

The minting of coins in Jerusalem during the Roman period

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Abstract

The focus of this article by the author will be bronze coins minted in Jerusalem during the Roman period. Minting in the local authority which in fact, began during the Hasmonean rulers' time, operated over the same infrastructure and minting methods in the Roman period until the end of the Jewish War against the Romans. After the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, minting of bronze coins continued in a different format. This was done first through the countermark minting of the Tenth Roman Legion on worn out coins that were in circulation and later through urban-colonial minting of the Roman city Aelia Capitolina.

INTRODUCTION

The Roman period in Eretz Israel began in 63 BCE with the conquest of Israel by Pompey and lasted until 324 CE, the beginning of the Byzantine period. Minting in Jerusalem during the Roman period began with the minting by Mattathias Antigonus and continued until Hostilian's time in 251 CE. The brothers Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II fought over the control of Judea and turned to Pompey. After Aristobulus II rebelled against him, Pompey conquered Jerusalem and exiled Aristobulus II and his sons Alexander and Mattathias Antigonus to Rome and made Hyrcanus II ethnarch over Judea. Pompey also separated the Hellenistic cities from Judea as part of the Roman conquest policy in Eretz Israel. This article will focus on the minting of Jerusalem coins between 40 BCE when it was ruled by Mattathias Antigonus until 251 CE when minting in Aelia Capitolina ceased towards the end of the Roman period.

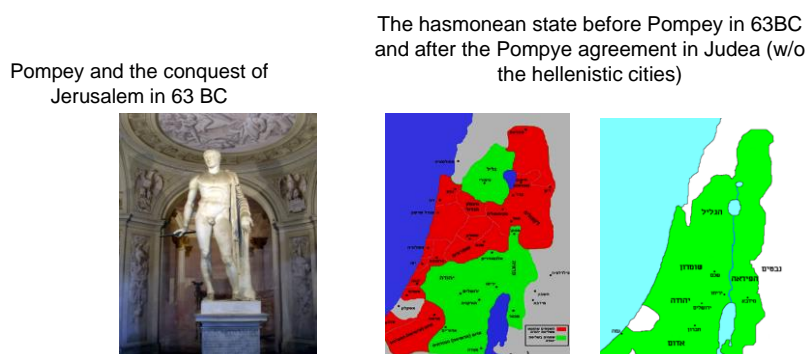


Fig. 1.

The main written historic sources of the Roman period in Eretz Israel are:

1. "Antiquities of the Jews".
2. "The Jewish War against the Romans".

Both were written by Josephus. Josephus relied on the sources of Nicolaus of Damascus (Νικόλαος Δαμασκηνός)⁽¹⁾ and Strabo.

3. "*Roman History*" written by Cassius Dio a Roman historian (160-230 CE). The segments about Hadrian appear in an epitome of a book written and edited by the John Xiphilinus (Ἰωάννης Ξιφιλῖνος) in the 11 century CE.

4. "*Historia Romana* " written by Appianus (Ἀππιανός Ἀλεξανδρεύς) who lived during Hadrian's time.

5. The four gospels, who constitute the New Testament and "church history" by Eusebius (265-339 CE).

7. "On weights and measurements" by Epiphanius of Salamis (Ἐπιφάνιος); 310-402 CE)

8. Additional sources by Rabbinic Literature

Background to Jerusalem minting prior to the Roman period

Until 400 BCE coins were not minted in Jerusalem. Minting began towards the end of the Persian period. Mostly small denomination coins in obol denomination: obol, hemiobol and quarter obol with the inscription "YHD" in paleo- Hebrew were minted in Jerusalem. From 400BCE until 360 BCE independent coins were minted in the city. After 360 BCE, which is when the Persians re-conquered the area, coins bearing the Persian sovereign² mark were minted in the city. YHD coins were minted in 400-360BCE by local leaders and after that with the authorization of the Persian rule. 3 groups of coins exist:

¹ was Josephus' main source in describing event until the death of Herod, while displaying pro Herod inclinations and emphasis on his successes and pro-Roman description vs. hostile descriptions of the Hasmonean rulers.

² the head of the Persian king or the title "Pecha"

1. Without the Persian sovereign head, or Persian title, for example "Athenian imitation"³ coins.

2. Coins with the image of the current Persian sovereign or Persian title.

3. Coins with the image of Jewish leaders and their names inscribed.

Coins without the image of the Persian sovereign were minted between 400-360BCE in the areas bordering Judea, where the Persians were not present and the area was under Egyptian influence. As a result of the Egyptian revolt against the Persian, the Egyptian rebels pushed the Persians out of the area. It is the authors opinion that the lack of Persian control over the area influenced the character of local minting which was, in fact, independent minting. YHD leaders minted during some of that period coins bearing their name and

images similarly to Asia minor coins that arrived in the area as well as Egyptian "Athenian imitation" coins bearing the names and images of rulers.

Minting of coins during the Persian period, Until the Egyptians rebellions coins were not minted in Yehud. During the rebellions and the invasions of rebellious Egyptian armies to Southern Levant and pushing the Persians out of the region, local minting began. Initially the coins that were minted were Athenian imitation style coins with the lily flower motif and other coins. The minting with the sovereignty marks began in the later stages of the Persian period after 360 BCE to correspond with local minting.

"YHD" independent coins, period 399-360 BC



Fig. 2.

דגמי מטבעות ביהד שטבעו בתקופה 399-360



מטבעות עם סמלי ריבון פרסי שנטבעו לאחר שנת 360



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Fig. 3. "YHD" coins under the Persian king's period 360-332 BCE

A similar format of minting small silver coins was practiced in YHD as well, during the Hellenistic period. Authorization given to the Jewish ruling authority in Judea, by the Ptolemaic rule in Eretz Israel, led to the minting of obol denomination coins with the image of Ptolemy I on the one side of the coin and the Ptolemaic eagle and the inscription "YHDH" or "YHD" in Hebrew on the other side. During the time of Ptolemy II local minting of small silver coins in Jerusalem ceased since the Ptolemaic numismatic system practiced minting bronze coins as an alternative.



Fig. 4.

With the beginning of this period, minting in Jerusalem ceased for 175 years. Minting began again during the days of the Hasmonean ruler Hyrcanus I and through Alexander Jannaeus reign until his death in 76 BCE. During this time the Hasmonean rulers minted coins which mostly bore the themes pertaining to their roles as High Priest and during Alexander Jannaeus' time some also included motifs which characterized his roles as kings through inscriptions and symbols. During Alexander Jannaeus' time unique overstruck coins, which are a sort of "coin on top of a coin" were minted.

John Hyrcanus I coins

Coins with the inscription “Jonathan”

Minting in Jerusalem that refers to the Roman period began in fact after the death of Salome Alexandra, the widow of Alexander Jannaeus, when the dispute between the brothers Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II began. Research shows there were a number of opinions referring to the minting of Hasmonean coins during the time after Queen Alexandra's death that pointed to the conclusion that at during that time Alexander Jannaeus' coins were still being used in circulation.

Minting in Jerusalem during Roman period began at the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 BCE and ended with the last minting of coins of Aelia Capitolina colony in 251 CE. An issue exists pertaining to when minting began in Jerusalem during Roman times and who minted coins during the 23 years transition period from 63 BCE until minting began by Mattathias Antigonus in 40 BCE.

The period after the death of Salome Alexandra until the reign of Mattathias Antigonus in 40 BCE lasted 36 years. In most researchers opinion coins in Jerusalem were not minted including the 23 years during the Roman period which began in 63 BCE. In the past some researchers attributed coins bearing motifs of High priesthood, among them the name “YNTN”⁴ to Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II. Today, most researchers attribute these coins to Alexander Jannaeus.

⁴ Kindler (Kindler 1991 :15-18) attributes the inscription to Aristobulus II. Meshorer (2001:27) attributes the inscription to Hyrcanus II. Gerstenfeld (1982:120-121) attributes the coin to Salome Alexandra, the widow of Alexander Jannaeus, who ruled for 9 years after his death. Shachar (2004:7-8) assumes the coin is by Alexander Jannaeus and in a joint article with Hendin (Hendin & Shachar: 2008) attributes the inscription on the coin to Alexander Jannaeus. Fisher & Gur (Fisher & Gur: 2008) attribute this coin to Aristobulus II.

It is the author's opinion that during the transition period another ruler, Alexander the son of Aristobulus II, was present and a series of coins can be attributed to him. Kindler claims that Aristobulus II minted coins in Jerusalem. Meshorer claimed that Hyrcanus II minted coins in Jerusalem. Today most researchers say that Hyrcanus II did not mint coins. Could it be that Alexander II, the grandson of Alexander Jannaeus, who ruled Judea during his revolt against the Romans, for 3 years, minted coins in Jerusalem.



HA-68

The author suggests Alexander II as a likely candidate who could have minted coins in Jerusalem and attributes a specific coin series to him. Alexander II succeeded in escaping Pompey's captivity and during his revolt against the Romans, according to a description by Josephus, it seems he ruled in Judea and Transjordan for a while. The author claims that during the Roman period, Alexander, brother to Mattathias Antigonus, who according to Josephus' description, conquered Jerusalem, built its wall, drove his uncle Hyrcanus II⁵ out, was the ruler who minted coins with the Hebrew inscription Ywnatan ("Yonatan") vs. the coins with the names Yehonathan and "YNTN" who according to most researchers today were minted by Alexander Jannaeus.

Fig.7. Coins with the inscription "Jonathan," the author argues struck by Alexander II



The author recently maintained that Alexander II, the grandson of Alexander Jannaeus, minted a series of coins bearing the ancient Hebrew inscription Ywnatan ("Yonatan") not to be confused with -"Yehonathan" or "Yntn". Most researchers do not particularly refer to coins bearing the name Ywnatan ("Yonatan"). The conclusion is that all 3 coin series "Yehonathan", "Yonatan" and "Yntn" in general are attributed to Alexander Jannaeus. Current research does not refer to the influence of Alexander II's military and political actions during the Roman period. The description of his actions is based of Josephus' accounts, with all the limitation that are attributed to this often hostile source towards the Hasmonean rulers. According to Josephus Alexander rebelled against the Romans twice, enlisted a very large army and his achievements and military power were significant and impressive. Some of the reasoning in support of attributing the coins bearing the name "Ywnatan (Yonatan)" to Alexander II were:

1. Review of the political situation during 76-40 BCE according to Josephus.
2. ⁶ Analysis of the Hasmonean names; double fixes names⁷

⁵ **Josephus . History of the Jewish War against the Romans 2009. Translated from Greek Liza Ullman. Edited by Israel Shatzman**

⁶

⁷ Mattithias – Antigonus

Judah – Aristobulus

Yehonathan / Yntn / Yonathan – Alexander

In Hebrew and Greek, bestowing the name of a grandfather-grandson⁸ or uncle who passed away to the Hasmonean ruler born, as was acceptable in central and eastern European Judaism. For example, Hyrcanus I name was passed on to Hyrcanus II and Alexander Jannaeus to Alexander II.

3. A transition period without minting coins exists despite the financial needs. The question asked is whether coins were not minted for 36 years, since the death of Jannaeus to the reign of Mattathias Antigonus in light of the fact that Alexander II was an active, bold rebel and the commander of the rebel army before Mattathias Antigonus' time?

4. Most other rebel leaders during the Roman period minted coins in course of the rebellions in the area they ruled over, as propaganda for the rebellion. For example: Mattathias Antigonus – brother to Alexander II. The leaders of the Jewish War against the Romans in Jerusalem and the rebels in Gamla and Bar Kochba.

Periods in which coins were not minted exist, but during this time of frequent rebellions, when the area was dominated by inflation, due to the rebellions, the situation warranted minting additional coins. It is counter claimed that Alexander Jannaeus minted a large quantity of coins to last dozens of years but some claim there was a shortage in copper which led to the minting of lead coins, and so a long period of 36 years warrants minting coins.

5. It was not proven that Hasmonean coins with the name "Yonatan" - Ywnatan, were minted by Alexander Jannaeus.

The minting authority in Jerusalem during the Roman period

As of 40 BCE the Jerusalem minting authority minted king Mattathias Antigonus' coins (40-37 BCE). King Herod (37-4 BCE) who ruled at the time minted his coins correspondingly with Mattathias Antigonus, first in Samaria and later in Jerusalem, after conquering the city from him. His heir, king Archelaus (4 BCE-6 CE), continued minting coins in the city minting authority, until the time of his exile from Judea in 6 CE. Later on Roman procurators continued minting coins in Jerusalem. The Jerusalem minting authority continued on to mint Agrippa I coin series (37-44 CE) and a 6 year commemorative reign coin = 41/42 CE. It continued to provide minting services to the last Roman procurators and finally unique coins were minted in the minting authority, during the Jewish War against the Romans during years one to five to the Jewish War against the Romans (66-70 CE).

After Jerusalem was conquered and destroyed the Tenth Legion command which resided in the city, began minting countermark coins in 70-130 CE. The countermark coins were mainly on worn out coins that were used in circulation at the time, among them coins from Antioch, Ashkelon, "captive Judea" and others. The countermark on its face was a symbol of the

⁸ see dynasty chart at the end of the article

Tenth Legion Fretensis that resided in Jerusalem for a long time. The countermark ended and was incorporated into the city minting of the coins that were issued in Aelia Capitolina (128-251 CE). These coins bore the mark of the Tenth Legion.

All the coins that were minted in Jerusalem, until the end of the Jewish War against the Romans, do not bear the name Jerusalem or a symbol that attests to the minting authority such as those who appear on Tyrian Shekels. Jerusalem was, during the review period, the administrative capital of the Judean rulers. It housed the Temple, the palaces, the ruling establishments and the minting authority. It is therefore likely that within the city the royal minting authority of the administrative authority that were certified to mint coins operated. A number of testimonies to the minting of coins in Jerusalem were discovered.

Lime stone molds for the casting of flans attest to the existence of a minting authority in Jerusalem. In the archaeological excavations in the Citadel (Tower of David), uncovered lime stone remains of mold for casting flans, in which coins in large denomination by Antigonus Mattathias. An end of flan containing a coin attached to it, with a coin of the prefect Pontius Pilate, evidence that the prefect's coin was minted in Jerusalem.

The city's surroundings in Talpiot east, a number of stone molds who prove that were used to casing flans were found in a sort of secondary minting authority along with the main minting authority in Jerusalem and/or a facility to produce minting measures to the main minting authority in Jerusalem. This means, this site produced the molds to cast the flans that were used to mint coins and check their standard before sending the molds to the main minting authority in Jerusalem.



Fig. 8. An end of flan attached with a coin of the prefect Pontius Pilate

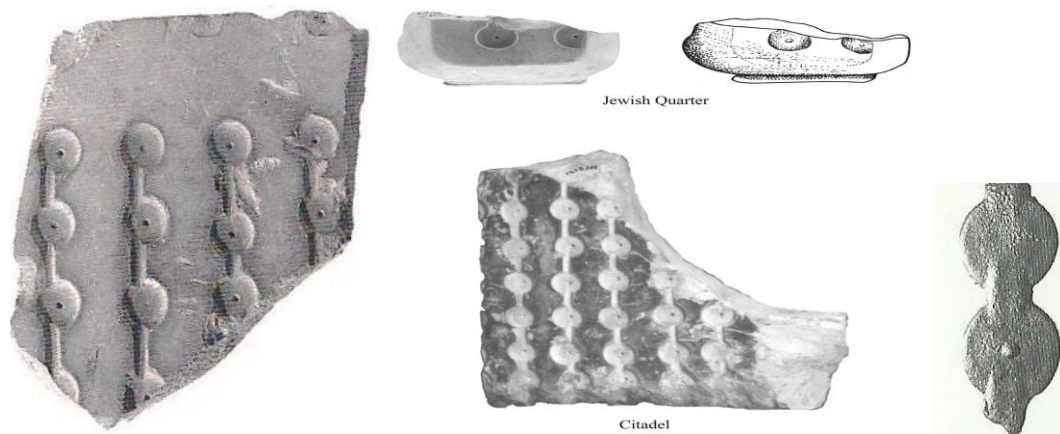
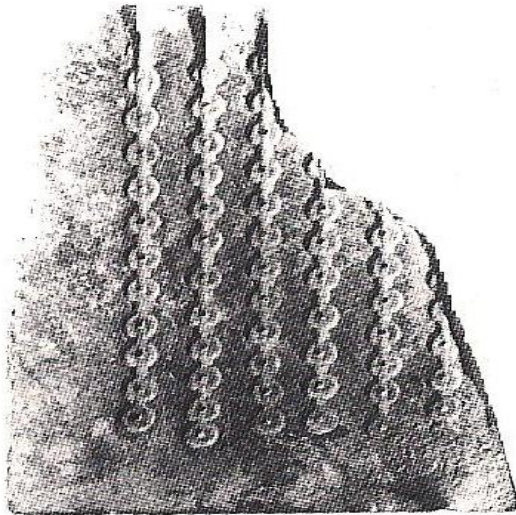


Fig. 9. Lime stone remains of mold discovered in the Citadel and the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem for minting coins in large denomination.



According to the numismatic research many of the following coins: Hasmonean Herod,, Procurators and Jewish War against the Romans, show similar characteristics of similar minting methods who operated in the minting authority in Jerusalem. These marks show a continuance of minting for 200 years (Zlotnik 2012).

The Roman procurators minted their coins in the Jerusalem minting authority. They bear the years of reign of the emperor that commissioned them to mint in his name. The first procurators minted their coins in Jerusalem. King Agrippa I minted in Jerusalem in 41/2 CE a series of coins with 3 ears of grain, bearing the year 6 of his reign. Later coins were minted in Jerusalem by the last Roman procurators. With the outbreak of the Jewish War against the Romans, minting of procurators coins in Jerusalem ceased and the city minting authority began producing silver and bronze coins in Hebrew. These coins are dated according to the revolts years. After Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans and the Tenth Legion units

were deployed in its jurisdiction authorities in that region worked to recycle old coins that were used and worn out in circulation, by countermarking the legion's symbols on them. The symbols include an abbreviated inscription of the legion, types with a wild boar and a war galley. During the reign of Hadrian a Roman colony by the name of Aelia Capitolina was established on the ruins of Jerusalem in 128/9 CE according to the author. The Tenth Legion units that up until the founding of the colony countermarked bronze coins, incorporated along with the local minting authority, the Tenth Legion symbols through a standard minting in the city minting authority of the colony Aelia Capitolina. As a result of establishing the foreign city and building a temple to Zeus instead of the Jewish Temple the second revolt by Bar Kochba broke out during 132-135 CE. It is unknown whether the Roman city Aelia Capitolina was conquered by Bar Kochba's forces or continued its colonial activity (Zlotnik 2008). The city minting in Aelia Capitolina continued until Hostilian in 251 CE. A detailed review will follow.

The following is a detailing of the Jerusalem minting authority activity during the Roman period:

- * King Herod coins (37-4 BCE)
- * Archelaus, son of Herod, coins (4 BCE-6 CE)
- * The first procurators minting (6-41 CE).
- * King Agrippa I coins (41/2 CE).
- * The last procurators minting (44-66 CE).
- * Minting unique coins during the First Revolt (years one to five to the revolt).
- * countermark minting on worn out coins that were used in circulation in the area adjacent to Jerusalem, with markings of the Tenth Legion that resided in Jerusalem for a long time, to validate them in circulation.
- * minting city coins for Aelia Capitolina.

Fig. 10. Prutah by Mattathias Antigonus



Mattathias Antigonus

Judea saw some battles between the supporters of Mattathias Antigonus , who wanted to prevent enslavement to the Romans and the supporters of Hyrcanus II and Antipater who

supported the Romans. In 40 CE the Parthians invaded Syria and crowned Mattathias Antigonus as a king for a generous return. The Parthians arrested Hyrcanus II in Jerusalem and handed him to Mattathias. Mattathias Antigonus clipped Hyrcanus' ears in order to disqualify him as High Priest in the Temple in Jerusalem and exiled him to Babylon. Herod escaped to Rome and was crowned as king over Judea there.

Mattathias minted unique coins in the Jerusalem minting authority. The minting process was a standard one: casting flans, engraving dies and minting coins on flans. To create the flans the minting authority used a two sided stone pattern which is a double mold of two stone molds with holes drilled in them against each other, a method which led to the "slid sideways coins" types (Meshorer 1997).

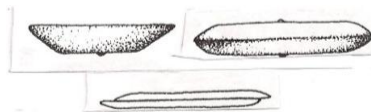


Fig. 11.

Mattathias' coins are characterized by: 1) unusual weight; 2) thick lettering. The coins were divided into three denominations: large coins, medium coins and Prutah.

Fig. 12. Sub standard coins

high concentration of lead



Hasmonean "priestly" coins were converted when one side was "priestly" and the other "royal" on the bi lingual Mattathias coin and the pomegranate which is the symbol of the High Priest missing. The other side is the royal side but missing the royal anchor.



Fig. 13. A reconstruction of the Menorah and shewbread table coin.



Example of the menorah and shewbread table coin.



Fig. 14. Antigonius vs. Herod coins



A war raged between Mattathias and Herod. These rulers reigned correspondingly during 40-37 BCE. King Herod overtook Samaria, his main base, and then conquered the Galilee and the Arbel caves from Mattathias' supporters. Mattathias defeated Herod's army near Jericho. Herod took Jaffa and Masada from Mattathias. Mattathias divided his army and sent Pappos to cut off Herod's supply line but he was defeated near Bethel. Herod and the Syrian commissioner along with 11 Roman legions turned to Jerusalem and besieged the city for 5 months. In the summer of 37 BCE the city was captured and Herod ended the Hasmonean rule. Mattathias surrendered to the Syrian commissioner, sent to Antioch and was beheaded by Marcus Antonius.

The Herod dynasty

In 40 BCE Herod became the only ruler in Jerusalem, after conquering the city from Mattathias Antigonus. Some of his early coins were minted in Samaria and the later ones in Jerusalem. Minting with Greek inscription only began in 40-66 BCE. The change began during the Jewish War against the Romans, when ancient Hebrew was back in use.

Fig. 15. King Herod's coins



King Herod's coins are characterized by a number of types among them coins with a crown, the symbol X within the crown / a three spiral legs table. Such table were found in an archaeological excavations that was found in the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem. Herod minted, at the same time, coins with combinations of the Hasmonean types, with the cornucopiae/ anchor motifs, when between the cornucopia appears the caduceus,

compared with the symbol of the pomegranate of the High Priest on Hasmonean coins. One of the coins that Herod minted was a coin with an eagle / cornucopiae. Some researchers claim the coin shows a falcon. According to Goodenough the eagle is a Jewish symbol that Herod placed over the Temple in Jerusalem and appears on a coin type he minted. Another coin, at half a Prutah denomination shows a type of a galley / anchor that Herod minted in honor of establishing the harbor of Caesarea. Meshorer raises an assumption in his book that after Herod completed the building of the Temple, he also established a minting authority where he minted Tyrian Shekels of silver, since the minting of the shekels ceased in Tyre⁹. Other researchers believe this claim is not well established since a metallurgical examination of the Tyrian silver coins shows that the silver rate in them is low compared to the silver coins minted in Jerusalem during 66-70 CE.

The mishna¹⁰ says the "What is Tyrian silver [coin] ? It is a Jerusalemite"..¹ According to the Mishnah keilim 12, 6) it is known that a coin does not become defiled so the pagan symbols on it are obviously invalid.¹¹


Herod built most of the walls around the Temple. Recently a coin by procurator Valerius Gratus was exposed the Robinson arch, meaning beneath the Western Wall of the Temple Mount. This find attests to the building of a segment of the wall, above a old ritual bath (miqwe) which operated during Agrippa I. it is possible that during Herod's time, the place continued to be used as a miqwe and the wall above the miqwe was not completed during Herod's time but built during Agrippa I reign¹².



Fig. 16. Herod the Great

Archelaus son of Herod was bestowed with the title Ethnarch. His capital was Jerusalem. Archelaus inherited the minting authority in Jerusalem where he minted his coins. Some of the coins were made according to his father's types and others with new motifs. The name Archelaus does not appear on his coins rather Herod the Ethnarch. The Greek inscriptions appear on both sides of his coins. Archelaus went on a nautical journey to Rome to meet with Emperor Augustus. Emperor impeached him, exiled him to Gaul and appointed Coponius in his place.

⁹ Meshorer. A Treasury of Jewish Coins. P. 70.

¹⁰  Ketubbot 13, 20.

¹¹ Meshorer. A Treasury of Jewish Coins. P. 72

¹² According to Josephus "Herod decided to rebuild the Temple... and surrounded the compound with a wall" – Antiquities of the Jews" – Josephus.



Fig. 17. Archelaus' coins bearing a galley sailing to the left

Agrippa I

Agrippa I, Herod's grandson, minted a coin, in Jerusalem, bearing a type of 3 ears of grain / canopy. The coin is dated as the sixth year for his reign, meaning 41/42 CE which was the year he also received Jerusalem into his reign. The remainder of his coins were minted in Tiberias. The reverse of this particular coins show the 3 ears of grain and the year 6 (L). The stalks hatch out of 2 stylish leaves. They are mentioned among the seven species and symbolize the bountifulness of Israel. The ears of grain also appear on clay candles and jewelry from that time. The obverse of the coin show a canopy. The canopy being a symbol of king Agrippa's stature and the Greek inscription "by king Agrippa". His name appears in Greek on his coins with one letter "n" whereas the other coins show the letter "n" twice. These Prutah's are among the most common in Jewish coins. Agrippa's main residence was Jerusalem. Meshorer claims that because of the large quantity of these coins it is safe to assume that the coin was also minted in years seven and eight, even though this does not appear on his coin. Some of his coins that were minted sloppily have a lot of technical malfunctions. Agrippa's coins are prevalent in Israel including Transjordan and the findings support this. It should be mentioned that a coin by Agrippa was found with an overstruck showing the Jewish War against the Romans, meaning an additional minting of the Jewish War against the Romans, year three of the revolt, a fact that shows that the coins were used, in Jerusalem, in circulation to bear the symbols of the rebellion or due to a temporary shortage of stone printing molds to produce bronze flans for minting.



Fig. 18. Agrippa's coin bearing a mint of year three of the rebellion

1. In the excavations of the Western Wall 450 coins by Agrippa I were discovered and in Masada 113 coins were discovered. It is worth mentioning that out of all of Agrippa's coins that were discovered, one showed Agrippa I image (TJC232:122). the Hasmoneans during the time that preceded Agrippa did not mint images on their

coins. A small part of Agrippa's coins were countermarked at a later date. Minting was probably done by certified personnel to validate the coin allow a series of coins that were worn out over time to return to circulation as a means of payment. Agrippa I died in 43 CE.



Fig. 19. Agrippa's coins, both sides are minted

At the time of Agrippa I death in 43 CE, his son Agrippa II was 16 years old and so the Romans crowned him at a much later date and age. Agrippa II began minted coins after 67/68 CE but he did not mint in Jerusalem. In 66 CE when the Jewish War against the Romans broke out, the rebels took control of the minting authority in Jerusalem and minted unique coins. Agrippa II, being a conciliatory type spoke out against the rebels. He left Jerusalem which was the rebel capital and moved to Tzipori, the capital of the Galilee. After basing himself there he minted a coin that shows the inscription "in the days of Vespasian in Neronias – Tzipori city of peace". The name Neronias was cancelled after the assassination of Neron in 68. Most of Agrippa II coins were minted after the destruction of Jerusalem and Judea. One of his coins that was minted in Tiberias shows the inscription "King Agrippa Emperor victory year 15", meaning year 70/71 CE, a short time after Jerusalem was conquered by Titus.

Roman procurators coins in Judea

Jerusalem was the administrative center for Judea and was the place the main minting authority operated. With the exile of Archelaus in 6 CE, the Roman procurators ruled Judea. They continued using the service of the minting authority in Jerusalem to mint their coins. The first procurators starting with Claudius' days were call proctors. They supervised Judea which was under Archelaus' jurisdiction and their areas of authority were: collecting taxes and keeping the political stability in their area. Their coins were produced in denominations of Prutah and carried only Jewish symbols so that their coins would be acceptable by the Jewish population. Only six procurators minted coins.

Governors of Judaea under Rome (Traditional Dating)

Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE)
 Coponius (6–9 CE)
 Marcus Ambibulus (9–12 CE)
 *Annius Rufus (12–15 CE)
Tiberius (14–37 CE)
 Valerius Gratus (15–26 CE or possibly 15–17/18 CE)
 Pontius Pilate (26–36 CE or possibly 17/18–36 CE)
Caligula (37–41 CE)
 *Marullus (37–41 CE)
Claudius (41–54 CE)
 *Cuspius Fadus (44–46 CE)
 *Tiberius Alexander (46–48 CE)
 *Ventidius Cumanus (48–54 CE)
 Antonius Felix (52–54 CE)
Nero (54–58 CE)
 Antonius Felix (54–60 CE)
 Porcius Festus (60–62 CE)
 *Albinus (62–64 CE)
 *Gessius Florus (64–66 CE)
 *No known coins issued during these years

The last Roman procurators produced massive amounts of coins during their 60 year reign between 6-66 CE. The procurator's coins were, in fact, Roman imperial coins. They were minted in Jerusalem for use mainly in Judea. The coins do not bear inscriptions with the name of the procurators. The inscriptions were in Greek and referred to the emperor or his family. The dates show the years of the emperor's reign. The coins show the date, meaning the year, marked with the letter L in addition to Greek letters with numerical value, for example: A=1, B=2, I=10. 6 out of 12 procurators minted coins.

The procurator's coins are similar to those of the Hasmonean and king Herod's coins. An end of flan strip was discovered in Jerusalem with a coin by procurator Pontius Pilate was not separated. The find attests to the fact that the procurator's coins were minted in Jerusalem. In Talpiot¹³ of east Jerusalem stone molds that were used to produce the flans for the procurator's coins were discovered. A secondary minting authority may have been operating there or the place was used to produce stone molds to cast flans, drills in the cardboard stone and experimenting casting flans before they were transferred to the actual flan casting in the minting authority in Jerusalem¹⁴.



Fig. 20. Procurator Ambibulus



Procurator Pontius Pilate

¹³ Stone molds to cast coin flans were also discovered in Khirbet Raffa

¹⁴ It was necessary to wait 6 months until the lime stone molds dried and the humidity evaporated completely in order to cast flans without cracking the stone. Procurator's coins from Tiberius' time were discovered there.

The Jewish War against the Romans coins 70-66 CE

The Jewish War against the Romans occurred between 66-70 CE. The rebellion broke out due to the Roman depression, when the Jews tried to release themselves from the Roman conqueror and achieve independence in Judea. Among others the rebels used coins as an expression and propaganda for their independence.

During the rebellion in Jerusalem harsh conflicts occurred between groups of Jews, among them the Sadducees and the Pharisees. In year one of the rebellions, Jerusalem was released and the rebellion spread to the Galilee. In year two the rebellion intensified. The 12th legion arrived to reinforce the 10th legion. In year three of the rebellion, Vespasian and Titus his son arrived to suppress the rebellion. The Romans overtook most of the country and the Galilee

and Vespasian along with Titus headed to Jerusalem. In year four of the rebellion, Vespasian was crowned emperor and moved to Rome and Jerusalem was put under siege. In year five, 70 CE the Roman who besieged Jerusalem, conquered it, killing thousands of its residents, broke into the Temple, destroyed and burnt it to the ground. The city was demolished, tens of thousands of Jewish residents were sent to exile as slaves and from that time on the Romans forbade Jews from entering the city as well as taxing them with the "Jewish tax", an alternative to the Jews' contribution to the Temple. The Romans left the Tenth Legion Fretensis in Jerusalem.



Fig. 21. Jagged brass and bronze plates to mint Year Two coins.

Bronze instead of flan

All of the silver and bronze rebellion coins were minted in Jerusalem. It can be assumed that the silver coins were mainly used as contribution to the Temple in Jerusalem. A metallurgical exam conducted by R. Deutch in the silver Shekels it seems that the rate of silver in the shekel denomination coins from all the years of the rebellion was over 98%. The gold component in these coins is at 1%. It is well known that contributing half a shekel to the Temple, during the rebellion time as well, were at half a shekel in pure silver. This shows that these silver coins that are almost perfect in design in condition were used as contribution to the Temple. In comparison, silver coins from Tyre examined to validate the silver content contained about 96% pure silver. It is difficult to accept Meshorer's claim that the rebellion coins were a continuance to the Tyrian shekels whose production ceased when the rebellion began. Meshorer claims that the Temple authorities continued minting the Tyrian shekels with pure silver and with the beginning of the rebellion there were in fact 2 types of coins used as contribution: the Tyrian and the Hebrew Shekels. The shekels were minted as dated coins when each year a similar coin was minted bearing the minting year: year one "I" and the years after that the letter II in addition to the relevant letter for that year.

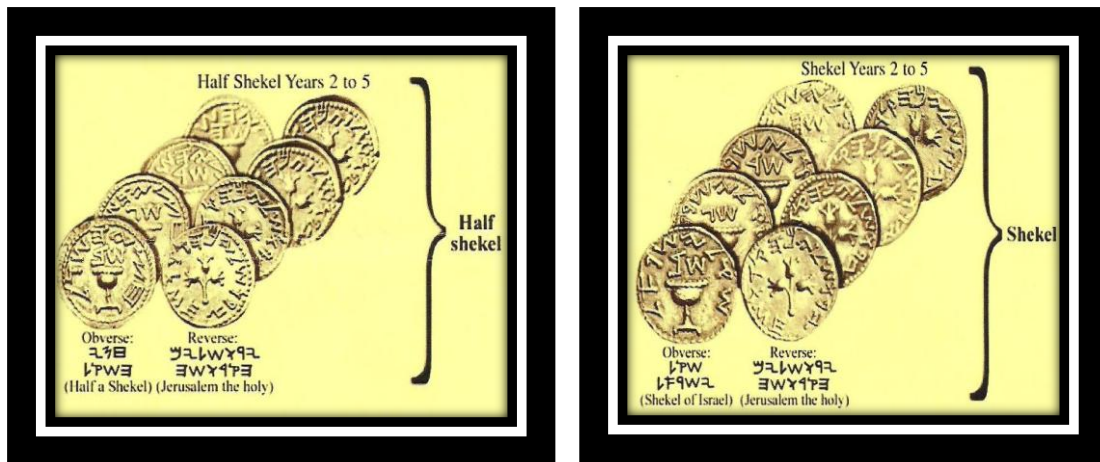


Fig. 22. Year I coin rare type

It is possible that the silver rebellion coins were minted in the Temple compound as an extension to the minting authority in Jerusalem or as an independent minting authority for the Temple. According to the archaeological find of the shekels, a large part of the coins were found in the old city of Jerusalem or around it. It must be mentioned that the rebellion coins were also minted in Gamla in the Golan Heights.



Year three Prutah

year two Prutah

year four Prutah



Fig. 23. Year four and a quarter

year four and a half

Countermark coins by the Tenth Legion – Legio X Freteſis

Countermark minting was very common during the Hellenistic period and later during the Roman period as well. We do not have all the information about the authorities using countermark minting but they are most likely legion units.

A number of Roman countermark coins were discovered in Israel. Some bear the mark of the Roman legions who operated in the area, among them countermark coins by the Tenth Legion. Most likely the majority were minted in Jerusalem. The Tenth Legion arrived in Eretz Israel in 66 CE and the Tenth Legion headquarters resided in Jerusalem from the end of the Jewish War against the Romans in 70 CE.

Beginning with 70 CE, after the ruin of Jerusalem and the Temple, minting of Jewish coins in Jerusalem ceased. First the Tenth Legion countermark coins were put into circulation gradually and later the Roman colonia Aelia Capitolina minted city coins. It is likely that the Tenth Legion countermark minting was done in Jerusalem by the Tenth Legion headquarters. Jerusalem and its surroundings housed camps of sub units for the Tenth Legion. The Tenth Legion headquarters in Jerusalem certified clerks to countermark mint coins with the legions symbols on worn out coins used by the soldiers or the residents of the area.



Fig. 24. Countermark minting by the Tenth Legion

First countermark coins by the legion were put into circulation. The main goal was to recycle old worn out coins and revalidate them to retain the amount of payment measures in circulation in Jerusalem and Judea. Secondly, with the founding of the Roman city minting was incorporated with the Tenth Legion symbols and the countermark minting by the Tenth Legion was ceased. A hoard of 118 countermark coins by the Tenth Legion was found in Shoafaat.

The use of worn out coins that might leave circulation in countermark minting was a sort of new minting action. It is sometimes difficult to identify the previous minting on countermark coins. After the process of countermark minting the worn out coins were reused and these coins were approved for use for an additional period, in order to keep enough valid payment measures in circulation. It is possible that in order to countermark the coins, the coins were heated which led to damaging the face of the coin. Since it was acceptable to leave in circulation, for a prolonged period previous coins, the original minting was sometimes worn out and instead of removing the coin from the circulation, they were recycled and used again as a countermark coin. The worn out coin that was countermarked continued to be used in circulation after the countermark process according to its size and denomination. Countermark minting teaches us which coins were in circulation at the time of the additional minting.

The types of coins discovered with countermark minting includes "captive Judea" coins, some with the type Nike writes on shield hanging from palm tree Antioch and Ashkelon

coins. In an excavation in Shoafaat near Jerusalem, a hoard of coins by the Tenth Legion was discovered, including 110 "captive Judea" coins, with the type of Nike writing on shield. Some of the coins bear the image of Caesar. The hoard in Shoafaat constitutes the large find of countermark coins by the Tenth Legion that was discovered in Israel. *Innovations in archaeology of Jerusalem and its surrounding*. Yosef Patrich, David Amit 2007. The fact that such a large quantity was discovered in Jerusalem shows that the minting source was in Jerusalem.

Countermark coins by the Tenth Legion were discovered in Mazar's excavations of the Western Wall, in the Western Wall Tunnels, the Jewish Quarter, the International Convention Center and Shoafat.

One of the Tenth Legion countermark coins was minted on a low denomination Ashkelon coin. These type of coins were discovered north of Ashkelon and in the Aked ruins. It must be noted that Ashkelon coins were very common in the south. This port city was very active in commerce with Judea. Countermark minting by the Tenth Legion was done on larger denomination coins to validate these coins within the Tenth Legion.

The Tenth Legion countermark minting ceased with the founding of the Roman city Aelia Capitolina and the beginning of the Bar Kochba rebellion. Since Bar Kochba coins minted on top of coins bearing the legions symbol and not later coins were discovered it shows that the Tenth Legion countermark minting was done until the rebellion.



Fig. 25. A bronze Bar Kochba coin on a coin minted with Tenth Legions

After its establishment the Roman city Aelia Capitolina began minting coins in the city. The countermark method with the legions symbols was converted to city minting, in which the symbols of the Tenth Legions that were common in commerce beforehand were incorporated onto some of the city coins. This shows the good relationship between the military authority and the civilian authority in Aelia Capitolina.

Dan Barag reviewed countermark minting by the Tenth Legion (Barag 1967: 117-125) and claims countermark minting by the legion included the legions symbols among them: a galley, a boar, a dolphin and the letter LX, XF, LXF.

Minting of Aelia Capitolina coins

The visit of Emperor Hadrian in Judea in 130 CE led to the founding of the Roman city Aelia Capitolina on the ruins of Jerusalem which was destroyed by Titus and became a Roman province. It took almost two years to plan such a city building. The name Aelia Capitolina

originated in emperor's last name Hadrian and Capitolina and the 3 capitolinian gods (Capitoline triad).

It is the author's opinion, that the city was founded in 128/9 CE and before Hadrian's visit to the region. It took about two years to plan the construction of the city. Sources for Aelia Capitolina are :

1. Historian Cassius Dio (156-229 CE) says in his writings that Aelia Capitolina was erected on the ruins of Jerusalem and was founded before the Bar Kochba rebellion in 132 CE.
2. Eusebius (275-339 CE) who filled the role of Christian polemicist and archbishop of Caesarea. According to Eusebius' source, Aelia Capitolina was founded as a Pagan City to punish the Jews for rebelling against the Romans and their attempt to rebuild the Temple. It was thought in the past, by historians, who relied on this source. Today this approach is no longer relied on and historians accept Cassius Dio's version and rule out Eusebius' version. Therefore, Aelia Capitolina coins were minted before the Bar Kochba rebellion which began in 132 CE.

It must be noted that some Bar Kochba rebellion coins, which took place after the founding of Aelia Capitolina, were minted between 132-135 CE. The coins bear the inscription "Jerusalem" or "free Jerusalem". These coins show Bar Kochba's aspiration to conquer the Roman city and rebuild the Temple and do not attest to the whereabouts of the minting authority. The question is whether according to the Bar Kochba coin findings and the Aelia Capitolina coins found in the excavation in Jerusalem Bar Kochba conquered Jerusalem.

A number of researchers claim that due to the low number of Bar Kochba coins found in excavations in Jerusalem he did not conquer Jerusalem. It must be noted that the number of Aelia Capitolina coins in comparison to the Bar Kochba coins found in Jerusalem is quite similar (Zlotnik: 2008).



The Aelia Capitolina city coins and its borders as well as a coin for enlarging the city borders

City coins were minted with the founding of Aelia Capitolina. The first series of coins minted in Aelia Capitolina include 9 types (Meshorer 1989). Among them the foundation type coin and coins bearing the symbols of the Tenth Legion which replaced the Tenth Legion countermark coins with new coins. The first coin minted in Jerusalem was the city foundation type coins in the *Salvus Primigenius* ceremony done in the city's borders residing in the north area of the Old City today, the Muslim and Christian Quarters. A description from the city founding ceremony appears on a coin with the inscription COND[ITA], showing

Emperor plowing the city's borders. Other coins are coins bearing the Tenth Legions Frentensis symbols¹⁵.

¹⁵ Legio Decima Frentensis



Fig. 25. Alternative to Tenth Legion countermark minting



Fig. 26. Aelia Capitolina foundation types and its temples

Some of Aelia Capitolina coins bear types of temples, among them Zeus' temple. According to Cassius Dio, Emperor Hadrian erected temple for Zeus on the ruins of the Jewish Temple. It can be assumed that the coin in which appears a temple along with Jupiter inside it and Juno and Minerva is the temple in Cassius Dio' testament. Other temples show the image of Zeus Sarapis. An inscription at the entry to Sarapis' temple was discovered in the city. Another coin shows the image of Tycha the city goddess (Meshorer 1989).

Inscriptions on city coins are in Latin, since the city was a colony and its residents, Roman civilians. Some of the colony's residents were retirees of the Roman legions. Some of the city's coins show a wolf nursing Romulus and Remus. Some coins show the legions flag Vexillum over the wolf. Some of the coins show Dionysos which shows he was worshipped in the city. Other city coins show wine jugs and vines which attest to the worship of Dionysos.

Another coin by Septimius Severus shows his image and his wife Julia Domna with their sons Caracalla and Geta.

The silver tetradrachms are among the only silver coins minted in Aelia Capitolina. The sources refer to these coins as Sela. These silver coins were minted by Septimius and his son Caracalla. At the same time silver coins were minted in Caesarea, Ashkelon, Gaza, Akko and

Nabulus. Due to a shortage of silver at the time, the silver ratio in these coins stood at 30-50%.



Fig. 27. Aelia capitolina silver Sela

Aelia Capitolina coins were minted over the reign of 15 emperors. Some were minted with the names of the emperors wives. Minting ceased between 235-249 CE. The minting period span over 120 years. In 251 CE minting in Jerusalem ceased. The Tenth Legion moved to Nabulus and later to Eilat. The last emperor who minted in coins in Aelia Capitolina was Hostilian. It is unknown why minting ceased. According to Meshorer the city's stature dropped after the Tenth Legion moved to Nabulus. It is the author's opinion that since city minting in Eretz Israel ceased in Galianus' time in the second half of the third century the minting in Aelia Capitolina ceased correspondingly as a part of that process.

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