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Upon the Appearance of the First Issue of *Israel Numismatic Research*

The Israel Numismatic Society (INS) is happy to announce the publication of its new peer-reviewed journal, ***Israel Numismatic Research***.

Research of the ancient, medieval and modern coinage of this region has become increasingly relevant to multi-disciplinary studies in fields such as archaeology, history and iconography.

In inaugurating ***Israel Numismatic Research*** the INS national board wishes to stress the importance of having a high level numismatic journal which appears regularly, at the end of each calendar year. The ability to publish a true annual reflects the advances in the field of numismatics in Israel over the past decade. The title of the journal signals the Society's wish to encourage comprehensive and innovative research in the field.

The focus of ***Israel Numismatic Research*** will be on coinages circulating in the southern Levant, from antiquity through to the modern era. Articles on medals, tokens, metrology, sealings and minor arts related to numismatics will also be considered for inclusion, as will book reviews.

The Israel Numismatic Society is indebted to the Founders of ***Israel Numismatic Research*** without whose generosity the publication of the journal would not have been possible: David Hendin, Gil and Lisa Chaya, Stephen N. Gerson, Aba Neeman, Jonathan Rosen, Harlan J. Berk, Jay Galst, Gabriel Brener, Herbert L. Kreindler, Paul-Francis Jacquier and Ziv Zur.

It is our intention that ***Israel Numismatic Research*** will offer an academic forum for both Israeli and foreign numismatists. Contributions of original research should be sent to: ***Israel Numismatic Research***, c/o Haim Gitler, The Israel Museum, P.O. Box 71117, Jerusalem 91710 ISRAEL, or to the Editor (dtariel@ins.org.il).

Guidelines for Contributors appear on page 177, followed by *Abbreviations* used in this volume.

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A *Hacksilber* and Cut Athenian Tetradrachm Hoard from the Environs of Samaria: Late Fourth Century BCE[1]

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Abstract
A hoard from the vicinity of Samaria illustrates that the practice of using cut coins alongside broken pieces of silver ingots and jewelry (*Hacksilber*) continued into the second half of the fourth century BCE. Both the *Hacksilber* and the cut coins must have circulated as bullion and thus involved weighing in transactions. Prior to this discovery, mixed hoards of this period were composed mainly of uncut coins supplemented by *Hacksilber* in equal or greater quantities.

In 1999 the Israel Museum received a donation of a hoard consisting of five cut Athenian *tetradrachms* plus 32 *Hacksilber*[2] pieces reportedly found in the vicinity of Samaria (IM Inventory No. 15298, mentioned in Gitler and Tal 2006:10, Fig. 1 central image). Although there is no way to ascertain whether there were other objects in the hoard, the material we have is nevertheless significant because it provides evidence for the long-term use of cut coins as *Hacksilber* alongside silver bullion in the form of jewelry and ingots in late Persian-period Palestine long after the transition to a partial monetary economy in the mid-fifth century BCE (Gitler and Tal 2006:335). In other words, the 37-piece IM find survives as a witness to the intermediate and probably long-lived bullion phase when even Athenian *tetradrachms* — the international currency of the fifth and fourth centuries which were prized for their familiarity and reputation for fineness — were still regarded as pieces of silver to be evaluated as bullion. In fact all five *tetradrachms* in this hoard were intentionally cut down into rough halves, thirds, quarters and even smaller fractions of their original contours (a Near Eastern phenomenon noted by Kraay and Moorey 1968:223; van Alfen 2004–2005a:14–16). However, this intentional cutting may have conformed to a set of standards. Since as such, they could have never passed at face value without

1 I am grateful to Christine M. Thompson for her helpful comments on the manuscript. The hoard was photographed by P. Lanyi.

2 *Hacksilber* (irregularly cut silver) are broken pieces of silver ingots, jewelry and varia used as currency or money. Material in this form was weighed on scales against standardized weights for the purposes of exchange or payment before and after the development of coinages.

weighing, we can deduce that they must have circulated as bullion. This is also evident from the appearance of cut coins in various hoards which include *Hacksilber*, jewelry, silver ingots and dumps and are dated mainly to the sixth and fifth centuries BCE (Table 1).

Table 1. Comparable hoards from the Levant and Egypt, Archaic and Classical Periods (asterisk indicates hoards including cut coins)

Levantine Hoards	**Provenance**	**Burial Date (BCE)**	**Athenian "4Ds" (%)[3]**	**Additional items found in hoard**
Archaic Period				
IGCH 1478*	Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit)	*c*. 525–520		partially melted coins and silver lumps
Classical Period				
CH 8.45*	Anti-Lebanon 1978	*c*. 475	24.3	ingots
CH 9.356*	Byblos 1933–1938	*c*. 450		gold and silver bullion
IGCH 1482*	"Jordan Hoard" allegedly found in the Hauran region	*c*. 445	34.4	*Hacksilber* and jewelry
CH 1.15*	For a revised alleged Near Eastern attribution of the hoard see de Callataÿ 2003.	*c*. 425	14.8	*Hacksilber* and jewelry
IGCH 1483*	"Syrian Hoard" allegedly found in Masyaf	*c*. 425–420	42.2	*Hacksilber* and jewelry
Pfisterer 2000*	"Possibly the Levant"; for a revised alleged provenance of the hoard see de Callataÿ 2003.	Later fifth century	5.7	*Hacksilber*, ingots and dumps
CH 9.386	Aradus environs, 1983	*c*. 390–350	3.7	silver and bronze objects
IGCH 1488*	Al-Mina	*c*. 375	60.5	jewelry
CH 9.413	Samaria, before 1990	*c*. 355		jewelry
IGCH 1504	Nablus	*c*. 332		jewelry

3 The calculation of the percentage includes Athenian *tetradrachms* and Eastern imitations but excludes issues attributed to a specific minting authority such as Gaza (van Alfen 2004–2005b:56, Nos. 52–54).

Levantine Hoards	Provenance	Burial Date (BCE)	Athenian "4Ds" (%)[3]	Additional items found in hoard
van Alfen 2004–2005b	Near East	*c*. 330	94.7	dumps

Egyptian Hoards	Provenance	Burial Date (BCE)	Athenian "4Ds" (%)	Additional items found in the hoard
Archaic Period				
IGCH 1636*	Mit Rahineh 1869	*c*. 500		ingots and cut silver
IGCH 1637*	Demanhur 1900–01	c. 500		ingots
CH 2.10	Egypt 1971/72	*c*. 500		ingots
IGCH 1639*	Sakha 1897	Early fifth century?		silver fragments
IGCH 1640*	Benha el-Asl 1929	*c*. 485	14.8	ingots, dumps, and cut silver
CH 1.7	Egypt *c*. 1955	*c*. 480	20	silver pieces
Classical Period				
IGCH 1644*	"Asyut" 1968 or 1969	c. 475	18.6	silver ingots and dump
IGCH 1645*	Zagazig 1901	*c*. 470	40.5	silver dumps and bars
van Alfen 2004–2005a*	Egypt	*c*. 450	52.6	silver dumps and ingots
IGCH 1647	Naucratis 1885	*c*. 450–425	40	cast and cut-up silver lumps
Kroll 2001*	Egypt	Later fifth–earlier fourth century	100	dump and cut pieces of silver
IGCH 1649	Tell el Maskhouta	*c*. 400–330	99.9	gold and silver ingots
IGCH 1650*	Delta 1940	*c*. 375–350		silver ingot
IGCH 1651	Beni Hasan 1903	*c*. 360	70.1	silver ingots
IGCH 1652*	Naucratis 1905	*c*. 360	84.3	silver ingots

Many of these Levantine hoards have a significantly high percentage of Athenian issues.[4] Furthermore, the evidence retrieved from controlled archeological excavations and stray finds shows that during the second half of the fifth century and through the fourth century, Athenian and Athenian-styled *tetradrachms* were the most common foreign and imitative issues circulating in Palestine (Gitler and Tal 2006:14, 23–30).

A date in the second half of the fourth century BCE for the concealment of the hoard is provided by the *pi*-style issue (see below No. 5). The obverse of this piece is very worn and one cannot discern the style of Athena's helmet. The eye would have appeared on the second half of the coin. Consequently there is no indication of the shape of Athena's eye, whether frontal fully depicted or profiled. However, it seems clear from the owl's style on the reverse that this is a second half of the fourth century BCE specimen of the so-called *pi*-style group.[5] The contour of the right side of the owl's body forms a straight line between the body and the owl's facing head. The resulting shape is similar to the numeral "2," the base line being the feet and the upper most part being the head. The usual shape of the owl's body in the 454 to *c*. 415–413 BCE series has a rounded shape. The numeral "2" feature as well as the owl's large eyes are typical of some of the later fourth century Owls, cf. van Alfen 2000: Pl. 1, 8; 2002a: Pl. 5, 89. The weight of this cut half *tetradrachm* is very close to the average weight recorded for the 52 *pi*-style Owls in the 1973 Iraq Hoard: 16.52 g (van Alfen 2000:14, Table 3).

In a normal situation, it might be expected that the latest coin in a hoard would be in a relatively good state of preservation when compared to the other cut coins from the group. However, our piece is in poor condition, although this does not seem to have been caused by extensive wear but rather is due to the fact that it was plated.

The weighing of metal in Palestine is best evidenced by *Hacksilber* hoards that are dated as early as the Middle Bronze Age II, according to finds from Shechem, Nahariya and Megiddo (Kletter 2003:148), though admittedly evidence is meager. The use of *Hacksilber* as a unitized form of payment is especially vouched for in the Iron Age I in the southern Levant. It has been suggested the many seventh-

4 See comments by Kraay and Moorey 1968:226–227. Egyptian hoards of the end of the fifth century and into the fourth show a similar preponderance of Athenian Owls (e.g., *IGCH* 1648–1649, 1652, 1659–1663). In contrast, the predominate issues in earlier Egyptian hoards of the first half of the fifth century are from Macedonia and Thrace (between 47.5 and 24%, see Price and Waggoner 1975:118 and van Alfen 2004–2005a:13).

5 For the dating of this group see Kroll 1993:8–9. Most of the so-called *pi*-style group Athenian *tetradrachms* found in controlled archeological excavations and as strays in Palestine are authentic issues (Gitler and Tal 2006:25–30). This specimen, however, seems to be an Eastern imitation based on the owl's wrong proportions and its large eyes.

century BCE *Hacksilber* hoards at Ekron and elsewhere in Palestine indicate an economic development in which silver was used as money. Moreover, dozens of *Hacksilber* pieces have been found as strays in Israel and appear frequently on the local antiquities market. This should be taken into account when evaluating the economic role of *Hacksilber*. Kroll assumed that weighed silver in Persian-era Egypt was employed not only for major transactions, but also in those that must have been quite humble (2001:15–16). Our relatively small hoard (assuming that we have all the original pieces of the hoard, its total weight was 135.59 g) indicates that the same might have been true also for the Levant area. There certainly was a pre-coinage metal economy in pre-Achemenid Palestine (Gitler and Tal 2006:9, n. 4) but what constitutes "money" and a monetary economy prior to the traditional date of the "invention" of coinage in the Greco-Lydian milieu of Western Anatolia between 630 and 600 BCE (Powell 1996; Parise 2000; le Rider 2001:59–67; Cahill and Kroll 2005:613–614) is currently a matter of debate (see Gitin and Golani 2001; 2004; Thompson 2003; Kletter 2003; 2004; Schaps 2004; Seaford 2004:1). According to Thompson, the Iron Age silver hoards from Cisjordan (Palestine between the Mediterranean Sea and the river Jordan) and especially those from Dor, Tell Keisan, Ashqelon and Bet She'an, are among the best preserved examples of the conceptual antecedents of Greco-Lydian coinages in that they contained linen-wrapped bundles of *Hacksilber* that had been weighed according to standards and checked for purity before being sealed with bullae. Thompson argued that the monetary use of silver proliferated throughout Cisjordan during the Iron Age and that this proliferation is linked to the overwhelming preference for silver coinages among the Greeks. In other words, the popularity of silver in the Mediterranean stimulated the Greeks both in their homeland and in the colonies to make use of their available silver sources. The Phoenicians were thus aware of the essential practices involved in coining metal, namely using a device to indicate weight and purity verification of metal pieces (Thompson 2003; forthcoming).[6] The Near East may in fact be the region where metal economy was first initiated. Only later was this modified into a proper monetary economy in Lydia and Greece (Kletter 2003; 2004).

Although a textual record indicates the continuity of the practice of bundling *Hacksilber* in the Neo-Babylonian period (Thompson 2003:86), this material is absent in the record of Palestine between the Babylonian period and early stages of Achemenid rule. There are nevertheless later Persian-period hoards which include cut pieces of silver or jewelry functioning as bullion, as well as coins (see Table 1). During this time Greek archaic coins were beginning to take over the

6 On the continuity of this Near Eastern practice into the Persian period see van Alfen (2002c:186) who mentioned that the state or a religious center required that incoming silver contributions in whatever shape and size, be assayed, melted, further refined if need be, and cast into some (ingot-)form for storage until needed.

economic role of *Hacksilber*, though in small quantities. We know that the local traditional form of weighing pieces of metal was still in use in this transitional period, as many Greek Archaic coins, and especially Athenian *tetradrachms*, are found cut into pieces in order to form fractions to be weighed out for transactions (see, e.g., Gitler and Tal 2006:10, Fig. 1; Kraay and Moorey 1968). These pieces are sometimes found intentionally cut into approximate fractions, as noted. This enabled the local societies to use smaller denominations of roughly fixed standards, while also assuring the silver purity of the piece.

The importance of the Samarian-region 1999 *Hacksilber* hoard lies in the fact that it further illustrates that the practice of cutting coins and using them alongside *Hacksilber* and jewelry to be weighed in transactions continued into the second half of the fourth century BCE.[7] This runs contrary to hoard evidence which until now has generally indicated that by this period mixed hoards were composed mainly of coins circulating as coinage alongside supplementary pieces of jewelry and silver ingots rather than as *Hacksilber* alongside equal or greater quantities of jewelry and ingots (*CH* 9. 386, 413; *IGCH* 1488, 1504 and van Alfen 2004–05b). This Samaria hoard occurs long after what Kim (2001; 2002), Kroll (1998; 2001) and most recently Schaps (2004) have characterized as a revolutionary transition in the mid-fifth century BCE when the means of payment changed from the use of weighed metal to that of foreign coinage, and, subsequently, local issues. Therefore the Samarian 1999 hoard is in better agreement with Thompson (2003:87), whose model for understanding economic practices in this period and region is less linear and categorical, and with Seaford (2004:125–126) who recognizes coinage as the synthesis of earlier Greek and Near Eastern practices.

CATALOGUE

All items are silver except No. 5 which is silver plated.

Cut Athenian *tetradrachms*:

1. *Æ*R, cut half, ←, 6.76 g (Pl. 1:1).
2. *Æ*R, cut quarter, ←, 3.90 g (Pl. 1:2).
3. *Æ*R, cut tenth, ←, 1.69 g (Pl. 1:3).

These issues most probably belong to the series dated from 454 to *c*. 415–413 BCE (for the dating of this group see Kroll 1993:6, esp. n. 11; 2001:3, n. 2). Based on their stylistic features, these cut coins — as well as Nos. 4–5 — seem to be original Athenian issues,[8] however, given the fragmentary state of the coins we

7 There are other examples of cut coins dating to the second half of the fourth century found as single pieces, mainly as strays (Gitler and Tal 2006:10, Fig. 1, bottom image).

8 Flament (2001; 2003 and 2005) recently argued that most Owls found in the East might actually be original Athenian issues rather than local imitations as commonly accepted.

cannot be certain. These and the following two pieces were intentionally cut into rough halves, quarters and tenths of their original contours in order to form fractions to be weighed upon transactions. This practice enabled the use of fractions of a known fixed standard and of certificated silver purity.[9] Based on their good state of preservation it is plausible to assume that they did not circulate for a long time and were cut and transformed into bullion during the second half of the fifth century BCE.

4. *Æ*R, cut tenth, axis unclear, 1.59 g (Pl. 1:4).
Probably same date as Nos. 1–3.

5. Silver-plated bronze, cut half, ←, 8.34 g (Pl. 1:5).
This *pi*-style Athenian *tetradrachm* fixes the *terminus ante quem* for the concealment of the hoard (see above and n. 5).

6. *Æ*R, dumpy flan, 4.15 g. Test cut. (Pl. 1:6).
Comparanda: Selinus Hoard (Arnold-Biucchi, Beer-Tobey and Waggoner 1988: Pl. 12, A). For a definition of dumps and similar Iron Age pieces see Thompson 2003:75.

7. *Æ*R, dumpy flan, 10.19 g. Test cut. (Pl. 1:7).

8. *Æ*R, chisel cut fragment of flan with prior test cut. 3.18 g. (Pl. 1:8).

9–10. *Æ*R, pellets, 1.30; 0.81 g (Pl. 2:9–10).
Comparanda: Eshtemoʻa Hoard (Yeivin 1990:48, Fig. 4. See also Kletter and Brand [1998:150–151] for a redating of this hoard).

11. *Æ*R, 'token' or flattened flan, 3.56 g (Pl. 2:11).
Comparanda: Dor Hoard (Stern 2000: Pl. X, No. 5; Thompson 2003:76, Fig. 8), Eshtemoʻa Hoard (Yeivin 1990:53, Fig. 13).

12. *Æ*R, small 'token' or flattened flan, 0.54 g. (Pl. 2:12).

13–18. *Æ*R, fragments of block-shaped ingots, 12.71; 10.37; 7.47; 6.08; 4.46; 2.8 g (Pl. 2:13–18).
Comparanda: Tel Miqne-Ekron 1992 Hoard (Golani and Sass 1998:62, Fig. 8; Gitin and Golani 2001:31, Fig. 2.4), Elephantine Hoard (Noeske 1993: Pl. 38).

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9 The popularity of the Athenian *tetradrachm* in the East was due, in no small way, to the fact that the Laurion mines naturally produced very fine silver. Accordingly, one could cut the coin into rough halves, thirds, quarters and even smaller fractions but would avoid obliterating the original design, a procedure which would result in the object losing its identity as a coin known for its exceptional quality and the metal would then become "anonymous" in van Alfen's terminology (van Alfen 2002c:187–188).

19. *Æ*R, fragment of cake ingot (traces of graffito?), 9.82 g (Pl. 2:19).
Comparanda: Ein Gedi Hoard (Mazar 1963:104).

20. *Æ*R, fragment of a flat-tongue ingot, 5.52 g (Pl. 2:20).
Comparanda: Eshtemo'a Hoard (Yeivin 1990:51, Fig. 7, No. 15); Dor Hoard (Stern 2000: Pl. X, No. 3).

21–23. *Æ*R, fragments of chocolate bar ingots, 1.95; 1.89; 1.3 g (Pl. 2:21–23).
Comparanda: Eshtemo'a Hoard (Yeivin 1990:51, Fig. 7, Nos. 1–6), 'Akko (Thompson 2003:72, Fig. 2), Dor Hoard (Stern 2000: Pl. X, No. 6); Tel Miqne-Ekron 1988 Hoard (Stern 2000:72, Fig. 3). See also a general description Stern 2000:71–74.

24–33. *Æ*R, lunate earrings and their fragments, 1.89; 1.77 (24–25 seem to be a pair); 2.1; 2.09; 2.01; 1.93; 0.97; 0.52; 0.31; 0.05 g (Pl. 2:24–33).
Comparanda: Eshtemo'a Hoard (Yeivin 1990:55, Fig. 18); Tel Miqne-Ekron 1988 Hoard (Golani and Sass 1998:60, Fig. 5); Tel Miqne-Ekron 1995 Hoard (Gitin and Golani 2001:35, Pl. 2.10).

34. *Æ*R, lunate earring (different shape from previous ones), 1.68 g (Pl. 2:34).

35. *Æ*R, lunate earring with four-lobed attachment, 2.14 g (Pl. 2:35).
Comparanda: Eshtemo'a Hoard (Yeivin 1990:55, Fig. 20).

36. *Æ*R, indeterminate ingot fragment, 7.12 g. Test cuts. (Pl. 2:36).
Comparanda: Tel Miqne-Ekron 1992 Hoard (Gitin and Golani 2001:32, Pl. 2.6).

37. *Æ*R, fragment of worked object, 0.63 g (Pl. 2:37).

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The Last Ptolemaic Bronze Emission of Tyre

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Abstract
A bronze coin of Ptolemy V, struck at Tyre, bears his epithet Epiphanes and a spearhead symbol. These features associate the bronze with a few precious metal coins (Svoronos 1904:206, Nos. 1247–1249), confirming Otto Mørkholm's attribution of the "Monogram and Spearhead Series" to Syro-Phoenicia. Ptolemy V assumed the demotic form of his *epiklesis* before December 11, 199/January 9, 198. Our bronze and the *tetradrachm* Svoronos 1904:206, No. 1249 are apparently the earliest documents with the Greek form of the *epiklesis*. The numismatic evidence indicates that Tyre passed from Ptolemaic to Seleucid control in the Egyptian/Macedonian year 199/8.

The numismatic collection of the Israel Museum includes a rare Ptolemaic bronze, donated by Abraham Bromberg, which has never before been correctly described.[1] Its fabric is typically Ptolemaic, with a bevelled obverse edge and central cavities (Pl. 3:1).

Obv. Horned head of Zeus Ammon r., wearing *taenia* with *basileion*, ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ above, spearhead behind, dotted border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ curving on r., ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ curving on l., filleted club, dotted border.

Æ, ↖, 12.64 g, 25 mm. Israel Museum, inventory No. 8658.

A similar coin in Vienna (Svoronos 1904:166, No. 1046) is somewhat larger in diameter (28 mm), with a larger head of Ammon on the obverse, but similar in weight (11.30 g). Neither the obverse inscription nor the spearhead is visible on the Vienna specimen. Svoronos assigned it to the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes and identified the mint as Tyre on the obvious evidence of the reverse type (Svoronos 1904: Vol. 2, cols. σν'–σνζ').

The epithet Epiphanes establishes that this was an issue of Ptolemy V. The combination of epithet and spearhead associates our piece with a special issue of *tetradrachms* bearing the reverse legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ and the novel reverse type of a winged thunderbolt flanked by two stars, with the monogram  in the lower left field and a spearhead in the lower right field (Svoronos 1904:206, No. 1249; Pl. 3:2). The monogram and spearhead in turn associate further issues, a gold *mnaeion* or *octadrachm* of the Theon Adelphon type (Svoronos 1904:206,

1 My thanks to Haim Gitler, Curator of Coins at the Israel Museum, who drew the piece to my attention and gave me permission to publish it.

Nos. 1247–1248; Pl. 3:3), and a *tetradrachm* in the name of Ptolemy Soter, of the standard Ptolemaic type (Svoronos 1904:206, No. 1250; Pl. 3:4). None of these precious metal coins bears any outward sign of its mint, but Otto Mørkholm tentatively assigned the entire "Monogram and Spearhead Series" to the province of Syria and Phoenicia, citing (but not specifying) the find distribution (Mørkholm 1983:247–248). Mørkholm's provisional attribution was almost certainly based on a large hoard that entered the coin trade about 1981.[2] In this hoard coins of the "Monogram and Spearhead Series" were associated with coins bearing the mintmarks of various Syro-Phoenician cities, and with the "Main Series" of portrait coins of Ptolemy V, which Mørkholm had earlier attributed to a traveling mint following the movements of the Ptolemaic army during the Fifth Syrian War.[3] The Epiphanes bronze adds further support for Mørkholm's hypothesis that the "Monogram and Spearhead Series" originated in the Syro-Phoenician province. It may even imply that the entire series was minted at Tyre.

Helmut Kyrieleis proposed that Ptolemy V assumed his cult name Epiphanes on the occasion of his *anakleteria* (rites of adulthood) in 197 BCE, and that his *tetradrachms* bearing the epithet constituted a festal emission celebrating the event (Kyrieleis 1973:218). But Kyrieleis' hypothesis is inconsistent with the papyrological record. According to evidence cited by Werner Huss, demotic texts indicate that Ptolemy assumed the Egyptian equivalent of his cult name Epiphanes, *p3 ntr ntj pr* (the god who appears), after 10 January/8 February 199 but before 11 December 199/9 January 198.[4] The title was probably incorporated into the royal cult of the Egyptian city of Ptolemaïs at the beginning of the seventh regnal year, 12 October 199 (Huss 2001:529). The epithet appears for the first time at Alexandria in another demotic document dated 12 October/10 November 198 (P. dem. Berl. 13593 = Lüddeckens 1960: No. 28). Richard A. Hazzard argued, somewhat speculatively, that the king's apotheosis was probably coordinated with the celebration at Alexandria of the great quadrennial festival in honor

2 On the same page where he offered his tentative assignation, Mørkholm alluded to a hoard, and most of the Fifth Syrian War coins in *SNG Copenhagen, Supplement* were acquired in 1981 or 1982.

3 Mørkholm 1979:203–214. On p. 203, n. 2, Mørkholm expressed a suspicion that the "Monogram and Spearhead Series" might belong to Phoenicia, but the suggestion was much weaker than the claim he made in 1983. The hoard itself remains unpublished, but for examples of the 'Monogram and Spearhead Series' associated with other Syro-Phoenician coins, see *Münzen & Medaillen AG* 61, 7–8 October 1982, lots 223–224; *Numismatic Fine Arts* XVI, 2 December 1985, lots 291–293; *Numismatic Fine Arts* XVIII, 31 March 1987, lots 266–267; Kovacs Mail Bid Sale IX, 21 November 1988, lots 158–159; *Numismatic Fine Arts* XXV, 29 November 1990, lots 285, 287, 289–290.

4 Huss 2001:529, citing P. dem. Mich. 4526 A, I + II (=Lüddeckens 1960: No. 4 D + Z) as the latest document without the epithet, and P. dem. Louvre 2345 (=Zauzich 1968: No. 26) as the first document in which the epithet appears.

of Ptolemy Soter, the *Ptolemaieia,* which commenced about 25 January 198 (Hazzard 1995:430). Hazzard saw Ptolemy's claim of divinity as an attempt to salvage his prestige after the revolt of Upper Egypt and the territorial losses in Syria and Phoenicia (Hazzard 1995:427–430). Huss suggested it might legitimately celebrate the Crown's successful offensive in Upper Egypt in 199 (Huss 2001:529).

In the present state of our knowledge, it appears that the *tetradrachms* and bronze bearing the epithet Epiphanes mark the earliest appearance of the *epiklesis* in its Greek form. The Epiphanes bronze in particular is a document of considerable historic importance, for it establishes that Tyre remained in Ptolemaic hands until sometime in the seventh regnal year of Ptolemy V, and quite possibly until sometime in the year 198. The dated Seleucid bronzes of Tyre begin in 115 SE (198/7).[5] The numismatic evidence is thus consistent in its indications that Tyre passed from Ptolemaic to Seleucid rule in the course of the Egyptian and Macedonian year that ran from 12 October 199 to 11 October 198.[6]

The very fragmented literary record does not give any inkling that Tyre was perhaps the last Ptolemaic possession in the Syro-Phoenician province. We know nothing about the specific circumstances in the city and can only speculate about the hopes or calculations that inspired the production of a festal coinage. The precious metal coins of the "Monogram and Spearhead Series" were probably minted to finance a new counteroffensive, and the advertisement of the king's new epithet on silver and bronze was meant to rally the troops to recover the nearly lost province.

The Epiphanes bronze is almost the only bronze coin of Ptolemy V that can be associated with the Fifth Syrian War. A short series of Tyrian bronzes (Svoronos 1904:207, Nos. 1251–1253; Pls. 3:5–7) features the monogram ⍀ between the legs of the eagle.[7] The monogram would appear to link these bronzes with the Epiphanes tetradrachms of Ptolemy V, as well as the rest of the "Monogram and Spearhead Series." Against this interpretation, however, is the ivy-leaf countermark that appears on a coin of the series (Weiser 1995: No. 124). Richard A. Hazzard reported a hoard found in Lebanon in 1993, which contained large bronzes of Ptolemy IV, some countermarked with a cornucopia and others with an ivy leaf.[8] This report inspires the impression that the ivy-leaf countermark was the

5 *SNG Israel* 1 reports the date 114 SE for No. 662. This reading is doubtful, but issues of 115 SE are well attested.

6 On the assimilation of the Macedonian to the Egyptian calendar at least as early as the fourth regnal year of Ptolemy V, see Samuel 1962:129–134; 1972:149–150.

7 Svoronos 1904: cols. τμ'–τμβ', interpreted the monogram as the signature of Aristamenes, chief minister from 199 to 197, and argued that the club must be a symbol of Heracles rather than the Tyre mintmark because the city had already been lost to the Seleucids before Aristamenes' tenure.

8 In an as-yet unpublished manuscript entitled The Surge in Prices under Ptolemy IV.

Syro-Phoenician equivalent of the cornucopia countermark that was applied to many Egyptian bronzes of Ptolemy IV toward the end of his reign (Lorber 2000:81–82; Huston and Lorber 2001:21–22). If this conjecture is correct, it would place Svoronos 1904:207, Nos. 1251–1253 in the reign of Ptolemy IV.

Perhaps to be connected with the Fifth Syrian War is a pair of obscure bronzes bearing the legends ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, respectively (Svoronos 1904:191–192, Nos. 1182–1183; Pl. 3:8). Svoronos catalogued these as issues of Ptolemy IV. However, the epithet Philopator appears only once on an undoubted lifetime emission of Ptolemy IV, a gold *mnaeion* or *octadrachm* (Svoronos 1904:183, No. 1139), whereas it occurs several times on precious metal coins struck posthumously in his name during the Fifth Syrian War (Svoronos 1904:191, Nos. 1177–1179, 1189; Mørkholm 1979: Issue XIII).[9] This pattern suggests that the bronzes with the epithet Philopator are at least as likely to be posthumous as lifetime. Svoronos 1904:191, No. 1182, a unique coin in Naples, features the letters ΤΥΡ in the right field, which led Svoronos to assign the piece to Tyre. The style of the eagle is awkwardly provincial, somewhat reminiscent of the image on a *tetradrachm* of Ptolemy V from Byblus (Svoronos 1904:214, No. 1288, Pl. Γ, 28; Pl. 3:9). Other products of the Tyre mint show a consistent, polished style, and we must wonder whether the letters ΤΥΡ are really a mintmark, or whether they may be a control of some kind, employed by a different Syro-Phoenician city that was not a regular mint. Svoronos 1904:192, No. 1183, another unique coin, was catalogued without indications of its size or weight, on the basis of early eighteenth-century sources (Vaillant 1701:69; Gessner 1738: Pl. 1:24). While the variety obviously requires confirmation, we can now qualify Svoronos' statement that its legend is unparalleled,[10] since the new Epiphanes bronze also bears both the royal title and a cult name, though not in the same configuration. The use of the epithet Philopator on Svoronos 1904:191–193, Nos. 1182 and 1183, and the evidently small size of the emissions, suggests these were special commemorative issues, parallel in concept to the Epiphanes bronze, but not necessarily contemporary.

Mørkholm identified another bronze coinage ostensibly of the Fifth Syrian War, a short series (Svoronos 1904:193–194, Nos. 1190–1191, 1193–1194; Pls. 3: 10–13) inscribed for regnal years 3 and 4 and bearing the reverse monogram .[11] Mørkholm based the association on the fact that this monogram also appears on

9 Leu 77, 11–12 May 2000, lot 392, a *tetradrachm* bearing the epithet Philopator, is of uncertain date.

10 *Svoronos* Vol. 2, col. τδ'.

11 Mørkholm 1979:207 n. 14. Svoronos originally catalogued these bronzes as issues of Ptolemy IV, perhaps from Cyprus, but in vol. 2, cols. τ'–τη', he argued that the ΚΡ monogram on the obverse pointed to an origin on Crete instead. The attribution to Cyprus was reaffirmed as probable by Davesne 1994:15 with n. 17.

gold and silver coins of Sidon, Tyre, and Ptolemais, datable to the early reign of Ptolemy V and perhaps extending back to the late reign of Ptolemy IV.[12] Mørkholm's attribution of these bronzes does not stand up to scrutiny. On these issues the eagles are portrayed with their legs fully feathered, the feathering schematized as parallel, nearly horizontal lines. These renderings are inconsistent with the bare-legged eagles of the 𐅵 precious metal coinage and other coinages of the Fifth Syrian War, and point to a date no earlier than the reign of Ptolemy VI.[13]

The almost complete lack of new Ptolemaic bronze issues in the Syro-Phoenician province during the Fifth Syrian War contrasts strikingly with the practice of Antiochus III, who minted plentiful bronze coinage from a military mint to provide *sitarchia* (provision money) for his troops (Houghton and Lorber 2000–2002:46–48 and 52–54). It is unlikely that the Ptolemaic troops received *sitarchia* in the form of silver *tetradrachms*, whose high value was not suited to small transactions in local markets. Either the Ptolemaic army paid *sitarchia* in the form of older bronze coins, or it provisioned the troops directly.

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12 Svoronos 1904:191, Nos. 1177–1181 and p. 192, Nos. 1185–1187. Svoronos dated these issues to the reign of Ptolemy IV. The regnal attribution was revised by Mørkholm 1979:207, n. 14, and Mørkholm 1983:245. Mørkholm did not offer a rationale on either occasion, but his conclusion is supported by the prominence of the 𐅵 precious metal coinage in the 1981 hoard.

13 Cleopatra I exercised a regency that lasted from the accession of Ptolemy VI in 180 until her death in April or May of 176, i.e., half way through the fourth regnal year of Ptolemy VI. (For the dates, see Skeat 1954:33, and Pestman 1967:46–47.) To the period of Cleopatra's regency we must assign the bronze coinage bearing her name on the obverse (Svoronos 1904:225, Nos. 1380–1382), which was followed by a closely similar coinage in the name of Ptolemy alone, with the same types and control (Svoronos 1904:226–227, Nos. 1383–1387). It would thus appear that the earliest occasion for the 𐅵 bronzes dated to regnal years 3 and 4 would be the joint reign of Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy the Brother, which was marked by a new regnal count beginning in 170. The appearance of regnal dates on bronze coinage is altogether exceptional and may have been motivated by a desire to reaffirm the legitimacy of the coregency after the turbulent events of the Sixth Syrian War, which created a temporary rupture between the joint monarchs. A much later date, in the joint reign of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX, is advocated by Thomas Faucher and Mona Shahin (forthcoming). I am grateful to these colleagues for sharing their research before its publication.