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ABBREVIATIONS

- AJC* Y. Meshorer *Ancient Jewish Coinage*. Dix Hills, NY 1982
- AJN* *American Journal of Numismatics*
- BMC* e.g., *BMC Arab.*: G.F. Hill. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*. London 1922
- BMCO* e.g., *BMCO 1*: S. Lane-Poole. *The Coins of the Eastern Khaleefehs in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum 1*. London 1875
- CH* *Coin Hoards*
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
- CNP* e.g., L. Kadman. *The Coins of Akko Ptolemais* (Corpus Nummorum Palestinensium IV). Jerusalem 1961
- CRE* e.g., H. Mattingly. *The Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum I. Augustus to Vitellius*. London 1923
- DOC* e.g., P. Grierson. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection 3. Leo III to Nicephorus III 717–1081*. Washington, D.C. 1973
- IEJ* *Israel Exploration Journal*
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- IGCH* M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm and C.M. Kraay. *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. New York 1973
- INJ* *Israel Numismatic Journal*
- INR* *Israel Numismatic Research*
- LA* *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Liber Annuus*
- LRBC* e.g., P.V. Hill and J.P.C. Kent. Part 1: The Bronze Coinage of the House of Constantine, A.D. 324–46. In *Late Roman Bronze Coinage (A.D. 324–498)*. London 1965. Pp. 4–40
- MIB* e.g., W. Hahn. *Von Anastasius I. bis Justinianus I (491–565)*. *Moneta Imperii Byzantini* 1. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften 109. Veröffentlichungen der Numismatischen Kommission 1. Vienna 1973
- MIBE* e.g., W. Hahn. *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire (Anastasius I–Justinian I, 491–565)* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien 6). Vienna 2000
- MN* *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*
- NC* *Numismatic Chronicle*
- NCirc.* *Numismatic Circular*
- NNM* *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*
- NZ* *Numismatische Zeitschrift*
- RRC* M.H. Crawford. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Cambridge 1974
- RIC* e.g., C.H.V. Sutherland. *The Roman Imperial Coinage I. From 31 BC to AD 69*. London 1984
- RN* *Revue Numismatique*
- RPC* e.g., A. Burnett, M. Amandry and I. Carradice. *From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96). Roman Provincial Coinage 2*. London 1999
- SC* e.g., A. Houghton and C. Lorber. *Seleucid Coins. A Comprehensive Catalogue. Part I. Seleucus I through Antiochus III*. New York, Lancaster, PA and London 2002
- SICA* e.g., S. Album and T. Goodwin. *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean, Volume 1: The Pre-Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*. Oxford 2002
- SNAT* e.g., L. Ilisch. *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen–Palästina IVa Bilād aš-Šām I*. Tübingen 1993
- SNG* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (with suffix as necessary, e.g. *SNG Cop.*)
- SNR* *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau*
- TINC* *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*
- TJC* Y. Meshorer. *A Treasury of Jewish Coins from the Persian Period to Bar Kochba*. Jerusalem and Nyack 2001
- ZfN* *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*

A New Seleucid Bronze Coin and Dura Hoard 13 Revisited

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Abstract

An unpublished bronze coin in the name of King Antiochus allows a reattribution of a key coin from Hoard 13 at Dura-Europos. The coin is assessed in light of the available evidence and the hoard re-dated.

Hoard 13 at Dura-Europos was discovered in December 1934 during the excavations conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters.¹ The hoard consisted of 207 bronze coins placed in a common-ware jug which had been buried in a depression in the bedrock at Dura E8-11 (Bellinger 1949:178; *IGCH* 1770). The bulk of the hoard, 206 coins, was attributed by Bellinger (1949) to Antiochus III the Great (223–187 BCE). The breakdown of these coins by the Dura numbers is outlined in Table 1, cross-referenced to the relevant entries in *Seleucid Coins* (*SC*).

Bellinger attributed the penultimate coin on the table to Seleucia on the Tigris under Antiochus III. While the mint attribution has been maintained, the coin has now been down-dated to the earliest part of the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes based on control links to that king's silver series at Seleucia (*SC* II:104, No. 1507).

The final item in Dura Hoard 13, represented by a single specimen, was designated Dura No. 115 (Fig. 1).

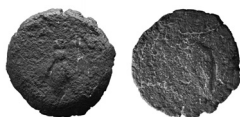


Fig. 1.

Obv. Bee.

Rev. [- -]ΣΙΑΕ[- -] Bow in case or *gorytus*, almost obliterated.

Æ, J, 1.52 g, 14 mm. Bevelled flan, denomination D. Yale University Art Gallery, Accession No. 1938.6000.1975.

¹ The authors would like to express their thanks to the Yale University Art Gallery and Oliver D. Hoover for their help in providing images for Figs. 1 (Yale) and 3–5 (Hoover), and to Ted Buttrey, Brian Kritt and Laura Wright for their comments and suggestions on early drafts of this paper.

Table 1. Dura-Europos Hoard 13

Mint	Cat. No.	Qty.	Date (BCE)	Denom.	SC I No.
Antioch on the Orontes	47	1	223–c. 211/0	D	1052
	47a	2	223–c. 211/0	D	1052
	49a	1	223–c. 211/0	C	1049
	50	2	c. 211/0–c. 209/8	D	1055.1a
	51	2	c. 211/0–c. 209/8	D	1055.1c
	52	2	c. 211/0–c. 209/8	D	1055.5b
	52a	4	c. 211/0–c. 209/8	D	1055
	53	1	c. 204–c. 197	E	1059.1a
	53a	183	c. 204–c. 197	E	1059
Coele Syrian imitations of Antioch	53b	6	c. 198–c. 187	C	1062
Tyre	57	1	198–187	E	1082
Seleucia on the Tigris	45	1	175–c. 173/2	C	[Following Newell 1938:92, No.247]
“Bactria”	115	1	c. 159		

The coin was attributed by Newell to a Bactrian mint operating under the Parthian king, Mithridates I, c. 159 BCE. The attribution was based on the fabric of the coin together with the obverse iconography — the bee appearing on Parthian coins under Mithridates I and Phraates II (*BMC Parthia*: 8, Nos. 19–20; de la Fuÿe 1934:9; Bellinger 1949:115). Bellinger stated that the fabric of the coin clearly dated it after the middle of the second century BCE (Bellinger 1949:178) but his assessment of Newell’s attribution was noncommittal, arguing that while “neither the date nor the place of minting would be appropriate...[despite of the difficulties] the attribution to Mithridates’ Bactrian coinage is the likeliest” (Bellinger 1949:115). Seyrig (1958:172) and Le Rider (1965:58 n. 43) both subsequently suggested that Dura No. 115 had been misattributed and should perhaps be dated to the reign of Antiochus III at Susa. However, direct evidence for the reattribution was still lacking and the issue was left unresolved. As a result, Dura No. 115 was not included among the Seleucid issues in either of Houghton, Lorber and Hoover’s *Seleucid Coins* volumes.

Now, a recently identified Seleucid bronze coin (Fig. 2) sheds light on the attribution of Dura No. 115 and provides the evidence required to test the position of Seyrig and Le Rider while at the same time allowing for the reappraisal of the burial date of Hoard 13.



Fig. 2.

Obv. Bee; dotted border.

Rev. [- - -]ΑΣΙΑΕ[- - -] ANTIOX[- - -] Bow in case or *gorytus*.

Æ, ↑, 1.94 g, 13 mm. Bevelled flan, denomination D. Holt collection, Sydney; ex Windsor Antiquities, New York 2009.

The obverse and reverse types of the Holt coin are an obvious match for Dura No. 115, although it is clear that the obverse die was cut by a different, less careful hand. Whereas the bee on Dura No. 115 has a head and thorax of equal size and a squat oval abdomen akin to an issue of Antiochus III from Susa (*SC I*:454, No. 1226) (Fig. 3), the Holt bee has a broad head, small thorax and lanceolate abdomen, perhaps anatomically closer to a wasp than a bee. Nevertheless, there should be little doubt that the die engravers' intentions were the same. The Holt reverse is quite worn. Although it shows significantly more detail than Dura No. 115, it is still unclear whether the type is meant to represent a bow in a bow-case (for example *SC I*:94: No. 243) (Fig. 4) or a bow in a combined bow-case and quiver — a *gorytus* (such as *SC I*:181, No. 799 or *SC I*:286, Nos. 822–824) (Fig. 5). The reverse legend can be confidently reconstructed as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, designating the coin as an issue of some King Antiochus. As suggested by Seyrig and Le Rider, the coin must now be seen as a Seleucid royal issue though there is no additional epigraphic evidence to indicate which of the 13 Seleucid Antiochi produced the coin.

Fig. 3. Antiochus III Æ denomination from Susa (*SC I*:454, No. 1226)Fig. 4. Seleucus I–Antiochus I co-regency Æ denomination from Uncertain Mint 15 (*SC I*:94, No. 243)Fig. 5. Seleucus II, Æ denomination from Susa (*SC I*:281, No. 799)

Both Dura No. 115 and the Holt coin were issued on bevelled flans with the obverse type struck on the smaller face of the blank. Bronze flans with bevelled edges occur at many mints across the Seleucid Empire, from Bactria to Syria Seleucis. The practice was widely used by the Ptolemies and was a particularly prominent feature of Seleucid minting in Phoenicia and Coele Syria, taken from Ptolemaic Egypt during the Fifth Syrian War (202–198 BCE). The flan type is a less common feature in Seleucid mints in Anatolia and Cilicia (*SC* II:54). A preference existed to strike the smaller face of the flan with the obverse die at Antioch, Seleucia on the Tigris, Ecbatana, Ai Khanoum under the early Seleucids, and at Tyre under Antiochos III. Elsewhere, the choice of side for obverse and reverse is more variable (*SC* II:55).

The Seleucid use of a bee as the main obverse type was restricted to Susa during the reign of Antiochus III (*SC* I:454, No. 1226). The bee was used as a sub-type or control mark by Seleucus I at Pergamon, Carrhae, Babylon, but most commonly at Susa (*SC* I:68–74, Nos. 161, 164.5, 166.2, 177.6, 178.1, 182). It also appeared as a control at Lampsacus during the reign of Antiochus Hierax. The concentration of bee iconography at Susa is not unexpected. The bee was sacred to, and symbolic of, the goddess Artemis (Elderkin 1939:203–206; Kritz 1997:51) who appears to have been particularly worshiped at Susa in the Seleucid and Parthian periods. The city housed a famous native sanctuary of Artemis-Inanna — made even more renowned by Antiochus IV's alleged attempt to marry the goddess shortly before his death in 164 BCE (2 Macc. 1:13–15; Polyb. 31:9; Pliny *NH* 6:35; Azarpay 1976:537). A second sanctuary dedicated to Apollo and Artemis Daittai was also located at Susa (Welles 1934:183; Boyce and Grenet 1991:25, 37–38).

A bow in bow-case does occur as a sole coin type on occasion but is more often associated with the club as an evocation of Heracles. Although the Macedonians were not traditionally known for their archery, the bow, in or out of a bow-case, features commonly as a reverse type on the coin issues of Alexander the Great, symbolic of the pan-Hellenic hero who was also the progenitor of the Macedonian royal house. The bow and the bow in bow-case appear as reverse types on several early Seleucid coin issues (for example *SC* I:94: No. 243, *SC* I:156: No. 447 and perhaps *SC* I:138, Nos. 372–374). The *gorytus* was a combined bow-case and quiver, traditionally associated with the Scythian peoples of the Eurasian steppe and to a lesser extent, the populations of the Iranian plateau (Snodgrass 1999:82). One *gorytus* was included among the grave goods of the Macedonian royal Tomb II at Vergina dating to the last third of the fourth century BCE (Andronikos 1984:180–186, Pl.146–149) although it is more likely to have been a spoil of war than a treasured weapon of the interred (Borza 1987:118, n.44). The *gorytus* reverse type was only marginally more common as a Seleucid coin type than the bow-case or the bee. It was used by Seleucus I at Seleucia on the Tigris, co-regency issues of Uncertain Mint 15 (Drangiana or Arachosia), Antiochus I at

Uncertain Mint 23 (Syria or Mesopotamia) and Seleucus II at Susa (*SC I*:281, No. 799) and Ecbatana. As might be expected, the *gorytus* was predominantly associated with Seleucid mints east of the Euphrates.

The only Seleucid mint that produced bronze issues on bevelled flans *and* had a history of using either the bee or the bow-case/*gorytus* types was Susa. Indeed *SC I*:181, No. 799 (denomination C) from Susa, issued under Seleucus II, was struck on a bevelled flan, using the smaller face as the obverse and employing a *gorytus* reverse type. In the following reign, Antiochus III produced *SC I*:454, No. 1226 (denomination D) at Susa, also on a bevelled flan and again using the smaller face as the obverse and employing a bee obverse type. The Seleucid mint of Susa combined the use of all three diagnostic features found on Dura No. 115 and the coin from the Holt collection. While absolute certainty in numismatic terms is often difficult to attain, all available evidence would support the hypothesis that this small issue, currently known only from Dura No. 115 and the Holt coin, was produced at the Seleucid royal mint at Susa.

The date of the issue and the identity of the Antiochus mentioned in the legend is slightly more problematic. Of the remaining 206 coins of Hoard 13 (the only known context of the coin type) 205 coins were issues of Antiochus III. The other coin can now be dated to early in the reign of Antiochus IV. According to Bellinger, “many” of the pieces in the hoard were not badly worn and he posited that they had “not seen excessive use” before the date of burial (Bellinger 1949:178). However, as Fig. 1 illustrates, Dura No. 115 is quite worn, particularly on the reverse where the type has lost much of its definition and little trace of the legend is visible. This would seem to suggest a period of circulation somewhat longer than many of the other pieces in the hoard. Therefore an attribution to one of the first three Antiochi seems much more likely than Antiochus IV or any later kings.

Of the three Seleucid candidates, Antiochus III is perhaps the most promising. Bronze issues struck on bevelled flans with a similar *gorytus* reverse type were produced at Susa by his father Seleucus II (*SC I*:281, No. 799). Antiochus III himself produced Susa bronzes on a bevelled flan that employed the bee obverse type (*SC I*:454, No. 1226). That issue is the only other early Seleucid emission to use a bee as a main type. It is of the same denomination as Dura No. 115 and the Holt coin and it is highly possible that one issue may have immediately preceded the other, both serving as small change produced at the royal mint but employing locally inspired types.

Having established a probable attribution for Dura No. 115 as an issue of Antiochus III at Susa, it is necessary to return to Hoard 13 and revise its burial date. Working with the information then available, Bellinger stated: “If the Parthian coin [Dura No. 115] were not in question the date of burial would be put not far from the end of Antiochus III’s reign.” Treating Dura No. 115 as an issue of Mithridates I, Bellinger dated the hoard to 150–130 BCE (Bellinger 1949:178–179). Now that

the Parthian association of Dura No. 115 has been rejected, and given that the coin is re-attributed here to Antiochus III, dating the burial of Dura-Europos Hoard 13 is no longer a problem. Dura No. 115 fits neatly within the hoard, dating to the same reign as over 99% of the other coins. Rather, it is now Dura No. 45, down-dated to the beginning of the reign of Antiochus IV (175–c.173/2 BCE), which presents the *terminus post quem* of the burial. Dura No. 45 was reportedly very worn, so much so that it was difficult to identify. We can therefore posit that it was in circulation for some time before its inclusion in the hoard and it is therefore unlikely that the hoard was buried before the 160s BCE.

The ultimately disastrous anabasis of Antiochus IV (App. *Syr.* 66; Josephus, *Ant.* 12:354–359; Polyb. 31.9.4; 1 Macc. 6:1–17; 2 Macc. 1:13–17) followed by the short reign of the child-king Antiochus V (164–162 BCE) saw a multitude of disturbances, which may have led the owner of Hoard 13 to bury his or her small treasure. The Maccabees continued their struggle for secession (Josephus, *Ant.* 12:367–385; 1 Macc. 7:28–63; 2 Macc. 11:1–33), Lysias and Philip, rival lieutenants of the late king, vied for control of his son and the empire (Josephus, *Ant.* 12:379, 386; 1 Macc. 6:55, 63; 2 Macc. 9:29), the satrap of Commagene revolted (Diod. 31:19a), war with Rome loomed following the death of a Roman commissioner in Antioch (App. *Syr.* 46; Diod. 31:29, 32:2–3; Pliny *NH* 34:24) and finally, Antiochus V's claim to the throne was successfully challenged by the arrival of his cousin Demetrius I in 162 BCE (App. *Syr.* 47; Polyb. 31:11–13).

Demetrius' ascension was not universally acknowledged. Antiochus V continued to be recognized as king in Babylon until May 161 BCE (Bellinger 1945:43) while Tyre produced a small bronze issue in the name of Antiochus in 161/0 BCE (Wright 2010:246, No. 7). In Media the satrap Timarchus declared his independence perhaps as early as 164/3 BCE and advanced into Babylonia before being defeated by Demetrius in 161 BCE (App. *Syr.* 47; Diod. 31:27a). In the absence of further contextual evidence from the burial location at Dura-Europos, the five years of imperial instability at the end of, and immediately following, the reign of Antiochus IV (165–161 BCE), marks the most likely period for the burial of Hoard 13.

The hoard is remarkable in that it contained the smallest denominations available at the beginning of the second century BCE, almost to the exclusion of all else. Bellinger posits two theories for its collation: the amalgamated change collected by a beggar or the misbegotten proceeds of a minor tax siphoned off by a corrupt official. While he is undoubtedly correct to claim that the “owner was not one of the substantial citizens of Seleucid Dura”, it is perhaps unfair to stoop to character assassination based purely on the contents of an individual's savings (Bellinger 1949:179). Surely there were any number of opportunities for an individual to amass small change in the second century BCE, just as there are today. The inclusion of so many small denominations of Antiochus III in a hoard buried in the following generation fits with the pattern presented at

Dura-Europos in general. Across the site, the coins issued by Antiochus III and designated ‘halves’ by Bellinger (*SC* denominations D and E), appear as chance finds in every context, well into the later third century CE, and seem to have been a favored denomination (Bellinger 1949:179). Antiochus IV struck no such denominations at Antioch and his son and immediate successor, Antiochus V, produced no bronze coinage at all with the exception of limited quasi-municipal issues in Phoenicia. It comes therefore as no surprise to find that the bulk of a hoard of small bronze denominations buried the 160s BCE was predominantly composed of issues in the name of Antiochus III.

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