In Matt. 27: 1–31, Mk. 15: 1–15 and elsewhere, Pilate is presented in a more positive light.

¹⁴Ant. 18, 86–87.

¹⁵Ant. 18, 88.

¹⁶On the chronology of the term of Pontius Pilate, see P.L. Hadley, *JTS* 35 (1934), pp. 56–57.

¹⁷Such as the public funds of Rome, housed in the temple of Saturn in the Forum Romanus.

¹⁸Wars 2, 220.

¹⁹Wars 2, 223.

²⁰See Ant. 20, 136–137.

²¹The son of Felix and Drusilla was killed during the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 C.E.

²²Ant. 20, 160.

²³Ant. 20, 162–163.

²⁴Stern, *Compendia*, pp. 75–76.

²⁵Mattingly I, pl. 33, 15–17.

²⁶Stevenson, p. 596.

²⁷Ant. 20, 185–187.

²⁸The inscriptions depicted on the coins issued by the procurators are clear; the characters are large and not overly schematic. Therefore, any coin with a crude appearance or inscription should be regarded with great caution.

²⁹Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, pp. 103–104.

³⁰The percentage of errors in the issue is comparable only to certain barbaric groups of Tyrian shekels, which also display unclear and often misleading dates.

³¹The many varieties of crude specimens are described in the Catalogue.

³²On no. 20, the letter II is upside-down.

³³A. Spijkerman, "Some Rare Jewish Coins," *Liber Annuus* 13 (1962/63), p. 311.

³⁴See Cox, *Curium*, nos. 195, 198, 199; A.R. Bellinger, *Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report VI, The Coins* (New Haven, Conn., 1949), nos. 188–192; D.B. Waage, *Antioch on the Orontes IV/2. Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins* (Princeton, 1952), nos. 935–938.

³⁵Now in the collection of the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University, Jerusalem; see Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, pp. 173–174.

³⁶This mint often struck pieces in imitation of various minimae. See Suppl. VI.

Notes

Suppl. VII, Judaea Capta

¹Wars 7, 139–152.

²See Hart, *Judaea and Rome*, p. 172.

³Mattingly I, p. 106, nos. 650–655.

⁴Mattingly II, p. 362, no. 294, and many others.

⁵Ibid., p. 248, no. 146.

⁶Ibid., p. 68.

⁷Quoted in Hart, *Judaea and Rome*, p. 175.

⁸The Judaea Capta coins were minted over an exceptionally long span of ten years.

⁹Together with several units sent by vassal kings; see Schürer, I, p. 492.

¹⁰Besides the victory over Judaea, Vespasian's other military victory was over the fleet of Vitellius, in 69 C.E.

¹¹Madden is the single study publishing the entire series of Judaea Capta coinage. For the past hundred years, however, the commemorative pieces issued by the emperors have been included in general discussions of Roman coinage; and the issues struck at Caesarea have been published in volumes dealing primarily with Jewish coinage. We shall follow the method of Hill, Narkiss, Reifenberg and others, and consider in this chapter only those coins struck in Judaea and intended for local circulation.

¹²This section is not intended to be comprehensive but merely provides background to the Caesarean issues.

¹³The illustrations are from Madden, pp. 208–225.

¹⁴The captive Jews depicted on the sestertii are clad only in tunics (חלוק); their legs and sides are bare, and they have been stripped of their outer garment טלית (*pallium*). See Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, pp. 66–81.

¹⁵No. 4 represents an occasional variant and not a separate type.

¹⁶See, for example, Fig. 9, depicting a Jew and Jewess supplicating before the emperor. The best illustration of this design is in Hart, *Judaea and Rome*, pl. IV, nos. 1 and 2.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 183–192.

¹⁸D. Barag, "The Palestinian 'Judaea Capta' Coins of Vespasian and Titus," *NC* 7th ser., 18 (1978), pp. 14–23.

¹⁹For discussions of these prototypes, see Hart, *Judaea and Rome*, pp. 191–192; and Barag, *op. cit.* (above, n. 18), p. 17.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 16.

²¹We can also compare the titles of Vespasian and Titus, given on the Roman coinage of 71 C.E.: Vespasian — (1) IMP[ERATOR]; (2) CAES[AR]; (3) AVG[VSTVS]; (4) P[ONTIFEX] M[AXIMVS] TR[IBVNICIA] P[OTESTAS] P[ATER] P[ATRIAE] CO[N]S[VL] III; Titus — (1) CAES[AR]; (2) IMP[ERATOR]; (3) PONT[IFEX] TR[IBVNICIA] POT[ESTAS] CO[N]S[VL] II. Titus is not called *Augustus*; he is titled *Pontifex* rather than *Pontifex Maximus*; and he is not *Pater Patriae*. The Caesarean Judaea Capta coins maintain these distinctions, and thus do not refer to Titus as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ("Augustus").

²²It is unlikely that the title was omitted accidentally from issues struck during the reign of Titus. ΣΕΒ[ΑΣΤΟΣ] does appear on the coins of Ascalon dated ΔΙΠ (see *BMC Palestine*, p. 121, nos. 117, 118). Although this epithet was omitted from some provincial issues, it does appear on the Caesarean coins struck in honor of Vespasian. Its absence on the coins depicting Titus must, therefore, be significant.

²³See Barag, *op. cit.* (above, n. 18), p. 15.

²⁴The trophy here is composed of a pole hung with a helmet, shields and cuirass.

²⁵D. Barag, "The Countermarks of the *Legio Decima Fretensis*," *International Numismatic Convention, Jerusalem, 1963*, Jerusalem, 1967, p. 121.

²⁶See Fig. 12; and Mattingly II, pp. 256–257.

²⁷Meshorer, *Jewish Coins*, pp. 108–109.

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CATALOGUE OF THE COINS

The following is a list of abbreviations denoting the collections from which coins are cited.

Many coins in this catalogue are from collections whose owners prefer to remain anonymous; these coins are marked "P" (private). Some coins were lent for study by kind dealers who subsequently sold them to collectors not known to me; such coins are marked "D" (dealers). An initial in brackets indicates that the collections have remained in the possession of the collector's heirs.

A	H. Abramowitz, Johannesburg
ANS	The American Numismatic Society, N.Y.
B	H. Bessin, Canada
BA	V. Barakat, Beth-Lehem
BE	L. Better, Haifa
BER	Staatliche Museen, Berlin
BI	G. Binnet, Jerusalem
BM	The British Museum, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
BOI	The Bank of Israel, Jerusalem
D	Dealers
DA	Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, Jerusalem (IDAM)
F	The Franciscan Biblical School, Jerusalem (FBS)
G	E. Grosswirth, Jerusalem
H	D. Hendin, N.Y.
HE	R. Hecht, Haifa
HR	E. Heideker, Jerusalem
HU	The Hebrew University, Jerusalem
IM	The Israel Museum, Jerusalem
JM	The Jewish Museum, N.Y.

K	M. Krupp, Jerusalem
KIS	D. Kissin, Ramat-Gan
KL	V. Klagsbald, Paris
KNM	Kadman Numismatic Museum, Tel-Aviv
KO	T. Kollek, Jerusalem
KS	S. Kando, Beth-Lehem
L	D. Littman, Gland, Switzerland
LE	S. Leshem, Tel-Aviv
LG	E. Lemberg, Haifa
M	N. Meron, Jerusalem
ME	J. Meyshan, Tel-Aviv
MS	Y. Meisels, Jerusalem
MU	Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich
P	P ₁ , P ₂ , P ₃ -P ₆ Six different private collections
Q	S. Qedar, Jerusalem
R	A. Reifenberg, Jerusalem
ROS	M. Rosenberger, Jerusalem
S	A. Sofaer, N.Y.
SA	Y. Sasson, Jerusalem
SAR	M. Salzberger, Jerusalem
SCH	S. Schwartz, Princeton
SL	J. Samel, Munich
SN	N. Sahuri, Beth-Lehem
Sp	A. Spaer, Jerusalem
Sr	A. Stechler, Haifa
ST	Z. Stein, Tel-Aviv
T	P. Tishbi, Jerusalem
V	Vienna, Bundessammlung für Münzen und Medaillen
W	Y. Willinger, Tel-Aviv
WA	A. Warshawski, Jerusalem
YMCA	YMCA, Jerusalem
Z	S. Zeitzov, Rishon-Lezion

HEROD THE GREAT

40(37)-4 B.C.E.

All inscriptions are in Greek.

All coins are bronze.

A. DATED COINS, SAMARIA MINT (40-37 B.C.E.)

1. *Obv.*: Tripod with lebes standing on podium; in field, l.: date: L (Year 3=40 B.C.E.); on r.: monogram P ; around, inscr.: $\text{HP}\Omega\Delta\text{OY}$ $\text{B}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\text{S}$ (Of Herod the King).
Rev.: Helmet with cheek pieces, and star on top, flanked by two palm-branches. 6.59 \uparrow
- 1a. *Obv.*: Same as 1, but the inscr. does not appear around periphery, but rather in straight lines on l. and r. with three letters below.
Rev.: Same as above, but with less details and a rather schematic design. 8.37 \uparrow
- 1b. Same as 1, but date written backwards: L . The flan is defective, due to technical fault (air bubbles in the moulding process). 5.21
- 1c. Same as 1, but struck over a smaller flan, (of the half denomination, see no. 2). 4.50 \uparrow
2. *Obv.*: Crested helmet with two cheek pieces; in field, l.: date: L (Year 3=40 B.C.E.); on r.: monogram P ; around, inscr.: $\text{HP}\Omega\Delta\text{OY}$ $\text{B}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\text{S}$
Rev.: Decorated shield. 4.90 \uparrow
- 2a. Same as 2, but with fillet behind helmet; the date and monogram are below. 4.36 \uparrow
- 2b. Same as 2, but with one cheek piece only. 5.10 \uparrow
3. *Obv.*: Winged caduceus; in field, l.: date L (Year 3=40 B.C.E.); on r.: monogram P ; around, inscr.: $\text{HP}\Omega\Delta\text{OY}$ $\text{B}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\text{S}$
Rev.: Poppy pod on stem with leaves; in field, to l. and r.: fillet (cf. no. 2a). 4.40 \uparrow
4. Same as 3, but no date or monogram. 3.50 \uparrow
5. *Obv.*: Aphlaston. In field, l.: date L (Year 3=40 B.C.E.); on r.: monogram P ; around, inscr.: $\text{HP}\Omega\Delta\text{OY}$ $\text{B}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\text{S}$
Rev.: Palm- or laurel-branch with fillet. 2.35 \uparrow
6. Same as 5, but no date or monogram. 2.40

B. UNDATED COINS, JERUSALEM MINT

7. *Obv.*: + surrounded by a diadem; around, inscr.: HPYΔOY BACIACYC
Rev.: Table standing on flat platform, with three curved legs; upon it a flat vessel; on l. and r., palm-branches. 3.14 ↑
- 7a. Same as 7, but × appears inside the diadem. 2.83
8. *Obv.*: × in opened diadem; around, inscr.: HPΩΔOY BACIΛ€ΩC
Rev.: Table standing on flat platform, with three carinated legs; upon it a bowl standing on three legs (?); on l. and r., palm-branches touching each other on top. 4.45 ↗
- 8a. *Obv.*: Same as 8.
Rev.: Same as 8, but two palm-branches are apart. 2.42 ↑
- 8b. Same as 8a, but small palm-branches. 2.50 ↑
9. *Obv.*: + surrounded by diadem and inscr., as 8a.
Rev.: Table with three carinated legs, and upon it a flat vessel, all surrounded by a border of dots. 2.03 ↑
- 9a. Same as 9, but no vessel upon table. 1.36 ↑
10. *Obv.*: + surrounded by a closed diadem and inscr., as 7.
Rev.: Table with three carinated legs standing on flat platform. 2.05 ↓
11. *Obv.*: Diadem with + outside, below, surrounded by inscr.: H[PΩΔOY BACI]Λ€ΩΣ
Rev.: Same as 10. 1.66 ↗
12. *Obv.*: Opened diadem with no + inside or outside; around, inscr.: HPΩΔOY BACIΛ€ΩC
Rev.: Same as 10. 1.27 ↑
- 12a. *Obv.*: Small closed diadem of different style from the preceding (nos. 7, 10–12), surrounded by inscr.: HPΩVOYΩ€ (beginning on top, continuing to the left, downwards, and then to the right).
Rev.: Same as 9a. 2.01 ↑
13. *Obv.*: Same diadem as 12a, but the inscr. is divided on l. and r. into two lines on each side: on left: HΨW/YOΔ (*sic!*); on right: BACIV/€VΩ (*sic!*)
Rev.: Same as 11. 1.14 ↓
- 13P. Coins 13 and 13P are identical. Since we could not find one complete coin, we show the two in order to illustrate the full inscr. and its distribution. 1.57 ↑
- 13a. *Obv.*: Crude inscr. scattered in field (sometimes traces of diadem below?): HPΩΔOY BACI ...

Rev.: Table as on 9a. 2.38 ↑

- 13aR. Another example of type 13a showing some other letters, and there may be traces of diadem below(?). 1.36 ↑
14. *Obv.*: Table as on 7; around, inscr.: [HPΩ]ΔOV BACIΛ€ΩC
Rev.: Two palm-branches crossed, surrounded by a circle. 1.10 ↑
- 14a. *Obv.*: Same as 14.
Rev.: Same as 14, but larger palm-branches with longer leaves. 0.91 ↑
15. *Obv.*: Same as 14.
Rev.: Palm-branch with long leaves, surrounded by a circle. 0.85 ↑
16. *Obv.*: Table as on 9a; around, inscr.: HPΩB ...
Rev.: Vine branch (?) 0.78 ↓
17. *Obv.*: Anchor; around, inscr. (beginning on bottom, l.): HPWΔ BACIΛE
Rev.: Double cornucopias with caduceus in between the horns. 1.58 ↗
- 17a. *Obv.*: Anchor; around, shorter inscr. than 17: HPWΔ BACI
Rev.: Double cornucopias with caduceus, as on 17, above; row of five dots. 1.94 →
- 17aFBS. Same as 17a, but different style and smaller flan. 1.56 ↑
- 17b. Same as 17a; inscr.: HPW BACIΛ 1.15 ↗
- 17c. Same as 17a; inscr.: HPW BACIΛ; above, cornucopias; four dots only. 1.41 ↑
- 17d. Same as 17a; inscr.: HPW BACI 1.37 ↑
- 17e. Same as 17a; crude style; inscr.: HPW BACI 0.92 ↓
- 17f. Same as 17a, but inscr.: BACI HPW 1.93 ↓
- 17g. Same as 17a, but inscr. turns outwards, beginning on bottom, r.: HPW BACI 1.85 ↓
- 17h. Same as 17a, but crude style, and retrograde inscr., beginning on r.: WPH 1.10 ↑
- 17i. Same as 17h, but some letters turn outwards. 1.18 ↓
- 17j. Same as 17a, but very crude style; retrograde inscr.: CABW 1.18 ↑
- 17k. Same as 17j; retrograde inscr. turns outwards, beginning on bottom, l.: BWPH 1.29 ↑
- 17kP. Same as 17k, but showing the missing part of inscr.: IIAE 0.99 ↑
- 17l. Same as 17a, but no inscr.! 1.42 →
- 17m. Same as 17a, but very crude, and struck on small flan. 0.60 ↓
18. *Obv.*: Inscr. in border of dots: BACIΛ/€VCH/PΩΔH/C
Rev.: Anchor, flanked by two laurel- or palm-branches composing a wreath. 1.40 ←

- 18a. Same as 18 but obv. inscr. is: BACI/Λ€VCH/PΩΔH/C 1.37 \
19. *Obv.*: Inscr. in two concentric circles, in border of dots:
BACIΛEΩCHPΥ/ΔOY
Rev.: Anchor, surrounded by a circle decorated with Y design. 0.83 ↑
- 19a. Same as 19, but crude style; crude inscr. with missing letters:
BACIΛCOCYΩI ... 0.87 ↑
- 19b. A hybrid type of nos. 18 (obv.) and 19 (rev.). 1.08 ↑
20. *Obv.*: Same as 19.
Rev.: Anchor, surrounded by a radiated circle. 1.11 ↑
- 20a. Same as 19 but the circle around anchor is decorated with design composed of three leaves ♣ 1.87 ↑
21. *Obv.*: Same as 19, but crude inscr.: ..Λ€V... OY
Rev.: Anchor, surrounded by a circle decorated with a zig-zag line. 0.79 \
22. *Obv.*: Anchor, surrounded by inscr. (outwards, beginning on bottom, r.): [HPWΔOY]BACIΛ€[WC]
On the left arm of the anchor: small dot-ring (?)
Rev.: A galley with a ram, prow, aphlaston, and oars, sailing to l., all in border of dots. 1.07 \
- 22a. Same as 22, but galley slightly different in design. OYBAC[IA€WC] 0.95 →
- 22b. Same as 22, but galley slightly different in design, and shorter. 0.98 →
23. *Obv.*: One cornucopia; on l. and r., inscr.: BACIΛ/HPW[Δ]
Rev.: Eagle standing to r.; in field, l.: small dot. 1.06 ↑
- 23a. Same as 23, but inscr. reads: BAC/HPWΔO 0.91 ↑
- 23b. Same as 23, but inscr. begins on top, r.; BACIΛ/HPWΔOY 1.08
- 23c. Same as 23, but retrograde! The cornucopia and inscr. are retrograde on obv. and eagle turns to l. on rev. 0.96 \

HEROD ARCHELAUS

4 B.C.E.-6 C.E.

All inscriptions are in Greek.

All coins are of bronze

1. *Obv.*: Anchor; around, inscr. (beginning on bottom, l.): HPWΔOY (the letter Δ below W).
Rev.: Double cornucopias with caduceus set between the horns; around, inscr. (beginning on top): €Θ/NA PX 1.38 ↓
- 1a. *Obv.*: Same as 1.
Rev.: Same as 1, but different distribution of the inscr. (begins on top and ends on bottom, r.): €/ΘNP 1.02 ↓
- 1b. *Obv.*: Same as 1, but inscr. begins on top, r.: HPW ΔH
Rev.: Same as 1, but inscr. begins on r. and ends on top: €Θ/N 1.20 \
- 1c. *Obv.*: Same as 1, but inscr. begins on top, l., continuing to the r., with retrograde P: HPWΔH
Rev.: Same as 1b. 1.28 ↓
- 1d. Same as 1b, but different distribution of obv. inscr.; on r.: PΔ (outwards). 1.25
- 1e. *Obv.*: Same as 1; inscr. begins on bottom, r. and turns outwards: HPΔW (*sic!*)
Rev.: Same as 1b, but only one letter N, above. 0.83 ↓
- 1f. Same as 1e, but of crude style. 1.45 \
2. *Obv.*: Anchor; around, inscr.: HPWΔOY (same as 1, obv.).
Rev.: Inscr. (*boustrophedon*) in wreath: €Θ/PAN/YOX (€ΘNAPXOY) 1.43 ↓
- 2a. *Obv.*: Same as 2.
Rev.: Same as 2, but shorter inscr.: €Θ/PAN (€ΘNAP[XOY]) 1.42 ↓
- 2b. *Obv.*: Same as 2.
Rev.: Same as 2a, but shorter inscr.: €Θ/AN (€ΘNA[PXOY]) 1.45 \
- 2c. *Obv.*: Same as 2.
Rev.: Same as 2b, but shorter inscr.: €Θ/N 1.11 ↓
3. *Obv.*: Two cornucopias, parallel, turning to r.; bunch of grapes comes out from each horn; in field, inscr., beginning on r.: HPWΔHC
Rev.: Galley with ram, prow, aphlaston, oars, and rudder, sailing to l.; on stern — cabin with navigator, above rudder. Inscr., top: €ΘN/XPA/CH (*boustrophedon*) (€ΘNAPXHC). 3.10 ↑

- 3a. Same as 3, but rev. inscr. is shorter: €ΘN/PA/X 3.02 ↑
- 3b. *Obv.*: Same as 3; inscr. turns outwards.
Rev.: Galley, as above; different distribution of inscr.: €ΘNA/XP/HC (€ΘNAPXHC). 2.90 ↑
- 3c. *Obv.*: Double cornucopias, as 3, but turning to l.; inscr. begins on top, l. and turns outwards to r.: HPWΔHC
Rev.: Galley as 3, but different distribution of inscr.: €ΘNA/XP/HC (*sic!*) (€ΘNAPXHC). Note the retrograde or upside-down letters). 2.51
- 3d. Same as 3c but different rev. inscr.: €ΘN/PA/HX/Δ 3.07 ↑
- 3e. *Obv.*: Same as 3a.
Rev.: Galley as on 3, but sails to r.! The design and the inscr. are actually retrograde: ANΘ€/XH/PC (*sic!*) (€ΘNAPXHC). 2.39 ↑
- 3f. Same as 3d (same die).
Rev.: Same as 3e. 2.17 ↑
- 3g. Same as 3, but of crude style. 2.87 ↑
- 3h. Same as 3e but of very crude style. 2.61 ↑
4. *Obv.*: Double cornucopias, parallel, as on 3; inscr. begins on r. (downwards): HPWΔ
Rev.: Galley as on 3, but without cabin on stern, sailing to l.; above, inscr.: €ΘN/PA/HX (€ΘNAPXH[C]). 1.14 ↑
- 4a. *Obv.*: Double cornucopias, parallel, as on 3c; inscr. begins on l. and continues to r., outwards: HPWΔH
Rev.: Same as 4. 1.15 ↑
- 4b. *Obv.*: Same as 4a, but inscr. begins on r.: HPWΔH
Rev.: Galley as on 4, but inscr.: €ΘN/A/XP 0.92 ↑
- 4c. *Obv.*: Same as 4a, but of inferior style; inscr. begins on l.: HdWΔH/C (*sic!* — letter C above H).
Rev.: Galley as on 4, but inscr.: €ΘNA/XP 1.04 ↑
- 4d. *Obv.*: Same as 4, but inscr. on r.: HPW/Δ
Rev.: Same as 4, but inscr.: €ΘN/XP 1.25 ↑
5. *Obv.*: Prow of galley to l. with three pointed ram; in field, inscr.: below: H; above: P; on l.: W (HPW[ΔOY])
Rev.: Inscr. inside wreath: €ΘN (€ΘN[APXOY]). 1.50 ↓
- 5a. Same as 5, but letter P on obv. upside-down P 1.45 ↑
- 5b. Same as 5a, but letter N retrograde on rev. N 1.27 ←
- 5c. Same as 5, but letter P on obv. retrograde P 1.20 ↑
- 5d. Same as 5, but on rev. inscr. the letter € is retrograde. 1.24 ↑

- 5e. Same as 5, but different distribution of letters: below: WH; above: P 1.00 ↑
- 5f. Same as 5, but shorter inscr. on rev.; €Θ 1.14 ↓
- 5g. *Obv.*: Same as 5, but prow of galley to r. (retrograde die).
Rev.: Same as 5b. 2.02 ↑
6. *Obv.*: Vine branch with bunch of grapes and small leaf; above, inscr.: HPWΔOY
Rev.: Crested helmet with two cheek pieces; on bottom, l., small caduceus; inscr.: €ΘNPXOY (*sic!*). 2.08 ↑
- 6a. Same as 6, but obv. inscr.: €ΘNAPXO 2.35 ↑
- 6b. Same as 6a, but no leaf on vine branch. 2.10 ↑
- 6c. Same as 6, but rev. inscr.: €ΘNAXO (*sic!*). Inferior style. 1.60 ↑
- 6d. Same as 6, but of very crude style. 1.40 ↑
- 6e. Same as 6d, but struck on small flan. 0.97 ↑
- 6f. Same as 6, but inscr. on obv.: €ΘNAPXOY; on rev.: HPWΔHC; illegible sign (monogram?) to the r. of caduceus: ♀. 2.73 ↓

HEROD ANTIPAS

4 B.C.E.-39 C.E.

All inscriptions are in Greek.

All coins are of bronze

All coins have upright axis ↑ unless otherwise indicated.

1. *Obv.*: Reed; inscr. in two parallel lines, begins on bottom, l.: HPWΔOY TETPAPXOY in field, date: LKΔ (Year 24=20 C.E.)
Rev.: Inscr., surrounded by a wreath: TIBE/PIAC 17.76
2. Same as 1, but half denomination. 8.25
3. Same as 2, but half denomination. 3.85
- 3a. Same as 3, but struck on smaller flan. 3.79
4. Same as 3, but half denomination; *obv.* inscr.: HPWΔ/TETPAP/LKΔ; *rev.* inscr.: TI/BC 1.39
5. *Obv.*: Palm-branch; around, inscr. begins below, l.: HPWΔOY TETPAPXOY; in field, date: ΛΓ (Year 33=29 C.E.)
Rev.: Inscr. inside wreath: TIBE/PIAC 13.47
6. Same as 5, but half denomination. 6.55
7. Same as 6, but half denomination. 3.95
8. Same as 7, but half denomination; *obv.* inscr.: HPWΔOY/ΛΓ; *rev.* inscr.: T/C (T[IBEP]IA)C 1.90
9. *Obv.*: Palm-branch; around, inscr. begins below, l.: HPWΔOY TETPAPXOY; in field, date: ΛΔ (Year 34=30 C.E.)
Rev.: Same as no. 5. 14.43
10. Same as 9, but half denomination. 7.45
11. Same as 10, but half denomination. 3.20
12. Same as 11, but half denomination; *obv.* inscr.: HPWΔOY/L/ΛΔ; *rev.* inscr.: T/C (T[IBEP]IA)C 1.87
13. *Obv.*: Palm-branch; around, inscr. begins on top, r.: HPWΔOY TETPAPXOY; in field, date: ΛΖ (Year 37=33 C.E.)
Rev.: Same as no. 5. 15.80
14. Same as 13, but half denomination. 5.78
- 14a. Same as 14, but date written: ΛΣ 5.89
15. Same as 14, but half denomination. 3.05

16. Same as 15, but half denomination; *obv.* inscr.: HPΩΔ[OY T], *rev.* inscr.: T/C (T[IBEP]IA)C 1.95
17. *Obv.*: Palm tree with seven branches and two clusters of dates; around, inscr. begins on top, r.: HPΩΔHC TETPAPXHC; in field, date: ETO/Ε ΜΓ (Year 43=39 C.E.)
Rev.: Inscr. inside wreath: ΓΑΙΩ/ΚΑΙΛΑΠΙ/ΓΕΡΜΑ/ΝΙΚΩ 12.58 7
- 17a. Same as 16, but of crude style; *rev.* inscr.: ΓΑΙΩ/ΚΑΙΛΑ/ΕΒΑΕ 9.82
18. *Obv.*: Palm-branch; around, inscr. begins on top, r.: HPΩΔHC TETPAPXHC; in field, date: ΛΜΓ (Year 43=39 C.E.)
Rev.: Inscr. inside wreath: ΓΑΙΩ/ΚΑΙΛΑ/ΓΕΡΜ/ΝΙΚΩ 6.36
- 18a. Same as 17, but different inscr. on *rev.*: ΓΑΙΩ/ΚΑΙΛΑΠ/ΓΕΡΜ/ΑΝΙΚ/Ω 7.05
There are other possibilities for the spelling of the *rev.* inscr.:
1) ΓΑΙΩ/ΚΑΙΛΑ/ΓΕΡΜΑ/ΝΙΚΩ (Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 121, 11).
2) ΓΑΙΩ/ΚΑΙΛΑ/ΠΙΓΕΡ/ΜΑΝ (Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 121, 10).
3) ΓΑΙΩ/ΚΑΙΛΑΠ/ΓΕΡΜΑ/ΝΙΚ (Kindler, BOI, no. 48).
19. *Obv.*: Cluster of dates; around, inscr. begins on top, r.: HPΩΔHC TETPAPXHC; in field, date: ΛΜΓ (Year 43=39 C.E.)
Rev.: Inscr. inside wreath: ΓΑΙ/ΩΚΑΙ/ΕΑΡ 3.55

PHILIP

4 B.C.E.-34 C.E.

A. UNDER AUGUSTUS

All inscriptions are in Greek.

All coins are of bronze.

All coins have upright axis ↑

1. *Obv.*: Head of Augustus to r., bareheaded; around, inscr.: KAICAP CEBACTOY
Rev.: Head of Philip to r., bareheaded; around, inscr.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟΥ; in field, date LE (Year 5 = 1/2 C.E.). 7.50
- 1P. Same as 1, but the portrait of Philip as well as the date are clearer. 7.12
2. *Obv.*: Head of Philip to r., bareheaded; around, inscr.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟΥ; in field, date LE (Year 5 = 1/2 C.E.).
Rev.: Façade of tetrastyle temple (the Augusteum in Paneas) standing on high platform; in pediment, lily flower; around, inscr.: CEBAC KAICAP 3.82
3. *Obv.*: Head of Augustus to r., laureate; around, inscr.: KAICAPI CEBACTOY
Rev.: Façade of temple, as on 2, but with stairs leading to entrance; in pediment, small dot; in between columns, date: LIB (Year 12 = 8/9 C.E.); around, inscr. (beginning on l.): ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟΥ 8.93
- 3a. Same as 3, but with round countermark depicting a star on obv. 8.63
- 3b. Same as 3, but retrograde rev. 9.61
4. *Obv.*: Head of Augustus to l., bareheaded?; around, inscr. (outwards, beginning on r.): KAICAPI CEBACT
Rev.: Same as 3, but floral design in pediment of temple. 5.31
- 4a. Same as 4, but retrograde date. 6.39
5. *Obv.*: Head of Augustus to r., laureate; around, inscr. (beginning below, r., outwards): KAICAPI ΣΕΒΑΣΤ
Rev.: Façade of temple, as 3; in between columns, date: LIS (Year 16 = 12/13 C.E.); around, inscr. (beginning on l., outwards): ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟΥ 6.15
- 5a. Same as 5 (identical obv. die), but round countermark on obv. depicting

Greek letter Φ; rev. design slightly different, higher staircase and inscr. begins above, l. 5.37

6. *Obv.*: Jugate heads of Augustus and Livia to r., Augustus laureate; around, inscr.: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑΝΙ (sic!)
Rev.: Façade of tetrastyle temple (as 2) standing on high platform with round design in the middle; around, inscr. (beginning below): ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟΥ 5.63
 - 6a. Same as 6, but two countermarks, a round one depicting a star on the obv., and a geometrical design composed of a rectangle with two semi-circles above and below (see p. 47) on rev. 5.37
- ## B. UNDER TIBERIUS
7. *Obv.*: Head of Tiberius to r., laureate; around, inscr. ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤ[ΚΑΙΣΑΡ]
Rev.: Same temple as above, but standing on lower platform and staircase projecting below; in between columns, date: LIΘ (Year 19 = 15/16 C.E.); semi-circle inscr. around temple: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟ (sic!). 6.62
 - 7a. Same as 7, but countermark on obv. (same as on 3a). 4.29
 - 7b. Same as 7a, but rev. inscr. begins on top, l., above temple: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟΥ 6.30
 - 7c. Same as 7a, but countermark as on 5a. 6.12
 - 7d. Same as 7c, but retrograde date. 6.05
 8. *Obv.*: Head of Tiberius to r., laureate; in field, r., laurel branch; around, inscr.: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ CEBACTOC KAICAP
Rev.: Façade of temple as above, but no staircase; around, inscr.: ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟΥ; in between columns, date: ΛΑ (Year 30 = 26/27 C.E.) 6.80
 - 8a. Same as 8, but obv. inscr. turns outwards. 7.41
 9. Same as 8, but no inscr. and laurel branch on obv. This coin is half the denomination of 8. 3.80
 10. *Obv.*: Head of Tiberius to r., laureate; around, inscr. (outwards): KAICAPOC CEBACTOY
Rev.: Façade of temple as above; around, inscr. (beginning on r., outwards): ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟΥ; in between columns, date: ΛΑΓ (Year 33 = 29/30 C.E.). 6.70
 - 10a. Same as 10, but with laurel branch on obv., r., and different rev. inscr. ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟΥ 5.59

11. *Obv.*: Head of Tiberius to r., laureate; in field, r., laurel branch; around, inscr. (beginning below): ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ (same die as 8).

Rev.: Facade of temple as above; around, inscr. (beginning below, outwards): ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΤΙΕ; in between columns, date: ΛΛΔ (Year 34=30/31 C.E.). 5.16

12. *Obv.*: Head (bust?) of Philip to r., bareheaded; around, inscr.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ

Rev.: Date in wreath: ΛΛΔ (Year 34=30/31 C.E.) 1.61

13. Same as 12, but date: ΛΛΖ (Year 37=33/34 C.E.). 1.75

13BER. Same as 13 but *obv.* inscr. is more complete: ΦΙΛΙΠ ΠΟΥ

14. *Obv.*: Same as 11.

Rev.: Facade of temple as above; around, inscr. (beginning below, outwards): ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ; in between columns, date: ΛΛΖ (Year 37=33/34 C.E.) 7.05

AGRIPPA I

37-44 C.E.

All inscriptions are in Greek.

All coins are of bronze.

All coins have upright axis ↑ unless otherwise indicated

MINT OF CAESAREA PANEAS

1. *Obv.*: Bust of Agrippa I to r., diademed; around, inscr.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ

Rev.: Young Agrippa II (son of Agrippa I) riding on horse, to r.; around, inscr.: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; below, date: ΛΒ (Year 2=38 C.E.) 8.90

1Sp. Same as 1, but *rev.* inscr. is clearer. 8.70

MINT OF TIBERIAS

2. *Obv.*: Bust of Gaius Caligula to l., laureate; around, inscr.: ΓΑΙΩΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ

Rev.: Germanicus standing in quadriga, to r.; above, inscr.: ΝΟΜΙΣ[ΜΑ]/ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ/ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ; below, date: ΛΕ (Year 5=41 C.E.) 10.15

2P. Same as 2, but date on the *rev.* is clearer. 9.81

3. *Obv.*: Bust of Antonia (grandmother of Caligula) to l.; around, inscr.: ...ΑΝΤΟΝΙΑ ..ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ

Rev.: Female figure standing to l., holding in her r. outstretched hand small Nike offering her a wreath; in l. hand she holds a branch; around, inscr.: ΔΡΟΥΣΙΛΛΗ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ (To Drusilla the daughter of Augustus [Germanicus]); in field, l., date: ΛΕ (Year 5=41 C.E.) 5.60

3IM Same as 3, but *obv.* inscr. is clearer. 5.10

4. *Obv.*: Bust of young Agrippa II to l.; around, inscr.: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ [ΥΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Α]ΓΡΙΠΠΑ; in field, l., LE (Year 5=41 C.E.)

Rev.: Double cornucopias, crossed; around, inscr.: ΒΑΣΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ 2.38

4MU. Same as 4, but *obv.* inscr. is clearer. 2.45

MINT OF CAESAREA

5. *Obv.*: Agrippa I standing, facing to l., sacrificing with patera on small altar, crowned with wreath by two female figures standing one on either side of him; around, inscr.: BAC·HPΩ(ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑΣ ΦΙΛΟ) KAI·AP
Rev.: Two hands, clasping each other; around, inscr. in two concentric circles: ...KIABΑΣΙΑ... ...ΡΩΜ·ΦΙΛΙ·Κ·ΣΥΜΜΑΧ·Α...
- 5a. Same as 5 but *obv.* inscr. slightly different: ΒΑΣΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑΣ ΦΙΛΟ KAI·AP *rev.* inscr.: ΟΡΚΙΑ ΒΑΣ(ΙΛΕΩΣ)ΜΕ[ΓΑΛΟΥ] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΠΡ[ΟΣ] CEB[ΑΣΤΟΥ] ΚΑΙΣ[ΑΡΟΣ] Κ [ΑΙ]ΔΗΜ Ο[Υ] ΡΩΜ[ΑΙΩΝ]; in field, above, oval countermark depicting male head to l. 14.44
- 5b. Same as 5, but *obv.* inscr. slightly different: ...ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑΣ CEB·KAI·N...; same countermark on *rev.* 14.95
6. *Obv.*: Bust of Agrippa I to r., diademed, draped; around, inscr.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙ
Rev.: Tyche standing to l., resting r. hand on rudder and holding palm branch in l.; around, inscr.: ΚΑΙCΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ CΕΒΑCΤΩ ΛΙΜΗΝ[Ι]; in field, r., date: LZ (Year 7=43 C.E.) 8.60
- 6P. Same as 6, but first part of *rev.* inscr. is clearer. 8.56
- 6a. Same as 6, but with countermark on *obv.* (same as on coin 5a). 8.50
7. *Obv.*: Bust of Agrippa I to r., diademed; around, inscr.: ...ΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ...
Rev.: Tyche standing to l.; in field, l., date: LZ (Year 7=43 C.E.), around, traces of inscr.? 3.82
8. *Obv.*: Bust of Claudius to r., laureate; around, inscr.: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑCΤΟC ΓΕΡΜ
Rev.: Façade of distyle temple; to l. and r., two figures standing confronted, holding circular objects in their hands (pateras?); below, figure kneeling to l.; in center, torso to r., holding cylinder-like object; around, inscr.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥC ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑC ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙCΑΡ; in center of pediment, date: LZ (Year 7=43 C.E.) 16.05
- 8a. Same as 8, but oval countermark on *obv.*, depicting male head to l. (cf. coin 5a). 15.93
9. Same as 6, but different date: LH (Year 8=44 C.E.) 7.53
- 9HU. Same as 9, but with part of inscr. which is missing on the previous one. 7.90
- 9a. Same as 9, but with oval countermark on *obv.* (cf. 6a). 9.11

10. Same as 8, but different date (in pediment): LH (Year 8=44 C.E.). 15.63

10a. Same as 10, but oval countermark depicting head to l. on *obv.* (cf. 8a). 14.60

MINT OF JERUSALEM

11. *Obv.*: Canopy; around, inscr.: ΒΑCΙΑ·CWC ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ
Rev.: Three ears of corn issuing from between two leaves; in field, date: LS (Year 6=42 C.E.). 2.83
- 11a. Same as 10, but of different style. 2.76
- 11b. Same as 11, but of crude style; the ears of corn are parallel. 2.56
- 11c. Same as 11b, but of even cruder style. 1.92
- 11d. Same as 11, but retrograde inscr. on *obv.* 2.77
- 11e. Same as 11, but *obv.* struck twice. 2.45
- 11f. Same as 11, but due to technical fault *obv.* struck on *rev.*, incused, (brockage). 2.67
- 11g. A combination of *obv.* 11d and *rev.* 11f. 1.85
- 11h. Same as 11, but struck twice on each side with both *obv.* and *rev.* dies, resulting in the appearance of the *rev.* design on both sides. 1.79
- 11i. Type 11, overstruck on coin of the Procurator Valerius Gratus, depicting three lilies (see Suppl. V, (Procurators), coin 12). 2.53
- 11j. Type 11, overstruck on coin of the Procurator Valerius Gratus, depicting palm branch (see Suppl. V, (Procurators), coins 17-19); the inscr.: ...ΛΙΑ [ΙΟΥΛΙΑ] of the original type is visible on the *rev.* 2.24

AGRIPPA II

56[50]–96[100] C.E.

A. ERA OF 56 C.E. (UNDER NERO)

Unless otherwise stated all coins are of bronze.

The inscriptions are in Greek unless otherwise stated.

All coins have straight axis ↑ except for the Latin series that have inverted axis.

1. *Obv.*: Bust of Nero to r., laureate; in field, r., lituus; around, inscr.: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ
Rev.: Inscr. in five lines surrounded by circle and wreath: ΕΠΙ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕ/ΑΓΡΗΠΠΗ/ΝΕΡΩ/ΝΙΕ (year 5=61 C.E.). 12.00
- 1a. Same as 1 but with square countermark on obv. of the 10th Roman legion. 9.96
2. Same as 1, but smaller denomination; on obv.: in field r., small star instead of lituus. 7.71
3. Same as 2, but smaller denomination. 3.65
4. *Obv.*: Bust of Agrippa II to l.; around, inscr.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΡΗΠΠΗΟΥ
Rev.: Anchor; in field, date: ΛΙ (Year 10=66 C.E.). 4.70
- 4a. Same as 4, but with oval countermark on obv. depicting head to l. 4.60
5. *Obv.*: Head of Tyche to r.; around, inscr.: ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑΔ ΠΙΠΠΙΑ
Rev.: Double cornucopias, crossed; winged caduceus between horns; around, inscr. and double date: ΒΑC ΑΓΡ ΕΤΟΥC ΑΙ ΤΟΥΚΑΙ Ɱ (Year 11, which is also year 6=66 C.E.). 3.22
6. *Obv.*: Hand holding ears of corn and small unidentified fruit; around, inscr.: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΓΡΗΠΠΗΟΥ
Rev.: In center monogram representing date: Ɱ a combination of K (KAI) and Ɱ (Year 6); around, inscr. surrounded by diadem: ΕΤΟΥC ΑΙ ΤΟΥ (the whole signifying year 11, which is also year 6=66 C.E.) 2.61
- 6BN. Same as 6, but the knot of diadem below is clearer. 2.65

B. ERA OF 61 C.E. (UNDER THE FLAVIANS)

Year 14=74/5 C.E.

7. *Obv.*: Bust of Vespasian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ ΟΥΕCΠΙΑCΙ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙCΒΑCΤΩ (sic!)
Rev.: Tyche, turreted (?) standing on podium to l., holding cornucopia in l. hand and two ears of corn in r.; in field, date and inscr.: ΕΤ ΔΙ ΒΑ/ΑΓΡΗ ΠΙΠΠΙΑ 16.15
8. *Obv.*: Bust of Vespasian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΟΥΕCΠΗ ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒ
Rev.: Tyche standing to l., holding cornucopia in l. hand and ears of corn in r.; in field, date and inscr.: ΛΙΔ ΒΑCΙΑ/ΑΓΡΗ ΠΙΟΥ 14.81
- 8a. Same as 8, but rev. inscr. shorter: ΛΙΔ ΒΑC/ΑΓΡΗ ΠΙΟΥ 16.00
- 8b. Same as 8a, but with round countermark on obv. depicting head of emperor to r., laureate. 16.20
9. *Obv.*: Bust of Titus to r. laureated, draped, cuirassed; around, inscr.: ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC
Rev.: Nike advancing to r., holding wreath in r. hand and palm branch in l. over shoulder; in field, date and inscr.: ΕΤ ΙΔΒΑ/ΑΓΡΗ ΠΙΠΠΙΑ 15.85
10. *Obv.*: Bust of Titus, r., laureate (undraped); around, inscr.: ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒ
Rev.: Same as 9, but inscr.: ΛΙΔ ΒΑCΙΑ/ΑΓΡ ΠΙΟΥ 14.27
- 10a. Same as 10, but rev. inscr. is different: ΛΙΔ ΒΑC/ΑΓΡ ΠΙΠΠΙΑ 11.72
- 10b. Same as 10, but of crude style; different inscr. on rev.: ΛΙΔ ΒΑC/ΑΓΡΗ ΠΙΟΥ 12.65
11. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΚΑΙCΑΡ
Rev.: Nike standing to l., writing on shield which rests on her r. knee; in field, date and inscr.: ΛΙΔ ΒΑCΙ/ΑΓΡ ΠΙΠΠΙΟΥ 6.70
- 11a. Same as 11; obv. inscr.: ΔΟΥΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ *Rev.* inscr.: ΛΙΔ ΒΑCΙ/ΑΓΡΗ ΠΙΠΠΙΑ 5.59
- 11b. Same as 11a, but rev. inscr.: ΛΙΔ ΒΑC/ΑΓΡ ΠΙΠΠΙΟΥ 6.10
- 11c. Same obv. die as 11a and same rev. die as 11. 6.77

Year 15 = 75/6 C.E.

12. *Obv.*: Bust of Vespasian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: AYTOKPA OYECIACI KAICAPI CEBACTΩ
Rev.: Tyche standing to l., as on 7; in field, date and inscr.: ET IE BA/ΑΓΡΙ ΠΙΑ 16.49
- 12a. Same as 12, but the date on rev. is written: EI (instead of IE) 16.00
- 12b. Same as 12, but rev. inscr. reads: ETOY EIBA/ΑΓΡΙ ΠΠ A 15.48
13. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: ΔOMITIANOC KAICAP
Rev.: Nike standing to r., resting l. foot on crested helmet and writing on shield which rests on her l. knee; around, date and inscr.: ETOY IE BA ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙ 6.59
- 13a. Same as 13, but date written EI (instead of IE) 7.32

Year 18 = 78/9 C.E.

14. *Obv.*: Bust of Vespasian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: AYTOKPA OYECIAC KAICAPI CEBACTW
Rev.: Tyche standing to l. on podium; in field, date and inscr.: ETOY HIBA/ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ 11.43
- 14a. Same as 14, but silver plated and with round countermark on obv. (see 8b) 11.06
15. *Obv.*: Bust of Titus to r., laureate; around, inscr.: AYTOKP TITOC KAICAP CEBAC
Rev.: Nike advancing, as on no. 9; in field, date and inscr.: ΕΤ ΗΙ BA/ΑΓ ΠΙ ΠΙΑ 9.08
16. Same as 13; rev. date and inscr.: ETOY HI BA ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ 5.55

Year 19 = 79/80 C.E.

17. *Obv.*: Bust of Titus to r., laureate; around, inscr.: AYTOKPA TITOC KAICAP CEBACTOC
Rev.: Tyche standing to l. as on no. 7; in field, date and inscr.: ETOY IOBA/ΑΓΡΙ ΠΙΑ 13.02

18. *Obv.*: Bust of Titus to r., laureate; around, inscr.: AYTOK TITOC KAI CAP CEBACTOC
Rev.: Galley with oars sailing to l.; above, inscr.: ETO IO/BA ΑΓΡ/ΠΠΙΑ 8.44
- 18a. Same as 18, but different distribution of rev. inscr.: ETO/IO BA A/ΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ 6.48
19. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: ΔOMITIANOC KAICAP
Rev.: Nike, as on 13; around, date and inscr.: ETOY IO BA ΑΓΡΙΠ 7.06
- 19a. Same as 19 (same obv. die), but rev. inscr. is differently distributed, the letters BA are on r. 6.75
20. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: [ΔOMITIANOC K]AICAP
Rev.: Galley with oars sailing to l.; above, date and inscr.: ETO/IO BA A/ΓΡΙΠΠΙ 3.76
- 20a. Same as 20 but with different distribution of rev. inscr. ETO/IO BA/ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙ 4.34
21. *Obv.*: Head of Livia (as pietas?) to r., veiled; around, inscr.: CEBACTH
Rev.: Anchor; in field, date: LIΘ BA 1.70

Year 24 = 84/5 C.E.

22. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate, draped and cuirassed; around, inscr.: ΔOMET KAICAP ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ
Rev.: Nike advancing to r., as on 9; in field, date and inscr.: ETO KΔ BAC/ΑΓΡΙ ΠΙΑ 9.17
23. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: ΔOMET KAICAP ΓΕΡΜΑΝ
Rev.: Inscr. in four lines, surrounded by wreath: ETO/KΔ BA A/ΓΡΙΠΠ/A 7.72
- 23a. Same as 23, but different rev. inscr. (note the date!): LETO/KΔ BA A/ΓΡΙΠΠ/A 7.51
24. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: ΔOMET KAI ΓΕΡΜΑ
Rev.: Nike, as on 13; in field l., a small crescent; around, date and inscr.: ETO KΔ BA ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙ 4.95

Year 25 = 85/86 C.E.

25. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr. (in Latin!): *IMP CAES DIVI VESP F DOMITIAN AVG GER COS X*
Rev.: Moneta, draped, standing to l. holding scales in r. hand and cornucopia in l.; around, inscr. (in Latin and Greek): *MONETA ΕΠΙ ΒΑ ΑΓΡΠΙ ΑΥΓΥΣΤ*; in field: ET K̄E/SC 9.89
- 25a. Same as 25, but with countermark on obv. depicting emperor's head to r. 9.44
26. *Obv.*: Same as 25.
Rev.: Square altar; around inscr. (in Latin and Greek): *SALVTI ΕΠΙ ΒΑΑΓΡΠΙ ΑΥΓΥΣΤ*; in field: ET K̄E; in exergue: S·C
27. Same as 22, but date: KE 11.79
28. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around inscr.: ΔOMET KAIC [ΓΕPM]
Rev.: Palm tree, with eight branches and two bunches of dates; in field, date and inscr.: ET KE/BAC ΑΓΡ/ΠΙ 3.06
29. *Obv.*: Same as 28.
Rev.: One cornucopia; in field, date and inscr.: ET KE/BAAΓ 1.75

Year 26 = 86/7 C.E.

30. *Obv.*: Bust of Vespasian to r., laureate; around, isncr.: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ ΟΥΕCΠΑCΙ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ CΕΒΑCΤΩ
Rev.: Tyche, not turreted, standing to l. holding cornucopia in l. hand and two ears of corn in r.; in field, date and inscr.: ΕΤΟΥ ΚS ΒΑ/ΑΓΡΠΙ ΠΠΑ 15.71
- 30a. Same as 30, but a small crescent on rev., in field, l., and Tyche is turreted. 16.43
- 30b. Same as 30, but of inferior style; rev. inscr.: ΕΤΟ ΚS ΒΑ/ΑΓΡΠΠ ΠΑ 15.32
- 30c. *Obv.* die identical to 30b; reverse as 30b, but Tyche stands on high podium. 16.29
31. *Obv.*: Same as 30.
Rev.: Tyche turreted, standing to l., as on 30; inscr. around (instead of across field); ΒΑCΙ·ΑΓΡΠΠΑ [ΕΤΟΥ]ΚS 18.04
32. *Obv.*: Bust of Titus to r., laureate, draped and cuirassed; around, inscr.: ΑΥΤΟΚΡ·ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ·CΕΒΑC·

Rev.: Nike advancing, as on 9; in field, date and inscr.: ΕΤΟ ΚS ΒΑ/ΑΓΡΠΙ ΠΠΑ 10.57

- 32a. *Obv.*: Same as 32, but bust undraped.
Rev.: Same as 32, but in field, r., star. 11.64
33. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr. (in Latin!): *IMP CAES DIVI VESP F DOMITIAN AVG GER COS XII*
Rev.: Moneta, same as 25, but date: ET KS 11.04
34. *Obv.*: Same as 33.
Rev.: Square altar, same as 26, but date: ET KS 9.00
35. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr. (in Latin!): *IMCΑDVES F DOM AV GER COS XII*
Rev.: Double cornucopias, crossed; winged caduceus between horns; in field, date: ET KS around, above, Greek inscr.: ΕΠΙ ΒΑ ΑΓΡ in exergue, Latin letters: SC 4.64
36. *Obv.*: Same as 35.
Rev.: In center two Latin letters: SC; around, above, Greek inscr.: ΕΠΙ ΒΑ ΑΓΡΠΙ; below, date: ET KS 5.04
- 36a. Same as 36, but with countermark on obv. depicting emperor's head to r., laureate. 4.70
- 36b. Same as 36, but with two rectangular countermarks on obv., the left one depicting head of emperor to r., (?), the right one, the initials of the 10th Roman legion: LXF 4.85
37. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ
Rev.: Same as 13; around, date and inscr.: ΕΤΟΥ ΚS ΒΑCΙ ΑΓΡΠΠΠΑ 6.15
- 37a. Same as 37, but on rev. top, r., small star; on shield, letters: ΔΟ... 6.25
- 37b. Same as 37a, but on rev. small crescent instead of star. 6.72
- 37c. Same as 37b, but on obv. the title ΓΕΡΜΑ is added; on rev. the small crescent is in field, l. below wing of Nike. 5.42
- 37d. Same as 37a, but overstruck on coin of Canata (A. Spijkerman, *The Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia*, Jerusalem 1978, p. 92, see also SNG, ANS, *Palestine-Arabia*, no. 1257). The original date BIP is visible on the obv., below, r. 4.89
- 37e. Same as 37a, but square countermark on obv. of the 10th Roman legion: X 7.07
- 37f. *Obv.*: Same as 37b, but two rectangular countermarks, the upper one depicting a standing figure (?) and the lower one depicting head (of emperor?) to r.
Rev.: Same as 37; inscr.: ΕΤΟ ΚS ΒΑCΙ ΑΓΡΠΠΠΑ 4.12

37g. Same as 37c, but with round countermark on obv. depicting head (of emperor?) to r., laureate. 4.43

37h. Same as 37a, but with countermark on obv. shaped like rosette. 3.94

Year 27 = 87/8 C.E.

38. *Obv.*: Bust of Vespasian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: -AYTOKPA OYECIIACI KAICAPI CEBACTW

Rev.: Tyche standing to l., as on 7; in field, date and inscr.: ETOY KZBA/AGPI IIIA; in field l., small star. 20.05

39. *Obv.*: Bust of Vespasian to r., laureate, slightly draped; around, inscr.: AYTOKPA OYECIIACI ANΩ KAICAPI CEBACTΩ

Rev.: Tyche (?) standing to l., in military dress (!), modius on her head; holding cornucopia in l. hand and resting r. hand on long rudder; in field l., above, small star; around, inscr.: BACIAEWC AΓPIIIIIAC ETOYC KZ 20.00

39a. Probably same as 39 but Tyche seems to wear turreted crown (?) and the rudder is much smaller. 22.50

40. *Obv.*: Bust of Titus r., laureate; around, inscr.: AYTOKP TITOC KAICAP CEBACT

Rev.: Nike advancing, as on 9; in field, date and inscr.: ETO KZ BA/AGPI IIIA 9.54

40a. Same as 40, but with round countermark on obv. depicting a star. 8.04

41. *Obv.*: Busts of Titus and Domitian facing each other (on l., Titus, on r., Domitian laureate); around, inscr.: AYTOKPA·KAICAP TITOC KAICAP ΔWMET[IANOC]

Rev.: Pan walking to l. playing the syrinx he holds in his r. hand and leaning a pedum over l. shoulder with his l.; on r., tree trunk around, inscr.: BACIAEWC AΓPIIIIIAC [ETOY]KZ 19.32

42. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: [ΔOMITIANOC] KAICAP —

Rev.: Same as 13; around, date and inscr.: ETO KZ BA AΓPIIIIIA 5.15

42a. Same as 42 but rev. has two small changes, both wings of Nike are raised, and the inscription is ETOKZ B AΓPIIIIIA (sic!). 5.30

43. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: ΔOMITIAN KAICAP —

Rev.: Double cornucopias, crossed; between horns, above and below, date and inscr.: BA AΓPIIIIIA ETO KZ 4.10

Year 29 = 89/90 C.E.

44. *Obv.*: Bust of Vespasian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: AYTOKPA OYECIIACI KAICAPI CEBACTW

Rev.: Tyche standing on podium to l., as 7; in field, date and inscr.: ETOY KΘ BA/AGPI IIIA 12.49

45. *Obv.*: Bust of Titus to r., laureate, draped; around, inscr.: AYTOKP TITO KAICAP CEBACTΩ

Rev.: Nike advancing, as on 9; in field, date and inscr.: ET KΘ BA/AGP IIII 12.50

45a. Same as 45, but bust undraped. 12.05

45b. Same as 45, but rev. inscr. longer: ETOY KΘBA/AGP IIII 12.23

46. *Obv.*: Bust of Titus to r., laureate; around, inscr.: AYTOKP TI[TOC KAI]CAP

Rev.: Nike standing to r., resting l. foot on crested helmet and writing on shield which hangs on palm tree; around, date and inscr.: ETO ΘK BAC AΓPIIIIIAC 7.22

47. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: AYTOK...KAICAP ΓEPMANIK

Rev.: Tyche standing to l., as on 30; in field, date and inscr.: ETOY KΘ BA/AGPI III[A] 15.38

48. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: ΔOMITIANOC KAICAP

Rev.: Nike, as on 13, but wings raised; around, date and inscr.: ETOY KΘ BA AΓPIIIIIA (sic!). 6.90

48a. *Obv.*: Same as 48, but smaller bust.

Rev.: Same as 48, but wings lowered and longer inscr.: ELOX KΘ BACI AΓPIIIIIA 8.43

48b. Same as 48a, but with longer inscr. on rev.: ELOXKΘ BACIAEOC AΓPIIIIIA (sic!) 7.10

Year 30 = 90/91 C.E.

49. *Obv.*: Bust of Titus to r., laureate; around, isncr.: AYTOKP TITO C KAICAP CEBACTΩ

Rev.: Tyche standing to l., as on 30; in field, date and inscr.: ETOY ΛBA/AGPI III[A] 16.19

50. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: AYT....KAICAP ΓEP

Rev.: Same as 49. 18.30

Year 34 = 94/5 C.E.

51. *Obv.*: Bust of Tyche to r., turreted.
Rev.: Palm-branch; inscr. (on l.): ...III... 3.10
52. *Obv.*: Bust of Tyche to r., turreted; on r., inscr.: BA AΓP
Rev.: One cornucopia; in field, date: ET ΔΛ 1.97

Year 35 = 95/96 C.E.

53. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ
ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΚΑΙCΑΡ Α ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ
Rev.: Tyche, turreted, standing on high podium, as on 7; in field, date
and inscr.: ΕΤΟΥ ΕΛ ΒΑ/ΑΓΡΙΙΙΙΑ 18.95
- 53a. Same as 53, but with a round countermark depicting (emperor's?) head
on obv. 14.58
54. *Obv.*: Same as 53.
Rev.: Nike advancing to r., as on 9; in field, date and inscr.: ΕΤΟΥ ΕΛ
ΒΑ/ΑΓΡΙ ΙΙΙΑ 10.74
- 54a. Same as 54, but round countermark on obv. (see 53a). 11.81
55. Same as 13, but date: ΕΛ 4.89
56. *Obv.*: Bust of Domitian to r., laureate; on r., inscr.: ΑΥΤΟ ΔΟΜΙΤ
Rev.: Date and inscr. in two lines, surrounded by wreath: ΒΑ ΑΓΡ/ΕΤ
ΕΛ 4.93

THE COINS OF THE JEWISH WAR AGAINST ROME

66-70 C.E.

All inscriptions are in Paleo-Hebrew

All coins have upright axis ↑ unless otherwise indicated

A. Coins of the first year = 66 C.E.

1. *Obv.*: Temple vessel (omer cup ?) surrounded by border of dots; above it, letter **ת** (א, ' standing for (Year) 1 = 66 C.E.; around, inscr., beginning above, l.: **שקל ישראל** ŠQL YSR'L) = "shekel of Israel," all in another border of dots.
Rev.: Stem with three pomegranates surrounded by border of dots; around, inscr., beginning above, l.: **קדוש ירושלם** QDŠH YRWŠLM) = "Jerusalem is holy," all in a border of dots. AR 14.28
2. *Obv.*: Same as 1, but the vessel is larger and not surrounded by border of dots; the inscr. around is in better style and begins below, r.: **שקל ישראל**, above vessel; **ת**
Rev.: Same as 1, but smaller stem and not surrounded by border of dots; the inscr. around is in better style and begins below, r.: **קדוש ירושלם** QDŠH YRWŠLM AR 14.25
- 2a. Same as 2, but struck on larger flan; the stem with pomegranates on rev. is longer. AR 14.30
3. Same as 2, but in better style; the designs and letters are smaller and finer. 14.20
- 3a. This type is a hybrid of 2 and 3; the obv. is of type 3 and the rev. is of type 2. AR 14.03
4. Same as 2, but of crude style (note the chisel cut on the rev.) AR 14.19
5. *Obv.*: Temple vessel, as on 2; same date; around, inscr.: **חצי השקל** HSY HŠQL) = "Half a shekel."
Rev.: Same as 2, around inscr. **קדוש ירושלם** QDŠH YRWŠLM) = "Jerusalem is holy". AR 7.05
6. *Obv.*: Temple vessel, as on 3; around, inscr.: **חצי השקל** HSY HŠQL) = "Half a shekel."

Rev.: Stem with three pomegranates, as on 3, around inscr.:
 ירושלם קדשה (YRWŠLM QDŠH) =
 "Jerusalem is holy." AR 6.98

6a. This type is a hybrid of coins 6 (obv.) and 5 (rev.) AR 7.02

7. Obv.: Temple vessel, as on 3; same date; around, inscr.:
 רבע השקל (RB' HŠQL) = "Quarter of a shekel."

Rev.: Stem with three pomegranates, as on 2, same inscr. AR 3.28

B. Coins of the second year = 67 C.E.

8. Obv.: Temple vessel (omer cup ?) similar to the one depicted on the coins of the first year (coins 1-7), but the rim is decorated with a row of nine pellets, and the stand of the vessel is of a different design; above it, date: ש"ב (ŠB) = "Y[ear] 2"; around, inscr., beginning below, r.: שקל ישראל (ŠQL YŠR'L) = "Shekel of Israel."

Rev.: Stem with three pomegranates, as on coin 3; around, inscr.:
 ירושלים הקדשה (YRWŠLYM HQDWŠH) = "Jerusalem the Holy." AR 14.06

9. Same as 8, but of crude style. AR 12.97

9Sp. Same as 8, struck with the same dies, but this specimen has a piece of bronze attached to it (by the corrosion) from the broken pyxis in which it was kept. AP 15.06

10. Obv.: Temple vessel, as on coin 8, but rim is decorated with a row of seven pellets only; above, date: ש"ב (ŠB) = "Y[ear] 2"; around, inscr.: חצי השקל (HŠY HŠQL) = "Half a shekel."

Rev.: Stem with three pomegranates; inscr. — same as on coin 8. AR 6.90

11. Obv.: Amphora with wide rim and two handles; around, inscr., beginning above, l.: שנת שתיים (ŠNT ŠTYM) = "Year Two."

Rev.: Vine leaf with small branch and tendril; around, inscr., beginning below, r.: חרות ציון (HRT ŠYWN) = "Freedom of Zion." AE 2.53

11a. Same as 11, but the letter מ (M) on obv. is of a different shape: שנת שתיים AE 3.91

12. Same as 11a, but different spelling of rev. inscr.: חרות ציון (HRT ŠYWN). AE 2.89

13. Same as 11, but of crude style. AE 2.97

13a. Same as 13, but of even cruder style. AE 1.59

13b. Same as 13, but very crude; on obv. the word שנת (ŠNT) = "Year" appears twice; on r., in retrograde, on l., downwards. AE 1.88

13c. Same as 13, but extremely crude. 2.33

14. Same as 11a, but different style and struck on smaller flan. The denomination of this coin is not clear. AE 1.05

15. Coin type 13b, overstruck on a coin of Agrippa I (cf. Agrippa I, coin 11). AE 2.28

16. Same as 11, but struck twice (on each side). AE 3.38

17. Same as 11, but instead of obv., incused rev. is struck as a result of technical fault (brockage, cf. Agrippa I, coin 11f). AE 2.36

C. Coins of the third year = 68 C.E.

18. Same as 8, but above vessel, date: ש"ג (ŠG) = "Y[ear] 3." AR 14.17

18a. Same as 18, included here just to indicate small epigraphical change existing, despite the epigraphic uniformity of the shekels in general. AR 14.10

19. Same as 10, but above vessel, date: ש"ג (ŠG) = "Y[ear] 3." 6.98

19a. Same as 19, included just to indicate small epigraphical changes in the half shekel group (note the letter ק [Q]). AR 6.85

20. Obv.: Amphora, as on coin 11, but with cone-shaped lid and pellets over rim; around, inscr., beginning below, r.: שנת שלוש (ŠNT ŠLWŠ) = "Year Three."

Rev.: Vine leaf, as on coin 11; around, inscr.: חרות ציון (HRT ŠYWN) = "Freedom of Zion." AE 2.54

21. Same as 20, but different spelling of rev. inscr.: חרת ציון (HRT ŠYWN). This is a hybrid coin with a second year die (cf. coins 11, 11a). AE 1.82

22. Same as 20, but of crude style. AE 2.67

22a. Same as 20, but only rev. in crude style (hybrid of coins 20 and 22). AE 2.07

D. Coins of the fourth year=69 C.E.

23. Same as 8, but above vessel, date: $\text{ד} \text{ש}$ (SD) = "Y[ear] 4." AR 14.01
24. Same as 23, but made of bronze! AE 16.38
25. Same as 10, but above vessel, date: $\text{ד} \text{ש}$ (SD) = "Y[ear] 4." AR 6.98
26. *Obv.*: Three palm branches tied together by their stalks; on l. and r., inscr.: רבע השקל (RB' HSQL) = "Quarter of a shekel."
Rev.: Letter ד (D) = 4 (date) surrounded by wreath made of palm branches. AR 3.33
27. *Obv.*: Palm tree with seven branches, flanked by two baskets of dates; around, inscr., beginning below, r.: לגאלת ציון (LG'LT SYWN) = "For the redemption of Zion."
Rev.: Two bundles of lulavs with ethrog in between; around, inscr., beginning above: שנת ארבע חצי (SNT 'RB' HSY) = "Year four, half." AE 14.26
- 27a. Same as 27, but different distribution of the obv. inscr.: the word ציון (SYWN) is divided in two, two letters on l. and the other two, below. The bunches of dates are also different. AE 13.95
28. Same as 27, but palm tree has nine branches. AE 16.10
29. *Obv.*: Ethrog; around, inscr., beginning below, r.: לגאלת ציון (LG'LT SYWN) = "For the redemption of Zion."
Rev.: Two bundles of lulavs; around, inscr., beginning above: שנת ארבע רביע (SNT 'RB' RBY) = "Year four, quarter." AE 8.30
- 29a. Same as 29, but erroneously struck on a double size flan (of type 27). AE 9.84
 This specimen, found in the excavations of a building on the southern wall in Jerusalem, suffered heavy fire in 70 C.E. when Jerusalem was destroyed; this coin was heavier, originally.
- 29b. Same as 29, but erroneously struck on half size flan (of type 30). AE 5.55
30. *Obv.*: Temple vessel (omer cup ?), as on shekel coins 8, 18, 23, etc.; around, inscr.: לגאלת ציון (LG'LT SYWN) = "For the redemption of Zion."
Rev.: Lulav flanked by two ethrogs; around, inscr.: שנת ארבע (SNT 'RB') = "Year four." AE 5.53

- 30a. Same as 30, but the lulav divides the rev. inscr. between the letters א (') and ר (R). AE 5.62
- 30b. Same as 30, but obv. inscr. has crude letters ל , ג (L, G). AE 4.84
- 30c. Same as 30, but of somewhat crude style and the last letter נ (N) of obv. inscr. is missing. AE 5.26
- 30d. Same as 30, but of crude style, obv. with retrograde inscr. AE 5.94
- 30e. Same as 30, but of crude style and both sides are retrograde. AE 5.70
- 30f. Same as 30, but with countermark on obv. (animal standing to l. ?). AE 4.24

E. Coins of the fifth year=70 C.E.

31. Same as 8, but above vessel, date: הש (SH) = "Y[ear] 5." AR 14.25
- 31a. Same as 8, but of inferior style. AR 14.01

F. The Mint of Gamala (Gamla) (?)

32. *Obv.*: Crude shape of the vessel depicted on the shekels (cf. coins 8, 18, 23); around, inscr. (crude!): לגאלת (LG'LT) = "For the redemption of ..."
Rev.: Crude inscr. in circle: ירושלם הק (YRSLM HQ) = "Jerusalem the H[oly]." AE

THE BAR COCHBA WAR

132-135 C.E.

All coins have upright axis ↑ unless otherwise indicated

COINS DATED YEAR 1 (132/133 C.E.)

A. Silver Tetradrachms

1. *Obv.*: Façade of the Temple at Jerusalem; in center, Ark (?); around, inscr.: יְרוּשָׁלַם (YR WŠ LM) = Jerusalem
Rev.: Bundle of lulav with ethrog on l.; around, inscr.:
 $\text{שְׁנַת אַחַת לְגַאֲלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ (ŠNT 'HT LG'LT YŠR'L) = Year One of the Redemption of Israel. 14.43
- 1a. Same as 1 but the last letter of the rev. inscr. (L) is in field, r. 15.10
- 1b. Same as 1, but the two last letters of the rev. inscr. are in field, l. (') and r. (L). 13.07
- 1c. Same as 1, but the letter T from the word ŠNT is missing on the rev. inscr. 14.35

B. Silver Denarii

2. *Obv.*: Flagon with handle; on r., lulav; around, inscr. (beginning above, l.): אֱלִיעֶזֶר כוֹהֵן (L'ZRH KWHN) = Eleazar the Priest.
Rev.: Bunch of grapes with small branch and leaf; around, inscr.:
 $\text{שְׁנַת אַחַת לְגַאֲלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ (ŠNT 'HT LG'LT YŠR — see 1). 3.35

C. Large Bronzes

3. *Obv.*: Inscr. within wreath (composed of two branches with two leaves in each link): $\text{שְׁמַעוֹן בֶּן־יִשְׂחָבְדָּן}$ (ŠM'WN/NŠY'/YŠR'L) = Shimon Prince of Israel.
Rev.: Amphora; around, inscr.: $\text{שְׁנַת אַחַת לְגַאֲלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ (ŠNT 'HT LG'LT YSR'L — see 1) 27.16
- 3a. Same as 3, but struck on smaller flan. 19.13
- 3b. Same as 3, but different type of wreath (see text). 22.31
4. *Obv.*: Inscr. within wreath (composed of groups of three leaves each):
 יְרוּשָׁלַם (YRW/ŠLM) = Jerusalem.

Rev.: Same as 3. 11.00

- 4a. Same as 4, but different wreath on obv. composed of groups of two leaves each; note also the slight epigraphic change. 19.48
- 4b. Same as 4, but the head of Domitian is visible on obv. from the original coin on which this coin was struck (cf. BMC, Galatia, etc., Pl. XXII, 7). 20.50

D. Medium Bronzes

5. *Obv.*: Palm-tree with seven branches and two clusters of dates; below, inscr.: $\text{שְׁמַעוֹן בֶּן־יִשְׂחָבְדָּן}$ (ŠM'WN/NŠY'/YŠR'L — Shimon Prince of Israel — see 3).
Rev.: Vine-leaf; around, inscr.: $\text{שְׁנַת אַחַת לְגַאֲלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ (ŠNT 'HT LG'LT YŠR'L — see 1). 10.75
- 5a. Same as 5, but rev. inscr. is in somewhat disorder and one letter ש (Š) is superfluous. 11.18
- 5b. Same as 5, but of different style; the letters are bigger and some have different shapes: $\text{שְׁמַעוֹן בֶּן־יִשְׂחָבְדָּן}$ 17.73
- 5c. Same as 5, but of very crude style. 10.90
- 5d. Same as 5, but of entirely different style; the letters are different as well as the vine-leaf which is pentaliolate. 12.10
 $\text{שְׁמַעוֹן בֶּן־יִשְׂחָבְדָּן}$
6. *Obv.*: Palm-branch (lulav) surrounded by a wreath; around, inscr.: $\text{שְׁמַעוֹן בֶּן־יִשְׂחָבְדָּן}$ (SM'WN NŠY' YŠR'L — Shimon Prince of Israel — see 3).
Rev.: Nebel (harp) with seven strings; around, inscr.: $\text{שְׁנַת אַחַת לְגַאֲלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ (ŠNT 'HT LG'LT YŠR'L — Year One of the Redemption of Israel — see 1). 9.96
- 6a. Same as 6, but Nebel with six strings. 10.51
- 6b. Same as 6, but Nebel with five strings. 10.05
- 6c. Same as 6b, but smaller Nebel. 9.64
- 6d. Same as 6c, but struck on smaller flan. 7.23
- 6e. Same as 6, but Nebel with four strings. 12.24
- 6f. Same as 6e, but Nebel with smaller body. 15.67
- 6g. Same as 6f, but struck over a coin (of Sebaste ?) which had a countermark, still visible on rev. 10.80
- 6h. Same as 6b, but of very crude style; most of the letters are retrograde. 6.00

E. Small Bronzes

7. *Obv.*: Palm-tree with seven branches and two clusters of dates; below, inscr.: אלעזר הכהן (אלעזר/כהן) (L'/ZNRH/KH) — Eleazar the Priest)
Rev.: Bunch of grapes with small branch and small leaf; around, inscr.: $\text{שנת אחת לגאולת ישראל}$ (ŠNT ḤT LG'LT YSR[L] — Year One of the Redemption of Israel — see 2). The inscription always misses the last two letters. 5.31
- 7a. Same as 7, but different distribution of the obv. inscr.: זאלע/כרהנה (Z'L'/KRHN/H — Eleazar the Priest) 6.25
8. Same as 7, but obv. inscr. is retrograde: פזעל/והכה (NHKH/RZ'L') 6.59
9. Same as 7, but of very crude style. 4.35
10. *Obv.*: Palm tree as on 7; below, inscr.: ירושלם (YRW/ŠLM — Jerusalem — see 1).
Rev.: Same as 7. 6.10
- 10a. Same as 10, but a few letters of the Greek inscr. of the former coin, on which this coin was struck, are visible on the rev.: ...CNEPTP... (Ner. Tr[ajan]). 5.17
- 10b. Same as 10, but a few letters of the Greek inscr. of the former coin, on which this coin was struck, are visible: APABIA. This coin was overstruck on a coin of Arabia, under Hadrian; see BMC, *Arabia*, Pl. III, no. 2. 3.50
11. Same as 10, but of very crude style. 4.72

COINS DATED YEAR 2 (133/134 C.E.)

A. Silver Tetradrachms

12. *Obv.*: The Temple façade (same as 1); on r., above, and on l., inscr.: ירושלם (YR WŠ LM — Jerusalem). This is a "Year One" die, see 1.
Rev.: Bundle of lulav (same as 1); around, inscr.: שבלחרישראל (ŠBLHRYŠR'L — שבלחרי/ישראל — Year 2 of the Freedom of Israel). This coin is a hybrid of "Year One" obv. and "Year 2" rev. 14.55
- 12a. Same as 12, but different design of Temple which stands upon a podium composed of two parallel lines combined with vertical junctions; above, between the two upper letters: + (note the retrograde letter [Y], on obv.). 13.31

13. Same as 12a, but the inscr. is on r. and l.: ירושלם (YRW/ŠLM — Jerusalem) 15.05
- 13a. Same as 13, but different shapes of obv. letters: שנא גרע 12.97
- 13b. Same as 13, but different shapes of rev. letters: שבלחרישראל 13.77
14. Same as 13, but of very crude style, and no sign above Temple. 14.70
15. *Obv.*: Same as 13.
Rev.: Same as 13, but the inscr. is different due to a fault in the recut die. The original die used for this side was of "Year One" (see coin 1) and resulted in the following inscr.: $\text{שבלחרילגאולת ישראל}$ (ŠBLHRLTYŠR'L — Year 2 of the Freedom [Red]emption of Israel) *sic!* This coin, although bearing the designs of the silver tetradrachm, was struck on bronze! 9.31
16. *Obv.*: Façade of the Temple as on coin 1; above, rosette; on r. and l., inscr.: שמעון (ŠM'WN — Shimon).
Rev.: Same as 13b. 14.93
- 16a. Same as 16, but different shapes of letters on obv.: שמעון 13.70
- 16b. Same as 16a, but one letter, (R), is missing in rev. inscr.: שבלחרישראל (ŠBLHYŠR'L) 14.15
- 16c. *Obv.*: Same as 16, but different distribution of the letters and different style of their shapes; on r.: שמ (ŠM); on l. ח ('W); and below (*sic!*): נ (N)
Rev.: Same as 16a. 14.33

B. Silver Denarii

1. Hybrid Denarii of Years "One" and "2"

17. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath: שמעון (ŠM/' — Shimo[n])
Rev.: Flagon with handle; on r., lulav; around, inscr., beginning above, l.: אלעזר הכהן (L'ZRHKWHN — Eleazar the Priest). 3.17
- 17a. *Obv.*: Same as 17, but with central dot in field.
Rev.: Same as 17, but different distribution of the inscr. 3.59
18. Same as 18, but rev. inscr. beginning below, r. 3.59
19. *Obv.*: Neḅel (harp) with three strings; around, inscr.: שבלחרישראל (ŠBLHRYŠR'L — Year 2 of the Freedom of Israel).
Rev.: Bunch of grapes, as on 7. 3.50

20. *Obv.*: Palm-branch (lulav); around, inscr. (same as on 19).
Rev.: Same as 19. 3.55

2. Denarii of "Year 2"

21. *Obv.*: Same as 17a.
Rev.: Same as obv. of 19 (*sic!*) 3.17
- 21a. *Obv.*: Same as 17a.
Rev.: Nebel (harp), but slightly different shape than that on 19 (obv.); around, inscr. (same as on 19, obv.). 3.20
22. Same as 21a, but obv. inscr. has five letters: (שעמ/נו Š'M/NW — Shimon). 3.10
23. *Obv.*: Bunch of grapes attached to small branch with leaf on r. and tendril on l.; around, inscr.: (שמעון ŠM'WN — Shimon).
Rev.: Same as 21a. 3.42
24. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath: (שמ/נעו ŠM/N'W — Shimon).
Rev.: Kinor (lyre) with three strings; around, inscr.: שבלחרישאל (*sic!*) (ŠBLHRYŠ'L see 32). 3.22
- 24a. *Obv.*: Same as 24.
Rev.: Same as 24, but lyre with four strings and fuller inscr.: שבלחרישאל (*sic!*) (ŠBLHRYŠR'L see 19). 3.04
25. *Obv.*: Same as 23.
Rev.: Same as 24. 3.15
- 25a. *Obv.*: Same as 23, but the branch of vine has its tendril on r. and the small leaf on l., inscr. as on 16, see 31b.
Rev.: Same as 24a. 2.55
26. *Obv.*: Same as 17.
Rev.: Two trumpets; around, inscr. (last letter in between the trumpets): שבלחריש (ŠBLHRYŠ see 19). 2.95
- 26a. Same as 26, but rev. inscr. is more complete and distributed around: שבלחרישאל (ŠBLHRYŠR'L); a small dot appears between trumpets. 3.36
27. Same as 26a, but obv. inscr. as on 24. 2.85
28. *Obv.*: Same as 17a.
Rev.: Palm-branch (lulav); around, inscr.: שבלחרישאל (ŠBLHRYŠ'L [*sic!*] see 32). 3.45
29. *Obv.*: Same as 24.
Rev.: Same as 28, but with different letter ש (Š) at the beginning of the inscr. 2.88

- 29a. Same as 28, but obv. inscr.: שמוע/נו (Š'M/WN). 3.36
30. *Obv.*: Same as 24.
Rev.: Same as 28, but the die was recut and a new palm-branch was engraved and integrated into the original distribution of the inscr., which hence begins on l. 3.33
31. *Obv.*: Same as 23.
Rev.: Same as 28; inscr.: שבלחרישאל (ŠBLHRYŠR'L) 3.07
- 31a. Same as 31, but rev. inscr. is: שבלחרישאל (ŠBLHRYŠ'L — see coin 28). 2.98
- 31b. Same as 31a, but different style of obv. design and letters; see 25a. This die is perhaps a late one of the undated coins. 3.37
32. Same as 31, but of crude style; obv. inscr.: שמוע (ŠM'W — Shimon); rev. inscr.: שבלחרישאל (ŠBLHRYŠ'L). 3.17
- 32a. Same as 32, but of very crude style; obv. inscr.: שמוע (ŠM'WN); rev. inscr.: שבלחרישאל (ŠBLHRYŠR'L). 3.30
33. *Obv.*: Same as 17a.
Rev.: Flagon as on 17; around, inscr.: שבלחרישאל (ŠBLHRYŠR'L) 3.01
- 33a. Same as 33, but rev. inscr.: לשבלחרישאל (LŠBLHRYŠ'R [*sic!*]) 3.17
- 33b. Same as 33, but rev. inscr.: שבלחרישאל (ŠBLHRYŠ' [*sic!*]) 3.16
34. Same as 33, but of crude style. 2.42
35. *Obv.*: Same as 22.
Rev.: Same as 33a. 2.78
36. *Obv.*: Same as 31.
Rev.: Flagon as on 33; same inscr., but different distribution of the letters: לשבלחרישאל (LŠBLHRYŠR'). 3.27
- 36a. Same as 36, but inscr.: שבלחרישאל (ŠBLHRYŠ'RL [*sic!*]) 3.21
37. *Obv.*: Same as 36, but of crude style; same obv. die as 32.
Rev.: Same die as 34. 2.39
- 37a. Same as 36, but of very crude style: rev.; שבלחרישאל (BLHRYŠ'R)
The Latin inscr. *VESPASIA* of the original Roman coin, on which this coin was struck, is still clear on the obv. 3.08

C. Large Bronzes

38. *Obv.*: Inscr. in a wreath composed of two branches with six groups of double leaves each, ending with a central oval decoration above: שמוע/נו (YRW/ŠLM — Jerusalem).

Rev.: Amphora as on 3; around, inscr.:

(שבלחרישראל ŠBLHRYŠR'L). This coin is extremely heavy and may represent a double denomination of the regular series represented here (coins 38a, 38b, 39). 34.60

38a. Same as 38, but struck on lighter flan (half denomination?). 18.50

38b. Same as 38, but of different style; obv. bears a wreath composed of five groups of three leaves on each branch, and a central oval decoration on top, composed of dots; inscr. (as on 4, ירו/שלם YRW/ŠLM): rev. inscr.: שבלחרישראל (ŠBLHRYŠR'L). 16.50

39. Same as 38, but obv. inscr.: ש.ו.נ (ŠM/'WN — Shimon). 13.21
י.א.ו

D. Medium Bronzes

40. Obv.: Palm tree with seven branches and two clusters of dates; below, inscr.: שמע (ŠM' — Shimo[n]).

Rev.: Vine-leaf; around, inscr.: שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל (ŠNT 'HT LG'LT YŠR'L).

This coin is a hybrid of 2nd year obv. and 1st year rev., see 5. 10.61

41. Obv.: Same as 40, but of crude style; inscr.: שעמ (S'M).

Rev.: Same as 40, but of crude style; inscr.: שנת א[ח]ת לגאלת ישראל ([ŠNT 'HT LG'LT YŠR'L — [Year O]ne of the Redemption of Israel). 12.75

42. Obv.: Palm tree as on 40; below, inscr.: ש.מ.ו.נ (ŠM'W/N — Shimon).
י.א.ו

Rev.: Vine leaf; around, inscr.: שבלחרישראל (ŠBLHRYŠR'L [sic!]) — Year 2 of the Freedom of Israel). 11.58

42a. Same as 42, but different distribution of obv. letters: שמעו/ן last letter, on l. 8.95

42b. Obv.: Same as 42, but different style of letters: שעמו/ן (sic!), see inscr. on 23, 24.

Rev.: Same as 42, but different distribution of inscr.: שבלחרישאל/ר (ŠBLHRYŠ'L/R). 10.25

42c. Same as 42b, but different distribution of obv. letters: ש.מ.ו.נ
י.א.ו

43. Obv.: Same as 40.

Rev.: Same as 42; inscr.: שבלחרישראל (ŠBLHRYŠR'L). 9.50

43a. Same as 43, but different distribution of obv. inscr.: שעמ (S'M) 12.45

44. Same as 43a, but of crude style. 12.20

44a. Same as 44, but of very crude style. Some of the letters are retrograde. 9.74

44b. Same as 44, but of extremely crude style. Most of the letters are indecipherable. 9.98

45. Same as 42, but clear traces of the original coin of Gaza on which this one was struck; on obv., Tyche standing, holding cornucopia, with Greek inscr. on r.: Γ·ΕΙΙΙ and the mintmark 4; on rev., Greek inscr.: ...TPA... (TP[AIANOC] A[ΔPIANOC]).

Cf. BMC, *Palestine*, p. 149, no. 31. The Gaza coin was struck in 131/2 A.D., one year prior to its having been restruck by Bar Cochba. 9.54

45a. Same as 44a (crude type of 42); rev. die identical to 44a, overstruck on the same Gaza coin as 45.

45b. Same as 42, but of crude style, overstruck on a coin which had a countermark which is still clearly visible (despite its having been struck by the Bar Cochba dies). 12.81

46. Obv.: Same as 6.

Rev.: Neḡel (harp) with five strings; around, inscr.:

שבלחרישראל (ŠBLHRYŠR'L). 7.50
י.א.ו

46a. Obv.: Same as 6.

Rev.: Neḡel (harp) as on 46, but of more elegant shape and four strings only; around, inscr.: שבלחרישאל (ŠBLHRYŠ'L [sic!]) 5.67
י.א.ו

E. Small Bronzes

47. Obv.: Blank; the design of a palm tree with the inscr.: 'L'ZR HKHN (see 7, 8) was deliberately filed.

Rev.: Same as 7.

This coin, struck during the 1st year, was filed in the 2nd (or 3rd) year. 5.36

48. Obv.: Same as 7.

Rev.: Bunch of grapes; around, inscr.: לשבלחרישאל (LŠBLHRYŠR' — Year 2 of the Freedom of Israel). 5.26

49. Obv.: Palm tree as on 7; below, inscr.: ירו/שלם (YRW/ŠLM — Jerusalem, see 10).

Rev.: Same as 48. 5.02

49a. Same as 49, but rev. inscr.: אשבלחרישאל (ŠBLHRYŠR'). 5.58

49b. Same as 49, but with clear Greek inscr. on rev. of the original coin on which this one was struck: ..TPAΔPIA.. (probably Gaza coin of Hadrian; cf. BMC, *Palestine*, p. 150, nos. 46 48). 4.07

F. Medium Bronzes, Hybrids of Undated Coins

50. *Obv.*: Same as 6, but inscr.: $\text{לחרות ירושלם} \text{ לחרות ירושלם}$
LHRWT YRWŠLM — For the Freedom of Jerusalem).

Rev.: Same as 46. 5.99

50a. *Obv.*: Same as 50.

Rev.: Same as 46a.

The dies of the obv. of 50 and 51 are common on the undated coins (77). The rev. of 50 and 51 are known to have obv. with dies of the first year (46, 46a); it seems, therefore, that the rev. dies of 46 and 46a are struck either as hybrids of coins of the first year or of undated ones (third and fourth years). 5.94

UNDATED COINS (134–135 C.E.)

A. Silver Tetradrachms

51. *Obv.*: The Temple façade as on 12a; above, resette; on r. and l., inscr.:
 $\text{שמון} \text{ שמון}$ (SM/'WN — Shimon).

Rev.: Bundle of lulav and ethrog (as on 1); around, inscr.:
 $\text{לחרותי ירושלם} \text{ לחרותי ירושלם}$ (LHRWTY RWŠLM — For the Freedom of Jerusalem). 14.24

51*. Same as 51, but with clear traces of the Greek inscr. of the original Roman provincial tetradrachm of Trajan on which this coin was struck; obv.: [TPA] IANOCCEBTEPM; rev.: YIIATE (cf. Wruck, W., *Die Syrische Provinzialprägung von Augustus bis Traian*, Stuttgart 1931, nos. 155–160). 13.99

51HU. Same as 51 and 51*, but the clear features of Vespasian on obv. and the eagle on rev. are visible, all of the original Roman provincial tetradrachm (cf. Wruck, nos. 70–90). 14.81

52. Same as 51, but of crude style. The letter ר (R) in the first word (of the rev.) is upside-down. 14.61

52a. Same as 51, but of extremely crude style. 12.70

53. Same as 51, but wavy line appears above Temple instead of rosette. 13.62

53a. Same as 53, but of somewhat crude style. Some of the obv. letters have different shapes; obv.: לחרות ירושלם 14.75

53b. Same as 53a. Same obv. die as 53a; rev. of crude style; the ethrog is in between the two last letters of the inscr. 14.33

53c. Same as 53a (same obv. die); the rev. inscr. has a mistake: לחרות ירושלם (LHRWT YRWŠM [sic!]) 14.38

54. Same as 53, but no ethrog on rev. 14.29

B. Silver Denarii

55. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath, as on 24 (a 2nd year die).

Rev.: Kinor (lyre) with three strings; around, inscr.:

$\text{לחרות ירושלם} \text{ לחרות ירושלם}$ (LHRWT YRWŠLM — For the Freedom of Jerusalem). 3.13

55a. *Obv.*: Same as 55, but shapes of letters and their distribution are different: $\text{שמון} \text{ שמון}$ (SM/'NW).

Rev.: Same as 55, but larger kinor. 3.35

55b. Same as 55a, but rev. inscr. divided on r. and l.: לחרות ירושלם (LHRWT YRWŠL [sic!]) 3.28

55c. Same as 55a, but different distribution of obv. inscr.: $\text{שמון} \text{ שמון}$ (SM/'NW); central dot. 3.27

56. Same as 55c, but of crude style. 2.44

56a. Same as 56, but of even cruder style; rev. inscr.: לחרות ירושלם (LHRWT WŠLM [sic!]) 2.90

56b. Same as 55b, but of crude style; obv. inscr., retrograde. 2.80

57. *Obv.*: Bunch of grapes, as on 31b.

Rev.: Kinor, as on 55. 3.17

57a. *Obv.*: Same as 57.

Rev.: Same as 55a. 2.36

57b. Same as 57a, but the letter פ (P) on obv. is written: פ 3.43

57c. *Obv.*: Same as 57.

Rev.: Same as 55b. 3.49

58. Same as 57, but of crude style. 2.65

59. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath, as 55c.

Rev.: Two trumpets with small dot in between; around, inscr.: לחרות ירושלם (LHRWT YRWŠLM). Note the Greek inscr. below ΔHM of the original Roman provincial denarius on which this coin was struck (cf. SNG ANS, 1155–1159). 3.45

59a. Same as 59, but with obv. as 55b. 3.30

59b. *Obv.*: Same as 24 (2nd year die?).

Rev.: Same as 59, but with the last letter מ (M) in between the trumpets, below. Note the upper part of the head of Trajan and the inscr.: ...TPAIAN CEB... (cf. bibliography, above 59). 3.28

60. *Obv.*: Bunch of grapes, as on 31b.
Rev.: Two trumpets, as on 59. 3.20
- 60a. Same as 60, but no dot between trumpets. 3.05
- 60b. Same as 60, but style of rev. is different, somewhat crude. Note the different shapes of the last two letters: לם (LM). 3.52
61. Same as 60, but of crude style. 3.40 ↓
- 61a. Same as 60, but of crude style; the rev. inscr. begins on top. 3.07
- 61b. Same as 61a, but the inscr. begins on above, l. 3.50
- 61c. Same as 60, but the very crude style. Note the retrograde מ (M) above. 2.65
62. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath, as on 55c.
Rev.: Palm branch (lulav), the top of which turns to r.; around, inscr.: לחרות ירושלם (LHRWT YRWŠLM). 3.23
- 62a. *Obv.*: Same as 55a.
Rev.: Same as 62.
 Clear traces of the Roman provincial denarius of Trajan on which this coin was struck (see bibliography note in 59). 3.32
- 62b. *Obv.*: Same as 24 (see also 24a, 27, 29).
Rev.: Same as 62. 3.38
- 62c. *Obv.*: Same as 62b.
Rev.: Same as 62, but different distribution of the letters; the last letter ם (M) is missing: לחרו תירושל (LHRW TYRWŠL [sic!]). 3.20
- 62d. *Obv.*: Same as 62b.
Rev.: Same as 62, but the top of the palm branch turns to l. 3.40
63. Same as 62, but of crude style. 3.10
64. *Obv.*: Bunch of grapes, as on 31b.
Rev.: Same as 62. 3.30
65. Same as 64, but of crude style; rev. inscr.: לחרות ושלם (LHRWT WŠLM [sic!]). 2.95
66. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath, as on 55c.
Rev.: Flagon with handle; on r., lulav, (as on 2); around, inscr.: לחרות ירושלם (LHRWT YRWŠLM). 3.10
- 66a. *Obv.*: Same as 55a.
Rev.: Same as 66. 3.00
- 66b. *Obv.*: Same as 55 (see also, 24, 24a, 27, 29, 30, 59b, 62b, 62c, 62d).
Rev.: Same as 66. 2.82
- 66c. *Obv.*: Same as 17. This is a typical die of 2nd year coins and is rarely used on the undated ones.

Rev.: Same as 66. 2.82

67. Same as 66, but no palm branch on rev. 2.96
- 67a. Same as 67, but with obv. as 55a. 3.17
68. *Obv.*: Bunch of grapes, as on 31b.
Rev.: Same as 66. 3.21
69. Same as 68, but no palm branch on rev. (same rev. as 67). 3.14
70. This strange coin, of somewhat crude style, was struck with two different obv. dies!
 Side one: Inscr. in wreath: שִׁמֹן עֲנֹן (Shimon).
 Side two: Bunch of grapes; around, inscr.: שִׁמֹן עֲנֹן (ŠM'WNR — Shimon R... [sic!]) 3.49

C. Large Bronzes

71. *Obv.*: Palm tree with seven branches and two clusters of dates; below, inscr.: שִׁמֹן עֲנֹן (ŠM 'WN — Shimon).
Rev.: Vine leaf (pentaliolate); around, inscr.: לחרות ירושלם (LHRWT YRWŠLM — For the Freedom of Jerusalem). 19.33
72. Same as 71, but of crude style. 21.70

D. Medium Bronzes

73. *Obv.*: Palm-tree, as on 71; below, inscr.: שִׁמֹן עֲנֹן (ŠM 'W/N see 42a) Note the few Greek letters still visible from the previous coin on which this was struck: ..AYTOKP..
Rev.: Same as 71.
 This coin was struck on a larger flan than the usual coins of the medium bronzes. 12.19
74. Same as 73, but struck on a normal size flan. 11.70
- 74a. Same as 74, but rev. inscr. is distributed differently: מלחרות ירושל (MLHRWTYRWŠL). 11.62
- 74b. Same as 74, but obv. inscr. is distributed differently: שִׁמֹן עֲנֹן (ŠM 'W/N see 42). 10.25
- 74c. *Obv.*: Same as 71, but inscr.: שִׁמֹן עֲנֹן (ŠM'W).
Rev.: Same as 74a. 10.35
- 74d. Same as 74, but palm tree without clusters of dates. 12.26
75. Same as 74c, but of crude style. 10.65
- 75a. Same as 74, but of very crude style; obv. inscr.: עֲנֹן שִׁמֹן (Š/MM 9.16

76. Same as 74, but two countermarks belonging to the former coin, on which this one was struck, are still visible, one of which (in the middle) contains the numeral X of the 10th Roman Legion. 9.11
77. *Obv.*: Kinor (lyre) with three strings; on r. and l., inscr.: $\text{שׁמ׳} \text{ו} \text{ן}$ (SM' WN — Shimon).
Rev.: Palm branch in wreath, as on 50; inscr.: לחרות ירושלם (LHRWT YRWŠLM). 7.50
- 77a. Same as 77, but struck on smaller flan.
 Many of the coins of type 77 were struck on small flans, resulting in coins which, in most cases, do not have the inscr. around the designs. 4.10
- 77b. Same as 77, but on obv., in field, r. there is an additional sign which is actually an incused H due to minting error. 7.34
- 77c. Same as 77, but overstruck on a coin of Mattathias Antigonus of type V. 6.08
78. Same as 77, but with countermark (depicting a galley of the 10th Roman Legion) still visible from the original coin on which this one was struck (cf. Supp. VII, 2d). 6.02

E. Small Bronzes

79. *Obv.*: Palm tree with inscr., as on 7: אלעזר הכהן 'L'ZRHKHN — Eleazar the Priest.
Rev.: Bunch of grapes; around, inscr.: לחרות ירושלם (LHRWT YRWŠL — For the Freedom of Jerusalem). 5.10
80. *Obv.*: Palm tree with inscr., as on 10 and 49: ירושלם (YRWŠLM — Jerusalem).
Rev.: Same as 79. 6.16
81. *Obv.*: Palm tree, as on 80, but with the inscr.: $\text{שׁמ׳} \text{ו} \text{ן}$ (SM'WN — Shimon).
Rev.: Same as 79. 6.86
- 81a. Same as 81, but with different distribution of obv. inscr.: $\text{שׁמ׳} \text{ו} \text{ן}$ SM'WN
 5.45
- 81b. Same as 81, but with different distribution of obv. inscr.: $\text{שׁמ׳} \text{ו} \text{ן}$ SM'WN
 3.68
- 81c. Same as 81, with clear traces of the Ptolemaic (!) coin on which this one was struck; on the obv., r. of the central hole, there is a clear depiction of an eagle's wing with the Greek inscr.: ..BAΣΙΑΕΩ.. 3.55

- 81d. Same as 81, with clear traces of the Seleucid coin on which this one was struck; the serrated edges are characteristic of many Seleucid coins of the 2nd century B.C. (cf. BMC, *The Seleucid Kings of Syria*, Pl. X, 9, 12; Pl. XVI, 6, 7; Pl. XIX, 9, 11, 12; Pl. XXI, 13, 14). 5.76

82. Same as 81, but of crude style. 4.72
- 82a. Same as 82, but of even cruder style, with imitation of inscr. 4.50 ↑
- 82b. Same as 82, but struck on small flan.

F. Varia

83. Coin of type 42b, deliberately cut into two pieces. 6.32
84. Coin of type 77, deliberately cut into two pieces. 3.45 ↑
85. Roman denarius of Nerva, hammered and prepared for minting of a Bar Cochba denarius (cf. BMC, *Palestine*, p. 288, no. 1). 2.77 ↓
86. Hammered large bronze coin prepared for minting of a Bar Cochba coin.
87. Hammered and filed medium bronze coin prepared for minting of a Bar Cochba coin. 42.70

SUPPLEMENT III

COINS MINTED UNDER THE HERODIANS

All inscriptions are in Greek
All coins are bronze

A. Under Philip

1. *Obv.*: Bust of Livia to r., draped; around, inscr.: IOYΛΙΑ CEBACTH
Rev.: Hand holding three ears of corn; around, inscr.: KAPIΠOΦOPOC, ("fruit bearing"); in field, date: ΛΔΔ, ("Year 34"=31 C.E.). We have dated this coin according to the era of Paneas, beginning in 3 B.C.E. rather than according to the era of Augustus, beginning in 14 C.E. because the name Julia was given to Livia after 14 C.E. This coin may represent an intermediate denomination between coins 11 and 12 minted under Philip. Struck in Caesarea-Panias. 3.50

B. Under Agrippa I

2. *Obv.*: Head of Caligula to l., laureate; around, inscr.: ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙΣ ΑΡΙ
Rev.: Nike advancing to r., holding wreath in r. hand and palm branch in l. over shoulder; around, retrograde inscr., beginning below, r.: ΖΩΞΑΙΖΑΘ. This coin, struck with the name of Caligula, appears to have come from Palestine. It is now in the collection of the British Museum. A second specimen, bought in Jerusalem, is now owned by the Hebrew University. It is identified as minted under the authority of Agrippa I, who was the only "local" king of the period. 6.40 ↓
3. *Obv.*: Head of Caligula to l.; around, inscr.: ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΙ
Rev.: Eagle standing to front, looking to l., holding wreath in beak; around, retrograde inscr.: ΖΩΞΑΙΖΑΘ. This coin is smaller than 2 and may represent a half denomination. It has the identical inscr. as depicted on 2. 4.51 ↑
4. *Obv.*: Palm branch; around, inscr.: ...ΝΙΚ CEB...; in field, date: ΕΤ ΙΗ

(Year 18=37/8 C.E., according to the era of Tiberias beginning 19/20 C.E.).

Rev.: Inscr. in wreath: TIBE/PIAE 4.10 This type was struck in Tiberias as a continuation of the coins of Antipas; it depicts the same designs presented on the prototypes, 5-16. 4.10 ↓

C. Agrippa II, mint of Tiberias

5. *Obv.*: Palm branch; around inscr., beginning above, r.: ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΚΑΙCΑΡΟC ("of Claudius Caesar"); in field, date: ΛΙΓ (Year 13=53 C.E., according to the regnal years of Claudius).
Rev.: Inscr., in two lines, surrounded by a wreath: TIBE/PIAE 11.98
6. Same as 5, but a smaller (half) denomination. 7.07 ↑
7. Same as 5, but a smaller (quarter) denomination. 4.39 ↑
- 7a. Same as 7. It is not certain whether this coin represents an eighth denomination of coin 5, or if a quarter denomination struck on a lighter flan than that used for coin 7. 2.91 ↑

Agrippa II, mint of Sepphoris

8. *Obv.*: Inscr. in five lines surrounded by circle and wreath: ΛΔΙ/ΝΕΡΩΝΟ/ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ/ΚΑΙCΑΡΟ/Σ
Rev.: Double cornucopias, crossed; caduceus between horns; inscr.: ΕΠΙ ΟΥΕCΠΑCΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΙΡΗΝΟΠΟΛΙ ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑ CΕΠΦΩ 14.85 ↑
9. *Obv.*: Same as 8.
Rev.: In center, two Latin letters: SC; in field and around, inscr.: ΕΠΙ ΟΥΕCΠΑCΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΙΡΗΝΟΠΟΛΙ ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑC CΕΠΦΩ 7.01 ↑
10. *Obv.*: Anchor; in field, date: ΕΤ Ϟ Κ (Year 26=86 C.E.).
Rev.: Inscr. in a circle, beginning below, l.: ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ 1.46 ↑

SUPPLEMENT IV: THE KINGS OF CHALCIS

All inscriptions are in Greek
All coins are bronze.

A. Herod of Chalcis (41–48 C.E.)

1. *Obv.*: Bust of Herod to r., wearing diadem; around, inscr., beginning above, r.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔ ΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ
Rev.: Inscr. in four lines surrounded by a circle and wreath: ΚΛΑΥΔ Ι/ΩΚΑΙΣΑ/ΡΙΣΕΒΑΣ/ΤΩΕΤΓ ("Year 3" = 43 C.E.). 13.39 ↑
2. Same as 1, but smaller (half) denomination. 8.05 ↑
3. *Obv.*: Bust of Herod to r., wearing diadem; around, inscr., beginning above, r.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔΗΣ
Rev.: Inscr. in three lines surrounded by a wreath: ΚΛΑΥΔ ΙΩΚΑ/ΙΣΑΡΙ 4.01 ↑
This coin is a half denomination of coin 2 and a quarter denomination of coin 1.

B. Aristobulus of Chalcis (54–92 C.E.)

4. *Obv.*: Bust of Aristobulus to l., wearing diadem; around, inscr., beginning below, l.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΕΤ Η ("Year 8" = 62 C.E.); countermark on obv. depicts a monogram.
Rev.: Inscr. in four lines surrounded by a wreath: ΝΕΡΩΝΙΚΛΑΥΔ ΙΩΚΑΙΣΑ/ΟΙΣΕΒΑΚΤΩ/ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ 9.25 ↑
5. *Obv.*: Bust of Aristobulus to l., wearing diadem; around, inscr., beginning below, l.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΕΤ Η ("Year 8" = 62 C.E.).
Rev.: Bust of Salome (the wife of Herod) to l.; around, inscr., beginning below, l.: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ ΧΗΚΚΑΛΩΜΗΚ 5.72
6. *Obv.*: Bust of Aristobulus to l., wearing diadem; around, inscr., beginning below, l.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΕΤΙΖ (Year 17 = 71 C.E.).
Rev.: Inscr. in six lines surrounded by a wreath: ΤΙΤΩ/ΟΥΕΛΠΙΑ/ΕΙΑΝΩΑΥ/ΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ/ΕΒΑΚΤΩ 9.64 ↑
- 6a. Same as 6, but with countermark on obv. (cf. coin 4). 14.42 ↑

SUPPLEMENT V

THE ROMAN PROCURATORS IN JUDAEA

All coins are bronze.
All coins have upright axis ↑ unless otherwise indicated.

A. Under Augustus

1. Coponius, 6–9 C.E.

1. *Obv.*: Ear of barley; on l. and r., inscr.: ΚΑΙΣΑ ΡΟΚ
Rev.: Palm-tree with seven branches and two clusters of dates; below, date ΛΑϚ (Year 36 = 6 C.E.). 1.61
- 1a. Same as 1, but of different style; small letters. 1.22
2. Same as 1, but of crude style, the letter Ϛ of the date looks like Γ. 2.25

2. Ambibulus, 9–12 C.E.

3. Same as 1, but below palm-tree, date: ΛΑΘ (Year 39 = 9 C.E.). 1.95
4. Same as 1, but below palm-tree, date: ΛΜ (Year 40 = 10 C.E.). 2.04
5. Same as 1, but below palm-tree, date: ΛΜΑ (Year 41 = 11 C.E.). 2.26
- 5a. Same as 1 to 5; crude style; no date. 1.47

B. Under Tiberius

3. Valerius Gratus, 15–26 C.E.

6. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath: ΚΑΙ/ΚΑΡ
Rev.: Double cornucopias; above them, inscr. and date: ΤΙΒ/ΛΒ (Year 2 = 15 C.E.). 1.49 ←
7. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath: ΙΟΒ/ΑΙΑ
Rev.: Same as 6. (This coin is a hybrid of coins 6 and 8.) 1.61 ↓
8. *Obv.*: Same as 7.
Rev.: Laurel branch; in field, date: ΛΒ (Year 2 = 15 C.E.). 2.08
- 8a. Same as 8, but retrograde obv. 2.02

9. *Obv.*: Same as 6.
Rev.: Same as 8. (This coin is a hybrid of coins 6 (obv.) and 8 (rev.). 1.61 →
- 9a. Same as 9, but retrograde obv. 1.73 ↓
10. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath ends below with central circle: KAI/CAP
Rev.: Double cornucopias, crossed with caduceus in between; above, inscr.: TIBEPIOY; in field, date: ΛΓ (Year 3=16 C.E.). 1.61
- 10a. Same as 10, but with mistake in the rev. inscr.: TIBEIPOY (*sic!*) 2.45
- 10b. Same as 10, but with retrograde date. 2.04
11. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath ends below with central circle: IOV/ΛIA
Rev.: Same as 10. (This coin is a hybrid of coins 10 (rev.) and 12 (obv.).) 1.67 ↓
12. *Obv.*: Same as 11.
Rev.: Three lilies stemming from in between two curly leaves; in field, date: ΛΓ (Year 3=16 C.E.). 2.22 ↓
- 12a. Same as 12, but with retrograde obv. 1.74
- 12b. Same as 12, but with retrograde rev. 2.61 ↓
13. Same as 12, but half denomination (!). This is an exception and apparently struck in very limited numbers. 0.80
14. *Obv.*: Same as 10.
Rev.: Same as 12. (This coin is a hybrid of coins 10 and 12.) 1.87 ↓
15. *Obv.*: Vine-branch with leaf and small bunch of grapes; above, inscr.: TIBEPIOY
Rev.: Kantharos with lid and two scroll handles; in field, date: ΛΔ (Year 4=17. C.E.). 1.75 ↓
- 15a. Same as 15, but with mistake in the obv. inscr.: TIBEIPOY (*sic!*) 1.78 ↓
16. *Obv.*: Vine-branch with leaf, tendril, and small bunch of grapes; above, inscr.: IOVΛIA
Rev.: Amphora with two scroll handles; in field, date: ΛΔ (Year 4=17 C.E.). 1.83 ↓
- 16a. Same as 16, but of crude style. 1.87
17. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath: TIB/KAI/CAP
Rev.: Palm-branch; in field, inscr. and date: IOY ΛIA/ΛΔ (Year 4=17 C.E.). 1.79 ↓
- 17a. Same as 17, but wreath turns downwards. 2.01
- 17b. Same as 17, but both obv. and rev. are retrograde. 1.90 ↓
18. Same as 17, but date: LE (Year 5=18 C.E.). 1.87

- 18a. Same as 18, but of different style; the letters are much smaller. 1.75 ←
- 18b. Same as 18, but the date LE is crude and looks like LO. 2.13
- 18c. Same as 18, but retrograde date. 1.85
19. Same as 17, but date: IA (Year 11=24 C.E.). 2.15
- 19a. Same as 19, but date written: L AI 1.32
- 19b. Same as 17-19, but with mistake in the rev. inscr.: ΛOV/ΛIA (*sic!*) 1.76
20. Same as 19, but with countermark on rev. depicting palm-branch and letters CU (cf. 22). 1.80

4. Pontius Pilatus, 26-36 C.E.

21. *Obv.*: Simulium; around, inscr. and date: TIBEPIOY KAICAPOCLIS (Year 16=29 C.E.).
Rev.: Three ears of wheat, the one in center standing upright, the others drooping, tied together by the stalks; around, inscr.: IOVΛIA KAICAPOC 2.10
- 21a. Same as 21, but with retrograde obv. inscr. 2.00
22. Same as 21, with similar countermark to that on coin 20, with some change in the letters: CII 1.72
23. *Obv.*: Lituus; around, inscr.: TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC
Rev.: Date in wreath: LIZ (Year 17=30 C.E.). 2.30
- 23a. Same as 23, with mistake in the obv. inscr.: TIBEPIOY KAICAPC (*sic!*) 2.04 →
- 23b. Same as 23, with reversed Z of the date Σ 1.20
- 23c. Same as 23b, with shorter obv. inscr.: TIBEPIOY KAICA 1.90
- 23d. Same as 23, but with crude date: HZ (=LIZ). 1.97
- 23e. Same as 23b, but with retrograde date. 1.25
- 23f. Same as 23, but of crude style, crude inscr. and date. 1.68
- 23g. Same as 23b, but with retrograde lituus. 1.86 ↓
- 23h. Same as 23, but instead of obv., incused rev. 1.75
24. Same as 23, but date: LIH (Year 18=31 C.E.). 2.70
- 24a. Same as 24, but with wreath upside-down on rev. 1.92 ↓
- 24b. Same as 24, but with wreath turning rightwards on rev. 2.16 ←
- 24c. Same as 24, but date written: LHI 2.10
- 24d. Same as 24, but mistake in the date: LH (*sic!*) 1.88 ↓

25. Same as 23–24, but of crude style; illegible date and inscr. 2.15 ↗
- 25a. Same as 25, but of even cruder style; obv. inscr.: KAICY 2.00
- 25b. Same as 25; no date on rev.; obv. inscr.: ICPIOY CAPO 2.03 ↗
26. *Obv.*: Lituus; same as 23–24.
Rev.: Simpulum, same as 21. (This coin is a hybrid of coins 21 (obv.) and 23 (obv.)) 1.83
27. *Obv.*: Date in wreath, same as 23: LIZ
Rev.: Three ears of wheat, same as 21. (This coin is a hybrid of coins 21 (rev.) and 23 (rev.)) 1.87
- 27a. Same as 27, but obv. of type 23b rev. 1.90 ↗
- 27b. Same as 27, but of crude style. 1.80
28. *Obv.*: Lituus; same as 23–24.
Rev.: Three ears of wheat, same as 21. (This coin is a hybrid of coins 21 (rev.) and 23 (obv.)) 1.77

C. Under Claudius

5. Antonius Felix, 52–59 C.E.

29. *Obv.*: Two oblong shields and two spears, crossed; around, inscr.: NEPWKAAYKAICAP
Rev.: Palm-tree with six branches and two clusters of dates; inscr., above: BPIT; below: L IΔ/KAI (Year 14=54 C.E.). 2.58
- 29a. Same as 29, but with a mistake in the obv. inscr.: NEPW KAAYKAIC[AP] (*sic!*) 2.19
- 29b. Same as 29, but with retrograde obv. 2.18
30. Same as 29, but of crude style. 1.90
- 30a. Same as 30, but even cruder. 2.31 ←
31. Same as 29, but due to technical fault of double striking, the obv. design is doubled. 2.10
- 31a. Same as 29, but due to technical fault, there is an incused obv. instead of rev., (brockage). 1.90
32. *Obv.*: Two palm-branches, crossed; around, inscr. (beginning on top): TI KΛAYΔIOC KAICAP ΓEPM; in between the palms, date: LIA (Year 14=54 C.E.).
Rev.: Inscr. in wreath: IOV/ΔIAAΓ/ΠΙΠΠΙ/NA 3.26 ↓

- 32a. Same as 32, but with retrograde inscr. on obv., (around the palm-branches only). 1.75
- 32b. Same as 32, but of crude style. 1.70
33. Same as 32, but with incused rev. instead of obv., (brockage). 2.17
34. *Obv.*: Same as rev. of 29.
Rev.: Same as 32. (This coin is a hybrid of coins 29 (rev.) and 32 (rev.)). 2.00

D. Under Nero

6. Festus, 59–62 C.E.

35. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath: NEP/WNO/C
Rev.: Palm-branch; on l. and r., inscr.: LEKAIC/APOC (Year 5=59 C.E.). 1.29
- 35a. Same as 35, but the letters on obv. are more schematic; the E is C and the O is • 3.07
- 35b. Same as 35, but last letter (C) on obv. is oriented differently: ⊙ 1.53
- 35c. Same as 35, but on obv. the letter N is retrograde and W is upside-down. 1.74
- 35d. Same as 35, but retrograde obv. of somewhat crude style. 1.98 ↗
- 35e. Same as 35d; no date on rev. 1.95
- 35f. Same as 35, but crude inscr.: rev. inscr. has the first letter C not in line. 1.78
- 35g. Same as 35, but rev. inscr.: EKAI A[POC] (*sic!*) 2.33
- 35h. Same as 35d, but the rev. inscr. begins on top, r. 2.69
- 35i. Same as 35, but the obv. inscr. has retrograde letters written in boustrophedon. 1.28
- 35j. Same as 35, but only first line on obv. is written with retrograde letters. 1.76 ↘
- 35k. Same as 35, but with some irregularities in the rev. inscr.: LEKVICA ϠOC (*sic!*) 1.62 ↘
- 35l. Same as 35, but with crude inscr., obv.: NE/N/WC; rev.: from top, l., downwards: KAI ΔA, from top, r., downwards: OIPA 1.42
- 35m. Same as 35, but with retrograde rev.; obv. inscr.: ∩CP/WN-/ ⊙ 1.80

- 35n. *Obv.*: Same as 35m.
Rev.: Same as 35k. 1.75
- 35o. Same as 35, but with very crude rev., retrograde.
- 35p. *Obv.*: Same as 35, but with "unexpected" letters: N/IA
Rev.: Same as 35. 1.29
- 35q. Same as 35, but instead of rev., incused obv., (brockage). 2.25

SUPPLEMENT VI

THE MINIMAS OF CAESAREA

All coins are bronze.

All coins have upright axis ↑

1. *Obv.*: Amphora (temple vessel); crude inscr.: שג גלש (ŠG GLŠ)
Rev.: Vine leaf. 0.86
- 1a. Same as 1, but some details missing on the previous one are clearer here. 0.76
2. *Obv.*: Same as 1, but different shape of vessel and surrounded by a wreath instead of inscr.
Rev.: Vine leaf (or fig. leaf?), different from no. 1. 0.86 ↗
3. *Obv.*: Palm branch.
Rev.: Vine leaf. 0.85
4. *Obv.*: Palm branch.
Rev.: Amphora, as on no. 2. 0.73
5. *Obv.*: Three ears of grain.
Rev.: Vine leaf. 0.55
6. *Obv.*: One ear of grain.
Rev.: Vine leaf (or fig. leaf?), as on no. 2, same die. 0.70
7. *Obv.*: Amphora (different from nos. 1 and 2).
Rev.: Palm tree; below, r., M
This coin combines designs derived from coins of the Jewish war (obv.) and of the procurators (rev.). 0.95
8. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath: TIB/KAI/CAP
Rev.: Palm tree.
This imitation of the procuratorial prototypes follows the obv. of proc. coin no. 17–19 and for the rev., proc. coin no. 1–4. 0.63 →

9. *Obv.*: Inscr. in wreath: WNE/O ...
Rev.: Double cornucopias (?)
This coin was inspired apparently by proc. coins 6, 7, 10–11 and 35.
10. *Obv.*: Head of Tyche to r., turreted and veiled.
Rev.: Amphora, same as on 1 (obv., same die). 0.68
11. *Obv.*: Male head (emperor?) to r., laureate.
Rev.: Same as on 10. 0.82
12. *Obv.*: Head to r.
Rev.: Vine leaf. 1.60 ↘

Lead Tessera

13. *Obv.*: Incuse of proc. coin no. 35 (obv.)
Rev.: Incuse of proc. coin no. 35 (rev.)
This lead tessera was made by pressing a procuratorial coin into a flan of lead.

SUPPLEMENT VII

THE JUDAEA CAPTA COINS MINTED AT CAESAREA

All coins are bronze.

All coins have upright axis ↑ unless otherwise indicated.

Vespasian (69)70–79 C.E.

1. *Obv.*: Head of Vespasian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: AVTOKPOY EΣIIKAIΣΣEB
Rev.: Nike standing to r., resting l. foot on helmet and writing with r. hand on shield hanging from palm tree; around, inscr.: IOVA AIAΣ EAΛWKVAΣ (note the mistake — last word should be spelled EAΛWKVIAΣ). 7.85
- 1a. Same as 1, but with countermark depicting war galley of the 10th Roman Legion. 7.83

Titus, 70–81 C.E.

2. *Obv.*: Head of Titus to r., laureate; around, inscr.: AVTOKPTI TOΣKAIΣAP
Rev.: Same as 1, but with rev. inscr.: IOVΔAIACE AΛWKVIAC; (sic!) on shield, inscr.: AVT/T/KAIC 8.20
- 2a. *Obv.*: Same as 2.
Rev.: Same as 2, but inscr.: IOYΔAIACE AΛWKVIAC; on shield, inscr.: AYTOKPA/T/KAICAP 8.18
- 2b. *Obv.*: Same as 2, but bigger head; the inscr. begins on top, r.: AYTOKPTIT OΣKAIΣAP
Rev.: Same as 2a. 6.14
- 2c. Same as 2b, but with countermark depicting head (of emperor) to r. 9.10
- 2d. Same as 2b, but with countermark on rev. depicting war galley (see 1a). 7.50
- 2e. Same as 2b but with countermark on obv. as on 2c, and another one on rev. (of the 10th Roman Legion) depicting a wild boar with small dolphin below and L·X·F above. 8.60

- 2f. Same as 2b (with rev. as on 2), but with countermark on obv. depicting the inscr.: KAI 8.90
3. *Obv.*: Head of Titus to r., laureate; around, inscr. beginning on top, r.: AYTOKPTITO ΣKAIΣAP
Rev.: Nike standing to r., writing on shield resting on her knee; palm tree on r.; around, inscr.: IOYΔAIAΣEAΛΩ KYIAΣ, on shield: AY/T/KA/IC/AP 7.85
- 3a. Same as 3, but different distribution of the rev. inscr.: IOYΔAIAΣEAΛ ΩKYIAΣ 7.50
- 3b. Same as 3, but with countermark depicting war galley on rev. (see 1a, 2d). 8.15
- 3c. Same as 3a, but with two countermarks on obv., one depicting head (of emperor) to r., the other a standing figure to l. holding a spear. 6.80
4. *Obv.*: Same as 2b.
Rev.: Nike standing to r., writing on large shield resting on her knee (no palm tree on this exceptional type); around, inscr.: IOYΔ AIAΣEA ΛWKYIAΣ 7.08
5. *Obv.*: Head of Titus to r., laureate; around, inscr. beginning on top, r.: AYTOKP.TIT OΣKAIΣAP
Rev.: Trophy; at its foot, on l., Judaea seated mourning, her hands tied behind her (sometimes the seated figure that of a male?); on r., shield; around, inscr.: IOYΔAIACEAΛ WKYIAC 13.43
- 5a. *Obv.*: Same as 5, but bigger head and different distribution on the inscr.: AYTOKP.TITO ΣKAIΣAP
Rev.: Same as 5, but different distribution of the inscr.: IOYΔAIACE AΛ WKVIAC. Note also the change in the shape of the letters Σ (into C) and Y (into V). 17.25
- 5b. Same as 5a, but with countermark on obv. depicting head (of emperor) to r. 13.10
- 5c. Same as 5a, but with countermark on rev., same as on 2f. 15.49
6. *Obv.*: Same as 5a; inscr.: AVTOKP·TITO KAIΣAP
Rev.: Trophy as on 5, but retrograde (!); the crossed shields are on l.; inscr.: IOVΔAIACEAΛ WKVIAC. 15.13

SUPPLEMENT VIII

COINS OF THE ROMAN ADMINISTRATION IN JUDAEA STRUCK IN CAESAREA UNDER DOMITIAN

All coins are bronze; all inscriptions are Latin.
All coins have upright axis ↑

1. *Obv.*: Head of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: *IMP DOMITIAN CAESAR DIVI F AVG*
Rev.: Founder ploughing to r. with bull and cow; inscr. above: *DIVOS VESPAS*; below: *IANVS* (A. Kindler reads [Year] 3=81/82). 27.05
2. *Obv.*: Head of Domitian, as 1; inscr.: *IMP DOMITIANVS CAESAR DIVI F AVG*
Rev.: Titus standing to front in military dress, holding spear in r. hand and parazonium in l.; on l. and r., inscr.: *DIVOS T AVG* 16.50
- 2a. Same as 2, but with rectangular countermark with round corners on obv., depicting head (of emperor) to r. 14.58
3. *Obv.*: Same as 2.
Rev.: Nike advancing to l., holding wreath and palm-branch; on r. and l., inscr.: *VICTORIA AVG* 15.18
4. *Obv.*: Same as 2; inscr.: *IMP DOMITIAN CAESARI A DIVI F*
Rev.: Rudder 1.60
5. *Obv.*: Head of Domitian to r., laureate (different style from the previous coins 1-4); around, inscr.: *IMP DOMIT AVG GERM*
Rev.: trophy; around, inscr.: *VICTOR AVG* 4.20
- 5a. Same as 5, but with rectangular countermark on obv.
6. *Obv.*: Head of Domitian to r.; around, inscr.: *IMP DOMITIANVS CAES AVG GERMANICVS*
Rev.: Minerva standing on galley to r., holding shield in l. hand and spear in r.; on l., trophy; on r., palm branch; between Minerva and prow of galley, small owl. 16.30
- 6a. Same as 6, but of somewhat crude style. 12.97
- 6b. Same as 6, but no owl on the prow of galley. 15.29

7. *Obv.*: Head of Domitian to l.; around, inscr.: *DOMITIANVS CAES AVG GERMANICVS*
Rev.: Minerva advancing to l., holding trophy in r. hand and shield and spear in l. 10.28
8. *Obv.*: Head of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: *IMP DOMITIANVS CAESAR GERMANICVS*
Rev.: Nike advancing to l., holding wreath in r. hand and trophy in l. 5.12
9. *Obv.*: Head of Domitian to r., radiate; around, inscr.: *IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TRP XI* (92 C.E.)
Rev.: Palm tree, with seven branches and two clusters of dates; around, inscr.: *IMP XXI COS XVI CENS PPP* 15.83
- 9a. Same as 9, but with round countermark depicting head (of Nerva?) to r. 15.80
- 9b. Same as 9a, but depicting another countermark, rectangular, depicting figure standing to l., holding spear (compare with Suppl. VII, 3c).
10. *Obv.*: Head of Domitian to r., laureate; around, inscr.: *IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TRP XII*
Rev.: Nike advancing to l., holding wreath in r. hand and small trophy in l.; around, inscr.: *IMP XXIII COS XVI CENS PPP* (93 C.E.). 9.93
- 10a. Same as 2, but with rectangular countermark on obv. depicting head (of emperor) to r. 9.52

The Coins are in the Following Locations

Herod the Great

1	HU	19b	SA	6c	R	7b	P3
1a	P2	20	FBS	6d	LG	7c	BN
1b	FBS	20a	P2	6e	P2	7d	P3
1c	D	21	P2	6f	SA	8	BOI
2	SA	22	R			8a	P1
2a	P2	22a	L			9	R
2b	BOI	22b	P2	Herod	Antipas	10	BN
3	P2	23	SA	1	P3	10a	SL
4	G	23a	P2	2	HU	11	BM
5	FBS	23b	P2	3	P1	12	P1
6	P1	23c	P1	3a	FBS	13BER	BER
7	G			4	FBS	14	SL
7a	P2			5	BN		
8	P2	Herod Archelaus		6	HU		
8a	R	1	P2	7	P1		
9	P2	1a	G	8	BER	Agrippa I	
9a	P2	1b	P2	9	HU	1	P1
10	P2	1c	P2	10	P1	1Sp	Sp
11	P2	1d	D	11	IM	2	Q
12	P2	1e	P2	12	SL	2p	P1
12a	D	1f	P2	13	P1	3	IDAM
13	P2	2	G	14	R	3ROS	ROS
13P	P2	2a	FBS	14a	FBS	4	P1
13a	P2	2b	P2	15	P1	4MU	MU
13aR	R	2c	P2	16	P4	5	SL
14	KL	3	BOI	17	ANS	5a	BN
14a	IM	3a	P2			5b	BOI
15	IDAM	3b	HU	17a	D	6	IM
16	IM	3c	P2	18	R	6P	P2
17	P2	3d	P2	18a	ANS	6a	P1
17a	P2	3e	WA	19	ANS	7	KNM
17aF	FBS	3f	SA			8	P1
17b	P2	3g	SCH			8a	HU
17c	P2	3h	Z			9	D
17d	P2	4	R	Philip		9HU	HU
17e	P2	4a	P1	1	D	9a	Sp
17f	P2	4b	P2	1P	P1	10	R
17g	P2	4c	P2	2	R	10a	FBS
17h	P2	4d	D	3	IM		
17i	P2	5	P2	3a	IDAM	11	P2
17j	P2	5a	P2	3b	BM	11a	P1
17k	G	5b	P2	4	SA	11b	P2
17kP	P2	5c	P2	4a	P3	11c	P2
17l	BM	5d	P2			11d	FBS
17m	P2	5e	P2			11e	P2
18	FBS	5f	P2	5	BI	11f	R
18a	P2	5g	FBS	5a	P1	11g	P2
19	FBS	6	IDAM	6a	Sp	11h	R
19F	FBS	6a	P2	7	H	11i	P1
19a	G	6b	P1	7a	BN	11j	K

Agrippa	II	31	P3	3a	S	1b	BM
		32	S	4	D	1c	P1
1	HU	32a	ANS	5	KO	2	SA
1a	IDAM	33	D	6	P1	3	G
2	IM	34	KO	6a	R	3a	IDAM
3	ANS	35	P2	7	KO	3b	P1
4	P2	36	G	8	P1	4	P1
4a	BOI	36a	R	9	SA	4a	BM
5	R	36b	P4	9a	SP	4b	IDAM
6	BER	37	D	10	HU	5	HU
6BN	BN	37a	BI	11	R	5a	P1
7	BN	37b	ANS	11a	P2	5b	IDAM
8	D	37c	HU	12	SA	5c	H
8a	G	37d	H	13	P2	5d	KO
8b	BER	37e	ANS	13a	K	6	P1
9	P1	37f	BN	13b	R	6a	IDAM
10	R	37g	ANS	13c	ROS	6b	BOI
10a	BM	37h	KO	14	P1	6c	H
10b	G	38	P1	15	R	6d	IDAM
11	S	39	S	16	R	6e	P1
11a	SA	39a	P1	17	P2	6f	SA
11b	BN	40	P2	18	SA	6g	BI
11c	BM	40a	P2	18a	P1	6h	IM
12	G	41	P3	19	IDAM	7	P1
12a	HU	42	R	19a	P1	7a	IDAM
12b	R	42a	D	20	P2	8	P2
13	HU	43	S	21	P2	9	IDAM
13a	P2	44	P3	22	P2	10	G
14	G	45	R	22a	G	10a	P1
14a	BN	45a	P1	23	P1	10b	KO
15	G	45b	P1	24	BER	11	P1
16	P1	46	IM	25	BM	12	P1
17	R	47	R	26	BM	12a	P1
18	P3	48	ANS	27	G	12b	P1
18a	P3	48a	P2	27a	P2	13	P1
19	P2	48b	D	28	P1	13a	P1
19a	P2	49	P1	29	P1	13b	P1
20	R	50	BOI	29a	IDAM	14	P1
20a	P3	51	FBS	29b	IM	15	IDAM
21	P1	52	HU	30	P2	16	P1
22	P4	53	BM	30a	P1	16a	P1
23	SL	53a	FBS	30b	P2	16b	P2
23a	BM	54	P1	30c	LG	16c	D
24	L	54a	P3	30d	SA	17	R
25	P3	55	BM	30e	D	17a	P1
25a	D	56	KO	30f	BM	18	G
26	SL			31	IDAM	19	P1
27	G			31a	BM	20	BOI
28	KL			32	IDAM	21	P1
29	P1					21a	P1
30	R					22	G
30a	P1					23	P1
30b	R					24	BI
30c	R					24a	R
		Jewish	War				
		1	IM				
		2	KO				
		2a	P1				
		3	P1				
				Bar-Cochba			
				1	SA		
				1a	BER		

(Bar Cochba cont.)	51HU	HU	74d	P1	2	D
	52	P1	75	R	3	IM
25	P1	52a	75a	SA	4	IM
25a	P2	53	75b	H	5	IM
26	SA	53a	76	ROS	5a	IM
26a	P1	53b	77	BI	6	IM
27	D	53c	77a	BI	7	IM
28	SA	54	77b	P2	8	IM
29	P1	55	77c	IM	8a	P2
29a	G	55a	78	IDAM	9	IM
30	P1	55b	79	ST	9a	FBS
31	D	55c	80	P2	10	R
31a	D	56	81	R	10a	IM
31b	P1	56a	81a	SA	10b	P1
32	P1	56b	81b	P2	11	IDAM
32a	IM	57	81c	P1	12	IM
33	P1	57a	81d	SA	12a	IM
33a	D	57b	82	H	12b	IM
33b	P1	57c	82a	G	13	LG
34	P1	58	82b	H	14	IM
35	P1	59	83	P2	15	SA
36	P1	59a	84	ROS	15a	YMCA
36a	BI	59b	85	BM	16	Sp
37	P1	60	86	BOI	17	P2
37a	BM	60a	87	R	17a	IM
38	BM	60b			17b	IDAM
38a	SA	61	Suppl.	III	18	R
38b	IDAM	61a	1	V	18a	IM
39	P1	61b	2	BM	18b	WA
40	IM	61c	3	BM	18c	IM
41	SA	62	4	BM	19	R
42	P2	62a	5	ANS	19a	IM
42a	P2	62b	6	SA	19b	IM
42b	IDAM	62c	7	ANS	20	P1
42c	ANS	62d	7a	D	21	D
43	BI	63	8	SA	21a	IM
43a	SA	64	9	BN	22	P2
44	BI	65	10	BM	23	IM
44a	ANS	66			23a	P2
44b	HU	66a			23b	IM
45	ST	66b	Suppl.	IV	23c	FBS
45a	BI	66c	1	R	23d	IM
45b	SA	67	2	P1	23e	IM
46	BI	67a	3	R	23f	IM
46a	R	68	4	R	23g	IM
47	P1	69	5	HE	23h	FBS
48	IDAM	70	6	P6	24	IM
49	P1	71	6a	R	24a	IM
49a	P1	72			24b	IM
49b	P1	73			24c	H
50	IDAM	74	Suppl.	V the	24d	IM
50a	IDAM	74a	Roman Procurator		25	IM
51	P1	74b	1	R	25a	IM
51*	P1	74c	1a	IM	25b	P2

(suppl. v cont.)	35e	ROS	8	IM	5a	SA
	35f	P2	9	LG	5b	G
26	G	S	10	HE	5c	FBS
27	BA	IM	11	HE	6	SA
27a	IM	35i	12	Sp		
27b	SA	35j	13	IM	Suppl.	VIII
28	P2	35k			Roman	Administration
29	ANS	35L	Suppl.	VII	1	KNM
29a	IM	35m	Judaea	Capta	2	SL
29b	IM	35n	1	ANS	2a	FBS
30	IM	35o	1a	ANS	3	SA
30a	IM	35p	2	D	4	P1
31	P1	35q	2a	SA	5	BOI
31a	LG		2b	ANS	5a	SR
32	BM		2c	P1	6	R
32a	P2	Suppl.	2d	P1	6a	ANS
32b	IM	1	2e	P2	6b	P1
33	P2	1a	2f	P1	7	R
34	D	2	3	M	8	ANS
35	IM	3	3a	LG	9	SA
35a	IM	4	3b	ANS	9a	ANS
35b	IM	5	3c	ME	9b	P2
35c	IM	6	4	IM	10	P2
35d	IM	7	5	S	10a	ANS



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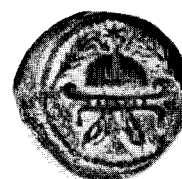
1a



1b



1c



2



2a



2b



3



4



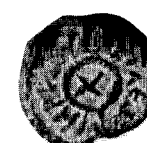
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6



7



7a



8

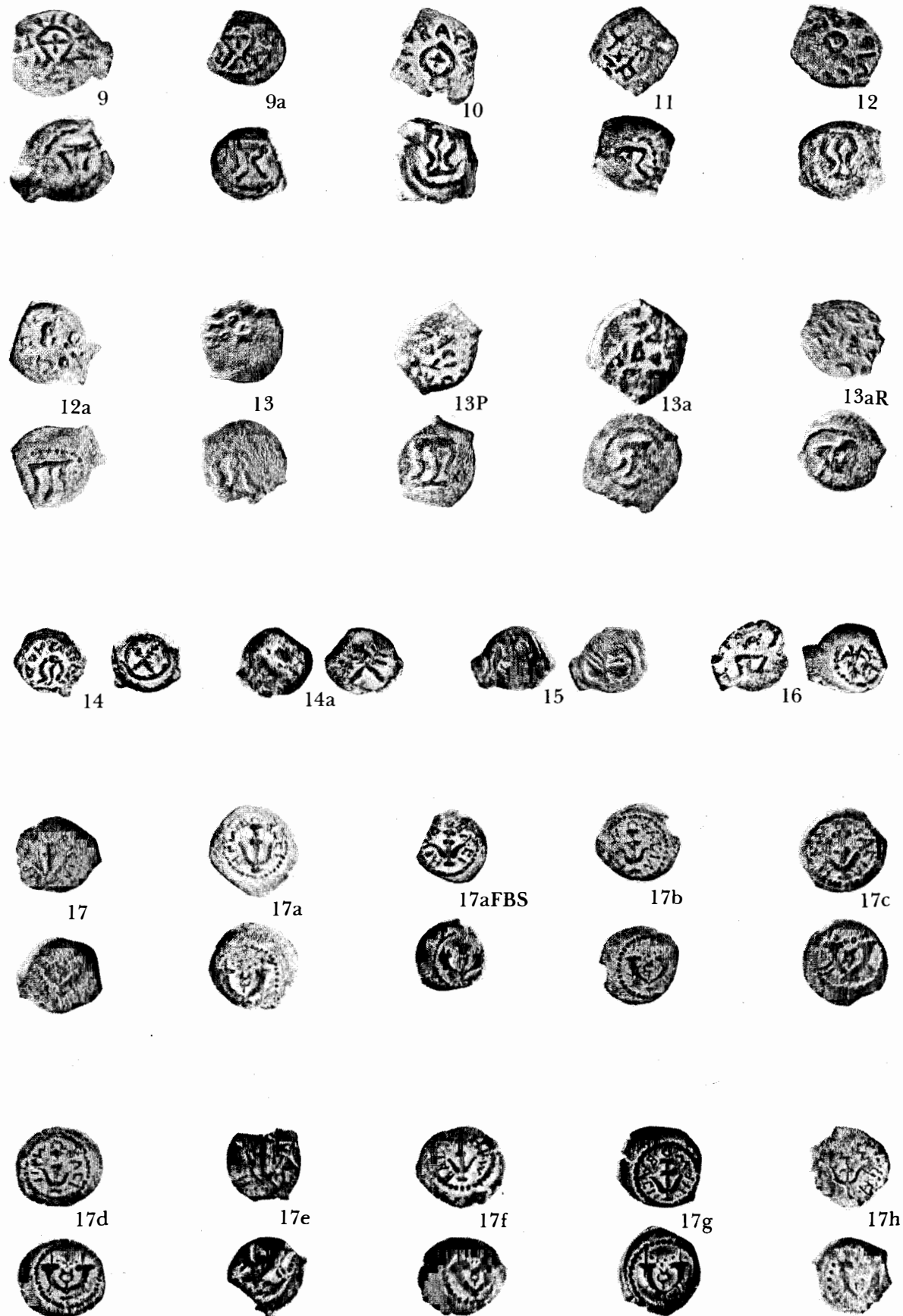


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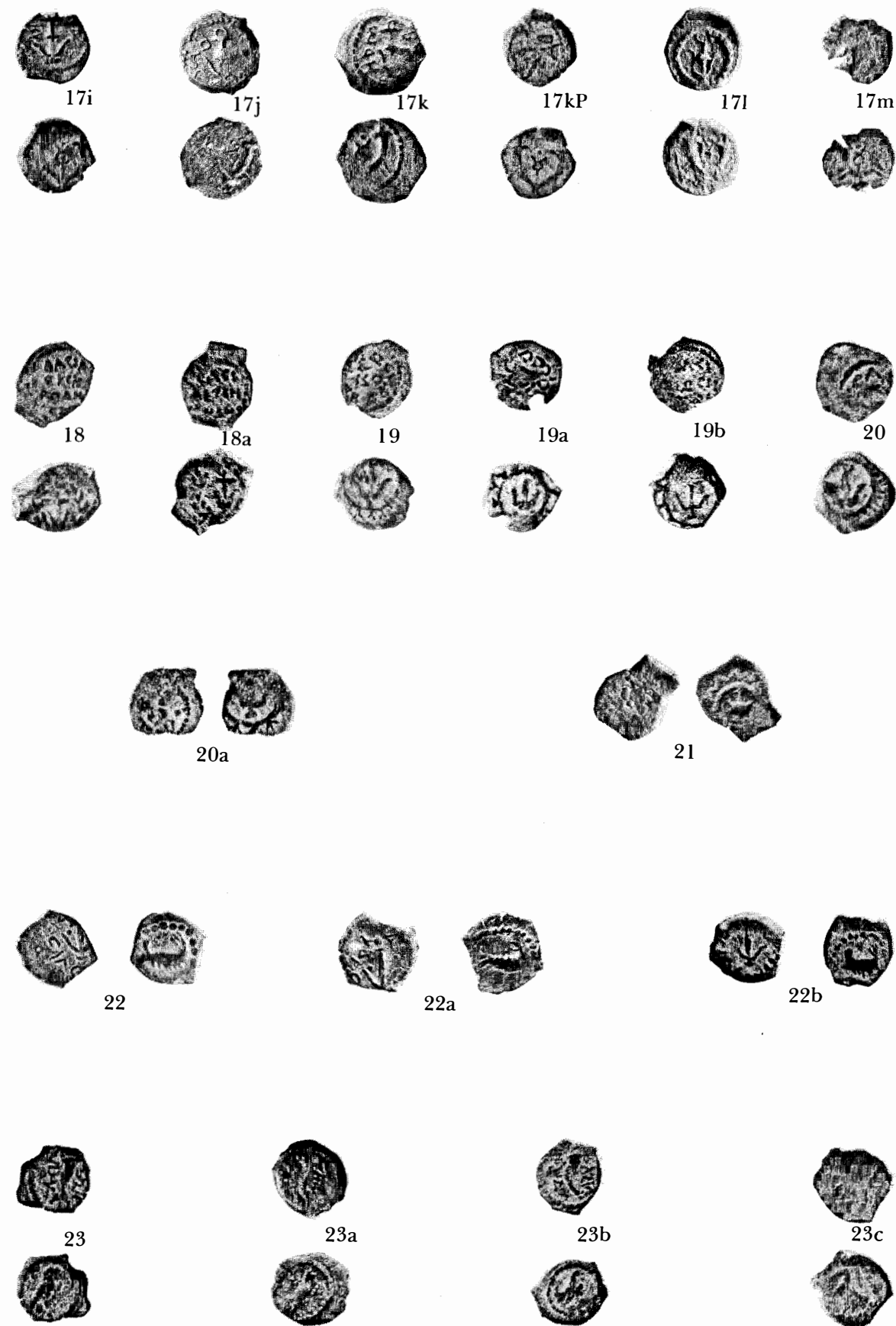


8b





Herod the Great



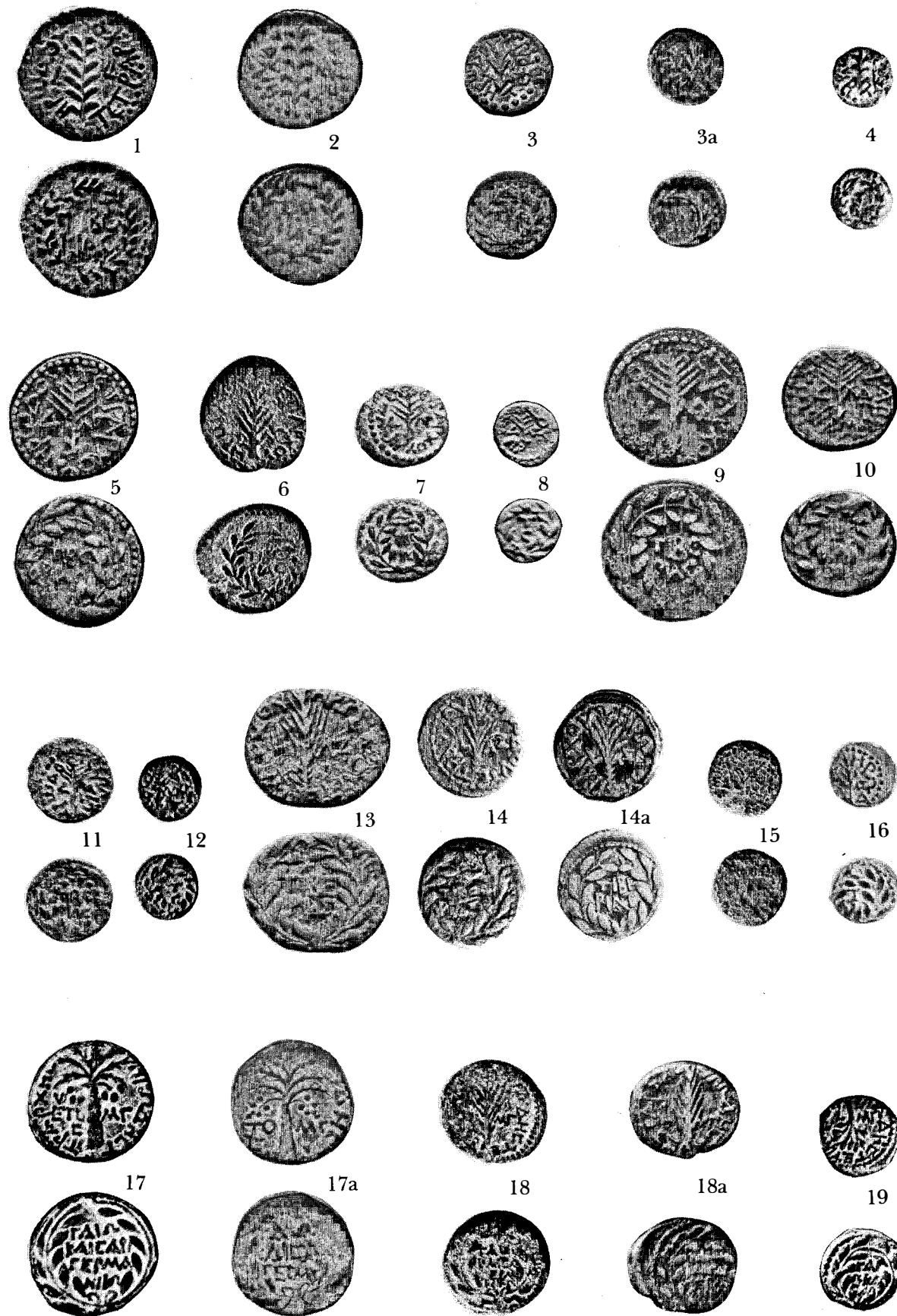
Herod the Great



Herod Archelaus



Herod Archelaus

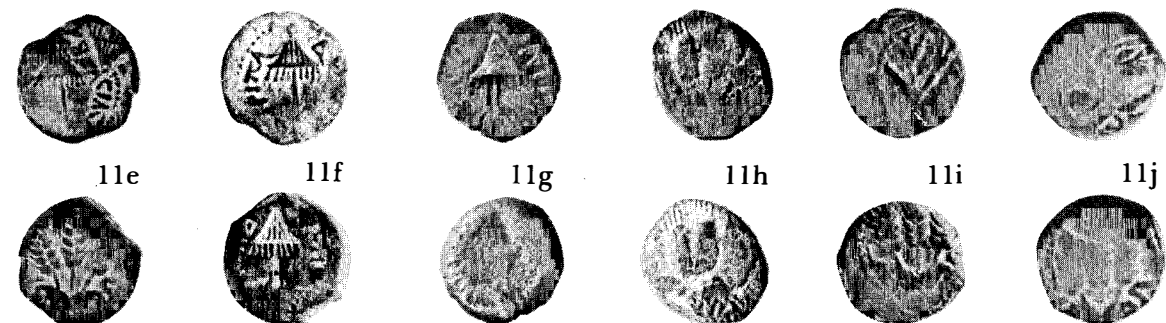
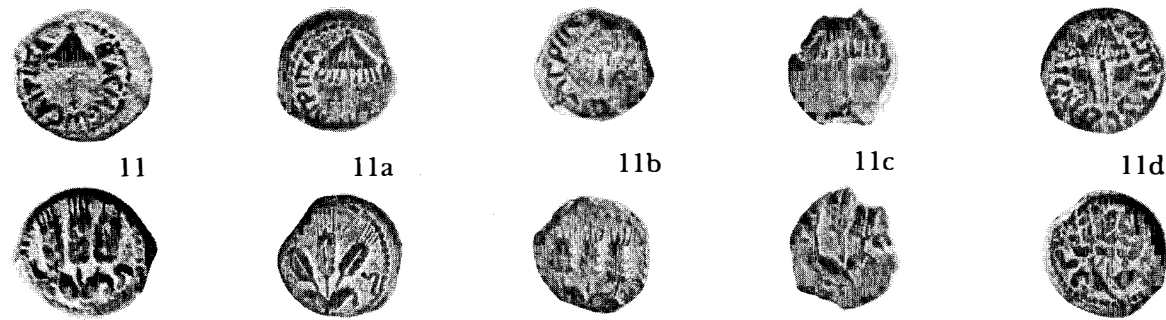
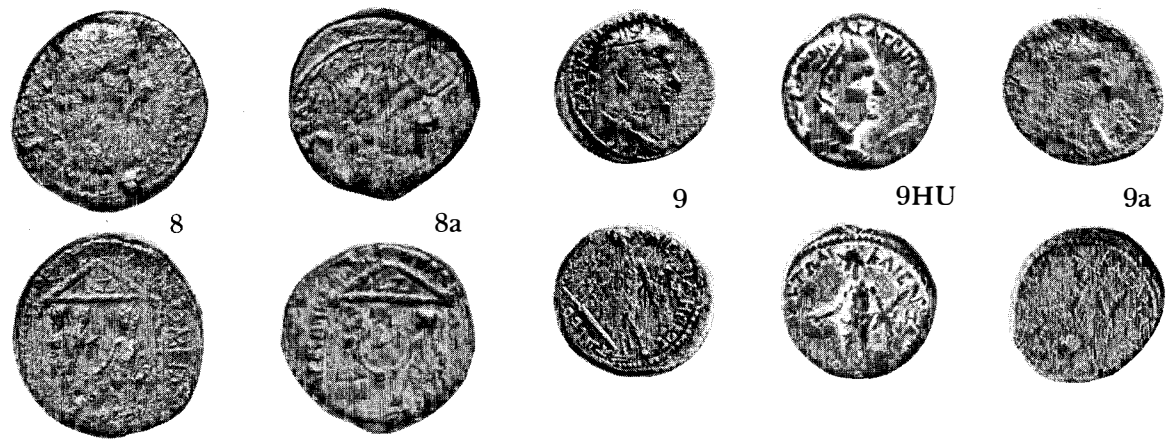


Herod Antipas

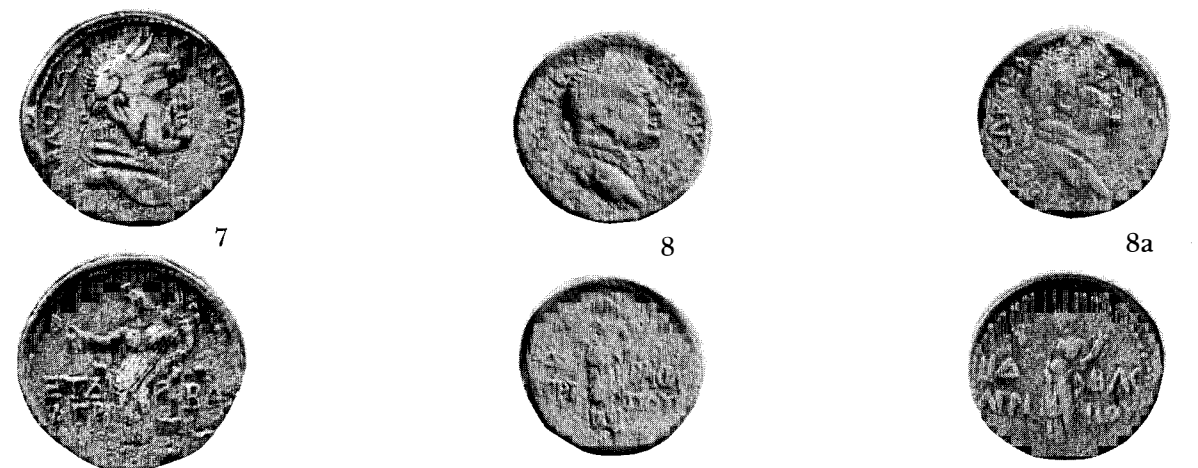
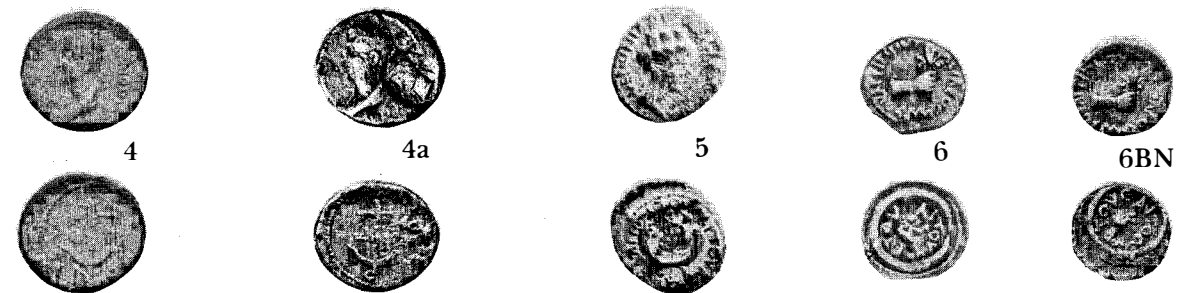
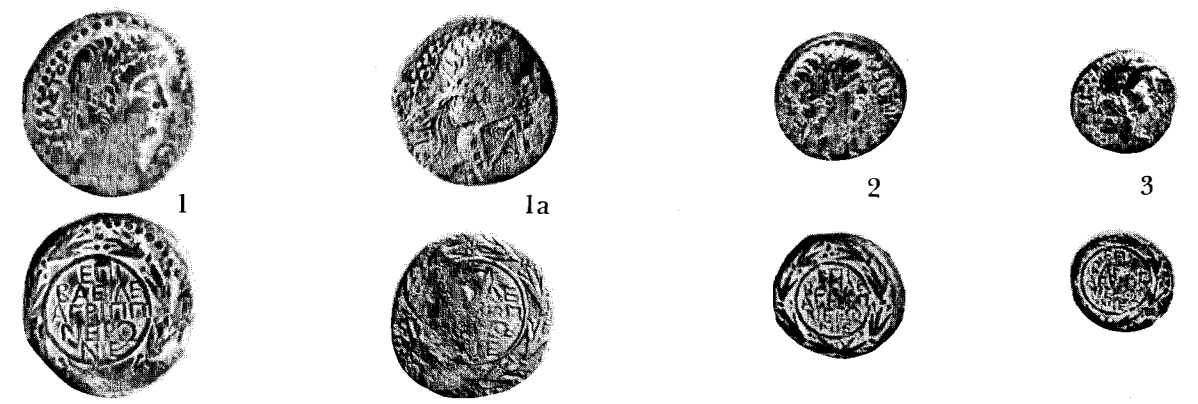


Philip

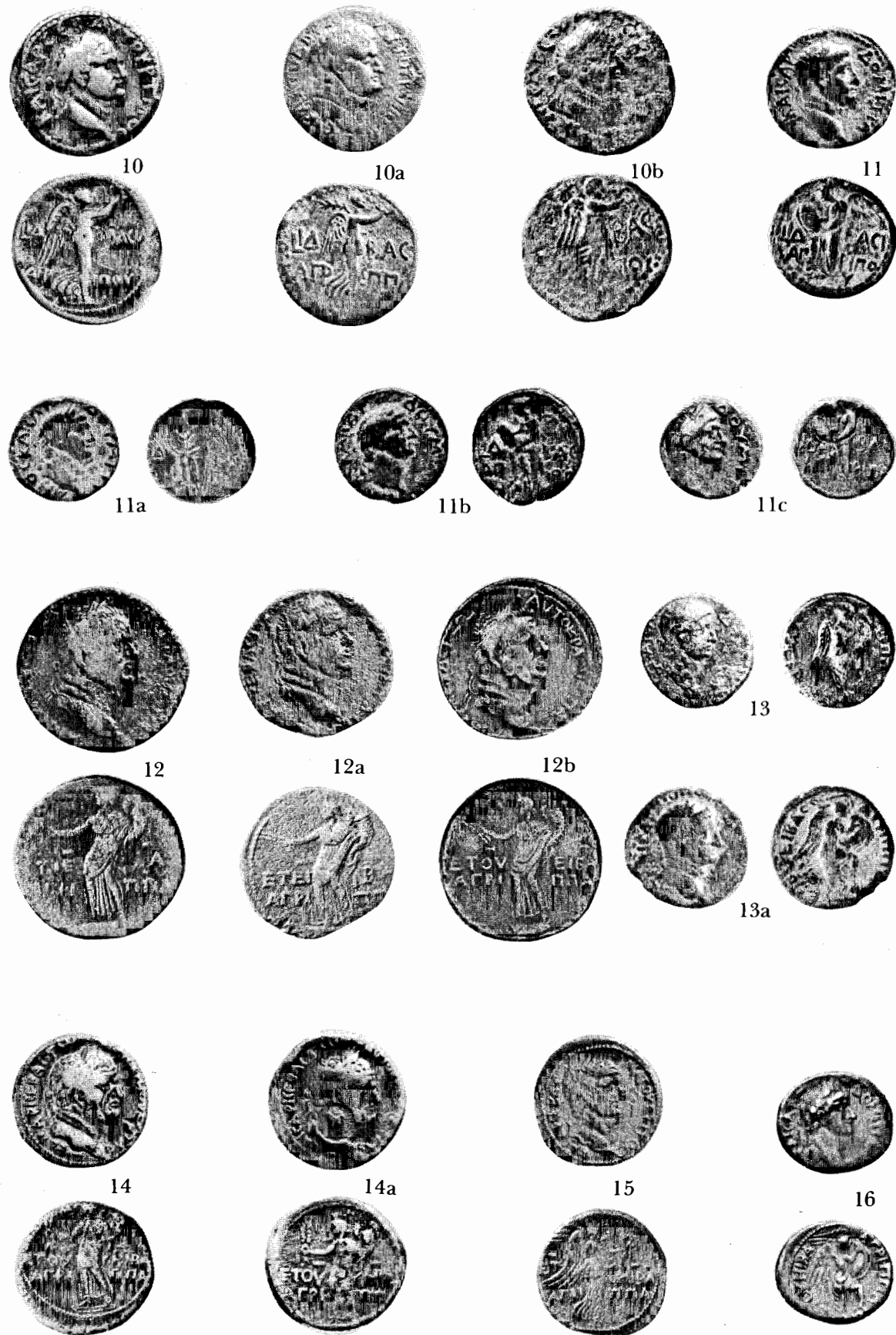




Agrippa I



Agrippa II



Agrippa II



Agrippa II



Agrippa II



Agrippa II



Agrippa II



The Jewish War





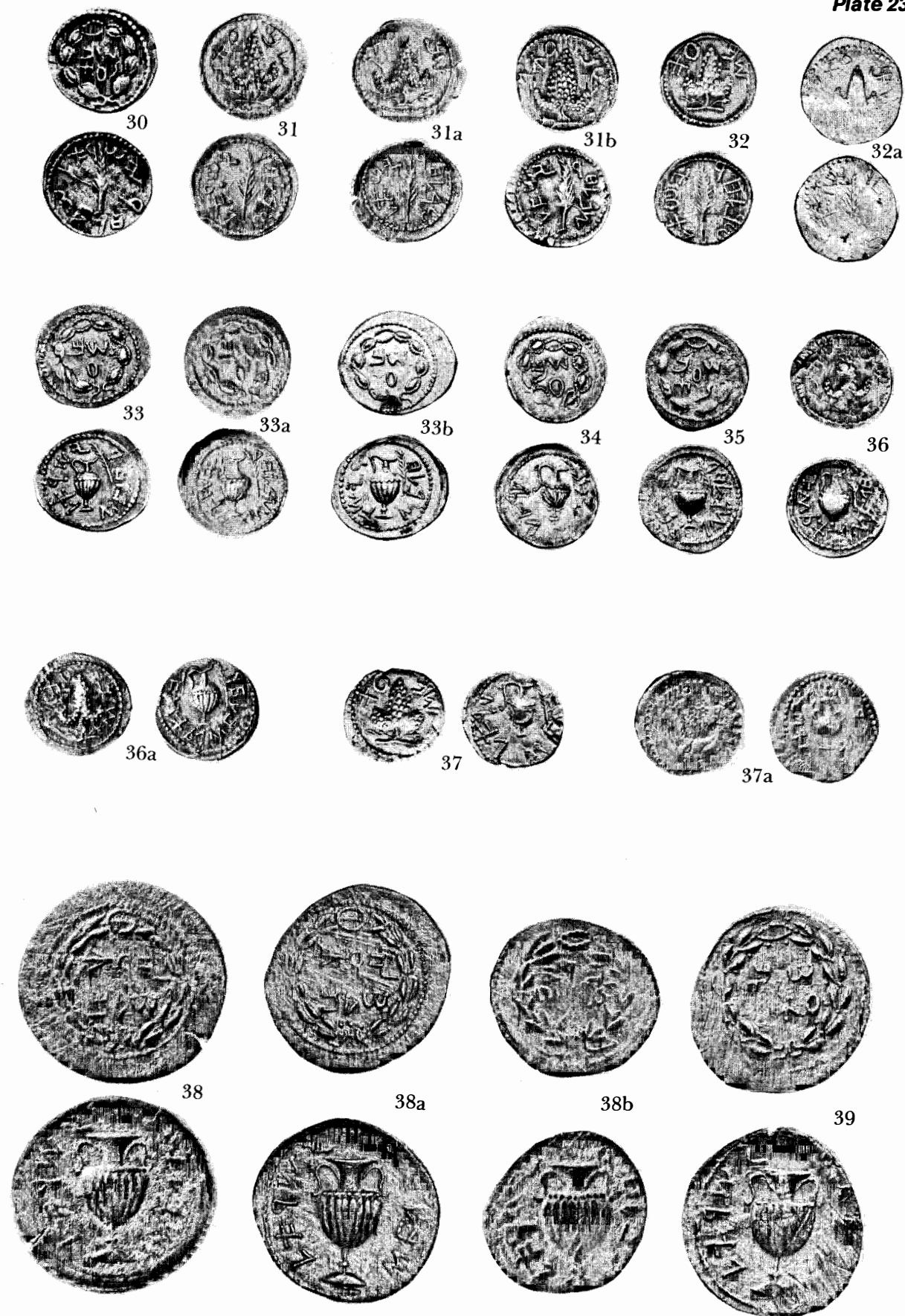
Bar-Cochba



Bar-Cochba



Bar-Cochba



Bar-Cochba



Bar-Cochba



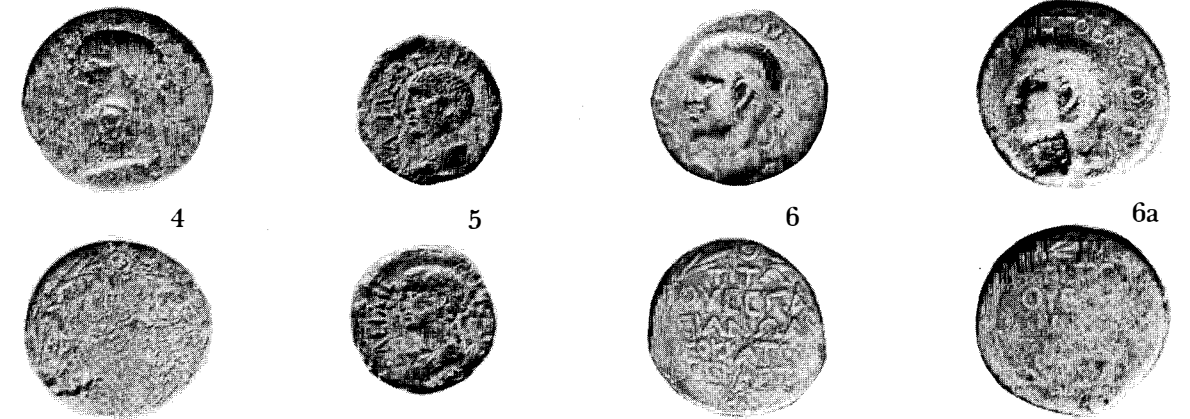
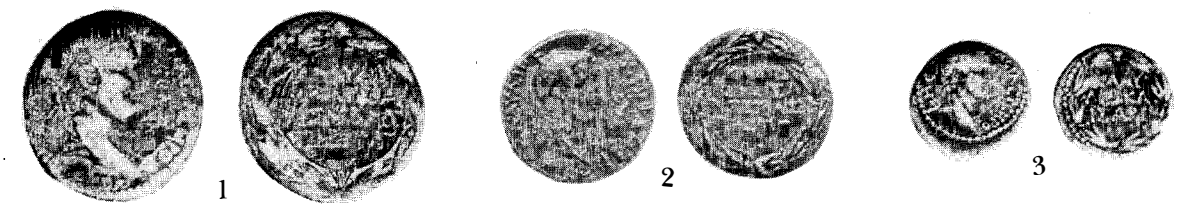
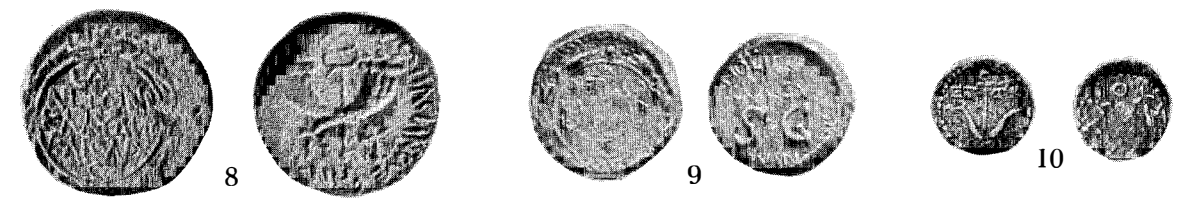
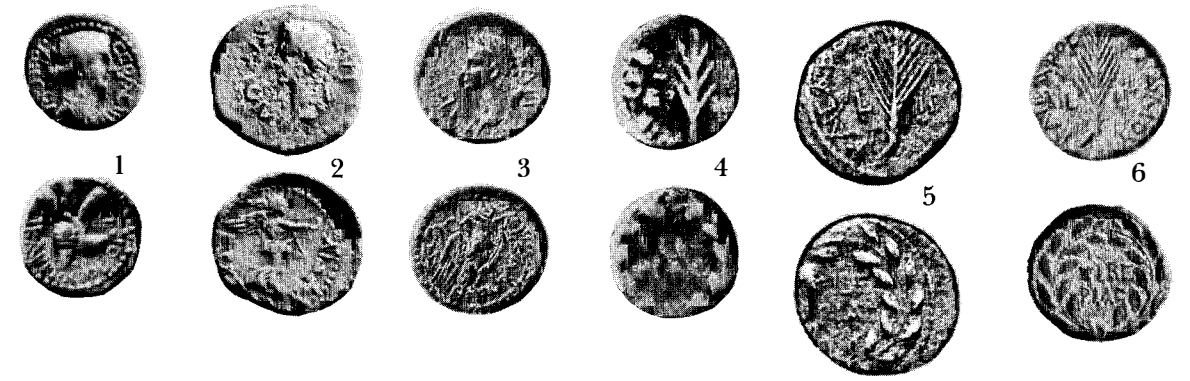
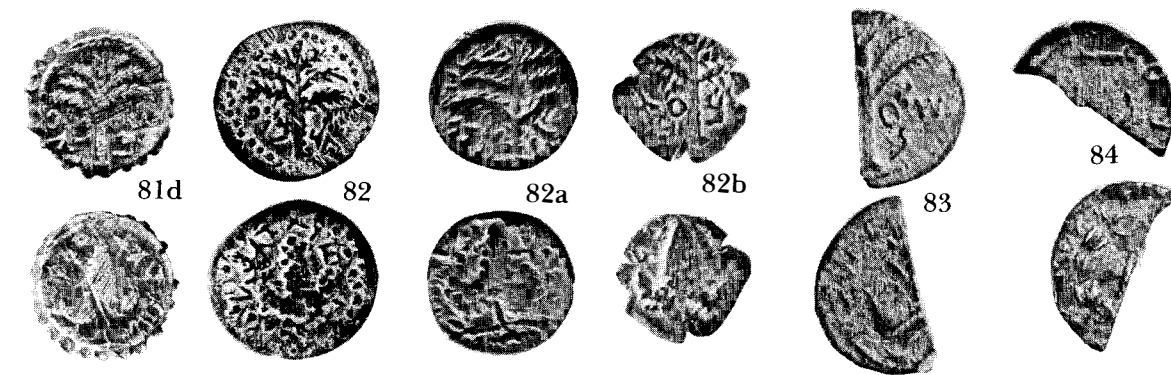
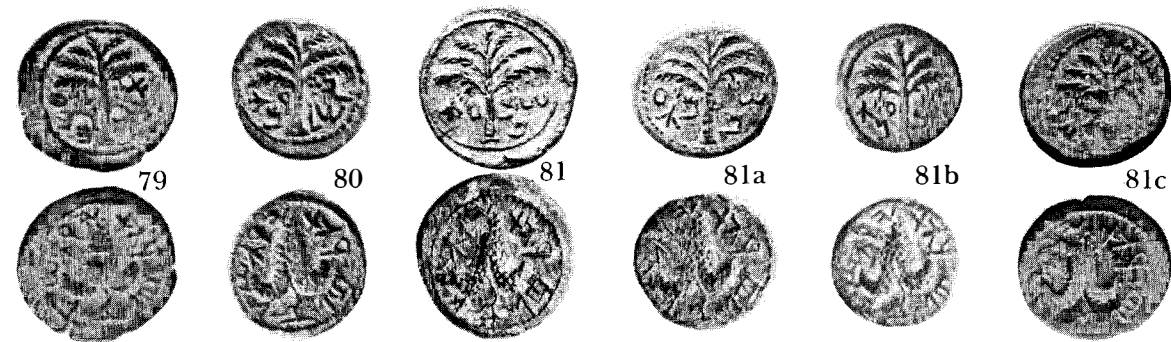
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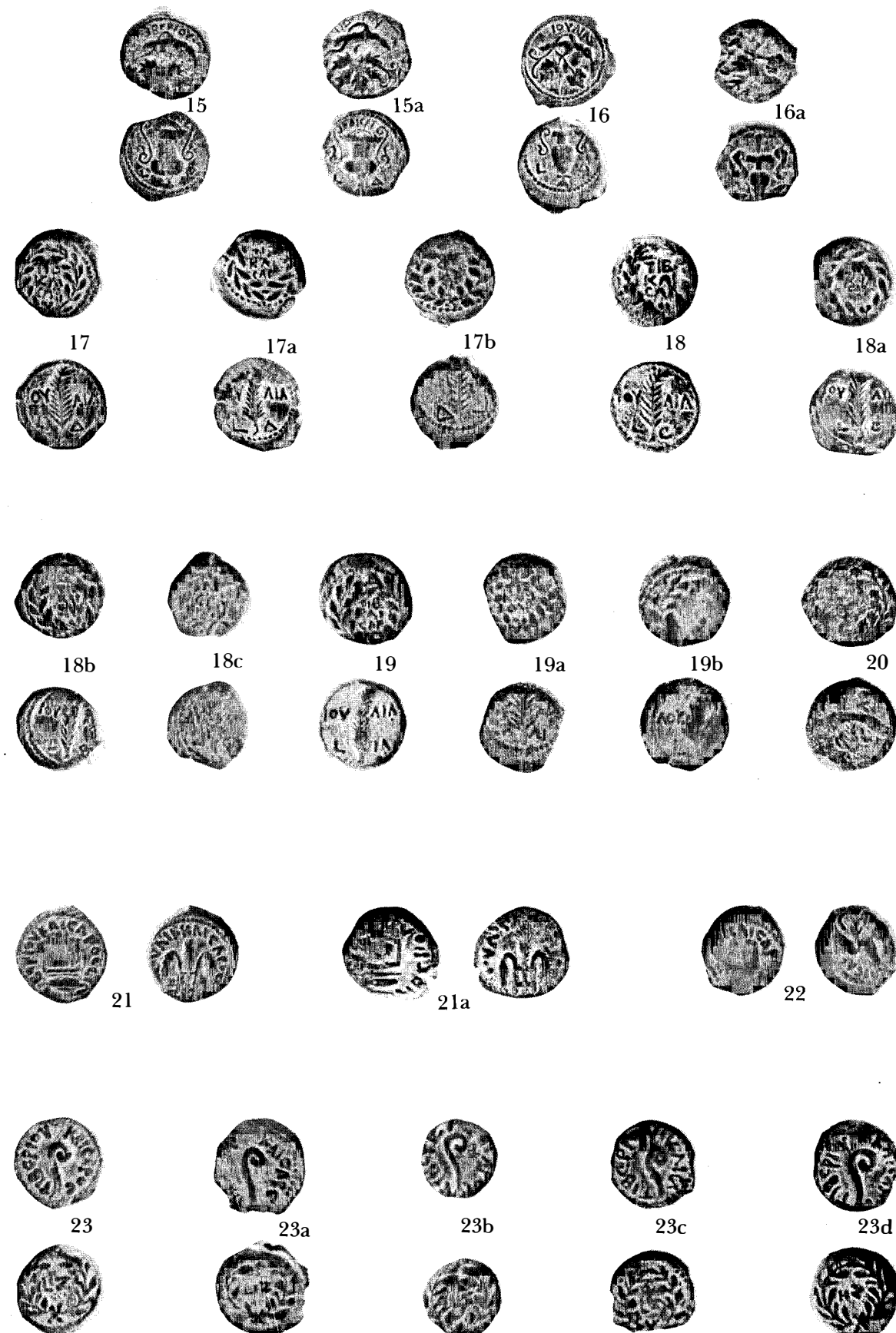
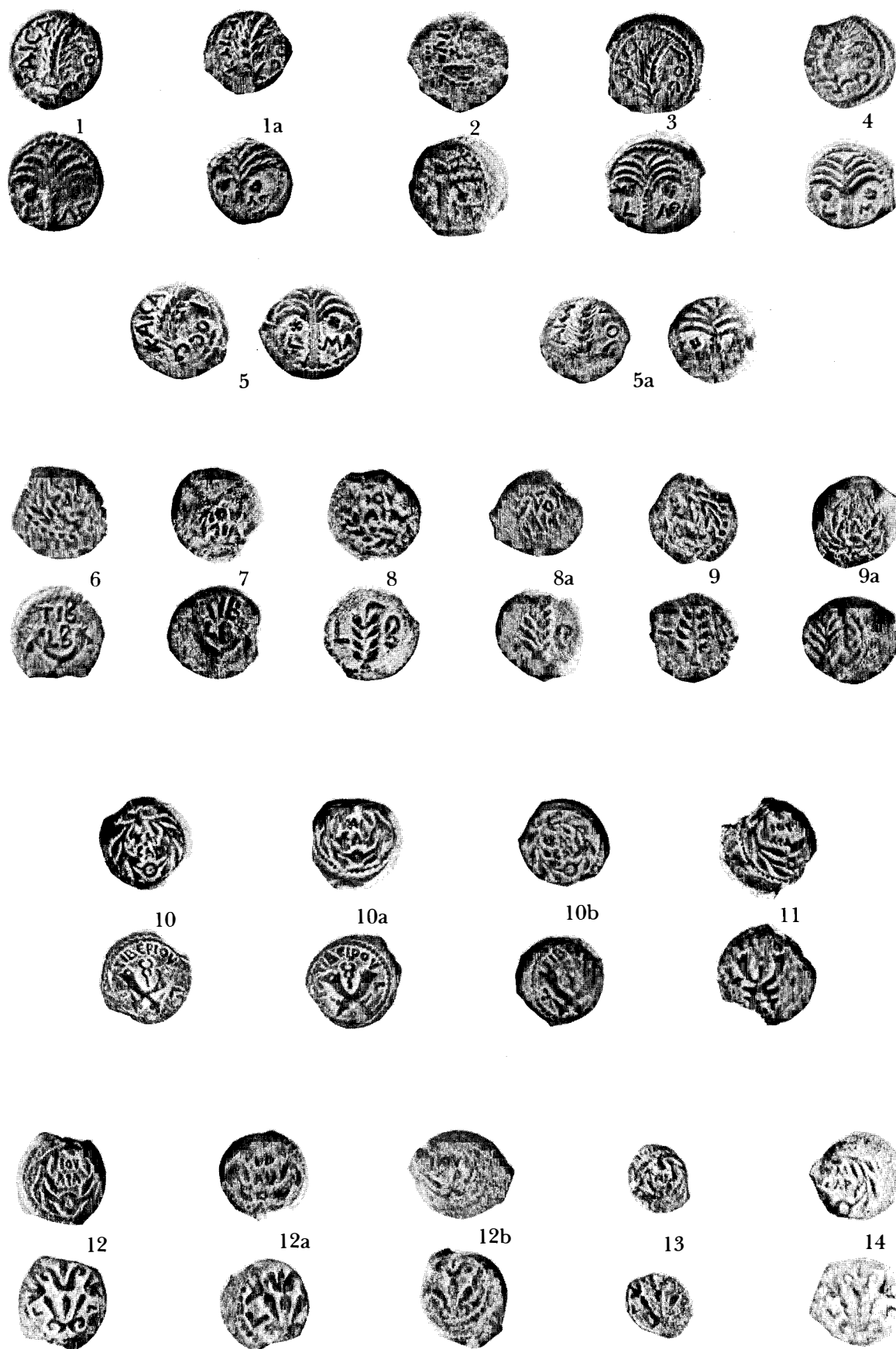


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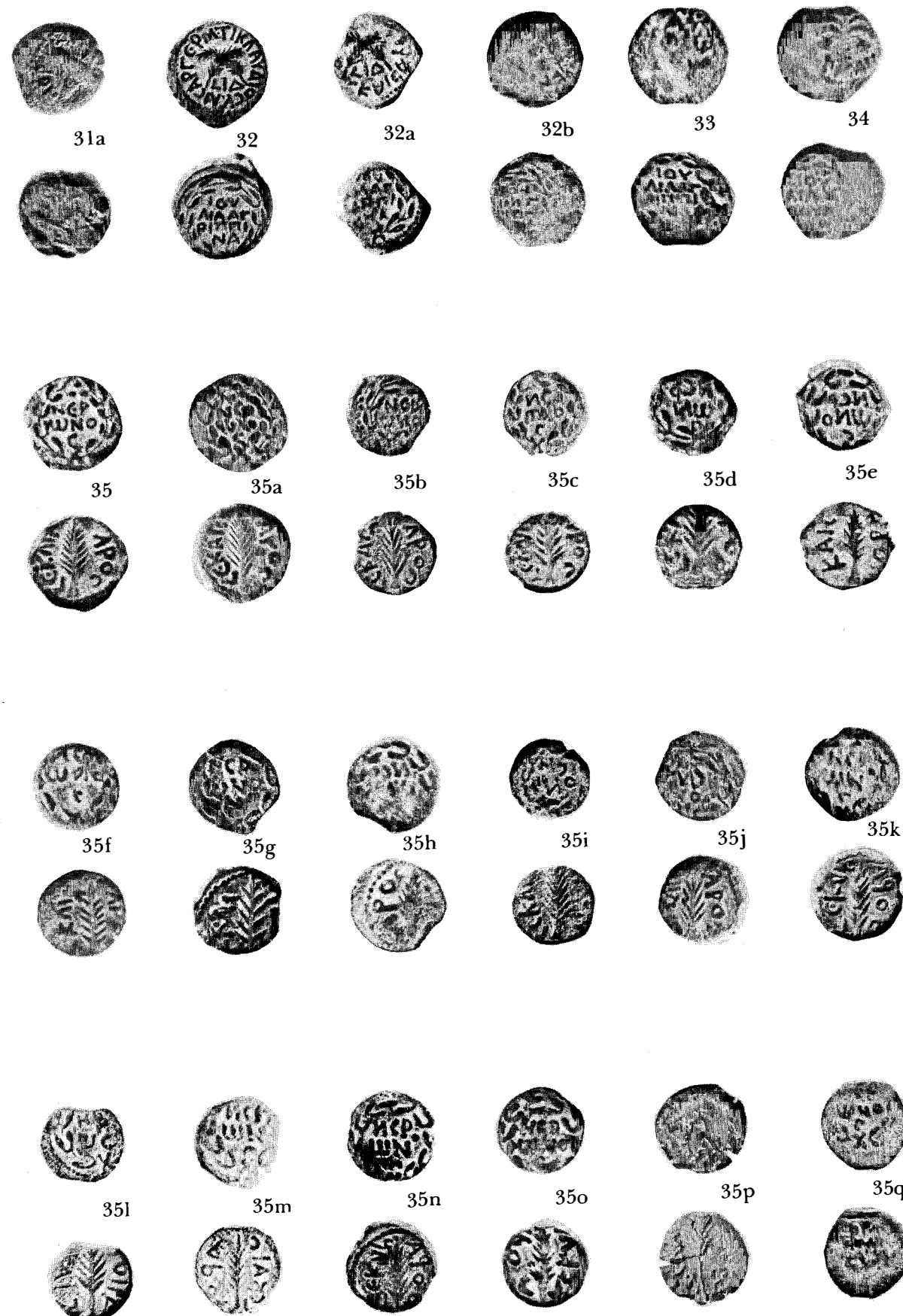
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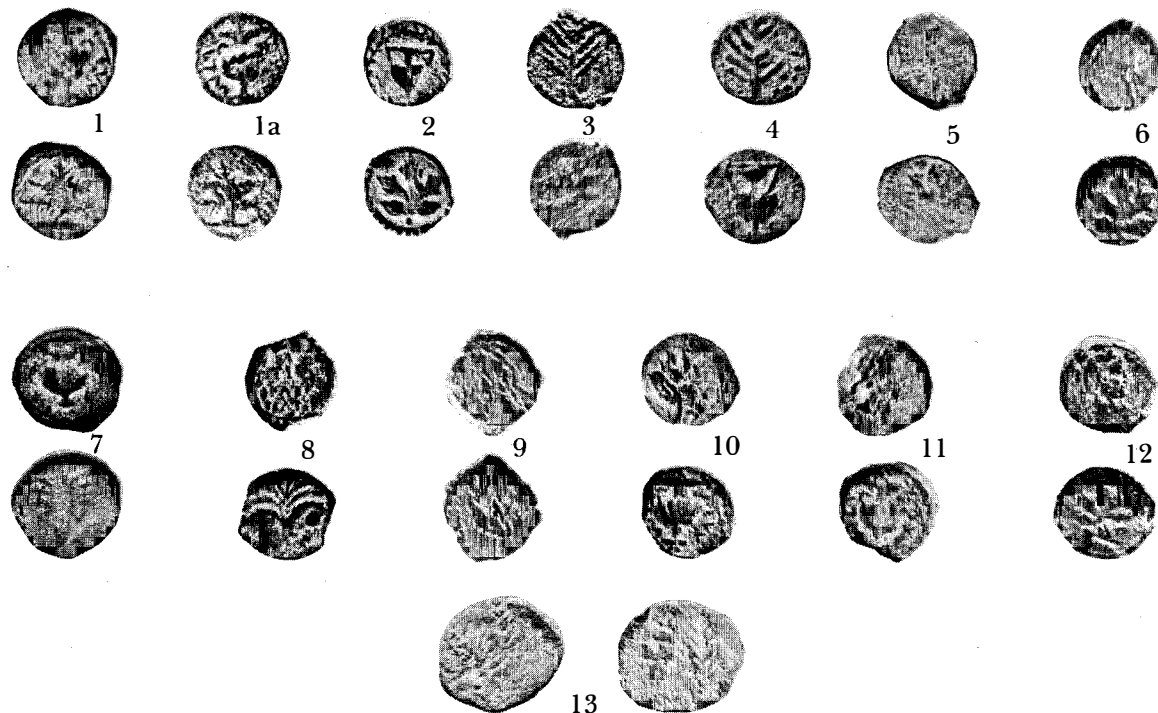
Supplement V The Procurators



Supplement V The Procurators



The Siloam Hoard



Supplement VI

The Minimas of Caesarea



Supplement VII

Judaea Capta

