

THOSE STRIKING SEVERANS: A COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF THE MINTING PRACTICES OF
ANTIPATRIS AND NICOPOLIS

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Declaration

I, Rachel Mansfield, certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

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Abstract

This thesis focused on the two cities Antipatris and Nicopolis in the third century CE, during the Severan Age. During the short reign of Elagabalus (c. 218-222 CE) these two cities began minting coinage but ceased production immediately after the emperor's death. Such a short minting span is a unique phenomenon known only at Antipatris and Nicopolis within the broader Syria-Palestine area. Although these two sites are of significance in the Roman Period, as yet there have been no comprehensive studies of their coins, and very little of their third century archaeological findings has been published. Therefore this thesis bridges gaps in scholarship in the following ways: by 1) creating a numismatic catalogue of the two sites from a variety of different sources; 2) discussing the coins within wider socio-cultural, political and economic spheres; 3) discussing the trends of minting by reference to denominations, iconography and epigraphy; 4) placing the study of Antipatris and Nicopolis within the context of the wider area of Syria-Palestine; and 5) discussing the reasons why the mints of Antipatris and Nicopolis began and ended minting.

“Shew me a penny. Whose image and superscription hath it?”

They answered and said, “Caesar’s.”

Luke 20:24-5.

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Abbreviations

<i>ADPV</i>	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
<i>ANRW</i>	Aufstieg Und Niedergang Der Römischen Welt.
<i>ANS</i>	American Numismatic Society.
<i>BA</i>	The Biblical Archaeologist.
<i>BAR</i>	Biblical Archaeology Review.
<i>Bijovsky Coins</i>	Bijovsky, G 2011, 'The Coins', in <i>Naḥal Ḥaggit - A Roman and Mamluk Farmstead in the Southern Carmel</i> , IAA Reports 43, Jerusalem, pp. 169–90.
<i>BMC</i>	The British Museum Catalogue.
<i>BnF</i>	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
<i>BYU Studies</i>	Brigham Young University Studies.
<i>CAH</i>	The Cambridge Ancient History.
<i>CNG</i>	Classical Numismatic Group.
<i>CoS</i>	Context of Scripture.
<i>de Saulcy</i>	de Saulcy, F 1874, <i>Numismatique de la Terre Sainte</i> , La
<i>Numismatique</i>	Palestine Et De L'Arabie Petree, Paris.
<i>EAEHL</i>	Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land.
<i>EJ</i>	Encyclopaedia Judaica.
<i>Expo. Times</i>	Expository Times.
<i>Gemini</i>	Gemini LLC Auctions.
<i>GIC</i>	Greek Imperial Coinage
<i>HARLOT</i>	Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.
<i>Head Historia Numorum</i>	Head, BV 1911, <i>Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics</i> , Clarendon Press, Oxford.

<i>Helios</i>	Helios Numismatik.
Hendin <i>Biblical Coins</i>	Hendin, D 1996, <i>Guide to Biblical Coins</i> , Amphora, New York.
<i>Heritage</i>	Heritage World Coin Auctions.
<i>HU</i>	Hebrew University.
<i>IAA</i>	Israel Antiquities Authority.
<i>IEJ</i>	Israel Exploration Journal.
<i>IES</i>	Israel Exploration Society.
<i>IMC</i>	The Israel Museum Catalogue.
<i>IMEM</i>	Proceedings of the Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire c. 200 B.C.- A.D. 476).
<i>INJ</i>	Israel Numismatics Journal.
<i>INR</i>	Israel Numismatic Research.
<i>INS</i>	Israel Numismatic Society.
<i>JAS</i>	Jahresberichte aus Augst und Kaiseraugst.
<i>JDEIA</i>	Jahrbuch der Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes.
Jerusalem	Israel Museum.
Josephus <i>Antiquities</i>	<i>The Antiquities of the Jews</i>
Josephus <i>War</i>	<i>The Jewish War</i>
<i>JPOS</i>	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology.
<i>JRS</i>	Journal of Roman Studies.
Kadman <i>Aelia</i>	Kadman, L 1956, <i>The Coins of Aelia Capitolina</i> , The University of Michigan Press, Michigan.
Kadman <i>Coins in Palestine</i>	Kadman, L & Kindler, A 1963, <i>Coins in Palestine Throughout the Ages</i> (Hebrew), Tel Aviv.

Kindler <i>Antipatris</i>	Kindler, A 1990, 'Coins of Antipatris', <i>INJ</i> , vol. 11, pp. 66–71.
Kindler <i>City Coins</i>	Kindler, A 2000, 'Coins of the City of Antipatris', in Kochavi, M (ed), <i>Aphek- Antipatris I: Excavations of Areas A and B The 1972-1976 Seasons</i> , Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, Tel Aviv, pp. 47–55.
London	British Museum.
Mazar <i>Temple Mount</i>	Mazar, E 2011, <i>The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968-1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar Final Reports Volume IV: The Legion in Aelia Capitolina</i> , Qedem 52, Jerusalem.
Meshorer <i>City Coins</i>	Meshorer, Y 1985, <i>The City Coins of Eretz Israel and the Decapolis in the Roman Period</i> , The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i>	Meshorer, Y, Bijovsky, G & Fischer-Bossert, W 2013, <i>Coins of the Holy Land: The Abraham and Marian Sofaer Collection at the American Numismatic Society and the Israel Museum</i> Meshorer;Y et al., Jerusalem.
Meshorer <i>New Coins</i>	Meshorer, Y 1999, 'Two New Coin Types of Antipatris' <i>INJ</i> , vol. 13, pp. 86–89.
<i>NAC</i>	Numismatica Arts Classica.
<i>NEAEHL</i>	The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in The Holy Land.
<i>NEAEHL</i>	New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land.
<i>Num. Chron.</i>	The Numismatic Chronicle.
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary.

<i>OEANE</i>	The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East.
<i>PEF</i>	Palestine Exploration Fund.
<i>RB</i>	Revue Biblique.
<i>RE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
<i>Revue Numismatique</i>	Revue Belge De Numismatique et de Sigillographie: Belgisch Tijdschrift Voor Numismatiek en Zegelkunde.
<i>RGRW</i>	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World.
<i>RNS</i>	Royal Numismatic Society.
Rosenberger <i>Antipatris</i>	Rosenberger, M 1972, <i>City-coins of Palestine (the Rosenberger Israel Collection)</i> , Rosenberger, Jerusalem.
Rosenberger <i>Nicopolis</i>	Rosenberger, M 1977, <i>City-coins of Palestine (the Rosenberger Israel Collection)</i> , Rosenberger, Jerusalem.
<i>SCI</i>	Scripta Classica Israelica.
Sear <i>GIC</i>	Sear, DR 1982, <i>GIC: The Local Coinages of the Roman Empire</i> , Seaby, London.
<i>SNG</i>	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum.
<i>SNG Meshorer</i>	Meshorer, Y 1981, <i>SNG. ANS collection. Part 6: Palestine - South Arabia</i> , Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, New York.
<i>SNG Spaer</i>	Spaer, A & Houghton, A 1998, <i>SNG. Israel I. The Arnold Spaer Collection of Seleucid Coins</i> , London.
Sternberg	Frank Sternberg Auction, sale 6, 25-26 Nov. 1976, Zurich.
Tel Aviv	Kadman Collection in the Eretz Israel Museum.
<i>TRAC 2004</i>	Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham.

Van der Vliet <i>Monnaies</i>	Vliet, N van der 1950, ‘Monnaies Inédites ou Très Rares du Médaillier de Saint-Anne de Jérusalem’, <i>RB</i> .
<i>ZPE</i>	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.
St. Jerome <i>De Viris Illustribus</i>	St. Jerome 1999 <i>De Viris Illustribus</i> , translated by TP Halton, Catholic University of America, Washington.
m. <i>Git</i>	Danby, H (trans.) 1933 <i>The Mishnah</i> , Clarendon Press, Oxford.
t. <i>Derekh Erez Rabbah</i>	Neusner, J (trans.) 2010 <i>The Jerusalem Talmud: A Translation and Commentary</i> , Hendrickson Publishers, New York.
Sozoman <i>EH</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>

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Chapter 1: Introduction

A multi-disciplinary research approach enables a better understanding of parts of history within specific periods and places. Unfortunately, in the past it has been typical to study and analyse archaeology and historical literature separately from numismatics with very few interdisciplinary crossovers (Casey 1986, pp.68–113). In contrast to this outdated approach, this thesis reconstructs the history of two sites in Syria-Palestine by comparing the historical literature, archaeological finds and numismatic evidence. The combined approaches of these three disciplines yield a better understanding of the purposes of minting within Syria-Palestine, as well as determining minting authorities, and the audience, both intended and actual (see Manders 2012, p.30). This study will identify the purpose of minting in these two cities during the Severan age under Emperor Elagabalus, and the reasons for their short minting lifespan.

It is common for numismatists to be uncertain of, and debate, the identity of those in charge of minting coins (Kindler 1982, p.87; Lichtenberger 2017, p.197). Scholars rely heavily upon the identification of various symbols, or historical narrative, even if they cannot be ascertained with complete certainty. This practice impinges upon one of the aims of this thesis: to determine the purpose of minting particular coin types in Antipatris and Nicopolis. In this study I propose to examine the admittedly limited evidence for the decisions which governed the nature and detail of mint output. However, due to the lack of evidence, meaningful information cannot be gleaned regarding the number of coins that may have been minted at Antipatris and Nicopolis.

1.1 Methodology

Numismatic Database Collection and Creation

In undertaking the study of the coins of Antipatris and Nicopolis, an exhaustive database of types was collected for the sites, as well as specimens from other mints, such as the Decapolis mints. This involved researching available markets and auctions, private sellers, reviewing museum and private catalogues, as well as directly contacting collectors to study the artefacts. The results of this search are compiled in chapter 4 with the catalogue of Antipatris (Pl. 1-4, pp. 71-74), and chapter 5 with the catalogue of Nicopolis (Pl. 5-7, pp. 75-78).

Interpretation of Numismatic Material

To understand the numismatic material evidence, it is necessary to take a closer look at the representation of the iconographical and epigraphic features. Where it has not been possible to view the physical coin, images have been relied upon, alongside any information provided. Initially coins were categorised by reverse types, i.e. meaning that coins were placed into groups according to images on their reverse. However, it proved more useful to group coins by their reverse types, and then to sort again within these groups according to obverse types. This presentation enabled assessment of how the die selection was made. Following this, an attempt has been made to classify the coins by weight to determine the denominations being minted.

This study also includes an iconographical study; i.e. a study of the image representations on the coins themselves. The function of iconographic selection has a great deal of importance when it comes to understanding the way that a society represented themselves, and how they related to what was projected on coins (Manders 2012, p.6). Recent studies indicate that larger types of Roman Provincial coinage have iconography directed to, or associated with, the emperor, whilst smaller denominations hold iconography that was understood locally (Horster 2013; Sheedy 2016). Some of the images are very common within

the province of Syria- Palestine, while other images are better known from other locations, including Rome and Antioch in Syria. These will be discussed in detail in the following chapters as a module (denomination) study. This approach to studying iconography through denomination studies is fundamental to understanding the iconographical diversity of coins within the provinces. This aspect of study can be used as a future model for iconographical investigations of coins in any area and period.

In addition to this, a detailed die study has been undertaken in conjunction with a mint study. This die study is an assessment of production quantities, knowing that a certain number of obverses and reverses can be minted from the dies before breaking or becoming impractical for use (Hill 1922). The known die types can be used to calculate the approximate output from the two mints.

Archaeological Study of Antipatris And Nicopolis

In order to identify the changes in material culture exhibited at the sites themselves, an archaeological study has been undertaken of Antipatris and Nicopolis. The material culture dating to the first half of the third century CE was studied to identify what changes, if any, might be reflected in these coins, e.g. building work reflecting changes in the economic sphere following the suggested influx of wealth (Jones 1956, pp.82, 273–81; Levick 1999a, p.107; Lichtenberger 2017). Where possible, a comparison is made between the iconography found in an archaeological context, and that found on the coins. This comparative study serves to enrich the understanding of the purposes of minting at these two sites and provides insight into the meanings and intended representation of ideas in the society. Table 1 surmises this thesis' methodology as follows:

Table 1: Methodology

<u>Numismatic Database Collection and Creation:</u>	
1.	Create an exhaustive database for these two sites, as well as specimens from other mints, such as the Decapolis mints. Sourced from available markets, auctions,

	reviewing museum and private catalogues and directly contacting collectors, visiting as many as possible to conduct a hands-on study of the artefacts.
2.	Compile two catalogues of coin types: Antipatris and Nicopolis
<u>Numismatic Interpretation:</u>	
1.	Closely examine minting quality, coin wear, size and weight.
2.	Separate coins into types, grouped according to reverse type and then sorted within these sub groups by the images upon them.
3.	Determine the way in which coins are presented and how the die selection was made.
4.	Classify the coins by weight to determine denominations being minted.
5.	Undertake an iconographical study and examine the presentations on the coins.
6.	Posit an estimated number of coins minted according to the number of obverse and reverse dies of each city.
<u>Archaeological study of Antipatris and Nicopolis:</u>	
1.	Identify the changes in material culture of the sites themselves by undertaking an archaeological study of Antipatris and Nicopolis, focussing on material culture dating to the first half of the third century CE. Specifically, identify relevant changes, if any, which may be reflected in these coins such as building work showing a change in the economic sphere with the suggested influx of wealth.
2.	Where possible, contrast iconography found in an archaeological context with that found on the coins.

Limitations

Archaeologically, much of the research material concerning Antipatris and Nicopolis remains semi-unpublished or un-published, limiting the history of research, as mentioned above. This study, therefore, cannot be exhaustive, although all efforts have been taken to make it as detailed as possible. Additionally, the understanding of archaeological evidence is

not an exact science and is subject to scholarly interpretation, presenting multiple conclusions which are hotly debated (Harl 1996, p.1). Limitations of numismatic evidence, including the study of iconography, stem from a number of contributing factors: the coin and may have been melted down or cut, for example, especially in regions where the coin types are meaningless, i.e. when the authority issuing the coins is no longer recognised (Casey 1986, p.15). Our understanding of the patterns of coin circulation could be affected by the later systematic defacement of coins depicting Elagabalus (Rowan 2012, p.147). Furthermore, the coins of Antipatris and Nicopolis were minted in small numbers, making the building of a corpus difficult. In addition, certain coins during this period in the Syria-Palestine province were so poorly minted that it is almost impossible to conclusively identify the mint at which they were produced.¹

Significance

This project is a case study of minting at two sites in near proximity within the Syria-Palestine Province, and a close study of these coins will allow for the trends exhibited at Antipatris and Nicopolis to be understood. Additionally, comparing the known types of the region with those minted in Rome will help to identify iconography uncommon to the area. Conclusions about these influences will thus be drawn from the numismatic evidence itself. The findings will contribute to the understanding of how Rome and the succession of emperors in the Severan period (third century CE) affected everyday life in the provinces. This will form a template for further investigation. Finally, the combined use of numismatic and archaeological evidence will assist in evaluating the accuracy of ancient sources. This is a

¹ This was acknowledged by Dr D. Ariel when discussing a coin he identified as Antipatris, though it could easily belong to Nicopolis (I agree with his conclusion). The coin in question is from the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, reference number, IAA95708, (published as Meshorer 2010, pp.111–135 coin 129, fig. 7).

very important tool in scholarly discussions, as ancient sources must be critically analysed to reveal bias, or vendettas, such as can be seen in Cassius Dio, Herodian and the author of the *Vita Heliogabali* against Elagabalus (Icks 2012). This study will, therefore, progress scholarly understanding of the Syrian and Palestinian provinces in the Severan period, and provide further insight into how the turmoil of the Roman imperial succession affected the provinces (see Manders 2012).

Framing a study of Antipatris and Nicopolis

This study accepts the following conclusions based on current numismatic, historical and archaeological research:

1. The sites being studied, namely Antipatris and Nicopolis, were granted *polis* status by Elagabalus, and the minting of coins was a direct result of this (Avi-Yonah 1971, 1993, p.385; Gichon 1997, p.240; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159).
2. Minting in the provinces generally reflected the ideals and trends of Rome, although local iconographical features were added. The most common Roman iconographical representations of coinage of this period include military representations, divine associations, virtues and the *Saeculum aureum* (Manders 2012, p.2).
3. The purpose for minting the coins in this short period was to influence public opinion and transfer ideas and values for a specific purpose, and to possibly make a profit from visitors (Cull, Cullbert & Welch 2003, p.318; Manders 2012, p.28).
4. The choice of iconography and epigraphy on coins work together to represent similar ideas (Manders 2012, p.30).

1.2 Chronological Parameters

This thesis concerns only the Severan period, within the third century CE, which is characterised by turmoil and great instability (Liebeschuetz 2007, pp.11–20; Manders 2012, p.1,11; Bowman, Garnsey & Cameron 2005, pp.193–337). Despite this, Manders (2012, p.20) notes that this was a period of economic prosperity. The Severan period was characterised by

the decisive developments in Roman law (Harries 1991; Manders 2012, p.23). It is evident that Roman Imperial coinage was being used to communicate with various groups, both within and without Rome, during the period (Howgego 1975; Manders 2012, p.7). The communication of ideas was an important concern in regard to the use and circulation of coinage within Rome, and it is pertinent to consider how these ideas were translated into the provinces. Therefore, a numismatic study taking this into consideration will benefit the understanding of minting patterns in the cities of other Syria-Palestine cities.

Chapter 2: The Sites and their History

2.1 An Introduction to Antipatris

Situated on the banks of the Yarkon River, Antipatris' importance is reflected in its many names over the centuries: Aphek, the site's earliest recorded name (from the 19th century BCE); Pegai, meaning "spring" in the Hellenistic and Hasmonean periods; Arethusa, also relating to water, from c. 132 BCE and named by John Hyrcanus I; and finally, Antipatris (Αντιπατρίς) by Herod the Great, named after his father Antipater, as detailed in Josephus *War* 1.21.9 (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.64; Hendin 1996, p.238; Kleiman 2015, p.177; Kochavi 1997, p.146). In modern times the site was known as Tell Ral el-ʿAin, which also means "spring" in Arabic, in the 18th-19th centuries CE (Kochavi 1997, p.147).

Archaeologically, there is evidence of occupation spanning 5000 years, dating from the Ghassulian phase of the Chalcolithic Period (c. 3800-3350 BCE), with the last occupation dated to Ottoman times (c. mid 1500s) (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.66; Kochavi 1997, pp.147, 149, 2000, p.3). Such prolonged occupation has been attributed largely to the site's strategic position on the *Via Maris*, - an international highway connecting Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and Anatolia, as will be discussed further below (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.72; Kochavi 2000, p.3).

History of Research of Numismatics of Antipatris

The numismatic evidence from the excavations of the city of Antipatris has yet to be studied.² This has caused issues in predicting the expected circulation, and in fully documenting the types that were minted in Antipatris. This thesis attempts to address these issues below. The publication of the Rosenberger Collection illustrated coins of the city of Antipatris in its first volume but identified only three types (Rosenberger 1972). The city was

² They lie in the possession of Prof. Moshe Fischer in Tel Aviv, Israel.

mentioned by Hendin in his overview of Biblical coins, although his section on city coinage was brief and not the emphasis of his study (Hendin 1996, p.238). However, Kindler (1990) wrote an impressive paper on the main types of the coins from Antipatris in which he identified a weight standard and denomination system for the city. This study was a pioneering work in itself, albeit based on limited evidence, and some types have been added subsequently (such as in Meshorer 1999). It was the opinion of both Kindler (1990, pp.62, 71) and Meshorer (1999) that these coins shed light upon the city of Antipatris during the period of minting. Other publications include Kindler (2000), Meshorer *et al.* (2013) and Rosenberger (1972). These works include various examples, mainly from collections, that have helped to identify the coin types, though an extensive catalogue of the coins has never been published. Coins minted in Antipatris and found in excavations elsewhere have been published amidst other collections. A coin was discovered in a hoard in a shipwreck on the Carmel Coast (Meshorer 2010), and two coins were found in the Excavations of Naḥal Ḥaggit (Bijovsky 2011). There is also one possible example from Nicopolis, discussed below (Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010, p.203).

The importance of the study of the Antipatris mint specifically, is that the city minted for no longer than three years, presenting a very clear snapshot of it in the period of the Severan Age (Kindler 1990, p.71). A study of this mint will also provide evidence in the wider trends of the area of Syria-Palestine during the period (Kindler 1990, p.62).

Geographical location

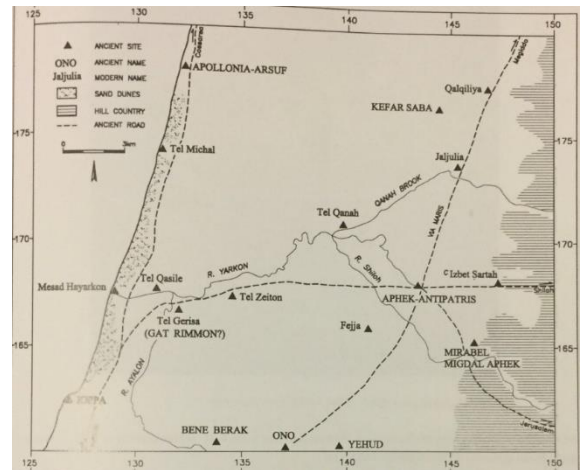
Antipatris lies 32°06' N and 34° 56' E (Kochavi 1997, p.147). standing 36m above sea level (Kochavi 2000, p.1). It is located at the headwaters of the Yarkon River (Kleiman 2015, p.177), approximately 12 km east of Tel Aviv, 15km east of the Mediterranean sea and 2km west of the Hill Country (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.62; Kochavi 2000, p.1). The closest modern day cities to the site are Kfar Saba and Petah Tikvah (Hendin 1976, p.110; Kleiman 2015, p.177). The distance between Antipatris and Nicopolis is approximately 28km (Kindler

1990, p.67). The city is situated within the Yarkon Basin (covering approx. 30 km²), a fertile cove in the Sharon Plain (Kleiman 2015, p.177; Kochavi 1997, p.147; Na'aman & Goren 2009, p.468). The placement of the city marked the border between the northern and southern regions of the Plain (Kochavi 1997, p.149). The site's northern-most boundary also meets the southern boundary of the Caesarea area and similarly connects with the western boundaries of both Alloponia and Joppe (Avi-Yonah 1977, p.146).

The site's strategic location on one of the major crossroads of the day, the *Via Maris* -“Way to the Sea” is proven in the archaeological record to be the key to its growth (Kleiman 2015, p.177; Kochavi 1990, p.vii, 1997, p.147; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.38; Singer 1977, p.178). At a more local level, the crossroads connected Antipatris with Jerusalem, Caesarea, Lydda and Joppa (Josephus *Antiquities* xvi.5.142-143; *War* 1.21.417; Hendin 1976, p.110; Hill 1914, p.xv). This strategic position enabled the inhabitants to gain income from trade. The hill country to the west was too dangerous and treacherous to pass over, while the Yarkon river was not easily crossed. Map 2 compiled by archaeologists who surveyed the entire area surrounding Antipatris in the 1970s (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.64) shows these geographical features clearly. Thus geography dictated the easiest, safest route (see Map 1 and 2) (Kochavi 2000, pp.2–3).



Map 1: General Map showing the position of Aphek- Antipatris (Kochavi 2000:2 fig 1.2)



Map 2: The Sharon Plain and Strategic Position of Antipatris (Kochavi 2000: 3, fig 1.3)

Historical Overview and References

The earliest mention of Aphek-Antipatris occurs in the Egyptian Execration texts of the 19th Century BCE, where it is referred to as ‘APQUM’ (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.62; Frankel & Kochavi 2000a, p.27; Kochavi 1997, p.147; Orni 1971, p.176). The name of the city also appears in a list of cities inscribed on a wall in Karnak, dating to the time of Thutmosis III (c. 1504-1450 BCE), the listing of which follows the trajectory of the *Via Maris* (Hendin 1996, p.238). In this list, Aphek-Antipatris is labelled as number 66 between the cities of Lod, Ono, and Judah to the north, and Socoh to the south (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, pp.62, 68; Frankel & Kochavi 2000b, p.27; Hendin 1976, p.110; Kochavi 1997, p.147, 1990, pp.xvii–xviii; Orni 1971, p.176). The site is also mentioned in the annals of Amenhotep II as a city which surrendered to him in his march north along the Sharon plain (Hoffmeier 1989, p.17b–20a; Kochavi 1997, p.147; Orni 1971, p.176). In the biblical record, Aphek-Antipatris is recorded in the list of conquered Canaanite cities in Joshua 12:18 (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.62; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.38; Orni 1971, p.175). Also, in the biblical

narrative, 1 Sam 4:21 and 29:1 lists the city again as the base for the Philistines in their war against Israel on two occasions (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.62; Kochavi 1997, p.147; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.38; Orni 1971, p.176). The site was also used as a point of physical reference to Ziklag, from where it was claimed that David walked in three days, in 1 Sam 30:1 (Kochavi 1997, p.149).

The status of the site as a border marker between the northern and southern regions of the Sharon Plain is attested from Esarhaddon's campaign to Egypt (c. 677 BCE), and in an Aramaic letter (c. 603 BCE) written from Egypt against Babylonian troops moving south towards there, being seen near Aphek-Antipatris (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.62; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.38; Orni 1971, p.176; Porten 1997 lines 4, 7). This position as a border city is also apparent in several Jewish laws and legends in the Mishnah and Talmud which state that Antipatris was considered to be the northernmost town of Judah (m. *Git* 7:7; t. *Derekh Erez Rabbah* 6), as sites to the south of Antipatris had Jewish communities settled there, and non-Jewish peoples, i.e. Greeks, settled in the cities to the north (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71; Kochavi 1997, p.149).

In the Hellenistic Period, the site was called Pegai ("springs") and existed as a fortress town and border between the districts of Samaria and Sharon (Negev & Gibson 2001, p.38). Around 132 BCE, the city was captured by John Hyrcanus I, who renamed the town Arethusa (Hendin 1976, p.110). Both of the names by which the site was known in the Hellenistic Period pay homage to its proximity to a rich source of water (Negev & Gibson 2001, p.38). When Pompey claimed the region for Rome in 63 BCE the city was rebuilt, and according to Josephus in *Antiquities* 14.4.4; *War* 1.7.7, returned to its inhabitants (Frankel & Kochavi 2000a, p.11).

In the histories of Josephus Flavius the city is mentioned twice. The first records the founding of the city by Herod the Great and its being named after his father, Antipater (*War* 1.21.9). Following the rebuilding by Herod the city became the centre of a district with many

prosperous villages (Avi-Yonah 1971, p.78; Head 1911; Hendin 1976, p.110; Hill 1914, p.xv; Janis 1970, p.14; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.38). The second reference mentions the tower of Aphek-Antipatris as a place of refuge for the Jews from Antipatris, and then the site's destruction during the First Jewish Revolt (Josephus *War* 2.513; 2.29.1; Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.62; Kochavi 1997, p.147). Later Biblical tradition also notes the importance of Antipatris as a way station, or possibly a military station as in Acts 23:31-32. The name of the city was again changed in the later Roman Period, this time being named Antipatris Antoniniana, possibly after Elagabalus, most likely following his naming the city as a *polis* in c.221 CE (Jones 1966, pp.82, 273–81; Kindler 1990, p.65; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.38). The Byzantine Period marks what may be the last mention of Antipatris: Theophanes' *Chronographia* 427 noted that Christians were abducted from there in 752 CE (Frankel & Kochavi 2000a, p.9). However, a later Crusader source documents the name of Antipatris but without an indication of where the site was, merely naming the area (Frankel & Kochavi 2000a, p.9).

Archaeological Overview and Discoveries

The site, now known as Aphek-Antipatris, covers a large area, approximately 12 ha (Kochavi 2000, p.3). Surveyors of the Land of Israel, Albrecht Alt and William Foxwell Albright in 1923, identified it as Aphek-Antipatris, because the Egyptian records of Thutmoses III named it alongside its neighbours, some of which had already been identified (Albright 1923, pp.50–53; Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.62; Kochavi 1997, p.147). Formally, there have been two rescue operations and one planned excavation of the site (Kochavi 1997, p.149). Currently there is an ongoing archaeological excavation focused on the Middle and Late Bronze Age occupation of the site, conducted by Tel Aviv University.³ The first rescue operation was carried out by Jacob Ory in 1934-1936 on behalf of the

³ Personal communications with various archaeologists connected to the site.

Palestine Department of Antiquities (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.62; Kochavi 1997, p.149, 2000, p.5). It included two excavated areas and two test pits. The second was led by Avraham Eitan on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums in 1961 (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.63; Eitan 1969, 1967, Kochavi 1997, p.149, 2000, p.6). This large-scale excavation of the site was overseen by Pirhiya Beck and Moshe Kochavi of Tel Aviv University on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University and the Petah Tiqva municipality. This was conducted over 13 excavation seasons between 1972 to 1985 (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.64; Kleiman 2015, p.177; Kochavi 1997, p.149; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.38). These excavations were not published (apart from preliminary reports and “important finds”) until 2000, with only the period of the Chalcolithic to Iron Age being published in detail, and the Late Roman Period dealt with here being overlooked (Gadot & Yadin 2009). From 1973 to 1978 a regional survey of the upper basin of the Yarkon river was also conducted on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University in association with the Archaeological Survey of Israel. This was overseen by I. Beit- Arie, R. Gophna, M. Kochavi, D. Eitan, and I. Finkelstein (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.64).

THE CHALCOLITHIC PERIOD TO THE PERSIAN PERIOD

The site has a long history and the archaeological record has given evidence of the Ghassulian phase in the Chalcolithic period (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.66; Kochavi 1997, p.149, 2000, p.3). It is one of the several Chalcolithic settlements known in the vicinity, such as Wadi Rabah (approx. 2km east of Aphek) and Fejja (approx. 5km west of Aphek) (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.66). The finds of the Early Bronze (EB) Age depict a large, planned, and wealthy community at the site (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, pp.62, 66; Kochavi 1997, p.149). There is evidence of the desertion of the entire site during the EB IV (c. 2300–2000 BCE) Period (Kochavi 1997, p.149). After a long occupational gap, the site was rebuilt in the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age II (MB; c. 2000–1550 BCE), with the settlement patterns indicating occupation over the entirety of the tell, once again indicating

wealth (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.66; Kochavi 1997, p.149). The Late Bronze (LB) Age at Aphek-Antipatris is one of the most famous and well known of the site's occupational periods, with connections with the superpowers Egypt and Babylon (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.68). There was a major settlement at the site at this time which encompassed the whole tell and its surrounds, with wealthy palaces and buildings (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.68). Following a further occupation hiatus, Aphek-Antipatris was rebuilt and resettled in the twelfth century BCE. The Iron Age (IA; c. 1200-1000 BCE) finds indicate the beginnings of distinction of social status, with both poor and wealthy dwellings (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.68; Kochavi 1997, p.150; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.39). Additionally, finds indicate that during this period the site was occupied by Philistines and then later by Israelites (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.68; Kochavi 1997, pp.150–151; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.39). The remains of the earlier IA debris were dug into and typical "Israelite," stone lined silos are evidenced in the area, indicating possible Israelite habitation at this time (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.69; Kochavi 1997, p.151; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.39). There was no evidence of occupation of the site in the Persian period, suggesting a long period of abandonment. The only remains from the Persian period found in the general vicinity consists of a farm house in the plain north of the tell (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.70).

HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

Aphek-Antipatris stood dormant from the tenth century BCE, likely destroyed as a result of the campaign of Pharaoh Shishak, until the Hellenistic period (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.70). Excavations south of the Acropolis have reached Hellenistic levels. In this area, private buildings were excavated on both sides of a road which ran north-south (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.70). Additionally, the western part of a Hellenistic fort remains untouched by the Ottoman levelling operations (Kochavi 1997, p.151). Excavations have also revealed a western wing of a fortress (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.70). This

would then, include Aphek-Antipatris in the line of fortresses along the Yarkon, constructed by Alexander Jannaeus, discovered by J. Kaplan (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.70). Herodian Antipatris was erected following the same city plan as the Hellenistic city, and this town plan was also utilised in later Roman occupation (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.70). The city was built by Herod the Great in approximately 9 BCE (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.70). A section of the marketplace with shops along both sides of a 9m long paved *cardo* have been excavated (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.70; Kochavi 1997, p.151). The city in this period covered approximately two-thirds of the mound and extended beyond the bounds of the Hellenistic city (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.70). Many finds from the period post-dated the destruction of the Second Temple (70 CE), especially coins of the Roman procurators and Agrippa II, as well as a few coins from the first and second years of the First Jewish Revolt (66 and 67 CE respectively) (for dating the Jewish Revolt coins see Deutsch 2012, p.116,120; Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, pp.70–71; Gitler 2010, p.481; Lykke 2012, p.42). The discovery of stone vessels, which according to the faith of Judaism are pure and cannot be made impure, occurred throughout the site, indicating a high Jewish population in this period (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71). The town was later destroyed by Vespasian in 68 CE (see Josephus *War* 2.29.1). This destruction was sudden; coin hoards and items on shop floors, such as unused oil lamps, have been discovered (Kochavi 1997, p.151).

A Roman Period mausoleum was discovered in the 1961 excavations, in Area III (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.64; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.38). The structure and graves seem to have been well built. A 0.5m layer of ash covered the area and only a single tomb survived the fiery destruction, the artefacts of which date to the late first century CE (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.39).

The restoration of Antipatris during the second and third centuries nearly doubled the boundaries of the city towards the south, returning its limits to its largest earlier extent (MB IIA) (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71). Though the city's recovery from destruction was

slow, it seems to have flourished during the Severan Dynasty (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71; Kochavi 1981, p.84). It was able to mint its own coins in the reign of Elagabalus (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71). Several mansions, complete with elaborately decorated mosaic floors, were also built at this time. One of them was located along the *cardo*, near an auxiliary building. The multi-level mansions were built in common Roman style, with a central courtyard surrounded by rooms, with evidence of a large mansion which boasted 12 mosaic panels, all with varying decorations (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71; Kochavi 1981, p.84). There was a paved forum in the centre of the city, with the commercial centre to the north of it (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71). Its wealth is also shown by the water system, in that rain water was channelled through pipes under the street to public pools (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71; Kochavi 1981, p.84). Public buildings were also added in, and around, the forum, and an Odeon was constructed near the town's southern gate in the Late Roman Period.⁴ The Odeon, along with a section of the *cardo* and dwellings, was discovered by Peck and Kochavi Kaplan (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.66). Additionally, there is evidence of the existence of a city in the form of an inscription from the third century. The inscription, found in Tomis, Moesia Inferio, honours the *archon* Aurelios Preiskios Isidoros who was a member of the city council of Antipatris (Kindler 1990, p.67). It reads: "*a statue was erected in honour of Aurelios Preiskios Isidoros He was a councillor and one of the foremost citizens of the most illustrious city Flavia Neapolis and of Antipatris*" (Newton 1883 no. 174). This proves the status of Antipatris as a *polis* in the third century CE, and this change to city status may have also promoted the issue of coins by Antipatris, as well as Nicopolis (Kindler 1990, p. 67).

⁴ The Odeon was not finished due to the site's destruction in 363 CE (see Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71; Kochavi 1997, p.151)

This prosperous city was destroyed in a major earthquake of 363 CE; there are signs of the destruction in all excavation areas (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.39). Most of it was destroyed or abandoned (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71). Pottery, coins and other objects of this period were discovered during the 1961 Eitan excavations, in Area II, located on the southeast corner, on the northern slope, however these finds were not discovered in a clear stratigraphic context so their importance in the archaeological record is unclear (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.63).

BYZANTINE PERIOD

Only fragmentary remains of the Byzantine period have been discovered (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71). Finds include a fortified structure as well as a wall encompassing an adjacent residential quarter, indicating a small military settlement from the Late Roman to early-Byzantine Period (c. fourth century CE) (Acts 23:31-32; Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71). In contemporary sources of this time, the city of Antipatris is mentioned as a city in ruin or a way station (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71).

OTTOMAN PERIOD

The dominating feature which continues to crown the site today, the fortress named Binar Bashi, was built by the Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth century (Kochavi 1997, p.149). It was a cavalry base, guarding the segment of the *Via Maris* between Megiddo and the Carmel ranges and the Gaza pass (Kochavi 1997, p.151; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.38). Its gate, mosque and barracks have all been excavated (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.71; Kochavi 1997, p.151). The existence of this phase of occupation is important for two reasons: firstly, the dominating structure attracted the attention of scholars and archaeologists to the site. Secondly, during the construction of the fortress, much of the strata was demolished in the levelling of the site (Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, pp.66, 70; Kochavi 1997, p.151). This has led to difficulty in understanding preceding occupation, to make sense of the political and

social implications of earlier times. This is partly combated by the work of this thesis, which aims to better understand the site during the Severan Age and to identify its place in the area.

2.2 An Introduction to Nicopolis

History of Research of Numismatics of Nicopolis

The first mention of Nicopolis, with regard to its coinage, was in the 1800s (de Saulcy 1874, p.175). Hendin (1996, pp.264–5) discussed the coins of the city, but with very little detail. Earlier numismatics studies are ‘land mines’ to negotiate; they are often strewn with errors, attributing coins from other cities with the name Nicopolis (such as Nicopolis ad Istrum in Asia Minor) to this city (Head 1911, p.805). The Abraham and Miriam Sofaer collection, published by Meshorer *et al.* in 2013, shed light on the coinage of Nicopolis for the first time. Some of the coins had been published in Rosenberger’s third volume of *City Coins of Palestine* (Rosenberger 1977). While some descriptions and attributions have been attested in this thesis, these volumes can proudly boast the largest collection of Nicopolis coins to be published; they are fundamental to the research and collection of data for this thesis.

Modern excavation reports from the site of Emmaus Nicopolis – discussed below – have published coins of the city: five coins from the city necropolis, dating to the fourth century CE, and a single specimen dates to the seventh or eighth century CE (Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010, pp.139–143). The excavators have continued digging near the aforementioned fourth century basilica/ church, with three coins associated with this find; two from the mid fourth century and one from the second century CE (Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010, pp.105–107). A single fourth century coin was also found during the archaeological excavation of the cistern (Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010, pp.118–9). A coin of Justinian was also discovered north of the Basilica (Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010, p.162). The final area “der zivile Bereich” or Civilian Area, yielded 7 coins. Six of these all date later than 300 CE, though a single coin has been dated to the reign of Elagabalus

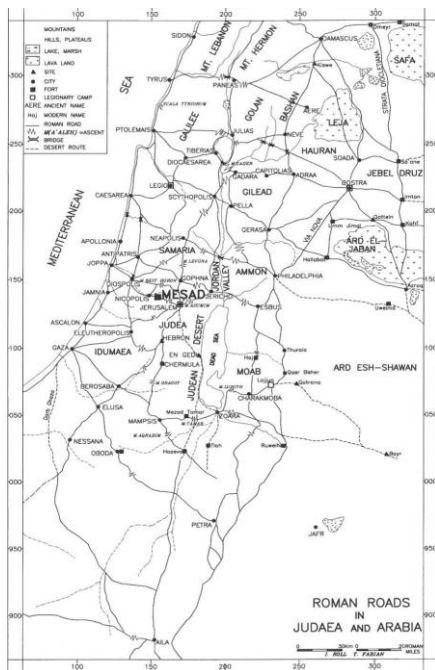
(Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010, p.203). Interestingly this Elagabalus coin, although very worn, looks to be the Bust of Zeus type from the mint of Antipatris (cat. *Ant.* 17). Excavations also demonstrated evidence of occupation during the first century BCE- first century CE at the site (Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010, pp.23–245). A cut coin of Antonius Pius was among the three found, and this may indicate a lack of coinage in circulation and the need to cut coins in half to meet demand. Two coins, one of Constantine and one of unclear origin were also found in a sepulchre, dating to the latter half of the fourth century CE at the earliest (Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010, p.333).

Recently, Eck and Koßmann (2016) undertook a study of the coinage of Nicopolis. This study included a discussion of the coinage and the compilation of a nominal collection of the coins, mainly from the published collections of Meshorer *et al.* (2013) and Rosenberger (1977), as well as online auctions. This has resulted in a good study of the coinage, though it is deficient in various areas. For instance, Eck and Koßmann only identified three varieties of the coins of Nicopolis (Eck & Koßmann 2016, p.231). This thesis, however, has identified a fourth type, with a greater amount of evidence correlated and discussed. The earlier paper is not concerned with the position of Nicopolis in the wider political and economic sphere, and instead focuses on the dating of the coins. No plates were provided alongside this study, so the coin types cannot be checked or compared. While the study of Eck and Koßmann has its uses, it gives a very limited view of the coinage of this city. My studies seek to explore its place in the wider political, economic and social world and to discuss influences and trends in order to better understand minting practices in the province of Syria Palestine in the Severan Age.

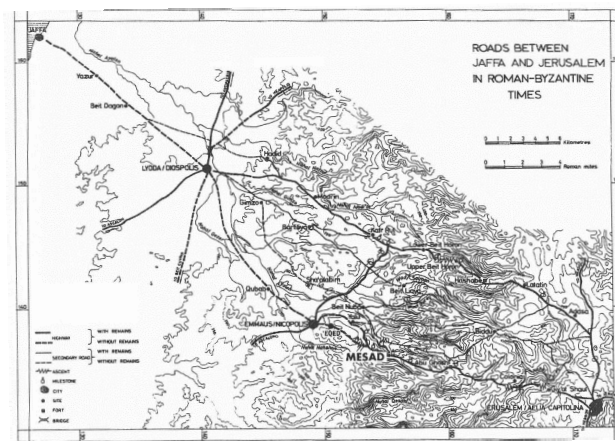
Geographical Location

Within Judea, there are two sites known as Nicopolis (Head 1911, p.805). The Nicopolis with which this thesis is concerned was also known by the name Emmaus during the biblical period (see Luke 24:13ff and Josephus *Antiquities* 13.15). It was also the Arabic

site of Imwas, which was built in the 12th Century and destroyed in 1967 (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). The location of this city is 31°50' N and 34°56' E (See Map 3, Gichon 1997, p.240). It lies on the eastern plain of the Ayalon Valley (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385). Nicopolis was an important market town in the region of the piedmont of Judea, during the third and fourth centuries CE (Gichon 1997, p.240; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). The site is today known as Emmaus. The city is located near Latrun, 33 kilometres north-west of Jerusalem, and is on the old road, halfway between Jaffa and Jerusalem (Avi-Yonah 1971, p.726, 1993, p.385; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159; Shanks 2008, p.46). The road was the only passage through a narrow mountain passage in the Nahal Ilan (Wadi A'lakah), which then descends into Jerusalem. This strategic position allowed the city to control traffic on the so-called Jaffa-Jerusalem road which ascends from the Coastal Plain to Jerusalem (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385). The hazardous geographical nature of the area between Emmaus and Jerusalem on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road can be seen in Map 4. This road seems to have been built during the reign of Hadrian, and the city then increased in wealth following the movement of trade goods and people to Jerusalem, in order to rebuild Jerusalem as Aelia Capitolina, following its destruction in c.135CE (Avi-Yonah 1950, pp.55, 57). The Peutinger map, which includes this road (see Map 5), was based on a fourth century Roman military road map, and thus marks its importance (Isaac 2015, p.45). This road was also of importance in the period as a passage way for pilgrims, both Christian and likely Jewish, moving from the coastal city of Jaffa and traveling to Jerusalem. Furthermore, the site of Emmaus would have been of importance to Christians on this road, as it is named as a site where Jesus appeared following his resurrection (Luke 24:13-35).



Map 3: The location of Nicopolis (Fischer 2012)



Map 4: General map of the Jaffa- Jerusalem Road (Fischer, Isaac and Roll 1996)



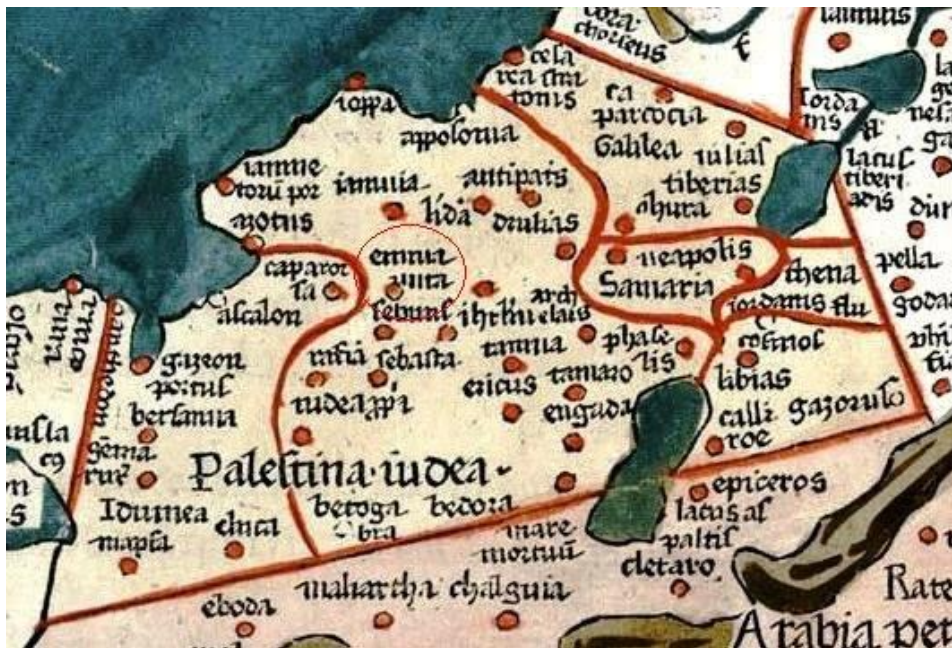
Map 5: The Peutinger map (Tabula Peutinger) showing Nicopolis.

The Talmud (written c. 4th Century CE) refers to the town as a major site in the Shephelah and as the boundary between the Central Mountain range and the Shephelah (Avi-Yonah 1971, p.727, 1993, p.385).

One ancient source, Sozomen, *EH*, V.21.67, 180 from the fifth century CE, connects the re-founding of the city of Emmaus as Nicopolis with the destruction of the Jewish Temple during the First Jewish Revolt (c. 70 CE), although archaeological remains - discussed below - disagree with this, with the town being used for holding a Roman camp still under the name of Emmaus. I wish to maintain that the name “Nicopolis” was first used in the Third Century CE and has some association with Elagabalus. For comparison, the Ptolemy Map, created in

the late first Century CE, following the First Jewish Revolt, includes the site of Nicopolis, though under its former name Emmaus (see Map 6).

The modern-day site, known as Emmaus-Nicopolis, is split into two sections, a private estate and a public park. The private estate is owned and maintained by a resident French Catholic community. The other section is part of the Canada Park which is a public picnic area of the larger Ayalon forest (Hirschfeld 1978: 86), on the junction between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.



Map 6: Ptolemy Map of Syria Palestine

Historical Overview and Discoveries

The earliest evidence for occupation at the site comes from the Persian period (c. third century BCE). It is during the Persian period that the city was called Hamthan, which means “Hot Springs” in Hebrew, referring to nearby springs (Gichon 1993, p.387, 1997, p.240; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). Throughout its history, there are various references to Emmaus being a place of fine water and healing water (Sozomen, *EH*, V.21.67.180; Avi-Yonah 1971, p.727; Gichon 1993, p.387). These references relate to the warm thermal springs and baths near the city, but the city was also surrounded by a rich fresh water source (Gichon 1993, p.387).

During the Hasmonean period (second century BCE) Nicopolis became one of the sites fortified by Bacchides in order to block the western passes from Judea (Josephus *Antiquities* 13.15; I *Maccabees* 9:50; Avi-Yonah 1971, p.726; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). In I *Maccabees* (3:40; 3:57, 4:3), Judas Maccabee won a great victory over the Seleucid army of Gorgias and Nikanor near the site in 166 BCE (see also Avi-Yonah 1971, p.726, 1993, p.385; Gichon 1997, p.240; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). Following this, Nicopolis became the regional administrative centre (*toparchy*) in the Ayalon Valley; it held this status into the middle of the First Century BCE (Josephus *Antiquities* 14.275; Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385; Gichon 1997; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). The site is also mentioned in the gospel of Luke (24:13ff), following the crucifixion and resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, when two disciples walked with the risen Lord to the city on the Sabbath day without being recognised (Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). The last mention of this site in ancient literature was by the author Eusebius in his work the *Onomasticon* (ὄνομαστικόν) 90.16, in relation to the legend of the appearance of Christ at the site (Gichon 1997, p.240; Shanks 2008, p.41).

During the First Jewish Revolt, it seems that Vespasian and Titus based the fifth Legion at Emmaus (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385; Friedheim 2002, pp.102–108; Gichon 1997, p.240; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). Following the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE Josephus wrote in *Wars* 4.444-5 that Vespasian settled the soldiers of Legio V Macedonia there, with tombstones of the soldiers found in the vicinity (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385; Gichon 1997, p.240; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). However, the archaeology is unclear as to whether both of these instances occurred at Nicopolis, or if the city was only used as a military base. The twelfth Legion of the Roman army may also have been obliterated by the Bar Kokhba rebels nearby (see also Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385; Gichon 1997, p.240).

In 130 or 131 CE, the city was destroyed by an earthquake. In 132 CE, the ruins of the Emmaus fortress were briefly restored by Judean rebels under Simon Bar Kokhba and used as a hideout during the revolt (Aharoni & Avi-Yonah 1977). Additionally, as mentioned above,

the road was likely used as a route to transport the goods needed to build Aelia Capitolina, following the destruction of Jerusalem in the same period (c. 135 CE). These factors all point to the reestablishment and flourishing of the city as an outpost on the road to Jerusalem from Jaffa. It therefore seems likely that by the time of the arrival of Elagabalus in the area, it was already established and wealthy (Avi-Yonah 1950, pp.55, 58). In 221 CE Elagabalus conferred the status of a *polis* on Emmaus, renaming it *Nikopolis-Antoninopolis*, “the city of Victory,” this administrative work was claimed to have been completed by a Christian writer, Julius Africanus, who acted as an official on behalf of Elagabalus (St Jerome *De Viris Illustribus* 63; Avi-Yonah 1971, 1993, p.385, 1977, p.115; Gichon 1997, p.240; Isaac 1998, p.298; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.126; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). An inscription discovered in Nicopolis, now held at the Latrun Monastery, preserves the name of Elagabalus and can be dated to the third century CE (Eck & Koßmann 2016, pp.234–5; Vincent & Abel 1932, pp.258, 429 drawing 109). A recent study by Ecks and Koßmann has shown, however, that this attribution is unclear, as the name in the inscription is incomplete. They note that the inscription could show the name of Elagabalus, but could as easily name Macrinus.

This change of names, as well as the association of the city with Jesus, was discussed a century later by Eusebius in *Onomasticon* 90:15-17 who wrote "Emmaus, whence was Cleopas who is mentioned by the Evangelist Luke. Today it is Nicopolis, a famous city of Palestine." The literary and archaeological evidence shows evidence of a Judean-Samaritan and later Christian coexistence in the city (Gichon 1997, p.240). The Talmud also indicates that this was an important centre for the Samaritans (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385).

In the Byzantine Period the area was unsafe due to a brigand Cyriacus, the head of a Jewish and Samaritan group (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385). Following the Arab conquest in 639 CE there was a great plague through the town and thousands died (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385).

Finally, during the Crusader Period there was a garrison of Knights Templar stationed at the site (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385).

Archaeological Overview and Discoveries

GENERAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Nicopolis' first known documentation in an archaeological sense occurs with de Saulcy, though his comments on the city were limited to coinage and the location of Nicopolis (de Saulcy 1874, pp.172–175). Rudimentary surveys of the land of Israel occurred in 1882–1888 and included the city of Nicopolis, detailing some architectural features and finds, nominally discovered in the first periods of excavations undertaken by Clermont- Ganneau (Conder 1888). Excavations of Emmaus-Nicopolis began in the 1800s, with Clermont-Ganneau excavating for a single season in 1874 (Clermont-Ganneau 1882, 1884a, 1884b; Clermont-Ganneau & Stewart 1899). Excavations recommenced almost a decade later in 1883 by J. B. Guillemot, and continued for 4 seasons until 1887 (Guillemot 1882, p.103). Excavations were then halted until the mid-1900s when Dominican Fathers L. H. Vincent and F. M. Abel excavated from 1924-1930 (Vincent & Abel 1932), Y. Hirschfeld in 1975 (Hirschfeld 1978), and M. Gichon in 1978 (Gichon 1978; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). Excavations were renewed in 1994 by Mikko Louhivuori, M. Piccirillo, V. Michel, K.-H. Fleckenstein, and these continued into the 21st century (Fleckenstein, Louhivuori & Riesner 2003; Fleckenstein 2005; Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010).

Most of the current excavations were undertaken by a Dutch team. Preliminary publications were provided by the excavators, indicating when and where the excavations had taken place as well as very basic conclusions (Fleckenstein, Louhivuori & Riesner 2003; Fleckenstein 2005). The excavations of 2001-2005 have been published (Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010). These publications show a good technical understanding and provide much-needed information. Their work had one objective - to identify and excavate the basilica (Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010, pp.123–207). The areas explored centred on this

building and they discovered evidence of the first century BCE to first century CE in the acropolis with three coins being found among many oil lamps and other indicative pottery (Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010, pp.214–257). Additionally, a cistern was discovered, which seems to have been connected to the aqueduct system (Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010, p.246). Also, many graves and a sepulchre were discovered in all excavation areas, where most published finds originated. Periods that were exposed in this very limited excavation date from the first century BCE to the first century CE, and the fourth to the seventh centuries CE.

There is more literature on the site of Emmaus, although this is rarely based on archaeological finds and instead intends to identify the site in relation to the appearance of Jesus in the area, or to the discussion of later events at the site (Shanks 2008). However, these articles have not been mentioned here as they do not relate to this study.

BATH HOUSE

Gichon excavated the southern bathhouse of Emmaus, Horvat Eked and Horvat Mesad (Gichon 1993, p.387; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). It was constructed in the third century CE and consisted of at least six rooms on a single axis. Following an earthquake, most likely that of 363 CE, it was renovated in the Byzantine Period (fifth to sixth centuries CE) (Gichon 1997, pp.240–1; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). The building at that time stood 45 feet wide, was composed of four rooms, including a *frigidarium*, *tepidarium* and *caldarium* (Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). The dating of the site indicates that the bathhouse was not constructed before the Severan Period, perhaps being built after Emmaus was made a *polis* and renamed Nicopolis during the reign of Elagabalus (Gichon 1993, p.387). As was discussed above, it seems that the city had been rebuilt before the appearance of Elagabalus, although this bathhouse would indicate that extra funds were provided to the city in the course of the reign of Elagabalus and thus it was able to be constructed (Gichon 1983, p.181). This is interesting,

considering the claims that Elagabalus undertook a great number of architectural projects in the city of Rome (*Vita Heliogabali* 17.8-9). These projects were primarily focused on founding and adding to bathhouses, though very little evidence remains (Icks 2012, p.24). Additionally, a Samaritan synagogue, dating to the third century CE, was uncovered. It contained inscribed lintels in both Greek and Samaritan and mosaic floors (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.386; Clermont-Ganneau 1884b, p.68; Conder 1888, p.63). These finds indicate a Samaritan presence in the third century CE (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385; Gichon 1997, p.240; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). Additionally, the fact that the lintels were inscribed in Greek and Samaritan are of particular interest as a true bi-lingual inscription indicates the nature of the occupants of the city. The discovery of Samaritans there is not surprising, as, following the destruction of Jerusalem, their spread became commonplace. Additionally, the city of Emmaus is rather close to Neapolis, where the Samaritan religion has its centre on Mount Gerizim, so their establishment in Nicopolis coincides with local phenomena.

The discoveries from the period of the third century CE, though scarcely published, seem to be rich. The establishment of the bathhouse indicates an influx of wealth to the population of the city, and the decoration of private buildings indicates wealthy citizens, as in Antipatris at the same time. As in Antipatris also, the public buildings seem to have been constructed in materials of such a high quality that they remained in use until a destructive earthquake in 363 CE (Gichon 1997, p.241).

Byzantine ruins include a basilica mono-apsidal church built on the foundations of a more ancient house, identified as the house of Cleophas (Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). On the ruins of this church a Crusader church was built that is still standing today (Negev & Gibson 2001, p.159). This church attracted the attention of the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem, and excavations were led by L.H. Vincent and F.M. Abel in 1924, 1925, and 1927 (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.385; Vincent & Abel 1932).

The oldest remains uncovered beneath the site's two Byzantine churches were of a fourth or fifth century CE building, possibly a *villa rustica* (Gichon 1997, p.240). There are also remains of a fifth century basilica which have been discovered (Avi-Yonah 1976, 1993; Gichon 1997, p.240). A Romanesque Crusader basilica incorporated part of this building (Avi-Yonah 1993, p.386; Gichon 1997, p.240).

In 1967, following the Six Day War, the Arab village of Imwas was destroyed and bulldozed by Israeli forces. (Gichon 1983, p.177). This Arab village was built on top of the ancient remains and its construction caused damage to the ancient remains.

AQUEDUCTS

There is evidence for three parallel aqueducts leading into the city from 'Ein Eqed (Gichon 1993, p.387). The phases of construction differ, although there is evidence of an inspection chamber with a pointed Byzantine arch on one of the aqueducts, indicating it was restored in the period (Gichon 1993, p.387, 1997, p.241; Hirschfeld 1978, p.86). It seems likely that the aqueducts would have been constructed much earlier to the Roman Period, most likely at the end of the second century or the beginning of the third century which aligns to the argument of the city's re-establishment and flourishing just before and after the reign of Elagabalus (Gichon 1993, p.387, 1997, p.241; Hirschfeld 1989, p.86). Two of these aqueducts were traced for 1.5 km by Y. Hirschfeld in 1976, on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Gichon 1993, p.387, 1997, p.241; Hirschfeld 1989, p.86). These were again partially excavated in 1984 by E. Shenev on behalf of the Jewish National Fund (Gichon 1993, p.387).

2.3 Additional History of Research

From the reign of Elagabalus there are many coins, inscriptions, papyrus texts, imperial busts and archaeological remains which provide great insight into the period of his reign (Icks 2012, p.7). The various depictions of this emperor, circulated during and after his reign, include imperial propaganda, negative propaganda by ancient authors, and a variety of

representations in modern historiography, art and literature (de Arrizabalaga y Prado 2010, p.1; Icks 2012, p.4). This section of the thesis identifies the aspects of study of Elagabalus from a Roman perspective, as well as the wider area of Syria- Palestine to indicate trends and limitations of scholarship to go alongside the history of research presented in the introduction to Antipatris and Nicopolis.

Numismatics

Studying the coins of Elagabalus is important as they show that the normal representation of Roman Emperors continued in both the iconographic and epigraphic evidence. Elagabalus evidently wanted to be recognized as a typical Roman emperor (Icks 2012, pp.72–8; Kemezis 2014, p.85). Following a recent analysis of Roman imperial coinage by Manders, the most common types of coinage fall into four categories, Military (22.5%), Divine association (21.8%), Virtues (17.4%) and *Saeculum Aureum* (19.2%). This is potentially reflected in the coinages minted in the provinces (Manders 2012, p.2. 49). Religious reforms of Elagabalus have also been questioned, with evidence showing that only 29% of his total 318 types minted at Rome had religious connotations (Manders 2012, p.51). According to the numismatic and epigraphic evidence, Elagabalus’ “religious reforms” were more about positioning himself as a certain type of ruler, rather than promoting Elagabal for his own sake. For this purpose, there are many coins depicting the boy emperor and few of the God Stone which represented Elagabal (Kemezis 2014, p.84; Rowan 2012, pp.166, 176–8).

Under Elagabalus nearly every mint in Phoenicia and Palestine was coining bronze, including some which had seldom or never worked with bronze before, including the two mints which are being studied, Antipatris and Nicopolis (Sutherland 1967). However, it has not been studied in depth. There are two main works which have attempted an in-depth study of Decapolis area mints; Spijkerman’s (1978) *The Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia*, and Lichtenberger’s (2003) *Kulte und Kultur der Dekapolis: Untersuchungen zu Numismatischen Archaeologischen und Epigraphischen Zeugnissen*. The volume of

Spijkerman, who unfortunately died prior to his work being completed, was published without his final conclusions or additions. His work was edited and compiled by Michele Piccirillo to the best of his ability, but was largely incomplete. On the other hand, the work of Lichtenberger, which stemmed from a thesis study, has presented a great amount of detail about coins from the Decapolis mints. This has been a defining feature in the study of coinage in the Decapolis cities, which was influential to the trends in the cities of Syria-Palestine. Thus, Lichtenberger's work was an important addition to this study as it has allowed an understanding of the major influencing mints in the wider social and economic area. There are also multiple studies on the coins of Antioch by Butcher. Specifically, his (2004) book *Coinage in Roman Syria: Northern Syria, 64 BCE-AD 253*, and his (2005) article in Howgego's "Coinage and Identity in the Roman provinces", entitled *Information, Legitimation, or Self-Legitimation? Popular and Elite Designs on the Coin Types of Syria*, have been of great use to the study of this current thesis, and his thorough discussions of the mints of Syria have been models for the study of the coins of Antipatris and Nicopolis, as well as those in the wider area of Syria-Palestine. These studies were all chosen as they provide an insight into the coins of the major cities in surrounding areas and, therefore, allows a thorough understanding of influencing factors on the cities of Antipatris and Nicopolis.

Ancient Sources

Three main ancient historical sources that deal with the reign and life of Elagabalus are Cassius Dio, Herodian, and the unknown author of the *Vita Heogabali*, part of the *Historia Augusta* (Icks 2012, p.2). Cassius Dio was a contemporary of Elagabalus and lived in approximately 164-229 CE (Icks 2012, p.6). Herodian was the son of an imperial freedman and worked within the imperial administration of Rome. He was likely from Western Asia Minor, and lived c. 175-255 CE; he was therefore also a contemporary of Elagabalus (Icks 2012, p.6). The final source, the *Historia Augusta* is a series of imperial biographies describing emperors from Hadrian (117 -138 CE) to Numerian (283 -284 CE) (Icks 2012,

p.7). Although studies have indicated that the work had one author, not the six it claims, scholars are still uncertain as to who this author actually was; it is sometimes credited to Aelius Lampridius (Icks 2012, pp.6–7; Marriott 1979, pp.65–77; Syme 1968, pp.211, 219). As this work was written at a later date the author relied upon Herodian and Cassius Dio as first-hand sources, which impacted the portrayal of Elagabalus (Icks 2012, p.7). Considering that the authors were contemporary with the rule of Elagabalus, or using first-hand sources, the negative portrayal of the emperor was taken as truth by early modern scholars (de Arrizabalaga y Prado 2010, pp.3–7; Hekster 2008, p.4; Icks 2012, p.2). The sources vary in their accounts of his rise to power, although they are unanimous that during the turmoil following the death of Caracalla a revolt occurred (Kemezis 2014, p.82). This revolt ultimately led to the declaration of the 14-year-old Marcus Aurelius Antoninus or, as he is commonly known, Elagabalus, as emperor (Icks 2012, p.1). Before his succession to power, he was the high priest of the local Sun God at Emesa, known as Elagabal, which was represented as a black meteorite stone, and this was the public identity by which the soldiers who raised him to power came to know him (Dio *Roman History* 79.31.2; Herodian 5.3.8; Kemezis 2014, pp.82–83). This god became central to the religious policies of Elagabalus, especially in the later years of his reign (Icks 2012, p.227). As a result, Elagabalus was seen as a threat to the traditional cults and religious offices of Rome, (Cassius Dio in *Roman History* 53.11). Though he is a relatively well-known emperor this is largely due to the negative portrayal of him by ancient historians.

Modern Commentaries.

Earlier modern historians generally accepted the opinions of ancient historians. Elagabalus was then considered a villain (Gibbon 1857; Gourmont 1903; Gualerzi 2005; Icks 2012, pp.2–3; Thompson 1972; Turcan 1985; Villeneuve 1957). More recently, there has been a change in the way scholars have approached the study of Elagabalus' reign and representation in the ancient world. A turning point in the study of Elagabalus occurs with the

work of John Stuart Hay, who undertook a psycho-analysis of the emperor and criticised the ways in which the ancient texts portrayed him (Hay 1911). However, his conclusions received a hostile reception and were overlooked for many years. (Icks 2012, p.3).

Recent publications which indicate a more critical response to the image of Elagabalus conveyed by Roman historians include Clare Rowan (2012), *Under Divine Auspices: Divine Ideology and the Visualisation of Imperial Power in the Severan Period*; Martijn Icks (2012) *The Crimes of Elagabalus*; and de Arrizabalaga y Pardo (2010) *The Emperor Elagabalus: Fact or Fiction*. These works take into consideration different aspects of Elagabalus' reign, and re-work the way in which he was perceived.

Rowan's work is focused on the numismatics of Rome, particularly coins minted during the reign of Elagabalus. She also looks very briefly into the minting trends of some of the provincial mints, strengthening her arguments. The main conclusion of Rowan is that the representation of Elagabalus as intending to turn Rome into a monotheistic Empire, stated by the ancient historians, does not align with the evidence. She argues that there is numismatic evidence which shows that Jupiter was still revered by Elagabalus during his reign until around 221 CE, when there was an addition of Elagabal onto the coins, although titles and images continued to honour Jupiter. This is an important discovery as it recasts the way which the reign of Elagabalus is to be viewed. The present investigation of two cities in the Near East aligns itself with these new studies of Elagabalus, attempting to identify the social, cultural and economic setting of the Roman empire during the reign of Elagabalus without the bias of literary sources.

Chapter 3: Antipatris and Nicopolis in Context. An Introduction to the Province of Syria-Palestine in the Severan Age.

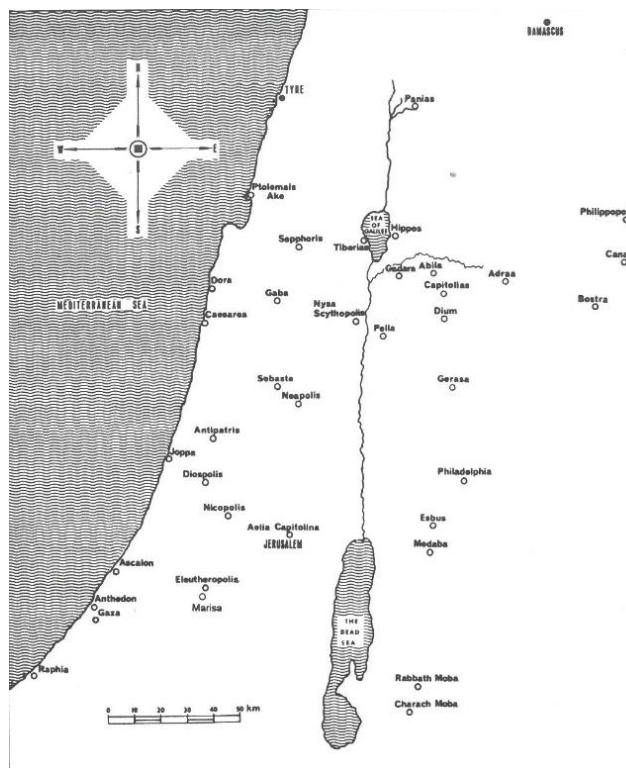
3.1 An Introduction to Judaea's Political and Economic Sphere

Geographical Overview

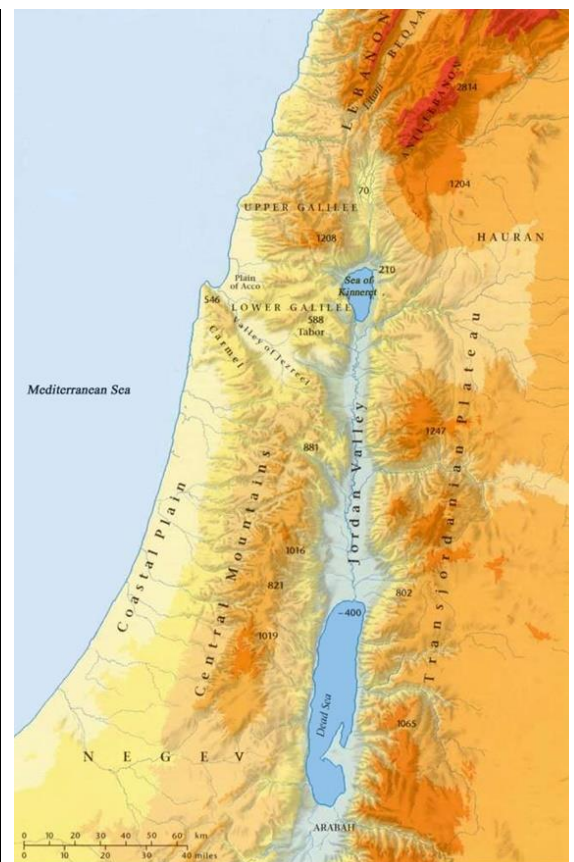
During the Severan Period, the *poleis* of Nicopolis and Antipatris were included within the Roman province of Syria-Palestine (Ofer 1997, p.253; Map 7). The province covered approximately 4,400 sq. km (Ofer 1997, p.253); during the third century CE it consisted of the Judaeian highlands (the mountains to the west of Jerusalem), the ridges of the Jordan and Jezreel valleys and the central coastal plain. The main cities in this region during the third century CE were Jerusalem, Hebron, and the three major port cities of Joppe, Caesarea Maritima and Gaza. While Jerusalem was at the heart of the province, the local topography made it relatively difficult to access (Map 8). The Benjamin and Judaeian Highlands, which are located to the north and west of Jerusalem, range from approx. 600 m above sea level to 1020 m above sea level (Isaac & Roll 1976; Ofer 1997, p.253). These are the steepest of the highlands, notoriously inhospitable and extending down the length of the province of Syria-Palestine (Kleiman 2015; Ofer 1997, p.253). To the south and east of the province lies the Judaeian desert, covering a large area of 1150 sq. km (Ofer 1997, p.253; Roll 1983).

The cities of Antipatris and Nicopolis were both located on important routes which connected Jaffa to Jerusalem, via Nicopolis, to the Mesopotamian world (via Caesarea Maritima and Jaffa) and to Egypt via Antipatris. It seems that the road which connected Caesarea Maritima to Jerusalem (via Nicopolis) was built after the reign of Hadrian (Avi-Yonah 1950, pp.55, 57; Isaac 2015, p.42; Roll 1983). However, the road that connected Antipatris to surrounding cities, the *Via Maris*, was in use from the period of the Early Bronze Age (c. 3300-3050 BCE) onwards, and remained an important means for communication and trade. The Roman version was built earlier than the rule of Hadrian (Avi-Yonah 1950, pp.55,

57). This trade route was important due to the safe travel it enabled between the empires in the far north, and those of Mesopotamia, and Egypt in the south (Roll 1996).. There were key junctions on the way that allowed travel along other major routes throughout the area, such as at Meggido, which offered a pass to the area of modern day Jordan, via the productive Jezreel Valley. The city of Antipatris similarly lay at a junction allowing trade into areas on the coast and Jerusalem. Furthermore, the primary route passed along three port cities in the province of Syria-Palestine alone (Caesarea Maritima, Jaffa and Gaza); the importance of the route for trade was paramount (Roll 1983, 1996; Tsuf 2011, pp.271–272).



Map 7: Syria Palestine in the Severan Age. (Hendin 1996, p. 310)



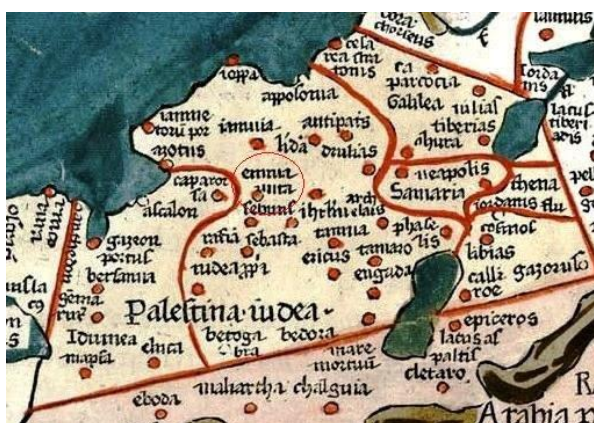
Map 8: The Topography of Israel

In his *Onomasticon*, Eusebius provides one of the earliest surviving accounts of the cities of Judaea (Isaac 1998, p.287). He lists twenty roads, with cities and towns along them, and at least eleven garrisons in the province. Eusebius wrote in c. 260CE, so the roads and

general topography of the region of Judaea must have been much the same in the Severan Period (Isaac 1998, p.288).

In addition to this literary record, there are various ancient maps. The Ptolemy Map (Map 9), created in the latter half of the second century CE, gives a good indication of the borders of the province of Syria-Palestine, when the region was still known as Palestine-Judea (Avi-Yonah 1977). The map indicates the locations (and importance) of Antipatris and Emmaus (Nicopolis).

The Madaba map (Map 10) seems to have relied on Eusebius' description of the holy land in *Onomasticon* (Avi-Yonah 1954; Isaac 1998, p.290). This map resembles the unscaled and distorted Peutinger Table (Map 11), which drew its information from the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Isaac 1998, p.290).



Map 9: A Section of the Ptolemy Map



Map 10: A Section of the Madaba Map, Jordan.



Map 11: A Section of the Peutinger Table depicting Judaea

Political Administration

The political and economic administration of the province were closely linked. The Romans allowed local governorship; their main concern was the safety of Romans, commerce and an assurance that taxes be collected to support the government's framework, including the army and those protecting the empire from foreign threats (Hall 1997, p.319). In saying that, the political and economic organisation of the province of Judaea changed dramatically throughout the period of Roman occupation. Following the death of Herod the Great in c. 4 BCE, his kingdom divided up into one ethnarchy and two tetrarchies ruled by three of his sons (Hall 1997, pp.326–8). The ruler of Judaea, Herod Archelaus, was a poor ruler and the Romans intervened again in 6CE, replacing him with the governor of the Syrian Province (Hall 1997, p.328). It was at this time that Judaea was made a Roman province and a governor, known as *praefectus Iudaeae* was installed (Hall 1997, p.328). Each of these governors, typically referred to as procurators, minted their own coins. Roman procurators ruled until 71 CE, following the First Jewish Revolt, when a Roman Legate was given charge; this system continued until 135 CE. Following the Bar Kokhba revolt in 132-135 CE, the Praetorian province of Judaea was included in the newly created province of Syria-Palestine and remained as such until the rule of Diocletian (Avi-Yonah 1950, p.59; Millar 2001, p.108; Ofer 1997, p.256).

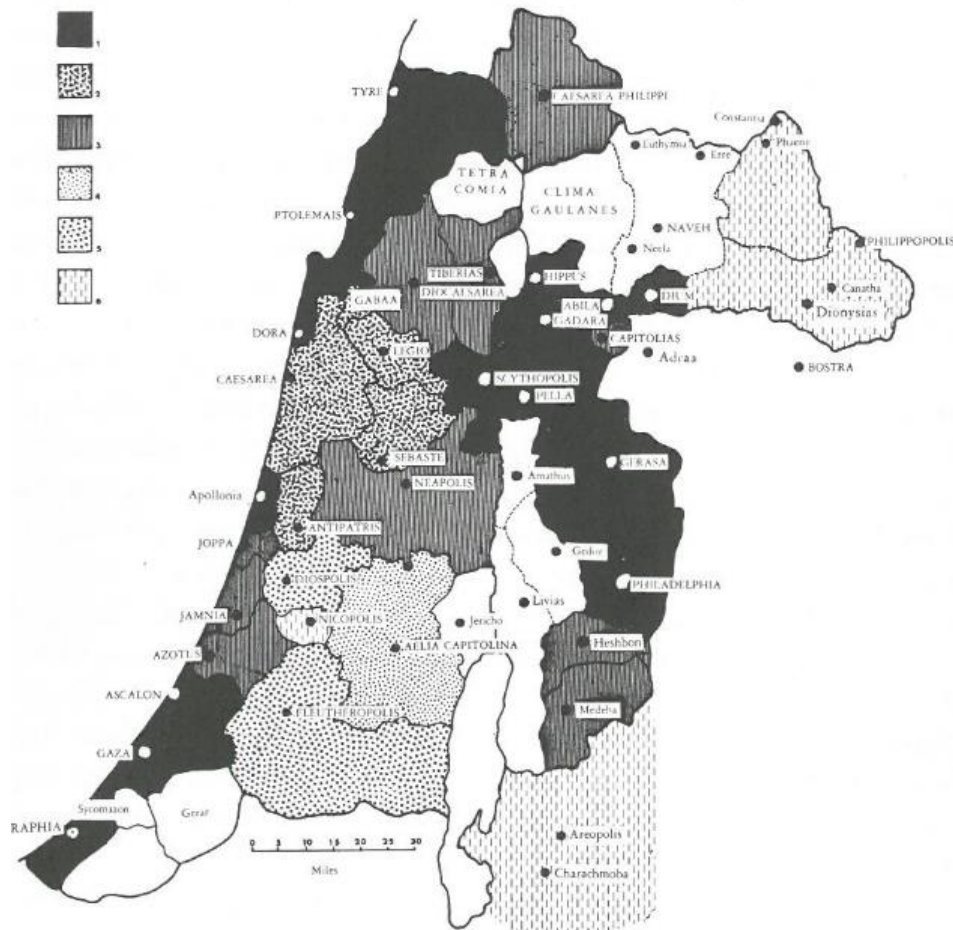
Several important cities in Judaea influenced their surrounding areas. During the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 CE) for instance, Eleutheropolis was established and went on to dominate the surrounding area. Aelia Capitolina likewise controlled its surroundings of approx. 190 acres (Avi-Yonah 1977, p.115; Ofer 1997, p.257). Eusebius describes six major cities and their territories in Judaea (Isaac 1998, p.299):

- 1) Eleutheropolis (Beth Guvrin)
- 2) Neapolis (Nablus, Shechem)
- 3) Sebaste (Samaria)

- 4) Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem)
- 5) Disopolis (Lydda, Lod)
- 6) Diocaesarea (Sepphoris)

These major cities have been discussed by Avi-Yonah (1977), who attempted to identify their spheres of influence. In Eusebius' list, he identified what he believed were the most important settlements; the port of Joppe (Jaffa), for example, was omitted (Isaac 1998, p.299). Neither Nicopolis nor Antipatris is mentioned. Avi-Yonah adds the *poleis* of Antipatris and Nicopolis to his map (Map 12) with associated surrounding areas of influence.

While the southern area of Judah remained Jewish, the population of the cities in the northern area consisted mainly of Romans, Greeks and Samaritans. This was mainly due to the death of many Jews under Hadrian and dispersion of remaining populations into the Diaspora (Eusebius *Onomasticon* IV. 6.3; Avi-Yonah 1977, pp.114, 121; Ofer 1997, p.257; Schwartz 1984, p.36).



Map 12: Major Cities and their Spheres of Influence. (Avi- Yonah 1977: 116)

Economic Administration

The topography of the interior of Judaea guaranteed that farm plots were small, with the exception of holdings in wealthy/arable areas like Jezreel and the lower Jordan Valleys (Schwartz 1984, p.42). While taxation was taken by the Romans in the form of coinage, the economy of Judaea in the early third century CE was largely an agrarian one (Butcher 2004, p.143; Crawford 1970, pp.40–8; Schwartz 1984, p.39). Josephus, *Against Apion* I. 12-60, describes the economy of the Jews as one devoted to the agricultural cultivation and

production of the country, suggesting that the Jews were not involved in maritime trade (Avi-Yonah 1977, p.188). While it is noteworthy that at the time he was writing, Judaea had maritime cities and considerable trade with other nations, Josephus in this work speaks of the Persian period, for which his statements ring true (Avi-Yonah 1977, p.188). Even today agriculture is an important part of the economy in the area. A good number of roads were built under Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus, most likely during their campaigns against the Parthian Empire (Schwartz 1984, p.46). These 'roadworks' are dated from the surviving milestones (Isaac 1978, pp.47–60). While they served an immediate beneficial use in mobilising the Roman Army, they also helped to connect the provinces and increase prosperity of trade (Schwartz 1984, p.29). These roads also aided the growth of the economy of the province of Syria-Palestine.

The coastal plain of Judaea, in which the cities of Nicopolis and Antipatris were located, is a well-watered and fertile area (Avi-Yonah 1977, p.195). The crop that was most commonly produced was barley, although there is also evidence of rich wheat fields in the region (Avi-Yonah 1977, p.195; Schwartz 1984, p.38). The northern plains were rich with vineyards, with wine production a good source of income in the late-second and early-third centuries (c. 135-235 CE) (Schwartz 1984, p.86). Figs were also cultivated in the area, and wandering cattle and goats could be used for food, with meat being a daily meal portion at the time (Avi-Yonah 1977, p.196; Schwartz 1984, p.38). The coastal cities, such as Joppa, which is located right on the sea, also made use of fishing (Avi-Yonah 1977, p.196; Schwartz 1984, p.38). Due to the proximity of the coastal region to the path of the *Via Maris*, another economic activity was the fares charged to passers-by and other trade by merchants in different cities (Avi-Yonah 1977, p.196). Tombstones found in excavations in Jaffa indicate the diversity of trades, with various named occupations, including: bakers, a dealer in textiles, a dyer, a trader in old iron, a cumin seller, a laundryman, a fisher and a paint worker (Avi-Yonah 1977, p.197).

3.2 Expected Coin Circulation

This chapter briefly examines the circulation of coins in Syria-Palestine in the third century CE. As there are no published reports of the coins found in excavations in the cities of Antipatris or Nicopolis, this larger survey is intended to provide a point of reference for the patterns of circulation that we might expect to have occurred at these sites. The approach undertaken here was demonstrated by Kenneth Sheedy at Pella, Jordan (Sheedy 2001). Sheedy compared the site finds in Pella to finds from the Amman Museum. His research indicated that there was a direct correlation between site finds and museum collections. Logically, then, coins from sites surrounding the cities, as well as hoards, will indicate the coinage that was most likely circulating through Antipatris and Nicopolis at the time, thus indicating common trends and helping to draw conclusions about trends in iconography and epigraphy. I have relied on the few hoards of the third century CE from the region, as well as archaeological reports, to help predict the circulation of coins minted at Antipatris and Nicopolis. One of the main problems in trying to reconstruct ancient coin circulation is that while one can know when a coin was minted, it is almost impossible to know how long it remained in circulation (Syon 2015, p.44). The patterns of coin use and circulation present important evidence for our understanding of local economies (Howgego 2005, p.13). Coin circulation can suggest how iconography might spread, and how it could be introduced into local contexts (Howgego 2005, p.13).

***Hoard*s**

Coins do not lose their value when the minting authority that ensured their worth has passed unless they are deliberately removed or excluded from circulation. Even bronze coins might circulate at the worth of the metal (Mildenberg 1984, pp. 86; Zissu 2010, pp. 217-222). They could also be of importance for facilitating exchange when there was no other coinage to replace them. This was the case, for example, with Hasmonean coins, which were kept in circulation from at least 135 BCE to 135 CE, and have been found together with Second

Jewish Revolt and Roman coins in hoards (see Hendin 2002, pp. 180-1; Mildenberg 1984, pp. 86; Zissu 2010, pp. 217-222). For a bronze coin, which was less circulation could be extended for a long period of time, and therefore its archaeological recovery may occur alongside much later material (Meshorer 1976, p.57; Syon 2015, p.44).

Hoard are, therefore, one of the best ways to discover circulation patterns. Hoards are defined as groups of coins (two or more) that were placed or lost in antiquity and never recovered by their owner. In either case they represent an attempt by the owner to maintain the safety of the coins (Casey 1986: 58, 66; Jones 1974: 70). Hoards may be characteristic of the coinage in circulation, as they are (often) removed from circulation as a store of wealth in tough times, typically war or other uncertainties, and their numbers may indicate coins that were common and those that were rare in circulation (Casey 1986:15). Two third century CE hoards will be discussed here; the first found in a shipwreck off the Carmel Coast of Israel and the second discovered in excavations at the site of Mamshit (Mamphis).

The first hoard was discovered as part of a shipwreck off the Carmel Coast of Israel in 1990, in close proximity to modern day Haifa. Among the coins was an Antipatris issue. It consists of roughly 162 coins (Meshorer 2010, p.111). The earliest in the hoard is a bronze coin of Augustus from the mint of Antioch (20 BCE - 14 CE). The latest are 39 bronze coins of Alexander Severus (c. 222-235 CE), immediately following the reign of Elagabalus (Meshorer 2010, p.111). From this chronological range, it was concluded that the ship sank during the reign of Severus Alexander, sometime between 230 and 235 CE, making the hoard an invaluable asset to understanding circulation and coins expected to be found in the area (Meshorer 2010, p.112). The range of the coinages dates are approximately 230 years, which, according to Meshorer (2011, p.212) was a normal span in the period. From these hoards, it seems that there was a range of coins deriving from major cities in Asia Minor such as Laodicea ad Mare. However, the highest number of provincial coins come from Akko-Ptolemais and Caesarea Maritima, most likely due to their role in local trade, both

along the coast and by land. There are Decapolis coinages in the hoards, including those of Nysa-Scythopolis, but these are in small numbers, with 20-coin examples represented. The hoard also contained a group of 68 Roman denarii with a range from Claudius to Marcus Aurelius, and with no denarii dating later than 176 CE (Meshorer 2010, p.112). There were no silver coins from the reign of Severus Alexander. This is perhaps surprising considering the large quantity of bronzes minted during his reign (Meshorer 2010, p.112). But it does reflect the composition of the hoard from Mamshit, discovered in 1966, and consisting of over 10000 Roman silver provincial coins (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1980, p.51). These older silver coins in the first hoard therefore seem to have been used in times of inflation, when the contemporary silver coins being struck had been debased and were of less value (Meshorer 2010, p.112). All the bronze coins, bar nine Roman imperial coins, were provincial issues minted in 13 local mints (Meshorer 2010: 112). The mints identified here are Caesarea Maritima (38 coins) 'Akko-Ptolemais (15 coins), Tyre (9 coins), Alexandria (5 coins) Ashqelon (3 coins), Antioch (2 coins), Caesarea Cappadocia (2 coins) Corinth, Miletus, Cyzicus, Lycia, Berytus, Antipatris and Jaffa (all 1 coin each) (Meshorer 2010, pp.112–3 table 3). It is argued by Meshorer that the coins from these mints, as well as those from Rome (77 coins) and Alexandria, tell the story of the ship's Mediterranean route between Alexandria and Rome (Meshorer 2010, p.112).

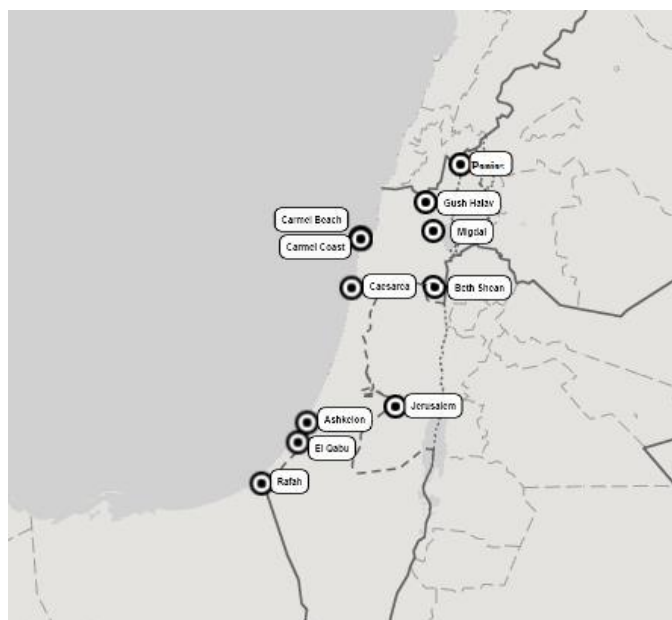
The archaeologists at Mamshit uncovered one of the largest third century hoards ever discovered. The coins were found to be packed into a bronze jar and buried (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1980, p.51). The hoard consists of 10,321 silver coins, with the earliest from the Nabatean king, Rabel II (70-106 CE) and the latest from Elagabalus (218-222 CE) (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1980, p.40). Hence, the coins are thought to have been buried in the 20s of the third century CE, during the end of the reign of Elagabalus or the beginning of the reign of Severus Alexander (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1980, p.51). The home where the hoard was found is large, and this proves its wealth. A connected stable for up to twenty horses

suggests that the owner was a horse breeder, a lucrative market due to Caracalla's Parthian campaigns. However, the peace Elagabalus made with the Parthians would have lessened the demand for such a large number of horses (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1980, p.51).

The selection of hoards here focused on those from around the reign of Elagabalus.⁵

Map 13 indicates the location of the hoard finds.

The findings of the hoard study show that the majority of coins were issued from Rome, and then from Tyre. Additionally, 123 coins came from provincial mints in the Southern Levant. The study of these hoards provides a representative example of what coins could be found in circulation during the third century CE, and what discoveries could be expected. This understanding has been significantly aided by the representation of the sites on maps indicating possible trade relations. Also clear is the longevity of coins in circulation, demonstrated with the find of a Herodian Era coin minted in the reign of Philip I (c.193 CE), discovered alongside coins of Elagabalus and Gordian III, with these rulers living over two centuries after Philip I.



Map 13: Location of Find Spot for Selected Coin Hoards

⁵ Many coin hoards have been discovered in Israel throughout the history of excavations. Recently these have been compiled and published online and can be found at <http://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>.

Archaeological Excavations

This chapter also examines the excavation reports of two archaeological sites that were major centres in the third century CE, and tries to determine what coins were commonly in circulation during this period. Sites with excavation reports that have been chosen are Nysa-Scythopolis, for a glimpse into a Decapolis city which minted many of the coins found in the hoards discussed above, and the Temple Mount excavation in Jerusalem, due to its detailed loci index.

NYSA-SCYTHOPOLIS

Nysa-Scythopolis is a Decapolis city in the southern area of the Galilee in Northern Israel. Although this is a different area geographically, the city struck Roman provincial coinage in the same way (Barkay 2003, p.15). Additionally, based on a study of the geography of the area, it is most likely that Nysa-Scythopolis had trade connections with Antipatris, whether directly, or through the port city of Caesarea Maritima (Roll 1983, 1996). Therefore it can be argued that a similar pattern of coin circulation may have existed for the two cities.

The excavation reports of Nysa-Scythopolis have been recently published and they record third century coins found in excavation. Loci 1148 had many coins found within it and was described in the excavation reports as an accumulation layer over a channel. The locus is associated with Stratum 10, which is dated to the Byzantine period, approximately 400/4-507 CE (Berman 2015, p.632).

The stratum containing most of the third century coins was Stratum 9. This stratum was identified as a Byzantine layer, dated to 507-550 CE, and identified by the archaeologists as a fill prior to a restoration of the central civic area, as well as to changes to the theatre. The coins here would, therefore, logically have been used in the central civic area and lost in the period of their use, just prior to the renovations.

Other coinage was discovered in Stratum 11, identified by the archaeologists as a Roman level stratum dating to c. 400 CE (Mazor & Atrash 2015, p.xiii). It was suggested that this layer was covered with an engineered fill following the repair of damage to the site that occurred in the earthquake of 393 CE (Mazor & Atrash 2015, p.xiii) .

The coins discovered in both strata seem to have remained in circulation until the 363 CE earthquake, and the later Byzantine restoration, demonstrating that coinage could remain in circulation for a long time, for almost a century in this case. The majority of the coins published were minted in Nysa-Scythopolis, another name for the city of Beth She'an. They do not give great insight into circulation patterns in regard to the broader area, but do demonstrate the longevity of coinage.

The coins minted at Nysa-Scythopolis were also published separately by Rachel Barkay, based on her PhD thesis (Barkay 2003, p.15). Her findings determined that the city of Nysa-Scythopolis was granted permission to mint when there was an increased need for coinage. It was her finding that most coins were produced during the Severan Age, especially during the period of Caracalla's Parthian Wars (Barkay 2003, p.29). This therefore demonstrates a clear parallel with the minting patterns of other provincial mints in the Southern Levant, including Antipatris and Nicopolis.

JERUSALEM

The excavations of Jerusalem have been undertaken by a variety of different scholars, as the result of the vast size of the city, its place in biblical history and the abundance of its archaeology. The city is relevant as it is directly connected to Nicopolis on the Jaffa – Jerusalem Road, thus sharing trade. The Temple Mount excavations, specifically, Area XV, will be discussed here. It is important to also note that, while the title of the excavation report indicates that these finds were made on the Temple Mount, the dig actually took place below it.

The remains of Area XV seem to be that of a domestic dwelling. Therefore, it seems the coins are indicative of those for domestic use and transactions. The loci chosen here from the few recorded in the excavation reports (see Meshorer 2003 pp. 109-113) were selected based upon the inclusions of a range of coinage from many periods, including the third century CE, in a proper context. For instance, discovering a coin of the First Jewish Revolt alongside a coin of both Trajan and Constantine, suggests that the earlier coins were in circulation or at least accessible for a considerable period (Meshorer 2010, p.112). Similarly, the small group of bronze coins that was discovered in the kitchen of the site are from a period that ranges approximately 350 years, although all seemed to have remained in circulation.

SYRIA

In his study of the Syria region, north of the area under study, Butcher (2004) has argued that the minting of coins came at three different levels, that is Imperial, Provincial Imperial, and Civic Provincial: Imperial coinages were minted in Rome and were accepted as legal tender throughout the Empire; Imperial Provincial coins were minted on behalf of the Emperor in provincial cities; and Civic Provincial coinages were minted in cities within provinces and had a limited area of circulation (Butcher 2004, p. 17-18). Butcher notes that all three can be seen in circulation in the area of Syria. This conclusion seems to be reflected in the hoard finds and coins from excavations in the Southern Levant.

It is the opinion of Butcher (2004, p.15) that Roman imperial bronze coins did not play a large role in the economy of Asia and Syria. This conclusion, based on the hoards and excavation reports discussed above, rings true for the area of Judea in the third century CE. What has been established is that hoards commonly represented coinage from a wide geographical distribution of mints, and contained both Imperial, Imperial Provincial, and Civic Provincial coins (Butcher 2004, pp. 216-218). This seems to be reflected in the coins

found in excavations of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem and Nysa- Scythopolis (Syon 2015, p.44).

CAESAREA MARITIMA AND JAFFA

Considering that Antipatris and Nicopolis were both on major trade routes, the importance of the economic trading hubs, i.e. port cities, needs to be investigated. Caesarea Maritima is on the northern coast of Israel, next to the Carmel Mountains. It was the artificial harbour, constructed by Herod the Great, which became a hub of commercial and economic activity, especially throughout the first century CE (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.24). It has been argued by Ariel (2002, pp.122–3) that the first coins minted in Caesarea Maritima commemorated the city's establishment. The coins of this city are easily identified and appear throughout the area of Syria-Palestine, as demonstrated in the above study of hoards.

Jaffa (also Joppa or Yafo) is similarly located on the Coastal Plain of Israel, within modern day Tel-Aviv. The coins of the site have not, as yet, been studied in full, but their importance is paramount to this thesis, as this was the closest port city for both Antipatris and Nicopolis. In Jaffa multiple salvage excavations were undertaken (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.46). A survey was undertaken using published collections and sales catalogues where possible, and a discussion of the coins by Ecker (2010) was taken into account. While the earliest coinage attributed to this site was minted in gold, silver and bronze in the Ptolemaic period (c. 285-246 CE), there was a four-hundred-year hiatus until the next attributable period of minting under Caracalla (c. 198-217 CE) (Ecker 2010, p.158; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, pp.46–47). Minting then continued throughout the Severan Age, but ceased during, or following, the reign of Severus Alexander (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, pp.45–7). This is an important contrast with other sites of Syria-Palestine, as it suggests that during the Severan Age most cities were minting, giving possible reason as to why Antipatris and Nicopolis felt compelled to do likewise.

3.3 Cult and Culture in the Southern Levant

Howgego (2005, p.2) argued that cultures use their coinage to express their identity. Although there are exceptions to this ‘rule,’ it seems that this applied to the province of Syria-Palestine during the third century CE, with local gods common on provincial coinage in the East (Howgego 2005, p.3). It therefore stands to reason that the introduction of different cults at local levels, especially in the port cities of Jaffa and Caesarea, is beneficial to understanding the numismatics of Nicopolis and Antipatris.

Regarding the reign of Elagabalus, there are clear changes in the main cults and gods, with Elagabalus transporting the sun god Elagabal to Rome. Although there has been much debate covering Elagabalus’ motives in this act, this god clearly features on the coins of Rome, especially later in his reign (Icks 2012, p.18). What can be noted is that certain cities, especially Decapolis cities, also depict the sun god Elagabal on their coins, especially on those of Syria, from where Elagabalus originated (Butcher 2004, 2005; Kemezis 2014, p.83). However, Rowan argues that the cities were under not influenced by the emperor (Rowan 2012, p.166; 176-8). Therefore, it can be argued that, while it was common for the obverse of coins to depict the emperor, reverses usually featured local deities (Heuchert 2005, p.48). Civic (or city) cults were those that were officially endorsed by the city and their gods were depicted on coins, with the name sometimes included within the city’s name. Every city appears to have a defining cult by the second century CE (Ecker 2017, pp.69–70). It is generally assumed that the *boule*, or another civic body dominated by the civic elite, agreed on the motifs that were portrayed on coinage (Lichtenberger 2017, p.197). As a result, the coins of the cities, especially the reverses, were representations of civic pride.

It is argued by Kennedy (2007, p.180) that there was an increased need for animals to be sacrificed following Pliny the Younger’s (61-113 CE) persecution of local Bithynian Christians (*Epistulae* 10.96.10). It would also seem that there was an element of active

participation in cult worship in this period, especially in the huge temples of Zeus and Artemis, which are evident in the Near East, including at Geresia (Kennedy 2007, p.181). Additionally, the writings of the Christian Luke (see *Acts* 19:23) indicate that there was a strong trade in selling metal statues/replicas of the city deity (Kennedy 2007, p.181). This would suggest the importance of cult and the ability of cult practices to spread through the area. The fifth century CE historian Zosimus (I.58) likewise indicates the kind of offerings that could be expected, including cloth, silver and gold (Kennedy 2007, p.181). This source also shows that it was cities which sent delegations to temples to offer these goods. Similarly, in the third century CE, Herodian (V.3.4) reports that priests around Emesa were sent as delegations with offerings to the great temple of the sun god Elagabal (Kennedy 2007, pp.181–2).

Following the arrival of Alexander the Great in the Southern Levant, the presence and spread of ‘pagan’, Jewish, Samaritan and Christian cults and practices were all felt in the Southern Levant (Tal & Weiss 2017, p.xvii). These cults interacted with one another but held their own identity formally. It was not uncommon for local gods to have Greco – Roman style temples and iconographical symbols identified with them. The religious traditions of many cities reflect both east and west traditions (Bricault 2006, p.123; Tal & Weiss 2017). The largest and most influential cities of the area of Syria- Palestine were part of the Decapolis. According to Lichtenberger’s (2003) the numismatic evidence available to us suggests the following main cults in the Decapolis cities (*ref.* Table 2).

Table 2: Evidence of Cults within the Decapolis Cities, Based upon Numismatic Finds

Hippos	Zeus and Hera, and Tyche
Dion	Zeus, Tyche, and Athena
Abila	Tyche, Herakles, Athena, and Selukos (?)
Gadara	Tyche, Herakles-Melqart, Athena, Zeus, Male bust, Naumacha, The Graces

Kapitolias	Tyche, Zeus, Demeter and Kore, Dionysos, Alexander the Great
Nysa- Scythopolis	Gabinius, Nike, Dionysos and Kries, Tyche, Zeus, Demeter and Kore
Pella	Tyche, Nike, Temple of the Acropolis, Nymphen, Athena, Apollo, Esesmun, Herakles (?)
Gerasa	Artemis, Tyche, Zeus, Alexander the Great
Philadelphia	Athena, Herakles – Melqart, Tyche, Demeter, Nike, Asteria, Dioskuri

These Decapolis city cults appear to have had a major influence over the area. The inclusion of Serapis on the coins of Decapolis and surrounding cities was argued by scholars such as Bricault to have been caused by the strong presence of a public cult in that area (Bricault 2006, p.126). This was not uncommon for the age, as the Egyptian god was closely associated with Isis, whose cult spread through Greece and Rome from the Caesarean Period. Later, Serapis became connected with Zeus Heliopolis (?). The cult of Serapis was associated with abundance and resurrection. Coins may even have been an important contributor to the spread of Egyptian cults within the region (Bricault 2006, p.123). Alongside the coins of Antipatris, cities minting coins with the depiction of Egyptian deities in the Southern Levant include Ascalon, Disopolis, Eleutheropolis, Neapolis, Raphia, Tiberias, Caesarea Maritima, Aelia Capitolina and ‘Akko Ptolemais (Bricault 2006, p.123). “The strong identification between Jupiter and Serapis dating from the ascendancy of the Flavian dynasty resulted in the appearance of Serapis as a Roman divinity, protector of the emperor and, by extension, of the empire” (Bricault 2006, p.127). In Caesarea, the deities associated with Isis were commonly depicted (as we can see from finds in a shrine in the hippodrome) on various media (inscriptions, reliefs, gems, coinage) (Belayche 2006, pp.458–463; Bricault 2001, p.75, 2006, p.127).

Temple depictions on the coins of cities of the Southern Levant are important indicators of cult (Lichtenberger 2017, p.197). However, the number of temples depicted on the coins does not correlate with those discovered on site, and depictions of multiple temples can sometimes show the buildings in two different ways; this has led archaeologists and numismatists to believe that they are not true depictions (Lichtenberger 2017, pp.197–8). From the period of Bar Kokba (133-135 CE), it was common for temples to be depicted on locally minted coinage, with the famous silver tetradrachms of the Bar Kokhba revolt depicting a no longer extant Temple of Jerusalem (Lichtenberger 2017, p.198). One of the most common depictions of the temples includes the figure of a Tyche (Lichtenberger 2017, p.215). These are depicted so commonly that it is believed that they are not depictions of various temples, but were instead generic or symbolic (Lichtenberger 2003, pp.299–301, 2017, p.215). It is interesting to compare the different purposes for minting coins in Rome bearing depictions of buildings, with those for the depiction of buildings by mints in the eastern provinces. In Rome, the production of coins with a temple was more often connected to an event, such as the dedication or restoration of a building. However, in the east their inclusion on coins seems to be an allusion to the cult in general (Howgego 2005, p.4; Price & Trell 1977).

Chapter 4: The Catalogue of Antipatris

All coins Bronze (AE).

This catalogue has been organised according to reverse types, as this format makes their identification and grouping easily understandable. Within this, each reverse type is organised in order of obverse dies first, and then the variations of the reverse types.

Table 3: The Obverse and Reverse Types of Antipatris

Obverse of Elagabalus	
Type 1: Two Tetrastyle temples	Cat. <i>Ant.</i> 1
Type 2: Temple on Acropolis	Cat. <i>Ant.</i> 2
Type 3: Tyche in Tetrastyle Temple	Cat. <i>Ant.</i> 3- 15
Type 4: Bust of Zeus	Cat. <i>Ant.</i> 16
Type 5: Bust of Sarapis	Cat. <i>Ant.</i> 17, 18
Type 6: Emperor in Military Dress Sacrificing	Cat. <i>Ant.</i> 19-21
Type 7: Pallas Athene	Cat. <i>Ant.</i> 22
Type 8: Reclining River God	Cat. <i>Ant.</i> 23
Obverse: Julia Maesa	
Type 8: Reclining River god	Cat. <i>Ant.</i> 24
Type 9: Three Temple	Cat. <i>Ant.</i> 25

ELAGABALUS (218-222 CE)

Obverse Type 1: Laurate bust of Elagabalus r., wearing paludamentum and cuirass; dotted border; around from left, AVT K M AVP ANTWNINOC

Reverse Type 1: Two Tetrastyle temples facing each other; front steps; connected by an arch (arcade?); in exergue M AVP ANT/ANTIIIA/TPIC.

Cat No.	Die No.	Die description
1	O1	<i>Obv:</i> Around from left AVT K M AVP ANTWNINOC.
	R1	<i>Rev:</i> Two Tetrastyle temples. Sestertius: a) * 18.35g 27mm —. Kindler <i>Antipatris</i> 1; Kindler <i>City coins</i> 1; Meshorer <i>City Coins Antipatris</i> 150.

Reverse Type 2: Temple on acropolis, shown from side facing r.; on right, stairway leading up to the acropolis; AN.

2	O1	<i>Obv:</i> Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.
	R2	<i>Rev:</i> Temple on Acropolis As: a) *9.52g 26mm —. — Kindler <i>Antipatris</i> 5, Kindler <i>City Coins</i> 5.

Reverse Type 3: Tetrastyle temple with central arch; within Tyche standing l., wearing chiton and holding bust in l. hand and spear in r.; r. foot on object; below, swimming figure of river god; in exergue, ANTIII.

3	O1	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.
	R3	<i>Rev</i> : Tetrastyle temple with Tyche. Half Semis: a) * 7.51g 18mm —. <i>Heritage</i> , 357 (2004) 12131.
4	O2	<i>Obv</i> : CMAI []
	R3	<i>Rev</i> : Tetrastyle temple with Tyche; as above. Half Semis: a) * 7.31g — —. <i>NAC</i> 64 (2012) 1884. Semis: b) 4 g 16.8mm ↑. Rosenberger <i>Antipatris</i> 1. c) 3.98g — ↗. <i>Gemini</i> VII (2011) 857. d) 4g 16mm ↑. <i>Heritage</i> , 3005 (2009) 22936. e) 4.45g, 17mm, ↓, Jerusalem 154112; Hendin <i>Biblical Coins</i> 823. f) 5.442g, 19mm —. Jerusalem 39898. g) 4.6g 15mm ↑. Jerusalem 47116; Bijovsky <i>Coins</i> 44. h) 5.13 15mm ↓. Jerusalem 47081, Bijovsky <i>Coins</i> 43. Uncertain size: i) — — —. Tel Aviv private collector (1).
5	O2	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.
	R4	<i>Rev</i> : Figures between intercolumniation (Nike?); in exergue, AN. Dupondius: a) * 10.99g 23.5mm ↗. Sydney private collection. Half Semis: b) 6.5g — —. <i>Helios</i> 3 (2009) 750.

6	O2 R5	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: No figure of river god present; in exergue, ANTI.</p> <p>Half Semis:</p> <p>a) 6g 17mm —. Van der Vliet, <i>Monnaies</i>, 12.</p> <p>b) * 7.23g — —. Meshorer, <i>Holy Land</i>, Antipatris 4.</p>
7	O2 R6	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus r. as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Figures between intercolumniation (Nike?); in exergue, AN.</p> <p>As:</p> <p>a) *9.5 g 20.5mm ↑. Tel Aviv K4197.</p> <p>b) 9.72g 23mm ↗. Sydney private collection.</p>
8	O2 R7	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: In exergue, AN</p> <p>Semis:</p> <p>a) 6.8g 17.5mm ↖. Sydney private collection.</p> <p>Uncertain weight:</p> <p>b) * — — —. Head <i>Historia Numorum</i> 14</p>
9	O3 R4	<p><i>Obv</i>: CMAI [].</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Tetrastyle temple with Tyche; figures in intercolumniation as above.</p> <p>As:</p> <p>a) 9.64g — ↑. <i>BMC</i> Antipatris 7.</p> <p>b) 9.49g — —. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> 3.</p> <p>c) * 9.32g 23mm ↗. London 19080110.860.</p> <p>Half Semis:</p> <p>d) 6.87g — ↓. <i>SNG</i> Meshorer 635.</p> <p>e) 7.05g 21.5mm ↖. Tel Aviv K6276.</p>
10	O3 R5	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus to r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Tetrastyle temple with Tyche in centre; as above.</p> <p>As:</p> <p>a) 9.64g 24mm —. Kindler <i>Antipatris</i> 4a, Kindler <i>City Coins</i> 4a.</p> <p>Uncertain weight</p> <p>b) * — — —. Kadman <i>Coins in Palestine</i> pl 18. 1.</p>

11	O3 R6	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus to r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Tetrastyle temple with Tyche.; as above.</p> <p>As:</p> <p>a) * 9.54g 22.5mm ↓. Tel Aviv K65225.</p> <p>b) 9.52g 20mm ↓. Sydney Private Collection.</p>
12	O3 R7	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus to r.; as above. (?)</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Tetrastyle Temple with Tyche; as above. (?)</p> <p>Uncertain weight</p> <p>a) * Tel Aviv Private Collector (2).</p>
13	O4 R3	<p><i>Obv</i>: CMAI []</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Tetrastyle temple with Tyche; as above.</p> <p>Half Semis:</p> <p>a) * 7.65g 18.1mm ↓. <i>Heritage</i> 3018 (2012) 20352.</p> <p>b) 6.46g — ↗. <i>Gemini</i> VII (2011) 858.</p> <p>Semis:</p> <p>c) 5.02g 16mm ↓. Kadman, <i>Aelia</i> pl. X 120.</p> <p>d) 5.02g 26mm ↓. Jerusalem 95708; <i>Mazar Temple Mount</i>, p. 182 n. 8.</p> <p>e) 5.35 g 18 mm ↙. <i>Sternberg</i> 6 (11/1976) 519.</p> <p>f) 5.48g 18.2mm ↓. Sydney private collection.</p> <p>g) 5.43g — —. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> 5.</p> <p>h) 4.86g — —. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> 6.</p> <p>i) 5.71g 16.7mm ↑. Tel Aviv K65226.</p> <p>j) 5.54g 22.3mm ↑. Tel Aviv K65223.</p> <p>k) 5.8g 19mm —. Kindler <i>Antipatris</i> 4c, Kindler <i>City Coins</i> 4c.</p> <p>Uncertain weight:</p> <p>l) — — —. Tel Aviv Private Collector (1).</p>
14	O4 R4	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus to r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Tetrastyle temple with Tyche; as above.</p> <p>Half Semis:</p> <p>a) * 8.76 gr 21mm ↓. <i>CNG</i> 82 (2009) 880.</p> <p>b) 7.2g 23.5mm —. Kindler <i>Antipatris</i> 4b, Kindler <i>City Coins</i> 4b.</p> <p>c) 6.82g 13mm ↑. Sydney private collection.</p>

15	O4	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Elagabalus to r.; as above.
	R5	<i>Rev</i> : Tetrastyle temple with Tyche; as above. Dupondius: a) * 11.04 g 24mm —. Jerusalem 50963, <i>BMC Antipatris</i> no 4.

Reverse Type 4: Laurate and draped bust of Zeus r.; M AVP ANTIIIATPIC.

16	O1	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.
	R8	<i>Rev</i> : Bust of Zeus. Sesterius: a) 18.4g 26.8mm -. <i>CNG</i> 2012.71.64. Dupondius: a) * 12.70 g 25mm ↑. <i>Heritage</i> 3003 (2012) 20567. b) 14.17g 27mm —. <i>Kindler Antipatris</i> 2, <i>Kindler City Coins</i> 2. Semis c) 5.1g 19mm —. <i>Flekenstein Emmaus- Nicopolis</i> p. 257 (?).

Reverse Type 5: Draped bust of Sarapis r., with *kalathos*.

17	O2	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.
	R9	<i>Rev</i> : Around, AVPANT ANTIIIATPIC. Half semis: a) *6.52 g 20mm ↑. Jerusalem 51140, <i>Kindler Antipatris</i> 7a, <i>Kindler City Coins</i> 7a.
18	O2	<i>Obv</i> 2: Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.
	R10	<i>Rev</i> 4: Similar to R3.; M AVPANT ANTIIIATPIC Half Semis: a) * 6.35g 20mm —. <i>HU</i> 1278, <i>Kindler City Coins</i> 7.

Reverse Type 6: Emperor in military dress standing r., sacrificing on altar l.; arch in upper l.;
M AVP ANT ANTIIIATPIC.

19	O1 R11	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Emperor sacrificing.</p> <p>As:</p> <p>a) * 9.0g ——. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> 2.</p>
20	O2 R11	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Emperor sacrificing; as above.</p> <p>Half Semis:</p> <p>a) * 6g 25mm ——. Van der Vliet <i>Monnaies</i> 11.</p>
21	O3 R11	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus to r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Emperor sacrificing; as above.</p> <p>Dupondius:</p> <p>a) * 11.23 g 26.2mm ↑. Tel Aviv K65224.</p> <p>b) 14.8g 26mm ——. Kindler <i>Antipatris</i> 3, Kindler <i>City Coins</i> 3.</p>

Reverse Type 7: Pallas Athena standing r.; l. hand resting on spear; r. hand bent onto hip holding shield resting on r. leg; wearing long chiton and peplos.

22	O2 R12	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Pallas Athena standing r.</p> <p>Half Semis:</p> <p>a) * 7.2 g 20.7mm ↑. Rosenberger <i>Antipatris</i> 2, Kindler <i>Antipatris</i> 6, Kindler <i>City Coins</i> 6.</p>
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Reverse Type 8: River god reclining l.; around, fish swimming; below, stream of water; ANTIPATRIC.

23	O1 R13	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: River god.</p> <p>Dupondius:</p> <p>a) * 12.98g ——. Meshorer <i>New Coins</i> 1, Meshorer <i>Holy Land Antipatris</i> 1.</p> <p>b) 12.37g ——. Kindler <i>Antipatris</i> 8, Kindler <i>City Coins</i> 8.</p> <p>Half Semis:</p> <p>c) 8.2 g 21mm ——. Tel Aviv K652440.</p>
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		c) 6.5g 214mm ↑. Rosenberger <i>Antipatris</i> 3a. d) 5.9g 18.3mm ↑. Rosenberger <i>Antipatris</i> 3b.
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JULIA MAESA

Obverse Type 2: Draped bust of Julia Maesa r.; over neck rectangular countermark depicting head, r.; IOVAIA MAICA CEB.

Reverse Type 8: Repeat of River god.

24	O5	<i>Obv</i> : Similar to O5.
	R13	<i>Rev</i> : River god reclining l.; as above. Half Semis: a) * 8.67g — —. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> 8.

Reverse Type 9: Two podium temples on acropolis slope facing each other and connected by arch (arcade?); at top and centre, a facing temple; in exergue, [M] AYP ANT[I]/ ΠATPIC.

25	O6	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Julia Maesa.
	R14	<i>Rev</i> : Three temples on acropolis. Dupondius: a) * 13.02g 23mm ↑. Meshorer <i>New Coins</i> 2. As: b) 9.57g — —. Meshorer <i>Holy Land Antipatris</i> 9.

Table 4: Dies on the Coins of Antipatris by Obverse Number

Obverse	Reverse	Cat no.
1	1	1
1	2	2
1	3	3
1	8	16
1	11	19

1	13	23
2	3	4
2	4	5
2	5	6
2	6	7
2	7	8
2	9	17
2	10	18
2	11	20
2	12	22
3	4	9
3	5	10
3	6	11
3	7	12
3	11	21
4	3	13
4	4	14
4	5	15
5	14	25
6	13	24

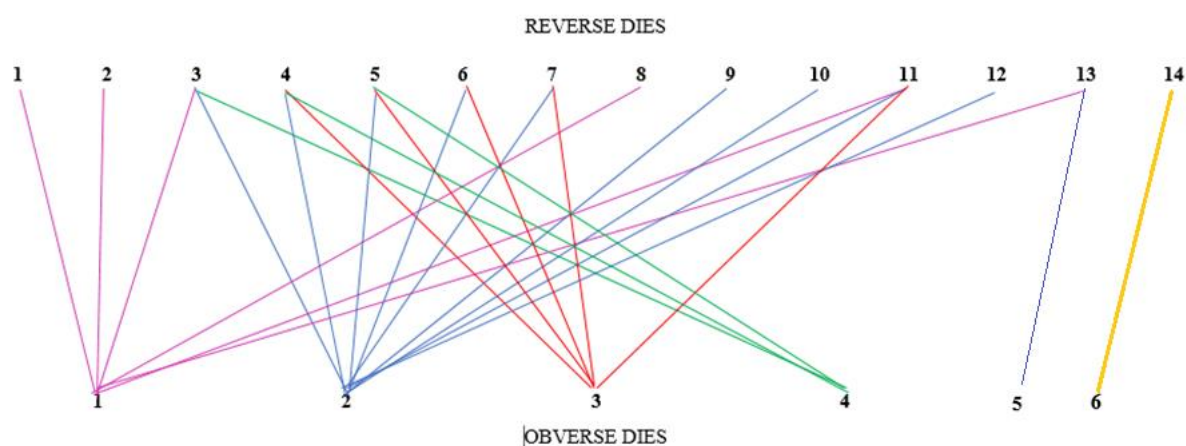


Figure 1: Die Chart of the Coins of Antipatris

Table 5: Dies of Antipatris by Denominations

Sestertius:

Obverse Dies	Reverse Dies	Cat no	Reverse type
1	1	1a	Double tetrastyle temples facing

Dupondius:

2	4	5a	Tyche in temple façade
4	5	15a	Tyche in temple façade
1	8	16a, 16b	Bust of Zeus
3	11	21a, 21b	Emperor sacrificing on altar
1	13	23a, 23b	Reclining river god
5	14	25a	Three temples

As:

1	2	2a	Temple atop acropolis
2	6	7a	Tyche in temple façade
3	4	9a—c	Tyche in temple façade
3	5	10a	Tyche in temple façade
3	6	11a	Tyche in temple façade

1	11	19a	Emperor sacrificing on altar
5	14	25b	Three temples

Half Semis:

1	3	3a	Tyche in temple façade
2	3	4a	Tyche in temple façade
2	4	5b	Tyche in temple façade
2	5	6 a, 6b	Tyche in temple façade
3	4	9d, 9e	Tyche in temple façade
4	3	13a, 13b	Tyche in temple façade
4	4	14a, 14b	Tyche in temple façade
2	9	17a	Bust of Sarapis
2	10	18a	Bust of Sarapis
2	11	20a	Emperor sacrificing on altar
2	12	22a	Pallas Athena
1	13	23c—e	Reclining river god
5	13	25a	Reclining River god

Semis:

2	3	4b—h	Tyche in temple facade
4	3	13c—k	Tyche in temple façade

Uncertain weight:

2	3	4i	Tyche in temple facade
2	7	8a	Tyche in temple façade
3	5	10b	Tyche in temple façade
3	7	12a	Tyche in temple façade
4	3	13l	Tyche in temple façade

Chapter 5: The Catalogue of Nicopolis

All coins are Bronze (AE)

The coins of Nicopolis are here organised according to reverse types for ease of understanding and clarity. Within the reverse types, the coins are organised by obverse types and then by reverse. A simplified version of the obverse and reverse types can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6: The Obverse and Reverse Types of Nicopolis

Obverse of Elagabalus	
Type 1: Eagle holding Wreath	Cat. <i>Nic.</i> 1- 6
Type 2: Tyche in Tetrastyle Temple	Cat. <i>Nic.</i> 7-15
Type 3: Bust of Tyche	Cat. <i>Nic.</i> 16
Type 4: Unidentified Deity	Cat. <i>Nic.</i> 17
Type 5: Nike	Cat. <i>Nic.</i> 18, 19

ELAGABALUS (218-222CE)

Obverse Type 1: Radiate bust of Elagabalus r, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; ribbon (this is the diadem- *cf* iconography) tied at the back of head; MAVANTWNINO CEB.

Reverse Type 1: Eagle with spread wings supporting wreath with medallion at top; within NCI/KOΠO/ΛIC.

Cat No.	Die No.	Die description
1	O1 R1	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Emperor r. <i>Rev</i> : Eagle facing r. l.; Sestertius: a) 17.06g - -. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> Nicopolis 1, Meshorer <i>City Coins</i> 159. Dupondius

		<p>b) *15.26g 26mm ↓. London 1840,1226.324.</p> <p>c) 14.29g 25.5mm ↓. London 19080110.2177.</p> <p>Uncertain weight:</p> <p>d) - 26mm -. Hendin <i>Biblical Coins</i> 262.</p> <p>e) - 25mm -. De Saulcy <i>Numismatique</i> p 175.</p>
2	O1 R2	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Emperor r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Eagle with head l.; wreath made of 3 leaves; within NEI/KOHOAIC; around [M AV] ANTWNIA; flanking eagle EB.</p> <p>Sestertius:</p> <p>a) *18.14g - -. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> 2.</p> <p>Dupondius:</p> <p>b) 13.28g - ↑. <i>SNG</i> Meshorer 1043.</p>
3	O1 R3	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Emperor r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Eagle, head r.; within NIKO/ ΠΟΙΑC; around ANTWNINI ANH; between eagle legs [E] B.</p> <p>Dupondius:</p> <p>a) 12.1g 24.8mm ↑. — Rosenberger <i>Nicopolis</i> 4.</p> <p>b) *15.48g 25mm -. Jerusalem 50964</p>
4	O1 R4	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Emperor r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Eagle head l.; within NEI / ΚΟΠΙΟ / ΑΙC; around NTWNI NEI – ΚΟΠΙΟΛΕWC; date flanking eagle, E B.</p> <p>Dupondius:</p> <p>a) *16.07g 28mm -. <i>Gemini</i> VI (2010) 744.</p> <p>Uncertain weight:</p> <p>b) - - -. Meshorer <i>City Coins</i> 159.</p>
5	O2 R1	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Emperor r.;</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Eagle r.; as above.</p> <p>Dupondius:</p> <p>a) *15.2g 28.7mm ↓. Rosenberger <i>Nicopolis</i> 5.</p> <p>b) 15.27g - ↓. <i>BMC</i> <i>Nicopolis</i> 6.</p> <p>c) 14.29g - ↓. <i>BMC</i> <i>Nicopolis</i> 7.</p>
6	O2 R4	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Eagle l.; as above.</p> <p>Dupondius:</p>

		a) * 14.32g - -. Paris (<i>BnF</i>) Y28647.
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Reverse Type 2: Tetrastyle temple with pediment and central arch; within Tyche standing l., with turreted crown, wearing short chiton, and holding bust r. and spear to l.; r. foot resting on object (prow?); AYANTWNI

7	O1 R5	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Emperor r.; as above. <i>Rev</i> : Below temple floor, E B. Dupondius: a) 13.75g - -. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> Nicopolis 4. b) 10.20g - -. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> Nicopolis 5. As: c) 9.97g - -. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> Nicopolis 6.
8	O1 R6	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Emperor r.; as above. <i>Rev</i> : Below, river god swimming; around, ANTNI KOΠOΛIC; below temple floor, E B. Dupondius: a) 11g 24mm -. Van der Vliet <i>Monnaies</i> 18. b) * 10.38g 24mm ↓. London 19080110.2179. c) 10.28g 20mm ↓. <i>CNG</i> 315 (2013) 273.
9	O1 R7	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Emperor r.; as above. <i>Rev</i> : R. foot on prow; NINI...NW NIKOΠOΛIC; in exergue E B. Dupondius: a) *12.24g 24.5mm ↓.
10	O1 R8	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Emperor r.; as above. <i>Rev</i> : Below, river god swimming; in intercolumniation, E B. As: a) *9.0 gm 22.2mm ↓. Rosenberger <i>Nicopolis</i> 1.
11	O2 R5	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above. <i>Rev</i> : Tetrastyle temple with Tyche; as above. As: a) *9.24g 24mm ↙. <i>Gemini</i> VII (2011) 870.
12	O2 R7	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above. <i>Rev</i> : Tetrastyle temple with Tyche; as above.

		<p>Dupondius:</p> <p>a) *11.04g 24mm ↙. Jerusalem 50963.</p> <p>As:</p> <p>b) 8.24g 24mm ←. <i>Heritage</i> 3003 (2012) 20668.</p>
13	O2 R8	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Tetrastyle temple with Tyche; as above.</p> <p>As:</p> <p>a) 9.5g 21mm -. Van der Vliet <i>Monnaies</i> 18.</p> <p>b) *9.73g - -. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> 3.</p>
14	O3 R5	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Emperor r.; NEINOCCEB.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Tetrastyle temple with Tyche; as above.</p> <p>Dupondius:</p> <p>a) * 10g 23.5mm ↑. Rosenberger <i>Nicopolis</i> 2.</p>
15	O4 R8	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Emperor r.; [MAVANTW]NINOCCEB.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Tetrastyle temple with Tyche; as above.</p> <p>Dupondius:</p> <p>a) * 10.15g - ↓. <i>SNG</i> Meshorer 1044.</p>

Reverse Type 3: Turreted and draped bust of Tyche l.; around, ANTWNINOC A.

16	O2 R9	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Elagabalus r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Bust of Tyche.</p> <p>Dupondius:</p> <p>a) *10.98g - -. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> <i>Nicopolis</i> 8.</p> <p>b) 10.5g 23.1mm ↓. Rosenberger <i>Nicopolis</i> 6.</p>
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Reverse Type 4: Unidentified deity standing, facing; object (crown?) on head; flanked by bulls' torsos on l. and r.; l. hand raised, holding object; r. hand lowered; R. M. AV. ANTWN. NIKOΠOΛIC; flanking, E B

17	O1 R10	<p><i>Obv</i>: Bust of Emperor r.; as above.</p> <p><i>Rev</i>: Unidentified deity.</p> <p>As:</p> <p>a) 9.28g - ↓. <i>BMC</i> <i>Nicopolis</i> 5.</p> <p>b) 8.2g 22mm ↑. Rosenberger <i>Nicopolis</i> 3.</p>
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		c) *9.28g 21mm ↓. London 1908,0110.2178. Half Semis: d) 7.69g - -. Meshorer <i>Holy Land</i> Nicopolis 7. Uncertain Weight: e) - - -. Meshorer <i>City Coins</i> 160. f) - - -. Sear <i>GIC</i> 3128.
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Reverse Type 5: Winged Nike standing l.; each foot resting on a globe; holding wreath to r.;
around, ANTWNI... IKOIIWAIC, E B.

18	O1 R11	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Emperor r.; as above. <i>Rev</i> : Winged Nike. Half Semis: a) *7.58g - -. Meshorer <i>City Coins</i> 161.
19	O2 R11	<i>Obv</i> : Bust of Emperor r.; as above. <i>Rev</i> : Winged Nike; as above. Half semis: a) *6.5g 18.2 mm ↑. Rosenberger <i>Nicopolis</i> 7.

Table 7: Dies on the Coins of Nicopolis by Obverse Number

Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue
1	1	1
1	2	2
1	3	3
1	4	4
1	5	7
1	6	8
1	7	9
1	8	10
1	10	17
1	11	18

2	1	5
2	4	6
2	5	11
2	7	12
2	8	13
2	9	16
2	11	19
3	5	14
4	8	15

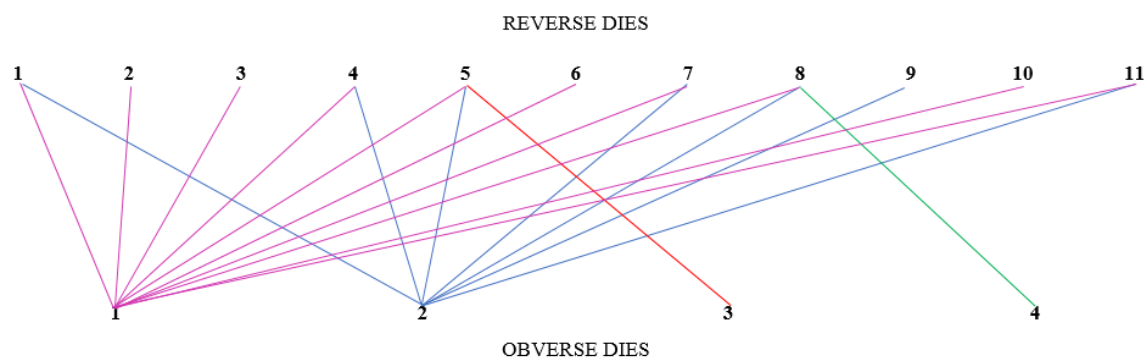


Figure 2: Die Chart of the Coins of Nicopolis

Table 8: Dies of Nicopolis by Denominations

Sestertius:

Obverse	Reverse	Cat no	Reverse type
1	1	1a	Eagle facing r.
1	2	2a	Eagle head l.

Dupondius:

1	1	1b	Eagle facing r.
1	2	2b, 2c	Eagle head l.
1	3	3a, 3b	Eagle head r.
1	4	4a	Eagle head l.
2	1	5a, 5b, 5c	Eagle facing r.
2	4	6a	Eagle head l.

1	5	7a, 7b	Tyche in temple façade
1	6	8a, 8b, 8c	Tyche in temple façade
1	7	9a	Tyche in temple façade
2	7	12a	Tyche in temple façade
3	5	14a	Tyche in temple façade
4	8	15a	Tyche in temple façade
2	9	16a, 16b	Bust of Tyche l.

As:

1	5	7c	Tyche in temple façade
1	8	10a	Tyche in temple façade
2	5	11a	Tyche in temple façade
2	7	12b	Tyche in temple façade
2	8	13a, 13b	Tyche in temple façade
1	10	17a, 17b, 17c	Unidentified Deity

Half Semis:

1	10	17d	Unidentified Deity
1	11	18a	Winged Nike
2	11	19a	Winged Nike

Uncertain weight

1	1	1c, 1d	Eagle facing r.
1	4	4b	Eagle head l.
1	10	17e, 17f	Unidentified Deity

Plates: 1-4: The Coins of Antipatris

Cat no.

Obverse

Reverse

1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



24



25



Plates 5- 7: The Coins of Nicopolis

Coin no.

Obverse

Reverse

1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



Chapter 6: Catalogue Discussion

6.1 Denominations

The evidence from the coins seen in the above catalogue shows that the minting authorities in both cities attempted to have them minted in four or five denominations (Kindler 2000, p.54). These denominations have been generally accepted by scholars studying other areas of Syria-Palestine (Barkay 2003, pp.171–174) . They can be easily understood from Table 9.

Table 9: Denominations of the Coins of Antipatris and Nicopolis.

NAME	WEIGHT (g)	SIZE (mm)
Sestertius	18.35	26.5-27
Dupondius	10-15	24-27
As	9.5- 9.64	18.5-24
½ Semis	7.05-7.2	19-23.5
Semis	4.0-5.8	15.3- 19

These denominations are common to the area. This is a clear indication that the minting authority produced these coins according to a weight and pedigree that would be accepted in other cities, and possibly other provinces. However, it is difficult to assign the coins of Antipatris and Nicopolis to modules with certainty, as they are extremely worn and are often minted on flans too small for the die (e.g. the coins of Antipatris found at Nahal Haggit Bijovsky 2011, p.43). All of the coins are bronze and adhere to these denominations. Provincial coins were minted only in bronze in the area of Syria-Palestine (Jacobson 2013, p.125).

Discussion

The coinage weights for each denomination are derived from an average of those incorporated into the catalogues. Kindler (1990, 2000) gives an introduction to these

denominations. They appear to adhere to the Roman standard for the period of minting and to be similar to the denominations of other mints in the area, as is shown by a survey of the provincial mints represented in Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert (2013).

Sheedy (2016) among others has proposed the existence of a link between denomination size and the chosen iconography. The conclusion might be drawn that mint authorities selected images that they believed appropriate to denominations. The temples of the city's leading cults, for example, might feature on the larger coins while more generic scenes might grace smaller coins (Sheedy 2016, pp.329–330). This subject had been partially discussed by Horster (2013) who focused on the different iconographical choices of the Roman Imperial mint, as compared to provincial mints, and discussed how that indicated different cultures and social identity (Horster 2013, p.260). While this may be more applicable to a mint with a production for longer periods of time, and not one issuing coins during one or two years in the reign of a single emperor, an investigation was made in the present study.

ANTIPATRIS

In Antipatris, there is one coin which represented the highest denomination, a sestertius weighing 18.35 grams. This coin has the image of the two tetrastyle temples facing each other (Kindler 2000, p.49). To date, it is the only evidence of this denomination from this mint (Meshorer 1985, pp.54, 116, 150). Meshorer (1999) has also published a coin of this type in the smaller denomination of a dupondius.

The second largest denomination minted at the city was the dupondius, which averages 12.05 grams. There are multiple iconographical depictions on these coins, including the bust of Zeus on one example. The façade of a temple of Tyche also appears, with figures (of victory?) sometimes shown in the intercolumniation of some of the. Additionally, there is also the 'sacrificing' type which depicts Elagabalus sacrificing to the river god. Another depicts the river god reclining with fish swimming in his direction and two fish in a river.

The final type is the hillock of Antipatris flanked by two shrines mentioned above. The majority of the obverses depict the emperor Elagabalus, but a few examples show Julia Maesa.

The denomination of the As averages 9.44 grams. The obverses depict the bust of a young Elagabalus. Commonly, the reverse depicts Tyche within a temple, with deities in the wings. The coin type which was identified by Kindler as a temple on the top of a hill fits into this denomination size (Kindler 2000, p.50). There is also an example of the altar.

The denomination of a half-semis is the most common one that has been collected and averages 7.46 grams. The reverses most commonly depict a standing deity, Tyche, within a tetrastyle temple. A third type, which is within the parameters of this denomination, is that which depicts Pallas Athene (Kindler 2000, p.50). Additionally, the coins depict both the god Serapis and the uncommon type of the river god reclining. Once again, the obverse includes both depictions of Elagabalus and Julia Maesa.

The smallest denomination, that of the Semis, averages at a weight of 4.94 grams. The coins depict a deity, most likely Tyche either kneeling or seated in the archway of a temple façade. Interestingly, it seems that every coin of this denomination is struck on a flan that was too small for the die, and thus the image and/ or text, seems to be cut off due to the lack of space. The smallest denomination has examples of the river god reclining, although most of the type is lost due to the small flan. The coins once again show Elagabalus and Julia Maesa on their obverses.

In the case of Antipatris, the largest issues of the sestertius and dupondius indicate the importance of the river god cult at this city. Both modules depict the temples of the city which from these representations appear to be located atop a hill. The temples were thought by Meshorer (1999) to be located at the source of the Yarkon river and thus of great importance. The dupondius coins sometimes bear the image of the Emperor sacrificing to a personification of the Yarkon river. It can therefore be claimed that this suggests the location of the temples

at the site of the source of the Yarkon. It seems that the city of Antipatris was using a common iconographical feature of the coins of Elagabalus (usually he is sacrificing to the sun god Elagabal) in order to indicate the importance of this god and the temple. The image thus seeks to underline the importance of the cult to the city. The importance of the river god is perhaps also suggested by the denomination on which he is depicted. Perhaps this is a reference to one of key economic assets of the city, as it had been from the Iron age (See Kochavi 1997, p.150; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.39). The dupondius coins also feature a tetrastyle temple with Tyche, and the bust of Zeus as reverse types, and on the obverse, depictions of the bust of Elagabalus and of his grandmother, Julia Maesa. These images are also found on the coins of smaller denominations, and therefore seem to have a local importance and meaning. The second smallest denomination depicts the figure of Pallas Athene, as well as the bust of the god Serapis. We should, however, perhaps not infer, however, that these were lesser cults simply because they are depicted on smaller coins but they were evidently not given priority on this coinage.

NICOPOLIS

In the case of Nicopolis, fewer denominations have been discovered but they still conform to the denomination standards which have been identified at Antipatris. The largest denomination is also the sestertius with two coins averaging 17.60 grams. Both these coins show the eagle holding a wreath on the reverse and the bust of Elagabalus on the obverse.

The second largest denomination is that of the dupondius, which averages 12.59 grams. This denomination has the most coins in the catalogue and is not restricted to a single type. The iconography represented on this denomination includes Tyche in the centre of a temple, an eagle supporting a wreath, and a reverse bust of Tyche surrounded by five towers.

The As coins average 10.31 grams. Interestingly, it is on these coins that the figure (Ares? See discussion on iconography below) with two bull protomes at its feet is represented. They also carry representation of a temple façade with Tyche within.

The smallest denomination of Nicopolis is a half-semis, with an average weight of 7.1 grams. Depicted on these coins is a winged Nike, as well as the figure flanked by two bulls.

The coins of Nicopolis also demonstrate the importance of their iconography in terms of suggesting an official self-identity. On the reverse of the sestertius we see an eagle holding a wreath and the name of the city appears within and without the wreath. This type seems to be common on coins from provincial mints. However, the importance of this coin type comes from the name of the city, repeated twice within a victory wreath. This type, bearing the eagle, is also seen on the dupondius, alongside depictions of a reclining Zeus and of Tyche (both in a tetrastyle temple and surrounded by five towers).

The two smaller coin modules of Nicopolis, like those of Antipatris, depict local deities that held importance within the city. Here, I would suggest, we see a poorly cut representation of Ares alongside the protomes of two bulls. There is also the representation of the goddesses Tyche and Nike.

These depictions, more so than those of Antipatris, suggest an attempt to highlight the main defining cults of the city to the Roman authorities through the larger denominations (which probably were intended to circulate more widely), and to confine perhaps lesser cults to smaller denominations.

6.2 Epigraphy

Antipatris

Obverse

The obverse legends of coins of Antipatris are typically variations of AVT K M AVP ANTΩNINOC, (Μαρκιανᾶ AVαηλιανᾶ ANTΩNινιανᾶ) when Elagabalus is represented. Elagabalus' regnal name was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Kindler 1990, p.66). This is uncommon on the coins of the region. IOVΛΙΑ MAICA CEB surrounds the bust of Julia Maesa when this obverse type appears.

Reverse

The reverses of these coins all bear the legend of M AVP ANT ANTIPATPIC. These legends combine the regnal name of Elagabalus and the name of the city, Antipatris. Sometimes the city name is shortened to ANTI in the exergue.

Dates

The coins of this city were minted during the rule of Elagabalus in 218-222 CE. While the approximate years of issue are known, there are no dates included on the coins themselves (Kindler 1990, p.65). However, based on the travels of Elagabalus in the area, it is most likely that minting began in 221 CE and ceased in 223 CE. The end date is based on the dating of issues of Julia Maesa in Rome, which seem to be copied by both Antipatris and Nicopolis, alongside other provincial cities after her death (Kindler 1990, p.65; Rowan 2012).

Nicopolis

Obverse

The obverse of coins of Nicopolis carry a similar legend to that of Antipatris: PC M AV ANTΩNINOC CεB (and variations). (Kindler 1990, p.66; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, pp.126–7; Rosenberger 1977).

Reverse

The reverse legends of the coins of Nicopolis typically read M AV ANΩTNINI NIKOΠOΛIC (Hill 1914, p.170; Rosenberger 1977, p.26) which can be expanded to Μαρκιανα AVαμλιανα ANTΩNινιανα NIKOΠOΛIC (Hill 1914, p.170; Meshorer 1989, pp.117–130; Rosenberger 1977, p.26).

On the coins that bear an eagle, the city name ΝεΙΚΟΠΟΛIC, appears within the wreath, either on two or three lines (cat. *Nic* 1-6). Most significantly, coupled with the above inscription, the name of the city appears twice on the coin, a relatively rare thing for any mint in any part of the empire (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.126)

Dates

CeB on the obverse is a dating formula which has been read as ‘year two’ (Kindler & Stein 1987; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.126). This indicates the year in which the coin was minted, either in year two of the reign of Elagabalus or year two of the establishment of Nicopolis as a *polis* (Eck & Koßmann 2016, p.232; Hendin 1976, p.113; Kindler & Stein 1987; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.126). It also appears on all reverse types. This leads to the conclusion that all of these coins were probably struck in a single year (but it is also possible that the same few dies were kept in use over a number of years). The use of dates on the coins of Nicopolis is not surprising, as the vast majority of the 38 Palestine cities which minted coins included dates, usually involving city eras (Kushnir-Stein 2005, p.157).

Discussion

The legends of Antipatris and Nicopolis both use the regnal name of Elagabalus and his predecessor Caracalla, that is Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Kindler 2000, p.52). These two cities are the only ones in the area which use this formula for the emperor’s name (Kindler 1990, p.66). Kindler concluded that the presence of an emperor’s name on a city coinage, or two in this case, represents a favourable view of the city by the emperor (Kindler 1982, p.84). Under Septimus Severus, cities in the region were granted the status of *polis* if they sided with him against Pescennius Niger. (Kindler 1982, p.84). The language used on coinage is also an important factor which affects the understanding of the coins (Howgego 2005, p.12). Greek was the official language of the region (Howgego 2005, p.13).

In the case of both Antipatris and Nicopolis, the use of the emperor’s portrait and official names might be associated with the city’s promotion in status to *polis* (Kindler 1990, p.67, 1982, p.84). They suggest a close connection between the cities and Elagabalus (Kindler 1990, p.51, 2000; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.22); the name Elagabalus was merely an invention after his death (de Arrizabalaga y Prado 2010, pp.170–3).

6.3 Iconography

Iconography is not static, and constantly adjusts and readjusts, being part of a living society (Hekster 2002: 10; Manders 2012: 26). Various media could contain (symbolic) references to imperial power and present a particular picture of the emperor (King 1999, p.123; Levick 1999b, p.44; Zanker 1990). Imperial and provincial coinages, reliefs and imperial portraits, literary and administrative texts, texts of law, petitions, votive inscriptions, games and imperial appearances together convey a visual program presenting imperial ideology (Levick 1982: 107; Manders 2012: 29). The study of coins can provide information about a city, and can identify public buildings and deities worshipped (Howgego 2005, p.13; Kindler 1974, p.127). In the 1990s, scholars began to approach sculptures and reliefs as having a metaphorical text, and Levick noted how this could be easily transferred into the study of numismatics (Levick 1999b, pp.43–44).

The symbolic role of iconography allowed the provinces to present ‘a self-defined and constructed cultural and social identity’ (Horster 2013). This iconography could have Roman undertones, but have a different perceived meaning to local peoples (Hekster 2007: 349; Manders 2012: 32). Lichtenberger has recently stated that “coins are official statements of the cities and expressions of collective religious identity” (Lichtenberger 2017, p.198). This identity is, therefore, chosen and constructed by people in regard to their historical context. Iconography on coinage is never arbitrary; coins are the most deliberate symbols of public identity (Howgego 2005, p.1; Millar 1993, p.230; Preston 2001, p.87).

It has been argued by scholars such as Kemmer (2006: 223–242), that the images on coins dispersed through certain regions included particular symbols relevant to the political situation of that area (Manders 2012:32). Price has also argued that inter-city relationships in the Roman provinces spread mythology, and thus the common use of iconography (Price 2005, p.121). While a symbol may be transferred across cities, symbols might mean different

things to different people (Butcher 2005, pp.146–7). There was no point in presenting new coin types and iconographic symbols if the audience did not understand the meaning (Hekster 2002b, pp.20–35; Howgego 1975, p.47; Kemmers 2005, pp.39–49, 2006; Lummel 1991; Manders 2012, pp.6, 36).

Antipatris

Table 10 depicts the types that can be found on the coins.

Table 10: Reverse Types of Antipatris in Relation to their Catalogue Number

Type	Cat No.	Obverse Description	Reverse Depiction
1. Two tetrastyle Temples	1	Bust of Elagabalus r.	Two temples in foreground connected by arch, temple atop hill in background
2. Temple on Acropolis	2	Bust of Elagabalus r.	Single temple atop a hill
3. Tyche Within Temple	3-15	Bust of Elagabalus r.	Tetrastyle temple with a central arch. Below the arch is Tyche holding a bust in her right hand and a spear in her left. Variants include seated, raised knee, standing goddess, river god swimming below, and figures in the outer wings of the temple façade.
4. Bust of Zeus	16	Bust of Elagabalus r.	Bust of bearded Zeus r.
5. Bust of Sarapis	17, 18	Bust of Elagabalus r.	Bust of Sarapis, draped, r.

6. Emperor in Military Dress Sacrificing	19-21	Bust of Elagabalus r.	In left field, the emperor appears in military dress, posed as if sacrificing over an altar. In the back ground is the hillock of Antipatris with a single temple atop (as depicted in R2). There is also an inclusion of the river Yarkon on the type.
7. Pallas Athene	22	Bust of Elagabalus r.	Pallas Athene standing right holding a spear in her left hand.
8. Reclining River God	23, 24	Bust of Julia Maesa r.	River god reclining with a fish swimming beside him. Below, the river Yarkon is depicted with two fish.
9. Three Temple	25	Bust of Julia Maesa r.	Two temples in foreground, temple atop hill in background

Elagabalus:

According to King (1999), coinage had such a universal form, but closely guarded production, that the mere representation of an emperor, or one of his relatives, on coinage, indicated the power associated with the images (King 1999, p.134). Kindler argued that the city coins of the area of Syria-Palestine were either obliged to use the portrait of the most recent emperor, or did so in order to show favour and loyalty (Kindler 1974, p.127).

The obverse of the coins of Antipatris most commonly carry a portrait of Elagabalus. The image is a standard portrait of this emperor, who appears to be looking back over his draped shoulder, common at this time, especially at the Rome mint (Rowan 2012). The young emperor is shown laureate and facing right and this is also common in the era. Figures 1-4 are selected examples of each of the four obverse dies which depict Elagabalus' bust on these coins.



Figure 3: O1, *Heritage* 357 (2004) 12131 (cat. *Ant.* 3)



Figure 4: O2, Sydney Private collection 1 (cat. *Ant.* 5)



Figure 5: O3, Tel Aviv K65225 (cat. *Ant.* 11)



Figure 6: O4, *Heritage* 3018 (2012) 20352 (cat. *Ant.* 13)

Julia Maesa

The other obverse type depicts the bust of a female (cat. *Ant.* 24 and 25). This is a depiction of the grandmother of Elagabalus, Julia Maesa (Kindler 2000, p.50 no. 5). Two obverse types depict her (O5 and O6). Both types are very similar and depict her facing right and draped. It was not an unusual feature for women with associations to the emperor (wife/ mother/ grandmother) to be featured on coins from the provinces, especially in the Near East (Lichtenberger 2017, p.197). This issue was probably minted after the death of Julia Maesa, in 223 CE, and mirrors the output of similar coins from the mint in Rome (Kindler 1990, p.65; Rowan 2012). A rare double temple type forms the reverse on one of the Julia Maesa coins (cat. *Ant.* 23) (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.23 no 7).

The countermark on the neck of the bust of this coin seems to show a second bust facing to the right. A large number of these coins were minted under Julia Maesa (Howgego 1985, see catalogue). Perhaps the countermark was added when the mint had ceased operation (and Elagabalus had died), so as to ensure their continued acceptance.



Figure 7: O5, Meshorer *Holy Land* 8 (cat. *Ant.* 24)



Figure 8: O6, Meshorer *New Coins* 2 (cat. *Ant.* 25)

Type 1 and 9: Two Tetrastyle Temples and Three Temples

The most remarkable types of the city depict architecture (Kindler 2000; Lichtenberger 2017, p.199; Meshorer 1999). There is also a type, found on two reverse dies, which depicts two temples connected by an arch, R1 (cat. *Ant.* 1) and R14 (cat. *Ant.* 25). R1 depicts two temples which face each other and are connected by an arch. Each temple has a frail staircase or ladder, indicating a podium(?). R13 is a more intricate design with the two temples again depicted facing one another, with an arch connecting them and stairs. However, in this reverse type the temple upon the hillock of Antipatris is also seen in the top centre of the die, as is depicted on R2 (cat. *Ant.* 2). These two reverse types are very rare (Kindler 1990, p.70; Lichtenberger 2017, p.199; Meshorer 1999, p.87). This was a common way to depict temples on the coins of the region of Syria in the early part of the third century CE (Kindler 1990, p.70; Price & Trell 1977, p.60). The temples, which are seen in three quarter view, have been associated with a larger architectural complex that is typical of *fora*, with several temples (Kindler 1990, p.1; Lichtenberger 2017, p.199). Interestingly, it is also claimed that the arch that appears as the central focus of the temple is seen on the coin type with the emperor in military garb sacrificing on an altar (Type 5, cat. *Ant.* 19-21) (Kindler 2000, p.50; Lichtenberger 2017, p.199; Meshorer 1999, p.87).

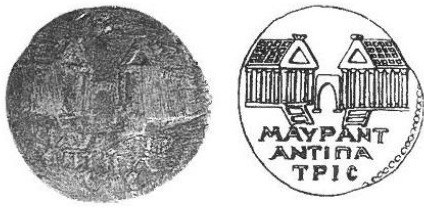


Figure 9: R1, Kindler *Antipatris 1, City Coins 1* (cat. *Ant. 1*)



Figure 10: R14, Meshorer *New Coins 2* (cat. *Ant. 25*)

Type 2: Temple on Acropolis

There is a single coin type (cat. *Ant. 2*; Fig 7) which depicts a temple atop the acropolis of Antipatris (Kindler 1990, p.69; Meshorer 1999, p.68). This temple type is known by a single specimen, located in the collection of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem. The depiction of the hillock temple of Antipatris is similar to that on the coinage of Neapolis (Kindler 1990, p.66). The coins of Neapolis depict Mount Gerizim, minted during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 CE) (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.51, pl. 45, 46 no. 14, 15, 19-23). Another example of this image of the temple atop Mount Gerizim was minted during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180CE) (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.52, pl. 47 no. 36). Closer to the date of minting of the coins of Antipatris, again the mint of Neapolis, produced this reverse type under Macrinus who ruled before Elagabalus in 217-218 CE (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.54, pl. 50 no. 83-85). This reverse was also minted during the reign of Elagabalus (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.55, pl. 51 no. 91-99).

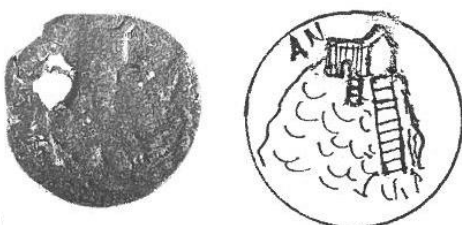


Figure 11: R2, Kindler *City coins, Antipatris 5* (cat. *Ant. 2*)

The representation of the buildings themselves, whether representing their real or idealised forms, raises the question of why they even appear (Burnett 1999, p.138; Lichtenberger 2017, pp.197–8). Attempting to align these findings with the actual architecture of the site is difficult (Lichtenberger 2017, p.198). This is truly the case at Antipatris, where identification of the major temples displayed on the coins has been attempted, although there is no archaeological evidence to support this (Kindler 2000, p.54; Lichtenberger 2017, pp.198–9). Temples on coins are an important representation of the religious and cultural identity of cities (Howgego 2005, p.4; Kindler 1990, p.71, 2000, p.66). The practice of depicting temples on coinage was a Roman invention; the use of them on coinage from the provinces is a reflection of impersonating trends from Rome (Howgego 2005, p.4).

Type 3: Tyche

The vast majority of the coins from the mint of Antipatris show on the reverse a façade with four columns and a central arch, and within it the standing figure of a goddess (Kindler 1990; Meshorer 1999, p.86). Kindler has argued that the central figure is the patron goddess of the city, Tyche (Kindler 1990: 67). Tyche appears on 5 dies (R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7).

There are slight variations between each of these dies:

- R3 has a kneeling Tyche who holds a small bust in her left hand (most likely that of the emperor) and a spear in her right. Below her right foot swims the figure of the river god.
- R4 has a similar depiction although in this type her right foot is rested on a prow, with the figure of the river god swimming below. Figures (victory?) can be seen in the intercolumniation of the wings of the temple façade (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013).
- R5 depicts the figure much the same to the above types, with her right foot raised on a nondescript object. Unlike the previous reverse types however, this depiction does not

include the figure of the river god swimming, nor any figures in the wings of the temple.

- R6 is similar in its depiction of Tyche, although in this type, it appears that the goddess is seated, facing left, though she holds the same objects in hand and the river god swims below her. Figures again appear in the intercolumniation of the temple façade's wings.
- Finally, R7 also depicts a seated Tyche in a similar fashion to R6. The figure of the river god is once again depicted below her feet, and figures in the intercolumniation can be seen.

The goddess wears a mural crown, has a short chiton, and is described as the “Amazonic” type (Kindler 1990: 68). The goddess has a spear in her left hand, upon which she is leaning, and her right hand contains, most likely, a bust of the emperor (Kindler 1990: 68). Her left foot is often raised, on a small pylon, with some claiming that her foot rests upon a small depiction of the river god (Hill 1914, p.43 no. 2-4; Kindler 1990, p.68). This depiction of Tyche holding a bust of the Emperor seems to have disappeared following the rule of Elagabalus and is only very rarely seen in the reign of Severus Alexander (Kindler 1990: 68).

The temple, within which Tyche is standing, (as per R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7) is called a Tychaeam (Kindler 1990, p.68). Kindler argued that it is possible that there was a temple and statue which this coin type reflects (Burnett 1999, p.137; Kindler 1990, p.68 n. 25). The Tychaeam is depicted with a pediment and central arch, and with the goddess Tyche standing between the columns. On the larger denominations, there are additional small figures between the columns of the left and right flanks of the temple façade (Kindler 1990, p.70). This type is also found on the coinage of surrounding mints, and is extremely common (Kindler 1990, p.70).

Also see the section “Type 2: Tyche in Tetrastyle Temple” under Nicopolis for discussion of trends in the area.



Figure 12: R3, *Heritage* 357 (2004) 12131 (cat. *Ant.* 3)



Figure 13: R4, Sydney Private Collection 1 (cat. *Ant.* 5)



Figure 14: R5, Jerusalem 50963 (cat. *Ant.* 15)



Figure 15: R6, Tel Aviv K65225 (cat. *Ant.* 11)



Figure 16: R7, Head *Historia Numorum* 14 (cat. *Ant.* 8)

Type 4: Bust of Zeus

On type 3, from the corpus of Antipatris coins (cat. *Ant.* 16; R8), is a bust which has been identified as Zeus facing right (Kindler 2000). Zeus is laureate and bearded, but nude (Kindler 1990: 68). It is more common to find the figure of Zeus seated and leaning on a staff (Kindler 1990, p.69). This ‘bust of Zeus’ type is rare in the coinage of the city, with only two examples known from Antipatris, (cat. *Ant.* 16). However, the type has been noted on the coinage of Neapolis, minted under Macrinus (217-218 CE), as well as at Hellenistic Gaza in the second century BCE (Hill 1914, p.143 no. 1-3; Kindler 1990, p.68; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.54, pl. 50 no. 87). It is possible that the bust is that of Alexander the Great, with damage to the lion’s paws that are usually tied at the base of the neck (*cf* Gadara in Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013).



Figure 17: R8, *Heritage* 3003 (2012) 20567 (cat *Ant.* 16)

Type 5: Bust of Serapis

The coins of type 4, cat. *Ant.* 17 and 18, bear reverse dies R9 and R10 with depictions of Serapis wearing a *kalathos*. It is a very common image used in the wider area, at mints such as Caesarea, Diosopolis, Neapolis, Aelia Capitolina, Eleutheropolis, and Akko-Ptolemais, during the reign of Elagabalus (Bricault 2006, p.124; Kindler 1990, p.69; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013). The iconographical representation of Serapis is especially similar to that which was minted in Caesarea, which was one of the most prolific mints in the area (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013). The cult of Serapis is connected to that of the goddess Isis. Both of these deities were very popular on coins from cities on the coast between Caesarea Maritima and Egypt (Bricault 2006, p.123). The inclusion of Serapis on coins in the area of the province of Syria-Palestine was initially considered odd, although his appearance on coins of this area suggest the existence of a public cult in the cities during the second and third centuries CE (Belayche 2001, pp.39–42; Bricault 2006, p.128; Levine 1979).



Figure 18: R9, Jerusalem 54110 (cat. *Ant.* 17)



Figure 19: R10, Kindler *City Coins* 7 (cat. *Ant.* 18)

Type 6: Emperor in Military Dress Sacrificing

The reverse type R11 on the coins categorised under type 5, cat. *Ant.* 19-21, depicts Elagabalus sacrificing on an altar clad in military dress. There is a fish on the top left field.

This iconographical representation is frequently used on coinage minted during the reign of Elagabalus, with the image of Elagabalus sacrificing appearing on 27 coin types minted at Rome (Manders 2012, p.148). Therefore, it is of no surprise that the image was copied in provincial mints. According to Rowan (2012), there was never an official decree regarding the depiction of the god Elagabal, but coins of this type, from both Roman and the provincial mints, depict Elagabalus sacrificing to his patron god, Elagabal, sometimes in addition to a city deity (Rowan 2012, p.182). On the coins of Antipatris, there is a clear difference: Elagabalus appears in the typical sacrificing pose but sacrifices only to the patron god of the city of Antipatris, and Elagabal does not appear. The river god, representative of the Yarkon river, is represented on the reverse by a fish, which can also be seen on reverse type 7, alongside the reclining river god.



Figure 20: R11, London 19080110.2179 (cat. *Ant.* 21)

Type 7: Pallas Athene

On a single specimen, (cat. *Ant.* 22, R12) there is the depiction of Pallas Athene. In this type, the goddess is depicted wearing a crested helmet, a long chiton and peplos. In her left-hand she holds a long spear. Her right arm is bent at the elbow and she is holding a shield, which rests against her right leg (Kindler 1990, p.69). This depiction of Pallas Athena is typical of the third century CE (Kindler 1990, p.69). However, the mints where the production of this reverse type were struck were largely Greek cities or their colony states,⁶ and the goddess was more commonly seated. This is a common type in the Near East. A quick survey of catalogues for the area of the province of Syria-Palestine have shown little evidence of this

⁶ For an easy example of a Greek coin of this type circulating in the area see *SNG Spaer* 2725

depiction of the goddess (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013; Spijkerman 1978). There are types from the mint of Philippopolis which depict a similar form, although this goddess has been identified as Roma (Spijkerman 1978, pp.260–1 no. 4). The date range of the mint at Philippopolis is 244-249 CE and this coin was minted under Philippus Senior. Pella also produced coinage under Elagabalus which depict a similar type (Spijkerman 1978, pp.214–5 no. 16). Pella and Antipatris were on separate trade routes, and the communication between them would have been limited (Roll 1983). The type of Pallas Athene appears on the coins of nearby Jaffa, which was on a direct trade route to Antipatris (Hill 1914, p.44; Kindler 1987 nos 3, 8, 7, 1990, p.69; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, pp.46–8). The appearance of Athena (and Roma) in this style on coins of the area, does indicate that there was an awareness in this area of the goddess and of the way of representing her in the third century CE.



Figure 21: R12, Rosenberger *Antipatris* 2 (cat. *Ant.* 22)

Type 8: Reclining River God

On type 8, (R13; cat. *Ant.* 22, 23 and 24), a river god is depicted in a reclining position. The deity appears to be laurate and draped from the waist. He faces left and holds a reed in his left hand, while his right is extended toward his bent right knee, where a fish can be seen approaching him. Below his left elbow, upon which he is leaning, there is a stream, and within, two more fish are depicted swimming. This seems to be the personification of the god of the Yarkon river, connecting the city with their patron deity (Kindler 1990, p.69; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.22).

The representation of the fish may be an indication of the economic value of the river to Antipatris (the Yarkon was being fished from as early as the Iron Age II; Eitan, Beck & Kochavi 1993, p.68; Kochavi 1997, p.150; Negev & Gibson 2001, p.39).



Figure 22: R13, Kindler *City Coins* 8 (cat. *Ant.* 23)



Figure 23: R13, Meshorer *Holy Land* 8 (cat. *Ant.* 24)

The image of a reclining river god is relatively rare on coins of Syria-Palestine (see *RPC* online 463.2). However, there are known examples from Akko-Ptolemais during the reign of Severus Alexander (222-235 CE) (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.14, pl. 13 no. 219-223). The type is much the same as that from Antipatris; it includes the fish below, and the stream to the right of the god who reclines facing right. Similar reverse types of a reclining river god can also be seen on coins of Eleutheropolis minted during the reign of Geta (198-209 CE) (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.110, pl. 102 no. 23). In this depiction, the reclining river god holds a reed in his left hand and a cornucopiae in his right hand. A reclining river god facing left can also be seen on coins from Adraa, minted under Septimus Severus (193-211 CE) (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.145, pl. 127 no.8). Here he leans on an amphora, from which a stream flows, similar to that of the coins of Antipatris, below the left elbow of the river god. The type of the reclining river god also has iconographic similarities to the type from the mint of Antioch which depicts Tyche reclining, with the river god of the Orontes swimming at her feet (Butcher 2005, p.149).

Nicopolis

Table 11 depicts the types that can be found on the coins in relation to their catalogue number.

Table 11: Reverse Types of Antipatris in Relation to their Catalogue Number

Type	Cat No.	Obverse Description	Reverse Depiction
1. Eagle Holding Wreath	1-6	Bust of Elagabalus r.	Eagle (head l. or r.) standing with wings spread, holding wreath. Inscription within and around wreath.
2. Tyche in Tetrastyle Temple	7-15	Bust of Elagabalus r.	Tetrastyle temple with four columns and a central arch. Below the arch is Tyche holding a bust in her right hand and a spear in her left. Variants include seated, raised knee, standing goddess, river god swimming below, and figures or date (EB) in the outer wings of the temple façade
3. Bust of Tyche	16	Bust of Elagabalus r.	Turreted bust of Tyche facing left. The goddess is draped.
4. Unidentified Deity	17	Bust of Elagabalus r.	Figure standing facing front with an object (crown?) on head. Left hand is raised holding an object (sceptre?) and the left hand is lowered. The figure's feet are flanked by the upper torso of two bulls, facing left and right.
5. Nike	18, 19	Bust of Elagabalus r.	The winged figure of Nike standing facing left, her feet are resting on globes and her right hand holds a wreath.

Elagabalus

The obverses of the coins of Nicopolis show only the radiate bust of Elagabalus facing right. Like the coins of Antipatris, the young emperor is draped and wears a paludamentum and cuirass. A ribbon ties his crown (diadem?) at the base of his head. Four obverse types are recorded.



Figure 24: O1, London 1980110.2178 (cat. *Nic.* 17)



Figure 25: O2, Jerusalem 50963 (cat. *Nic.* 12)



Figure 26: O3, Rosenberger *Nicopolis* 2 (cat. *Nic.* 14)



Figure 27: O4, SNG Meshorer 1044 (cat. *Nic.* 15)

Type 1: Eagle Holding Wreath

The eagle on the coins of Nicopolis appears in four reverse types; R1-R4. All of the dies depict an eagle standing with its wings outspread, supporting a wreath. The wreath often has a medallion at the top centre. However, there are some clear differences in the reverse types:

- In R1, the eagle's head faces left and, within the wreath, there is the inscription of the cities name in three lines. There are no discernible dates on this reverse die.
- R2 depicts the eagle with its head facing left, and the inscription is on two lines. The wreath in this reverse is more stylised and is made in groups of three leaves. The date is shown flanking the eagle.
- R3 likewise bears the eagle with its head facing to the right, but the inscription is on two lines. The date can be seen within the legs of the eagle.

- Finally, R4 depicts the eagle with its head facing to the left and a three-line inscription. What differentiates R2 and R4 is the stylistic wreath in R2, compared to the simple form in R4

These representations of an eagle are strikingly similar to those depicted on coins from the provincial mints of Syria and Palestine during the third century CE, especially to the mint of Caesarea which had the inscription of SPQR within the wreath (Butcher 2005, p.149; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013; Spijkerman 1978).



Figure 28: R1, London 1840,1226.324 (cat. *Nic.* 1)



Figure 29: R2, Meshorer *Holy Land* 2 (cat. *Nic.* 2)



Figure 30: R3, Jerusalem 50964 (cat. *Nic.* 3)



Figure 31: R4, *Gemini* VI (2010) 744 (cat. *Nic.* 4)

Type 2: Tyche in Tetrastyle Temple

Coins of this type depict the goddess Tyche standing facing left, with a staff in her right hand. The figure wears a turreted crown and a chiton. Her right leg is raised on a prow (?). The goddess once again stands within a tetrastyle temple, which has a pediment and central arch (compare cat. *Ant.* 3-15). In some cases, the river god appears again, swimming below the temple façade, as is common for the depictions of Tyche in a tetrastyle temple (Spijkerman 1978, pp.200–5). The intercolumniation has either figures, dates or is left empty. Four reverse dies were identified for this type (R5-R8) and their differences include:

- R5 has the date EB in the intercolumniation.

- R6 depicts the river god swimming below the temple façade, as well as the date EB in the intercolumniation.
- R7 depicts the goddess in the temple only, with nothing in the intercolumniation. In her left hand is a bust. Below the temple façade, in place of the river god, is the date EB.
- R8, similar to R6, again depicts the river god swimming below the temple façade, as well as the date EB in the intercolumniation.



Figure 32: R5, *Gemini VII* (2011) 870 (cat. *Nic.* 11)



Figure 33: R6, London 1908,0110.2179 (cat. *Nic.* 8)



Figure 34: R7, *Heritage* 3003 (2012) 20669 (cat. *Nic.* 9)



Figure 35: R8, *SNG Meshorer* 1044 (cat. *Nic.* 15)

It was argued by Kindler (1990, p.71), that the appearance of Tyche on the coinage of Antipatris and Nicopolis was an expression of gratitude to the emperor for the privileges which had been bestowed upon the city. The vast majority of the coins minted under Elagabalus at Nysa-Scythopolis (Beth She'an), depict this type (Barkay 2003, p.133; *OCD* 1970 pp. 1100-1; *RE* 2A VII 1948 pp. 1644-96; Spijkerman 1978, pp.200–5). It is more likely, considering that almost every mint in the area presented this type of Tyche in a tetrastyle temple, that Antipatris and Nicopolis both follow the trends of the area, with the goddess worshipped here in some capacity (Barkay 2003, p.133; Lichtenberger 2017, pp.198–9). What does seem to be strange on the coins of Antipatris and Nicopolis, however, is that

the figure of Tyche holds a bust of the emperor in her left hand, and not a cornucopiae which was standard (Barkay 2003, p.133). This was common of the Tyche in a temple façade types minted in the mint of Caesarea, and thus this imitation of the bust of the emperor demonstrates the influence that Caesarea Maritima had over this area and these cities (Aviam 1993; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013).

Type 3: Bust of Tyche

Type 3 of the coins of Nicopolis (cat. *Nic.* 16; R9), depicts the bust of Tyche, facing left. The goddess is depicted wearing a turreted crown and is draped. This depiction of the goddess is also seen at other mints under Elagabalus, such as Rabbathmoba (Spijckerman 1978, pp.274–5 no. 40). Earlier representations of this turreted bust of Tyche can be seen at the mint of Philadelphia under Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and Commodus (Spijckerman 1978, pp.250–255 no 7, 7a, 31, 33, 38). The turreted bust of Tyche also appears on the reverse of coins from Nysa-Scythopolis, although were minted much earlier; Under Faustina Junior (or the Second), wife of Marcus Aurelius (Spijckerman 1978, pp.190–1 no. 11). In addition to appearing on the coins of various mints, the turreted bust of Tyche is also found on a seal impression from Petra (Spijckerman 1978, pp.236–7 no 57).



Figure 36: R9, Meshorer *Holy Land* Nicopolis 8 (cat. *Nic.* 16)

Type 4: Unidentified Deity

On type 4, (cat. *Nic.* 17, R10) there is an unidentified free-standing figure. It holds a staff in its right hand, while the left is raised. Some coins show a form with a crown or basket on the head. The figure is flanked on the left and right by two bull protomes. It has not been previously noted that on the coins of Nicopolis the figure is standing atop a podium and this

may indicate that it was a statue, as was the case in Gaza, where statues of Tyche and Io were represented on the coinage (Farhi 2017, p.223).



Figure 37: R10, London 1908,0110.2178 (cat. *Nic.* 17)

The type in Meshorer *et al.* (2013), is identified as Zeus Heliopolis. The identification, however, is uncertain. A similar type for Neapolis, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (139-161 CE) and his wife Faustina Junior, is also identified as Zeus Heliopolis (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.52, pl. 47-49 no. 31, 32, 34, 47, 49-51, 58, 59). However, the same image has been identified as Ephesian Artemis, without evidence. A reverse identified as Ephesian Artemis also comes from Neapolis and was minted during the reign of Elagabalus (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.56, pl. 52, 53 no. 118, 119). Again a similar reverse appears on coins of Eleutheropolis minted under Diadumenian (218 CE), and has once again been identified as Zeus Heliopolis (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.111, pl. 102 no. 26, 27).

In order to identify the image, a survey was done of coins from Syria-Palestine, Syria proper and the Decapolis. The figure can be compared to the image of a turreted Tyche. The goddess is depicted as standing, and wearing a long chiton, with her right arm extended and holding a wreath, while in her left is a cornucopiae (for examples see Spijkerman 1978, pp.132–5 no. 22, 23). But there is no wreath in the extended right hand of the goddess on the coins of Nicopolis, and the bull protomes are absent from every example which depicts this figure.

There is a similar type on the coins of Dium minted under Geta and Elagabalus (see Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.159, pl. 134 no. 4-8; Spijkerman 1978,

pp.118–21 no. 7, 11). The deity here is identified as Ares, the war god. The types minted under Geta at Dium show the traditional representation of Ares, with a *kalathos* with horns, and cuirass. The god is also depicted with a sceptre surmounted by an eagle, and holding Nike in his left hand. The protomes of the bulls are also seen flanking the god.

Although these are all reasonable conclusions, the reverse dies of Nicopolis were very poorly cut. The most likely parallel, however, may be the later types of the coins minted at Dium under Elagabalus (Spijckerman 1978, pp.118–121 no. 7, 11).

Type 5: Nike

Type 5 (cat. *Nic.* 18, 19) depicts on the reverse (R11) the goddess Nike winged, and holding a victory wreath in her right hand. She is standing and her feet are resting on globes. It is not surprising to see her on the coins of Nicopolis, as the city bears her name from 221 CE. Similar depictions of the goddess can be seen on the obverse of coins of Philadelphia (Spijckerman 1978, pp.246–7 no 6, 7). There are also depictions of her on the coins of Akko Ptolemais, which indicates that she was recognised in the area of Syria-Palestine in the third century CE (see Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, pp.8–9, pl. 5 no. 93, 94). A study of Graeco-Roman sculptures in the Near East has shown multiple statues of Tyche discovered in the area of Syria and the province of Syria-Palestine (Weber 2015, p.583).



Figure 38: R11, Meshorer *City Coins* 161 (cat. *Nic.* 18)

Discussion

There are six obverse types and nine reverse types identified from the mint of Antipatris, but it is not uncommon for a type to be represented in the entire corpus by only a single specimen. Most of the coins were poorly minted and are now badly worn (Meshorer,

Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.22). The coins of Nicopolis are even rarer than those from Antipatris, with only four obverse types and five reverse types being known, all of which were struck in the second year of Elagabalus' reign, when the city was raised to the status of a *polis* (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.126). The most common types of coins minted at Antipatris and Nicopolis are those bearing Tyche (Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.22).

In general, iconographic trends in the coinage of Rome, and in mints from the provinces of Syria-Palestine, were followed at both Antipatris and Nicopolis. However, there is also evidence that both cities used rare types, specifically, the reclining river god in Antipatris, and the unidentified figure in Nicopolis. This study of the iconography on the coins of Antipatris and Nicopolis supports the recent arguments by scholars such as Icks, Manders and Rowan, that Elagabalus did not intend to make Rome monotheistic, and instead allowed the worship of a wide variety of deities in Rome and the provinces (*cf* Gourmont 1903, p.7; Halsberghe 1972, p.80; Hay 1911, pp.vi–vii; Icks 2012; Manders 2012; Rowan 2012, pp.139–49; Thompson 1972, p.161). It is also clear from this study that Caesarea and Neapolis were the two most influential mints on the iconographical style of Antipatris and Nicopolis and this demonstrates their importance in the area.

The Antipatris catalogue features 65 known coins from collections and museums around the world. These coins were separated into 9 types, from which 6 obverse dies and 14 reverse dies were discovered. In the Nicopolis catalogue, a total of 40 coins were split into 5 types from 4 obverse and 11 reverse dies. These numbers are sufficient to demonstrate clear differentiations between dies. However, due to the extreme wear of some coins, a result of their prolonged circulation, exact die numbers are not certain. Fortunately, this does not detract from the value of this work. Thus, the numbers that are presented here are, at best an approximation and, as a result, due to the uncertainty of these coins and the limited examples

found, it is not possible to estimate the number of coins that were struck in the mints of Antipatris and Nicopolis.

The die links themselves provide some interesting conclusions. In Antipatris, obverse 1 linked to 6 out of the 14 reverse dies. Obverse 2 linked to 9 of these reverse dies. Obverse three linked to 5 of these reverse dies. Obverse 4 linked to 3 of these reverse dies and obverse 5 and 6 linked only to 1 reverse die each. These links did not relate to denomination size, and the reverse types were mixed with obverse connections. It therefore seems likely that during minting, obverse and reverse dies were paired randomly and dies were used over any denominational value. It would therefore seem that the mints of Antipatris and Nicopolis were concerned merely with striking quantity, and were less concerned with links and differing denominations. It is probable that this was related to profitability, especially in the years surrounding the emperors visit, during which wealth would have flooded into the area.

6.4 Reasons for the start and end of minting

Levick and Wallace-Hadrill argue that coinage was a vehicle for imperial communication (Levick 1982, pp.104–116; Manders 2012, pp.6–7; Wallace-Hadrill 1986, pp.66–87). There might also be economic reasons linked to military activity. There are a great number of cut coins from the first century CE (Hendin 1996, pp.25–27) which were the result of a lack of bronzes in circulation during Nero's war with the Parthians and the turmoil that followed his death (Hendin 1996, p.27). During the third century CE, the Rome mints could not keep up with demand, and so the Romans regulated minting in the provinces (Crawford 1983, p.52; Kindler 1982, p.87; Levick 1999b, p.47; Manders 2012, p.3). This may have been due to the high level of activity in eastern trade markets (compared to that of the western provinces) (Kindler 1982, p.87). It also seems likely that local provincial mints struck bronze that was paid to the soldiers on campaign in the area, especially during Septimus Severus' civil war with Pescennius Niger and Caracalla's Parthian campaigns. The cities were in charge of minting coins, although it was the Roman Provincial government who

regulated mints and local monetary minting, either encouraging or restricting mint activities (Crawford 1983, p.52; Kindler 1982, p.87; Levick 1999b, p.47; Lichtenberger 2017, p.197; Manders 2012, p.3). These local authorities, put in charge of minting, chose the iconography and inscriptions (Bruun 1999, p.20; Butcher 2005, pp.144–5; Kindler & Stein 1987; Kindler 1982, p.87; Noreña 2011, p.251; Rowan 2012; Weiss 2005, p.59; Williamson 2005, p.20).

The Roman Provincial Administration might stop minting as it saw fit. This process is perhaps seen in the mints of Antipatris and Nicopolis. If these cities were granted the status of *polis* under Elagabalus, with minting rights, this may have been revoked in the reforms of Severus Alexander, and thus these cities ceased production. Following the death of Elagabalus there were only 23 cities; and minting ceased thereafter (Kindler 1982, p.87). The end of minting, in the majority of cases, might have been a direct result of restrictions imposed by the Roman provincial administration in Syria-Palestine after 222 CE for reasons of monetary policy.

There is a link between these two cities, as they are the only two which minted exclusively in the reign of Elagabalus (Kindler 1990, p.65; Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.22). It was not uncommon for mints to end production at the end of his reign, with 19 of the 37 mints in the area of Roman Syria-Palestine ending minting after the death of the young Emperor, with an additional six ceasing production during the reign of Elagabalus' successor Severus Alexander. However, it remains highly uncommon for a mint to be only active during the reign of a single emperor, and they may have been struck as a means of profiting from the imperial visit (Kindler 1990, p.66).

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 The coins in their context: general conclusions

The main aims of this thesis were to collect and present a catalogue of the coins of the cities of Antipatris and Nicopolis, and to discuss the place of these two cities in the wider political, economic, and social spheres of the province of Syria Palestine in the Severan Age. This has resulted in the creation of two catalogues. The first is that of Antipatris; this catalogue has a total of 65 coins, is divided into 9 types; here I have identified 6 obverse dies (two of which bear the portrait of Julia Maesa) and 14 reverse dies. The second is that of Nicopolis; this catalogue has a total of 40 coins, is split into 5 types from 4 obverse dies and 11 reverse dies. The catalogue and its discussion has revealed some interesting die links and shown, especially in the case of Antipatris, that the coinage was minted across different denominations. One of the biggest issues in organising this catalogue and presenting the coinage in obverse and reverse types was the level of wear that these dies and coins presented, which is expected as the coins were used in circulation and not found in hoards.

The modules of the coins of Antipatris and Nicopolis were seen to fit the standard of Roman bronzes, common of the era and outlined in Kindler (1990 p. 62). The coins of Antipatris demonstrate an attempt by the minting authority to express the importance of the city cults (cat. *Ant.*) 1, 2 and 9. The reclining river god type, and emperor sacrificing on the altar type, indicate how highly the city valued the cult of the personified god of the Yarkon River.

The preceding discussion of the iconographical and epigraphic elements of the coins of Antipatris and Nicopolis suggests that the types were political statements intended to send a message and establish an identity within the wider area (Williamson 2005, p.19). The coinages of Antipatris and Nicopolis thus follow the major regional trends in their immediate political and economic spheres.

The archaeological component of this thesis has brought about some interesting conclusions. What can be seen in the sites of Antipatris and Nicopolis is a clear influx of wealth during the Severan Period. It is initially believed that Elagabalus donated a large sum of money to these cities when upgrading their status to that of *polis*. However, a study of archaeological evidence points elsewhere. It seems that following the end of the Bar Kokhba revolt (c.135 CE) and the resulting destruction and rebuilding of Jerusalem, trade went through these two cities bound for Jerusalem. As a result, they thrived over the next century. It was this trade, then, that allowed the cities to be received as *poleis* and not the status of *polis* which allowed them to thrive. The increase in wealth exhibited archaeologically at the sites of Antipatris and Nicopolis seems to be concurrent with the increase in wealth of other cities of the area, seen especially through their increased minting output under Caracalla through to the reign of Elagabalus. Sites that reflect a similar trend in the area include Antioch, Caesarea Maritima, Jerusalem, Jaffa, although these are not the only cities to have boomed economically.

This thesis has taken a pioneering step into the study of two minting cities during the Severan Age. Its importance is grounded in the fact that coins of these cities are yet to be comprehensively studied. The thesis has also reflected major trends in recent scholarship. The discussion of the archaeological trends has shown that both sites show clear economic advancement in the period of the Severan Age. Both minted at about the same time, c. 221 CE. This date coincides with the visit of the young Elagabalus to Syria–Palestine in the earliest years of his reign (c.220/221 CE). The short delay in minting coinage could, however, be attributed to the minting authority choosing the iconographical identifiers of the city, as well as the die creation process.

This thesis also attempts to identify the sphere in which these coins circulated. This cannot be done conclusively for Nicopolis, as none of the coins collected were found in archaeological excavations, and their provenance is unknown. However, in the case of

Antipatris, it is clear that the coinage was in circulation through the wider region. This can be seen in the coin found in a shipwreck on the Carmel Coast, the two found in Naḥal Ḥaggit excavations, and the possibility of one being discovered in the Nicopolis excavation (Bijovsky 2011, p.43; Fleckenstein & Fleckenstein 2010, p.203; Meshorer 2010, p.111). Each of these sites are close to Antipatris, and this it demonstrates the area of influence that the city possessed, and that the coins were accepted as legal tender in neighbouring provincial cities.

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