

TACK
NNEX

5

5

072

510



ON THE
JEWISH "LULAB"
AND
"PORTAL" COINS.

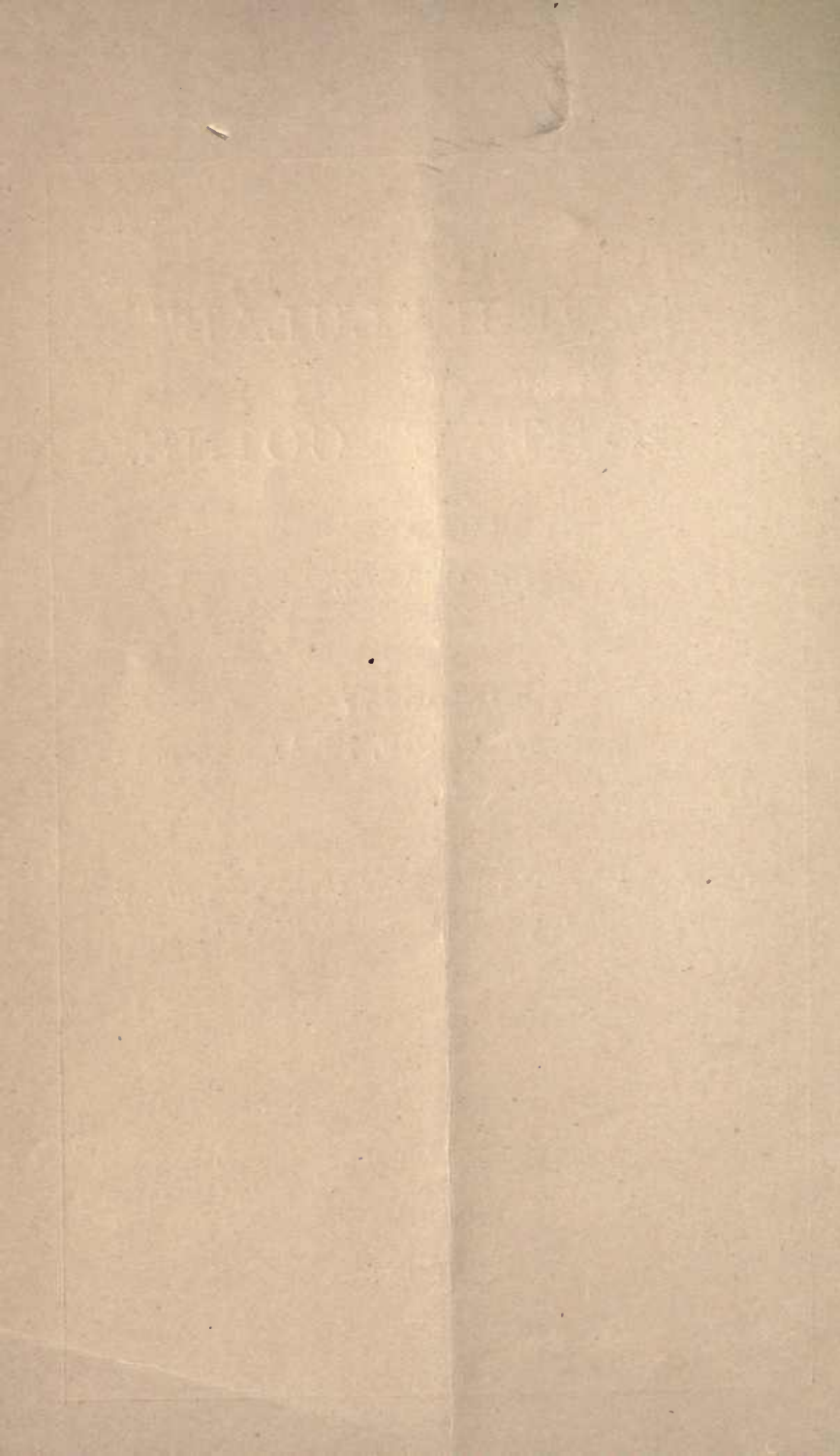
BY
DR. GRAETZ.

TRANSLATED BY
H. MONTAGU, F.S.A.

REPRINTED FROM THE NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.
VOL. VIII., THIRD SERIES, PAGES 165—198.

lifornia
onal
lity

LONDON:
1888.



ON THE
JEWISH “LULAB”
AND
“PORTAL” COINS.

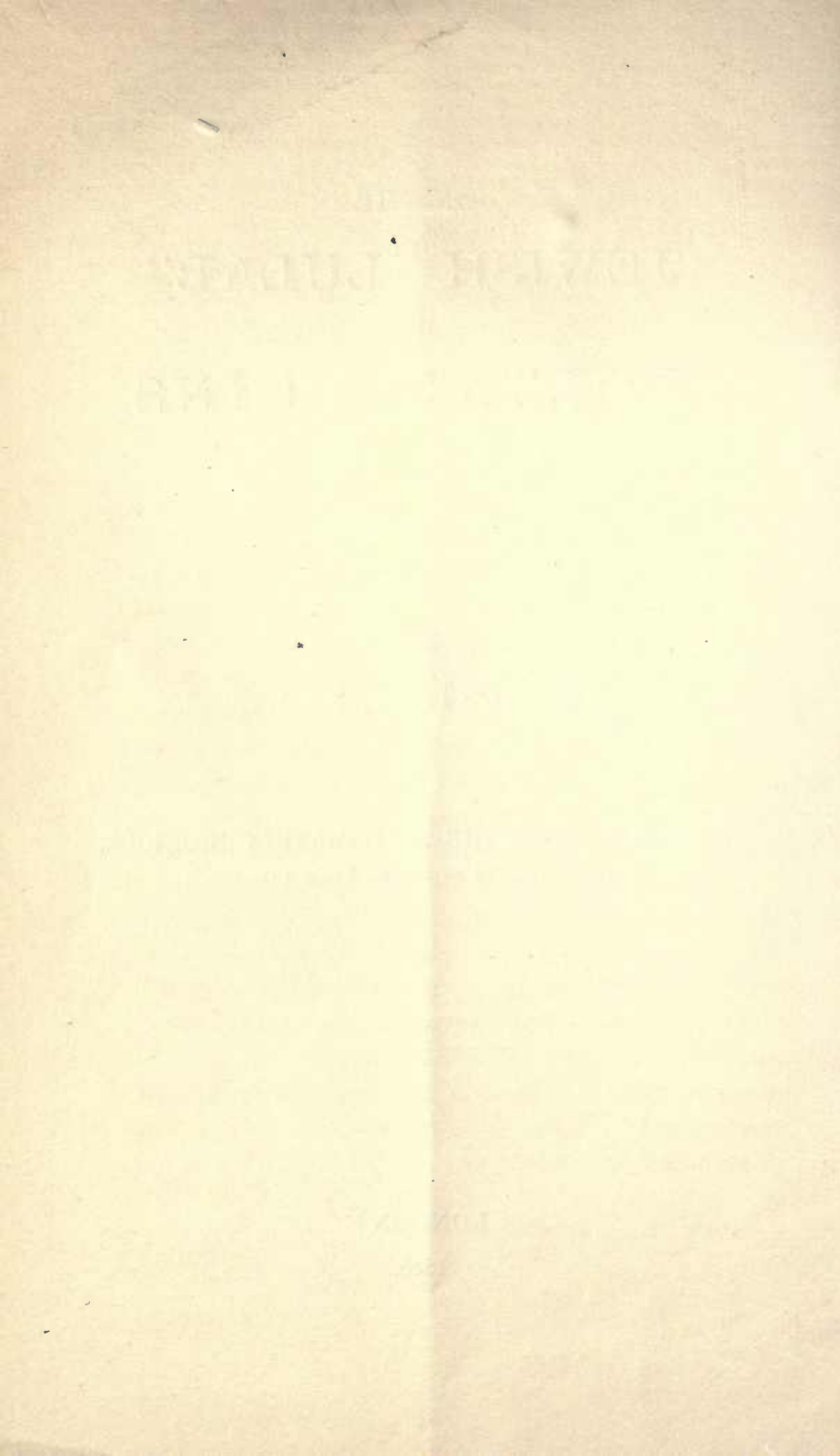
BY
DR. GRAETZ.

TRANSLATED BY
H. MONTAGU, F.S.A.

REPRINTED FROM THE NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.
VOL. VIII., THIRD SERIES, PAGES 165—198.

LONDON:

1888.



JEWISH COINS.

IN submitting the following translation of an article written by the learned Dr. Graetz, of Breslau, our chief living authority on Jewish history, and on all that pertains to it, I add no comment or criticism of my own. The article was written for the purpose of being read by its author at one of the meetings lately held in connection with the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition. At this Exhibition selections of ancient Jewish coins were sent from all the principal collections, always excepting those of the British Museum, which, under its rules and regulations, could not be lent for that purpose, but were, by the kindness of the authorities, exhibited separately at the same time within the precincts of the Museum. I was entrusted with the pleasurable task of cataloguing and of writing a short account of these coins in the official catalogue of the Exhibition, and hence my having been authorised by Dr. Graetz at the same time to translate his contribution. I may fairly ask some of our friends who have made a special study of the coins of the period referred to by him to give their views on the subject of the propositions which he has enunciated.

H. MONTAGU.

ON THE SIGNIFICATION OF THE JEWISH COINS
WITH THE LULAB (PALM-BRANCHES) AND
PORTAL.

BY DR. GRAETZ.

JEWISH numismatics—for there are such—bear eloquent testimony to the struggles and victories of the Jewish people from the Maccabæan period until, perhaps, after the destruction of the Second Temple. The coins which come within the scope of this study are invaluable records, inasmuch as they not only faithfully represent historical facts connected with personages and events, but also reflect, without distortion, their sense and importance. In addition to this, such of them as bear dates furnish fixed and certain aids to chronology.

For two centuries those who presided over the Jewish mints issued coins with Hebrew legends for current use; Simon Maccabæus and his successors, the Asmonæan princes and kings, in the beginning, and, afterwards, various eminent personages at the time of the defection from Rome and of the great war under Vespasian, and perhaps even in later times. These last come under the denomination of coins of the Revolts. All these coins have acquired so great an importance that historians whose work extends over the period of their issue study them, and are compelled to study them, and the public museums of all European States have zealously devoted their energies towards the acquisition of genuine specimens, for which payment is at times made to the extent of a thousandfold their intrinsic value. Jewish numismatics have at the present day become the subject of a study of itself.

It is interesting to trace how this branch of archæology

has from rudiments originally so slight attained the importance now attributed to it. It was always known in Jewish circles that there were once Jewish coins with Hebrew inscriptions and with lettering similar to the Samaritan characters. Maimuni saw some of these in Egypt in the twelfth century. When Machmani was exiled, and sought an asylum in Palestine owing to the persecution of the Dominicans, he found, on his arrival at Acre in the year 1267, shekels and half shekels in the possession of the Jews there settled. This did not in the least astonish him; he was more interested in considering the question whether their weight was in harmony with the declarations of the Talmud. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century Moses Alaschkar saw, in Tunis, several similar specimens in silver and copper, and with varied types and legends. He was also informed that three or four examples in gold, of the extraordinary value of six ducats each, were in the possession of a certain magnate there. In the same century the existence of similar pieces with the so-called Samaritan lettering was not unknown to the Jews in Italy. No one, however, devoted any attention to them, or seemed to have any knowledge of their historical value. Neither did the savants in Christian circles devote much more attention to Jewish numismatics even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although Hebrew literature and archæological studies were then fostered and led to fame, and although a considerable number of specimens of this class of coins had been brought together and were accessible in public and private collections. Many Orientalists doubted their genuineness, owing to their peculiar striking and lettering, and considered them to be fabrications of astute dealers in Jerusalem or Italy, and bestowed more atten-

tion upon the formation of the letters than upon the importance of the legends.

It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that the study of Jewish numismatics was treated with more consideration and zeal, and thereby attained the rank of a study in itself. A Spanish priest with a German patronymic, the Archdeacon of Valencia, Francisco Perez Bayer, gave to it a lasting impulse. His treatise, *De numis Hebræo-Samaritanis* (1781), to which he added drawings of a substantial number of different specimens, marked an era in this branch of archæology chiefly owing to the opposition which he at first experienced.

Tychsen, a German professor of Rostock, who had learnt Hebrew from the heretical Rabbi, Jonathan Eibeschütz, of Altona, and who wished to utilise this knowledge for the conversion of the Jews, maintained, without any valid reason, that all the specimens preserved as such rare treasures in public museums and private collections were the productions of forgers in Palestine or Italy. It was, however, just this dogmatical opinion (behind which lurked his own idiosyncrasy), and the manner also in which he treated the honourable and well-informed Bayer, that awakened interest in the study of Jewish numismatics, and its defender, Bayer, in his reply, *Vindicia Numorum Hebræo-Samaritanorum* (1790), produced more evidence as to the genuineness of the coins, and published several more specimens, which he had discovered on his journey through Spain. Numismatists of authority confirmed his arguments. The venerable French archæologist, Jean Jacques Barthelemy, whose opinion was of importance, remarked, "Si l'on doutait de leur authenticité (des médailles hébréo-samaritaines) il faudrait douter de celles des médailles grecques et

romaines." The most celebrated numismatist of that time, Joseph Eckhel, of Vienna, treated of the Jewish coins in his great work, *Doctrina Numorum* (1794), and entirely disposed of Tychsen by his superior authority. In the meanwhile, owing to the French Revolution and the great wars, the study of Jewish numismatics made no progress for a long time. It was only in the middle of the present century that it gained further strength and elucidation. M. de Saulcy, a captain of artillery, mainly contributed to this. Entrusted with the task of writing the history of the Jewish nation before and after the second destruction of Jerusalem, and full of love for his subject, and especially for Judaism, as he averred in *Les derniers jours de Jérusalem*, he was so fortunate on his journey through Palestine as to obtain a large collection of Jewish coins. His work *Recherches sur la Numismatique judaïque* (1854) marked a second epoch in the treatment of this subject. On the one hand he excited emulation in connection with his acquisition of such genuine coins, inasmuch as he at the same time furnished proofs of their genuineness; and on the other hand he advanced the cause of original research into the history of the Jews from the Maccabæan era until the time of Hadrian, this being found indispensable to a proper understanding of the coins. In the same way as, formerly, theologians sought to verify the chronology of the New Testament by reference to historical records and to Jewish literature generally, so were the same sources of knowledge now examined by those learned in the matter in the interests of Jewish numismatics. The Talmud, hitherto a sealed book, not to say an object of abhorrence so far as Christian savants were concerned, was now honoured by being called into the councils of the investigators, to throw, if possible, some light upon

obscure numismatic points. To this also De Saulcy gave an impetus, and he thereby showed his right appreciation of the subject. For, in fact, without a knowledge of the hints which are given, or, perhaps rather, let fall undesignedly, and, therefore, all the more credibly, in the Talmud with respect to the customs and events connected with the actual life of the time in which the coins originate, or are said to originate, the history of that epoch is not altogether intelligible.

The evidences of Josephus, notwithstanding their great worth, might excite some suspicion, owing to the fact that out of consideration for his Greek and Roman readers, he either wilfully or unintentionally effaced the original colouring as being too glaring for such readers. Much less information is on purely secular matters afforded by the Gospels, with their epics dialogues, and monologues. For, independently of the fact that these are not contemporaneous, the circle from whom they originate held aloof from public life, and despised it too much to understand it. "*Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*" is a sentence which reflects clearly the Ebionitic conception of Mammon or of money. On the other hand, the Talmudic literature gives a faithful representation of the different aspects of public life within the cycle to which these coins belong, and to which, therefore, numismatic science must have regard. It is proposed to demonstrate in the following pages how certain casual expressions in the Talmud with reference to ancient customs indisputably elucidate an obscure point in Jewish numismatics. Although all difficulties connected with that portion which relates to the Maccabæan period have for the most part been dissipated, there still exists a difference of opinion concerning that portion of which the chronological position and date are not clearly defined.

There is especially a great controversy as to the class of coins upon which the name of Simon more or less distinctly appears. Some numismatists identify this Simon with the elder or younger Simon Ben Gamaliel (of Hillel descent), the latter being the grandson of the former, or to some extent also with Simon Bar-Gioras, the wild hero of the zealots; others ascribe the coins of this class, or a section of them, to the heroic Simon Bar-Cochab, who, in the time of Hadrian, kept the Roman legions at bay for three years. There are some pieces, too, which are called Eleazar coins. There is a controversy also as to these. Some attribute them to Eleazar, a leader of the zealots during the revolt of the Jews against the Romans, but, on the other hand, De Sauley refers them to the little-known Eleazar of Modin, a Hagadist. It has, in short, been found impracticable hitherto to decide with any degree of certainty which coins belong to the first and which to the second Revolt, notwithstanding the amount of discussion that has taken place.

There is a series of coins also concerning which the same doubts have arisen, and which are called "lulab" pieces. They are all of almost identical types, but their legends differ. The types are of the following varieties, viz., on the one side is a bundle of branches better known by the name of a lulab (composed of a long palm-branch between two shorter ones of myrtle and willow), and near it is the representation of a fruit which is rightly considered to be the citron or ethrog, and is inseparably connected with the lulab. On the other side of these pieces the type is that of a portal or colonnade; four columns with an architrave, and other ornamentations above. This tetra-style portal is not, however, struck in identically the same manner on all the pieces, but exhibits several variations in form. The legends on these lulab pieces differ

still more. One kind distinctly bears on the lulab side the words, "First Year of the Deliverance of Israel" (שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל), and on the portal side, on both sides of the columns and over the architrave, the word, "Jerusalem" (ירושלם), but no proper name.

Several pieces, on the contrary, have on the lulab side the legend, "The second year of the freedom of Israel" (ש ב לחר ישראל) and on the portal side, similarly to the last, "Jerusalem," also without any proper name. Others, again, have more or less distinctly on the portal side the name of "Simon" instead of Jerusalem. Finally, a third or fourth kind has on the lulab side the words, "On the freedom of Jerusalem" (לחרות ירושלם in full) but not the year of striking, and on the portal side the name "Simon."

What makes the exact chronological attribution of this class of coins so doubtful is the circumstance that on some specimens traces of the head of an emperor, or Greek letters, occur—in one case the termination **NOC**, and one has somewhat distinctly, in Greek lettering, an abbreviation of the name Titus Flavius Vespasianus. These specimens are, therefore, *surfrappé* coins—that is to say, that over Greek imperial coins of Vespasian, Domitian or Trajan, the impression of a Jewish coin has been struck, as is the case with other coins, which clearly show, under the Jewish striking, the full name of Trajan with his titles.

Now Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor in July, A.D. 69, during the Jewish war. He only arrived at Rome A.D. 70. His first coin, therefore, could only at the very earliest have been struck in this year. Is it to be said that the besieged in Jerusalem had already become possessed of coins of Vespasian a few months before the

destruction of the city, and had impressed upon them Jewish devices and inscriptions? This is scarcely credible. But assume for one moment that these were coins of Trajan. It would be more readily conceded that this surfrappage had taken place much later, during the second Revolt. At all events, therefore, these pieces upon which the surfrappage is visible would belong to the period of Bar-Cochab. As then the similarity of the types points to a contemporaneous date, the class of lulab coins must also, one and all, belong to the same period. De Sauley arrives at this conclusion, though not by the same method of reasoning. He claims that this class, as also many others, belong to the second Revolt, and the occurrence on some of the pieces of this class of the name "Simon" appears to support his attribution. Other numismatists, particularly Merzbacher and Madden, do not concur in this result. The former attributes the types with the dates "first and second year" (Figs. 1, 2, 3)¹ to the first, and those without date (Figs. 4, 5, 6), to the second Revolt. Madden attributes Type I. only to the first Revolt. Another class of coins gives rise to similar differences of opinion on the part of these authorities. The Eleazar coins belong, most probably to the first Revolt; and these also have the date "First year of the freedom of Israel," the same as one kind of the lulab coins. The latter kind, at all events, therefore belong also to the period of the first Revolt. In short, the most eminent numismatists move in a circle in their attempts to fix the date of this class of coins.

To find a way out of the difficulty a fresh path must be

¹ Plate VI., in illustration of this translation, is an exact copy, with all faults, of that which accompanied Dr. Graetz's original paper, but the module of the coins has, in the process of reproduction, been slightly diminished.

struck. In the next place, the exact significance of the types and legends must be ascertained. For the lulab and portal, which all coins of that class have in common, are striking enough, and must have originated from ascertainable sources. The most obvious meaning of the lulab is given by the numismatic writers: "The type of these shekels—the ethrog and lulab—reminded the Jews of the Feast of Tabernacles." (Madden.) It should be added that they are represented as they were accustomed to be held during the recital of the psalms contained in the prayer of the Hallel in connection with which they were used, the lulab to the right, and the ethrog to the left. The numismatists have, however, omitted to notice a slight detail which is visible in connection with the form of the lulab. On all the coins the latter, with the small twigs appertaining to it, is depicted as being in an ornamented receptacle. This has the appearance of a chalice. It is clearly an embellishment. What then is the meaning of this embellishment or receptacle? The Talmud at once clears up the difficulty.

Rabbi Meïr states quite casually that the men of position in Jerusalem carried their lulab in a small golden basket. The bundle of palm, myrtle, and willow-branches, according to the laws of the ritual, was obliged to be bound together at the ends. Now Rabbi Meïr, in opposition to the assertion that the connecting band must be in the nature of vegetable fibre, refers to the fact that the leading inhabitants of Jerusalem did not observe that custom, but effected the binding together by means of a small golden basket. His Halachic adversary concedes that fact, but gives it as his opinion that the bundle was connected together by bands of thread inside the basket. It may, in addition, be remarked that Rabbi Meïr, as a disciple of Rabbi Akiba, may have received from him

traditions on the subject of the customs and usages in Jerusalem; for the latter was of an advanced age at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Let us now consider the meaning of the tradition concerning this gold lulab basket. The custom was not in vogue during the lifetime of Rabbi Meïr, but only previously thereto, during the existence of Jerusalem. This somewhat unorthodox custom, also, did not prevail outside Jerusalem. It happened, therefore, that it was in Jerusalem alone that a display was made with the lulab. They not only made use of it in the Temple, and in the house of prayer when the Hallel psalms were recited, but it was seldom out of their hands during the day. The Talmud contains a tradition which has a bearing upon this also. The rich and those who were of note in Jerusalem, to make a show of their lulab, adorned it with a gold basket; they could not grudge themselves this luxury.

Regarding now the receptacle in which the lulab is placed on the type of the lulab coins, can there be any doubt but that it represents this very basket? It appears to be ribbed and twisted like a basket; it can clearly be called a basket. It has a foot or a handle by which it can be held, and two or three openings. The lulab-bundle on the coins is depicted in the same manner as the men of rank in Jerusalem used to hold and display it. It requires no further argument on that subject to make it clear that these coins could only have been struck during the existence of Jerusalem; and as the custom of depositing the lulab in a basket did not prevail subsequently, the later moneyers would not have taken it into their heads to depict bundles in that shape. That shape it is evident could not have been in vogue at the time of Bar Cochab, as Rabbi Meïr, who was then living, refers to the custom as having been one existing in earlier times, and which, therefore,

was not practised in his own time. It can also scarcely be argued that the receptacle in which the lulab is depicted on the coin-types is only an embellishment, and this is all it could have been if it had been met with in the ordinary course as a kind of ornamental basket-work. I dwell somewhat upon this circumstance as it constitutes the centre of gravity for the chronological attribution of the lulab coins.

Let us now consider the reverses of these pieces. They clearly bear only the representation of a portal, always with two columns on each side, and generally with an architrave.

Numismatists are as wanting in unanimity on the subject of this type as they are unanimous with regard to the lulab and the ethrog at its left-hand. Perez-Bayer maintains that the portal is a representation of the Mausoleum which Simon Maccabaeus (or rather his son) caused to be erected in memory of the Asmonaeon family in Modin. This explanation has been rightly rejected, inasmuch as most examples of this class bear the name of Jerusalem. It was also interpreted as depicting the Ark of the Covenant, which is somewhat paradoxical, as in post-exile times the ark and its form were utterly unknown. Other numismatists have been willing to see in it the form of the Temple, or of the entrance to the Temple. (*Cavedoni, Levy, Merzbacher.*) But this interpretation can scarcely be correct, as the Temple of the time of the Herods had no ornamentation of columns at the entrance; and it can still less be regarded as a gate, inasmuch as the opening is in a certain measure barricaded by a three-barred decoration. Merzbacher for that reason denominates the emblem as a closed gate. But a closed gate affords no entrance, and therefore it cannot symbolize

the gate of the Temple. What then is the meaning of the portal side of these lulab coins?

It must be remembered that on the other side the lulab is represented *optimâ in formâ* to the right, bound up with the two other branches; on the left the ethrog fruit, and in addition an embellishment to the bundle, as must have occurred in actual use. What deeper significance has this type?

It is a great departure from the emblems which occur on most of the Jewish coins. These latter, such as the palm-tree, or palm-leaf, or the vine, are symbols representing the Holy Land or the Jewish people. What meaning, however, was there in the striking of a lulab on coins? It was, without encumbering the argument with subtleties, simply and solely intended to commemorate the Festival of Succoth (Tabernacles), and beyond this the period of this festival, which was celebrated by means of two several ritual symbols, the branches of four kinds of plants (ארבע מינים), and the lightly constructed Festival Tabernacle (סוכה). If this festival is to be typically depicted it should be represented in both of these aspects, not only by means of the lulab, but also by means of the tabernacle. The portal, therefore, represents the façade of the Festival Tabernacle, not, of course, that of the very first or best description, but, as in the case of the lulab, that of a Jew in a superior position, who has made a parade of it as with the lulab. It must have been a tabernacle of elegant construction.

As a matter of fact, tabernacles of this elegance of construction, with columns, did actually occur. In Talmudical literature mention is made of one of these surrounded on all sides by columns, and that these columns were regarded as being in accordance with the ritual as

representing walls, and the whole building considered to be an orthodox form of the Festival Tabernacle. The example is certainly borrowed from actual reality. Many a man of position has used as a Sukka (Festival Tabernacle) the *περίστυλον* in the court-yard of his house, furnished with a roof consisting of a light covering of leaves. It is stated of the proselyte of Adiabene, Queen Helena, who in 48 A.D. had come to Jerusalem with her grandchildren in order to give them a Jewish education, that she caused to be built for herself a very noble Festival Tabernacle. It is difficult to imagine that its walls were of massive construction, as this could scarcely have been tolerated, having regard to the high temperature at this festival time. The tabernacle would, with greater probability, have been built so as to secure a large access of fresh air, and the queen, who spoke Greek, no doubt would also have had a taste for the light airy Greek style of building, and her tabernacle was doubtless, therefore, ornamented with columns, at all events so far as the façade was concerned, which, according to the ritual, need not be a wall. A Festival Tabernacle with a façade of columns, such as was in use among people of position in Jerusalem, certainly served as a model for the type of this series of coins. It formed the complement to the lulab, which, as we have proved, was used for show.

Now, regarding the portal with the tetrastyle as the representation of a decoratively constructed Festival Tabernacle, we shall also find on the portal on these coins a trifling detail, little regarded heretofore by numismatists, but which has its signification. Upon most specimens there is introduced into the cavity of the portal a semi-circle of little rings, and upon this semicircle are three lines, upon which may be observed little globules, those

in the middle smaller than those above or below. These beaded lines can only be of the nature of an ornamentation, and this again can be explained by a reference to Talmudical literature. It was the custom to decorate the Festival Tabernacles with strings of nuts or almonds, grapes, or wreaths consisting of ears of corn. This decoration has a technical term applied to it, *בני הסוכה*, *i.e.* the ornament of the Tabernacle. The ritual law provided that such a decoration when once added to the Tabernacle should not be eaten or made use of until after the expiration of the festival.

The semicircles and the lines with little rings or globules on the portals represented on the coins are only to be regarded as decorations of the Festival Tabernacle. The portal is, therefore, not closed at the bottom, but it exhibits a decoration in accordance with the custom in connection with Festival Tabernacles; and it is therefore in no wise to be considered as a colonnade of a temple, but only as a representation of the Festival Tabernacle of a man of rank or position who decorated the subject matter of his ritual duty, in the same manner as the lulab is provided with an ornament. Both types on the coins, the lulab on the one side and the decorative façade of the Festival Tabernacle on the other, together serve to represent the Festival of Tabernacles. These symbols of the festival have a deeper meaning still, and one which the types on the coins were intended to represent. The lulab reminds us of rejoicings; as we read in the Law, "You shall take of the fruit of the tree Hadar and palm-branches, &c., and shall rejoice before the Lord."

The Second Book of the Maccabees, in fact, relates that at the consecration of the Temple by the Maccabees, palm-branches, and especially lulabs, were, as a sign of rejoicing,

swung to the tune of the hymns.² It being granted that the lulab symbolises a joyful mood, it may likewise be taken that the Festival Tabernacle records another train of thought, namely, God's protection of his people. The Law distinctly lays down, in its prescription for the abode in tents or tabernacles during this festival, that it should be remembered at this period how the Lord protected our forefathers in the wilderness. The verse Isaiah vi. 17, וסוכה, &c., has made this line of thought plainer still, and in later times it was so extended as to render the Festival Tabernacle a protection against all ill-doers, and even against evil demons.³ There was a reason, therefore, on the part of the engravers of this series of coins in choosing the emblems discussed by us. They were intended to represent the rejoicings over their acquisition, and at the same time confidence in the protection of His people by the Lord. The types, therefore, indicate the frame of mind of the people, and the legends give the facts and the dates which brought it into play. "The first year of the freedom of Israel," "The second year of the freedom of Israel," compress into a very small compass a subject rich with historical interest, and arising at a time when Jerusalem was still independent. Although the legend ירושלם on the lulab coins sufficiently points to this conclusion, it is established with still greater force by the decoration on the bundle of leaves, the basket-shaped tress-work, which represents the golden basket of the upper classes of Jerusalem.

Here, however, we have to surmount a somewhat serious difficulty. Although on the one hand it is certain that the basket ornamentation points to the independence of Jerusalem, and that therefore the lulab coins must have been

² 2 Maccab. x., 6, 7.

³ *Pesikta*, R. Kahana, ed. Buber, p. 187, &c. שלא יזיקי.

struck *before* the destruction, it is equally certain, on the other hand, that they must be attributed to some period after the destruction, if regard is to be had to the traces which occur on some of these coins of the bust of a Roman emperor, and to the name in distinct characters of one of those emperors. The view taken by Dr. Merzbacher, and partly also by Madden, that some examples of these belong to the first and others to the second Revolt is altogether untenable. It were better to fully concur in the decision of Von Sallet which he expresses concerning the Simon coins as a whole: "It is unexampled and impossible, in connection with ancient numismatics, that coins which absolutely resemble each other in style, and can even be readily confused the one with the other, should be separated in point of time by a period of sixty years."⁴ Therefore all the lulab coins must, according to our author, belong to the time of Bar-Cochab. This theory, however, cannot be right, since the emblem which represents the custom of the nobility in Jerusalem proves them to be of a time *before* Bar-Cochab. How then shall we escape this dilemma? Only by dealing with the matter in the most critical manner. All those examples, the legends upon which indicate an epoch after the destruction, and which are in addition of an extremely suspicious nature, must be the fabrications of a forger. But an imitation presupposes an original. There must, therefore, have been genuine lulab coins which served as patterns to the forger, and these genuine pieces were certainly of the time before the fall of Jerusalem. I always return to that point, because it was only during the independence of the capital that the decoration of the basket-shaped tress-work could have been designed.

⁴ *Zeitschr. für Numism.* v. 113.

Those examples only are genuine which give a date, "first and second year of the deliverance, or of the freedom of Israel," but which have not the name of the ruler who struck them. Those kinds, also, which have the date and the name of Simon may also be genuine. The trace of the emperor's bust which may be observed upon one example need not discredit its authenticity, it may be the head of Nero; and so also NO in large letters upon one example of the second year without "Simon" does not make it a suspected piece, as it is possibly part of the termination of ΝΕΡΩΝΟC, and the coin may be struck over one of Nero. But certainly those pieces are not genuine which have the absurd legend "The freedom of Jerusalem," and not לחר ישראל; and also the piece which, instead of לחרות ירושלם, distinctly has ותרשלם, being at some distance from it, and the Samaritan ח being clumsily formed with three little limbs instead of, as is usual throughout, with two (Fig. VI.). The example, which is struck over a coin issued after Nero, must especially be considered to be false.

Treating the lulab coins which have a date as genuine, it must be observed that their legends bear upon historical events, upon matters of fact at the time of the Revolt from Rome under Nero, in the same way as their types, the lulab and façade of the tabernacle, represent the sentiments of the people at that period. The difference between לנאלת and לחרות is particularly noteworthy. The former signifies "Deliverance," *i.e.* the beginning of the liberation from foreign rule; לחרות, on the other hand, signifies "Freedom," *i.e.* the continuance of the liberation achieved. It marks a further stage in the desired independence. To לנאלת belongs אחת שנת, and to לחרות the date שנת ב'. There is, therefore, no

coin to be found which has the legend שנת א' לחרות or שנת ב' לנאלת. A published piece belonging to Reichardt, which has the latter legend, was rightly condemned as false by Levy, De Saulcy, and Madden (Madden, *Numism. Orient.* II. 236, No. 10). The example of a lulab coin which bears the legend שנת אחרת לנאלת ישראל (Fig. I), was certainly struck during the first period of the Revolt from Rome, and with equal certainty at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, as is proved by the types. In point of chronology this thoroughly agrees with the historical events in the beginning of the Revolt as they are narrated by Josephus. On the day of the Festival of the Boughs, the 15th day of the month Ab,⁵ the Roman cohorts stationed in the citadel (Acra) under the Tribune Metilius, and Agrippa's troop under the leadership of the Babylonian Philip, were so hard pressed by the Zealots that they were compelled to seek refuge and entrench themselves in Herod's Palace on the Market Place. On the 6th Gorpiaios, i.e. 6th Elul, the Zealots allowed Agrippa's host to withdraw and continued the conflict with the Roman cohorts. Then these capitulated and were cut to pieces, with the exception of Metilius, who went over to Judaism. From that time the people of Jerusalem felt themselves free from the foreign yoke. The day and month of this victory are, it is true, not given by Josephus, but the commemorative scroll for the day in question (Megillath Taanit) briefly declares "on the 17th Elul, the Romans were driven out of Jerusalem and Judah." The rejoicings at this victory were so great,

⁵ Josephus' Declaration (*Jew. Chr.* II. 7, 7, 8) that the Festival of the Boughs was observed on the 14th Ab rests upon a slip of memory. The Talmud is more accurate, and so often speaks of the Festival as occurring on the 15th Ab.

that the whole of the inhabitants of the not unimportant city of Lydda repaired to Jerusalem for the Tabernacle Festival.⁶

The inhabitants of other neighbouring cities probably betook themselves to the capital at the same time in order to take part in the triumph over the Romans. The rejoicings were universal. It was only after this victory that they could proceed to strike their own coins. This occurred in the month of Tishri, which, according to the calendar in those times, commenced the year. The legend naturally was, "In the first year of the liberation of Israel," and "Jerusalem," which was the essence of all sanctity, and the object of all reverence on the part of the whole nation. But what types were to be selected for the new coins? As the striking of them did not commence long before the Feast of Tabernacles, it was natural that resort should be had to the symbols of this festival, viz., the lulab and the tabernacle. Both were represented with their most beautiful attributes, the lulab with the decorations of the basket tress-work as it used to be borne by the higher ranks in Jerusalem, and the tabernacle also after an agreeable pattern, the façade being depicted with columns and architrave and with the ornamentation of the lines of circles, the pictorial representation of strings of nuts, almonds, or other fruits. It was sought to represent at one and the same time the rejoicings over the victory and the liberation from the Romans by means of the lulab, and the hope for God's further protection by means of the symbol of the Sukka (tabernacle). These were no doubt the motives which

⁶ Josephus, *Jew. Chr.* II. 29, 1, διὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτὴν ἀναβεβήκει πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος (τῆς πόλεως Λύδδα) εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

influenced those who were engaged in the striking of the first Liberation Coins.

Who was at that time the ruler who struck these pieces? The fact that the coins of the first year bear no name is full of significance, for this omission proves that the coins were struck at a time when none of the prominent individuals who had contributed to the Revolt from Rome had as yet attained any position of authority. It was the honeymoon of Freedom in its youth. The Sanhedrin, with Simon Ben-Gamaliel at its head, had no political privileges, only rights of legislation in connection with religious matters, "*et inter arma silent leges.*" There are other coins with the legend, "First year of the Liberation" which were certainly coined in the same year, particularly the Eleazar coins before mentioned. These must have been struck later at the time when the bearer of this name was at the head of affairs in Jerusalem. They, therefore, also bear other types than the lulab coins; they have no connection with the Festival of Tabernacles.

Those examples of the lulab coins which have the legend "The second year of the Freedom of Israel" (as Fig. II.), differ though but little from the type of the first Year in the ornamentations on the lulab basket, and to some extent also in the beaded lines on the portal. They must, however, have been struck at the time of the first Revolt, and in fact during the month of the Festival of Tabernacles (about October, 67 A.D.). If also there be any example of this type which bears the Greek **NO**, that circumstance in no wise proves that they are struck over coins of Vespasian. As I have already stated, this can be amplified to **[NEPΩ]NO[C]** (in the genitive). Large coins of Nero were still known in

Palestine (סלע נירונית).⁷ Much more surely does the presence of the ornamental basket on the lulab bundle point to the time before the destruction of Jerusalem. Madden and others, therefore, erroneously attribute the coins with the legend "The second year" to the time of the second Revolt.

There are, however, two varieties of this type, one with, and the other without, the name of "Simon." According to the acceptance of many numismatists, this name of Simon refers to the President of the Sanhedrin, Simon Ben-Gamaliel, whose name שמעון נשיא ישראל more or less distinctly occurs upon several copper coins. There was no other Simon who bore the title "Nasi" (Prince) in existence at that time. As one of these varieties has round the name a wreath, the upper part of which is fastened with some gem, and on the other side within the inscription שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל; another also being known with the same types (only with some letters effaced), and the Berlin Cabinet possesses a coin which has the same types, but with ש"ב לחר round the Diota, and within the wreath the name שמעון only (Merzbacher in Von Sallet I. 232 *et seq.*), there remains no doubt that this name of Simon can also only refer to Simon Ben-Gamaliel.

Another proof that שמעון can plainly be considered to be identical with שמעון נשיא ישראל may also be gathered from the so-called Eleazar coins, for there are examples of these which distinctly have on the one side אלעזר הכהן or the letters struck from right to left אהבה רועל (by a mistake of the engraver), and on the other side שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל. No numis-

⁷ *Kelim*, 17, 12, and parallel passages.

matist has disputed the authenticity of these coins. It is clear, therefore, that a priest named Eleazar caused coins to be struck in the first year of the Liberation (*i.e.* from the Romans).

This Eleazar was either Eleazar, the son of Ananias, who threw considerable energy into the Revolution, or more probably Eleazar, the son of Simon, who on the flight of the Romans and of their leader Cestius Gallus had the care of the treasures and military chest which had been wrested from them, and who especially had in his hands the management of the finances of the State. Although he was passed over at the commencement, when the election of rulers of the different districts took place, yet by degrees, and because he was the Controller of the Finances, he obtained the supremacy in Jerusalem.⁸

No other Eleazar is known who attained such eminence as to entitle him to strike coins. The theory advanced by De Saulcy that the Eleazar in question may have been the Eleazar of Modin (ר"י אלעזר המודעי) mentioned in Talmudic literature, and of whom nothing further is known than that, during the siege of Bethar, he besought, in sackcloth and ashes, the aid of heaven, and was destroyed by Bar-Cochab through motives of jealousy, and that the Eleazar coins, therefore, belonged to the second Revolt, has received but little assent. The only author who agreed with it was Von Sallet,⁹ but his total ignorance of Talmudic literature scarcely enabled him to judge how little this Eleazar of Modin was fitted for the rôle of a ruler. In the absence of any coin of Eleazar

⁸ Josephus' account of this Eleazar is important in connection with the rivalry of the leaders of the revolution, *Jew. Chronicle* II. 20, 3, τὸν γὰρ τοῦ Σίμωνος υἱὸν Ἐλεάζαρον, καίπερ, &c.

⁹ *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, v. 113.

bearing evidence of being struck over other pieces, either at the time of Vespasian or afterwards, it must be agreed that these coins belong to the first Revolt. Their genuineness is at all events more certain than that of the bulk of the coins bearing the name of Simon, either with or without traces of overstriking, for the one reason only that the Judæo-Samaritan letter ך occurs on no other coins, and therefore could not well be imitated.

If then these coins of Eleazar are genuine and were struck before the time of Vespasian, those pieces also are equally genuine and belong to the same time, which have on one side the word Eleazar round a vase, and on the other side *מע* i.e. שמעון within a wreath, with a gem; the exact type of the example which distinctly bears the legend *שמעון נשיא ישראל*.¹⁰ It is, therefore, proved by this that at least some coins which have the name "Simon" without any title, are likewise attributable to Simon Ben-Gamaliel. This is at all events true of the series which has as emblems the lulab and the tabernacle (Fig. III.). The more incontrovertible the weight of suspicion that the numerous coins bearing the name of Simon are forgeries, the more we are convinced that there must have been genuine coins with this superscription, and which served as patterns to the forgers. Notwithstanding the occurrence of a star upon the example in the Paris Cabinet which might engender some suspicion, this type with the name of "Simon" can be treated as

¹⁰ De Vogüé, who had only seen a cast of this coin, has doubted its genuineness, but Friedländer and Von Sallet, directors of the Berlin Cabinet, state that in that cabinet is a genuine example, and the one from which the cast was taken. The occurrence of the names Eleazar and Simon upon one and the same piece is attributed by numismatists to an error of the engraver.

genuine, as it bears more resemblance to the Types I. and II. than to the doubtful examples of Type IV. (Fig. IV.—VI.).

The result of the inquiry can now be summed up. It is ascertained that after the Maccabaeen series, there are some coins with the lulab which must be held to be genuine, viz., those with the type of the festival bunch and the façade of a tabernacle accompanied by certain ornamentations. For what coin-forgers of the time when antiquities and old coins had acquired a value could have conceived the idea of providing a basket-shaped receptacle for the stems of the lulab? For the same reason, also, these must have been struck before the destruction of Jerusalem, at a time when this decoration was in use among the higher classes in Jerusalem, and could then only have served as a pattern to the die engraver. I repeat that they cannot be of a period after the destruction, because such an ornamentation was then no longer in practical use and was only remembered as a matter of tradition.

The first lulab coins with the portal façade which bear the legend, "First year of the Liberation of Israel," were struck shortly before the Feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 66, after the victory over the Roman cohorts in Jerusalem, and when there ceased to be any Romans in the country except those at the Legionary station at Caesarea. The types chosen served as a symbol, both of rejoicing at this victory and of God's protection. There was at that time no individual person in power whose name could appear upon these coins as authorising their coinage. It was a period of transition.

In the course of the year 66, Eleazar Ben Simon, chief of the Zealots, obtained by means of their assistance the

possession of the State Treasury, and by means of his popularity, the ruling power in Jerusalem. The coins, therefore, which were issued at that time were struck in his name, "The Priest Eleazar," and "First year of the Deliverance of Israel."

But the Sanhedrin, of which Simon Ben-Gamaliel was President, also exercised authority in the same year. This Simon was, according to Josephus, his opponent, of a noble stock (great-grandson of Hillel, who appears to have been a descendant of the Royal House of David), and at the same time of such discernment and power of mind that he might have greatly improved the position of the affairs of the State if he could only have held absolute power.¹¹ As he also belonged to the party of Pharisees, as Josephus has recorded, or, as we are bound to say, was their chief, he must have had a considerable following among the people, the greater portion of whom held the doctrines of that party, a fact prominently set forth by Josephus in many passages of his work. It naturally followed that this Simon was regarded as the head and representative of the Commonwealth, and equally so that his name should appear as the coining authority upon the coins. Eleazar Ben Simon was obliged to retire to the background. We have no means of ascertaining the exact events which led up to this change, in connection with which coins were struck with the legend, "First year of the Liberation of Israel," and with the name "Simon, the Prince of Israel."

The high-sounding title of Prince of Israel appears, however, to have been distasteful to the Zealots, who had included in their programme and inscribed on their

¹¹ Josephus, *Vita*, 38.

standards, the democratic principle of equality and freedom from personal rule. For this Simon was after all only head of the Sanhedrin (דין הגדול נשיא כיר); to recognise him as Prince of all Israel was to subject themselves to a ruler.

After Josephus had suffered the loss of Galilee owing to his want of judgment, cowardice, or treachery, and after other aristocratic leaders had been found wanting, the sensibilities of the democratic Zealots caused them to be especially enraged against the Jewish aristocracy. This opposition to any sovereignty over Israel appears to have brought about that the title נשיא ישראל was no longer allowed to be struck upon coins, and it gave way to the simple name שמעון (as to the coin which has both Simon and Eleazar, see Von Sallet, 167). There is no other Simon in question, Simon Bar-Gioras being excluded owing to his only having been called in during the third year of the Revolt in Jerusalem.

The commencement of the second year was now approaching, *i.e.* the month Tishri and the Feast of Tabernacles (October, 67). Of this period occur only those coins which have the legend, "The Second year of the Liberation of Israel" (II. III.). The types of both are very similar, except that some specimens have only "Jerusalem" as a legend, and others the name of "Simon" instead. This difference is of course remarkable; for if at that time Simon Ben-Gamaliel still maintained his position, on what ground was his name passed over in another series? The cause may perhaps be traced to the party conflicts which broke out about this time. The Zealots in Jerusalem, who attributed the defeat in Galilee to the treachery of the aristocrats, removed the nobles and priests from the offices in the city and in the temple which

they had hitherto enjoyed, and appointed in their stead persons from their own ranks. They even divested the high-priest Matthias, son of Theophilus, of his dignity, and installed into it a simple priest, Phineas, son of Samuel, an inhabitant of the village Aphta, upon whom the choice had fallen by lot.¹² This produced a tumult among the aristocratic party. Anan, the son of Anan, who had formerly been called in for the protection of the city and had been high-priest, thundered against the blasphemy of the democratic Zealots, and the insolence of their pretensions. Simon Ben-Gamaliel also was irritated at the subversion of the previously existing order of things. He called upon his hearers in the popular assemblies to oppose the "Destroyers of Liberty" and "the Blasphemers of the Holy One."¹³ This naturally arose from a breach between the Zealots and their chief Eleazar Ben Simon on the one hand, and Simon Ben-Gamaliel on the other. The Zealots initiated a reign of terror against their adversaries. The Sanhedrin was purged of its anti-Zealot members, and seventy fresh members were appointed in their stead from the general mass.¹⁴ Josephus does not, it is true, mention the month in which the election of the new high-priest took place. The election was probably taken in hand in view of the necessary functions on the Day of Atonement in the second year, and so as to remove a high-priest who had been appointed by the detested King Agrippa, and who was in addition suspected to have Roman tendencies—a suspicion well founded, as was proved by his subsequent conduct.

¹² Josephus, iv. 3, 6—8.

¹³ Josephus, § 9.

¹⁴ Josephus, v. 3, 4.

The rupture between the Zealots and Simon Ben-Gamaliel may possibly, therefore, have taken place as early as in the month of Tishri, in which the Feast of Tabernacles was celebrated, and the former being indignant at Simon's partisan agitation against them, may have struck coins with the same types and emblems as those which bore his name, so as to demonstrate that he was no longer at the head of the commonwealth. In the course of events his name was, in fact, no longer employed, and Josephus also points to the fact that this Simon was deposed, inasmuch as he remarks, "He *had been* in a position to improve the wretched position of affairs (ἐυνάμενος τε πράγματα κακῶς κείμενα. . . . διορθώσασθαι)." There are also no further coins of the second year in existence which bear the name of this Simon. The example which has on one side שִׁמְעוֹן נָשִׂיא, and upon the other יִשְׂרָאֵל (in the Wigan Collection¹⁵), in addition to which Merzbacher wished to read לְחַר ש"ב, offers no certainty on this subject, as Madden has rightly observed.

It may especially be mentioned further that no genuine coins are known which bear the date of the second year or even of the fourth. The remarkable pieces which read שְׁנַת אַרְבַּע are subject to suspicion, for the reason that they exhibit either two lulab-like types, or two ethrogim (citrons), and in addition the legend לְבִנְיָאֵל צִיּוֹן. Zicn was in later times only used poetically and metaphorically for Jerusalem. The genuineness of this class of coins, which have always been attributed to Simon Maccabaeus, has yet to be proved. There was after the second year no individual who can be said to have represented the commonwealth, or who could have had the necessary autho-

¹⁵ Now presumably in the Rev. S. S. Lewis's Cabinet.—H. M.

city to strike coins. In the spring of the year 67, John of Giskala, who had a considerable following, and who became a rival of Eleazar Ben Simon, arrived in Jerusalem. In the third year Simon Bar-Gioras also came thither, and each of these leaders sought to assume the supremacy, and would scarcely have granted to the other the right of appearing to have authority to strike coins. In the first year only were there two men who had such an authority, first, Eleazar, and subsequently Simon Ben-Gamaliel.¹⁶

NOTE I.

So far as is known there are four types of the series of lulab coins.

TYPE I. appears to be unique in the Paris Cabinet, and is in silver. On the lulab side, beginning from beneath the holder or little basket is the legend **שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל** round the coin. The ethrog, somewhat rudely formed, particularly at the top, partly projects above the basket. On the side with the portal, on the column to the right, is **יר**, above the architrave the letters **וש**, and on the left column **לם** = **ירושלם**; within the opening of the portal a semicircle with little rings or pellets; within this semicircle, towards the upper part of the centre, is a short line of four little rings, further beneath, two more, and lower again four more; a longer line above the architrave consisting of about twenty little rings (see Fig. I.).

TYPE II.—Of this type six or seven specimens are known.

(1) In the collection of the Comte de Vogüé (*Rev. Num.* 1860, 2, note), imperfectly engraved by De Sauley, Tab. XI. 3, cf. Fig. II.

¹⁶ The example in De Sauley, Tab. XIII. 6, which has on one side **שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל**, and on the other five letters, which Levy has read **חנן בן חנן**, and wished to attribute to the high-priest Anan, is thoroughly untrustworthy, as has been shown by Garrucci, Merzbacher, and more lately also by Madden. Whether we can read instead **אלעזר הכהן** is open to question. (Merzbacher in Von Sallet I. 230, note iv.; 351, No. 89.)

(2) In the collection of Dr. Eugen Merzbacher of Munich (to whose courtesy I am indebted for an impression).

(3) In the collection of Dr. Babington (Madden, *Num. Orient.* II. 244, No. 37).

(4) In the collection of Dr. Welcher v. Moltheim (*Madd. id.*).

(5) In the collection of Señor Infante, in Spain (deemed genuine by numismatists according to the statement of Dr. Merzbacher. See Von Sallet, *Zeitsch. für Numismatik*, I., 224, No. 6; IV., 256, No. 112).

(6) In the Hunter collection (communicated by Woide in Bayer, *de Numis*, p. XII. No. 2).

(7) In the possession of a Mr. Lurie of Mohilew there is said to be a similar example (Merzbacher). On the lulab side is **לחור ירושלים** round the coin, commencing from the bottom. The upper edge of the lulab holder is of a somewhat more substantial form than No. 1. The ethrog in No. 2 projects but little over the holder. On the other hand, it is set down lower in Nos. 1 and 3; so that its head only reaches as far as the centre of the holder. On the portal side is the word **ירושלם**, half on the right and half on left side, in Nos. 1 and 3; but on No. 2 as on Type No. I. Nos. 1—3 have above the portal also a representation of a small cross with limbs of equal size. These two also have, in common with Type I., the linear ornamentation (the semicircle and the line in the middle) within the porch, but with slight differences so far as No. 3 is concerned. In Mr. Babington's example the line also occurs above the architrave. I do not know how the ornamentations of the other examples are arranged, or whether they have the small cross before mentioned, as I have not seen any representations of them, and numismatists have not considered these points. Some variations in this type indicate that more than one die was used. According to the statement of its possessor, Dr. Moltheim, the Greek letters **NO** are distinctly visible under the porch on No. 4.

TYPE III.—Of this type only two examples are known, (1) In the Paris collection (De Sauley, Tab. XIV. 4). (2) In the collection of Mr. L. Hamburger, of Frankfurt-am-Main, who most courteously obliged me with a cast of it, clearly taken from a struck example. I do not know whether other examples exist. On the lulab side is **לחור ירושלים**, as in Type II. The ethrog is towards the centre of the lulab-holder. On the portal side is **שמ** to the right and **עון** to the left (on No. 2 the former is effaced). Above are what appear to be two architraves, instead of the linear ornamentation, and above the second a small star (effaced on No. 2). The decoration

within the porch is different from Fig. II. The arch of the semicircle is not like a circle of dots, and the little lines on No. 2 are like the others, but on No. 1 resemble two wands, one beneath the other. No. 2 shows indistinct traces of the head of an emperor, with the ends of a diadem (see Fig. III.).

TYPE IV.—Five examples are known : (1) In the Paris Cabinet (De Saulcy, Fig. IV. 1). (2) In the Berlin Cabinet (of which, the director, Von Sallet, has kindly sent me a plaster cast). It bears traces of an emperor's head, with the diadem. (3) In the collection of Rev. S. S. Lewis (see Madden, *loc. cit.* p. 239, No. 19). It shows traces of the letters **T. ΦΛΑΥΙ. ΟΥ.** (Τίτος Φλαυιος Ουεσπασιανος). (4) In Bayer, *de Numis*, p. 141, No. 2 (see Fig. V.). (5) In the Museum Kircherianum (engraved by Merzbacher, in Von Sallet, III. 214, Tab. V. No. 114). This example has somewhat legibly on the upper portion of the lulab side the letters **NOC**, and on the right hand distinctly the head of an emperor; towards the right are the outlines of the mouth, nose, brow, eye, and the leaves of the laurel wreath (see Fig. VI.). All these examples have, in common, the inscription **לחרות ירושלם** on the lulab side, and **שמעון**, more or less distinctly, on the portal side. But some differ from others in points of detail. Fig. VI. least resembles the others. This specimen has not **לחרות ירושלם** in full, but at the foot of the lulab-holder are the letters **לח**; then there is a wide interval, which is occupied by the emperor's head wreathed, and then still further, close to the left side, is the word **יהושלם**. There is ample space to have admitted the striking of the full inscription **לחרות ירושלם**, but it gives one the impression that it was desired that the head should not be effaced by the striking over it. Only Nos. 1 and 2 are alike. In these the lulab-holder is divided into four parts, on No. 4 into five, and on No. 5 only into two parts, as in the case of Types I., II., and III. Nos. 1, 2, and 3 have but a faint trace of an architrave, but above it two straight lines. No. 4, on the other hand, has scarcely any trace of an architrave over the columns, but only the decoration of a straight line, and above it a wavy line. All the examples have a star above the decoration over the columns with the exception of No. 4, which has none. The numismatists have not observed this peculiarity, though this is just what excites a suspicion that it is not a genuine piece. The **ח** also in **לח** on No. 5, has by no means the appearance of that letter on other coins or in the Samaritan alphabet. The letter **י** also, in the word **יהושלם** is peculiarly formed.

The decoration within the opening of the portal also differs. If we take into consideration that the legend **לחרות ירושלם**

by itself is meaningless in the absence of any statement as to the year of striking (which is wanting throughout in the case of these pieces), and even if this had occurred, that reference would be due on the coins, not only to the freedom of the capital, but to that of the people and of the land in general, and if we further take into consideration that some of the examples of these coins bear signs of *surfrappage* of a time after Vespasian, when Jerusalem had long since been destroyed, and if we finally take into consideration that the examples cannot be of one and the same make, the certainty arises that all the examples of this type are equally open to suspicion. The star upon some examples of this Type IV. cannot in any degree serve as representing the guiding star of the Pseudo-Messiah Bar-Cochab. Especially may it be urged that the genuineness of the proportionately large number of examples of this type with *לחרות ירושלם* and *שמעון*, with or without signs of *surfrappage*, must be better evidenced than has at present been the case. It is probable that we possess no genuine example of the period of the Bar-Cochab revolt. This suspicion extends also to those examples which have the words *ש"ב לחר ישראל* by the side of *שמעון*, as in the Berlin Cabinet there is one example with the palm-tree and vine, and with this legend, which bears traces also of the Latin letters NVS under the vine (Von Sallet, V. III.). It is struck, therefore, either over a coin of Vespasian, Domitian, or Trajan, and in either case after the destruction of Jerusalem. This city was, however, not rebuilt during the second Revolt, and did not fall into the possession of Bar-Cochab. The name of this hero also was not Simon. Can these coins, therefore, have been engraved or struck over other coins in his time and in his name?

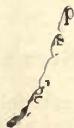
FURTHER NOTE TO PAGE 19.¹⁷

The Rev. Dr. Babington's cabinet contains a similar silver coin of an abnormal type, with a lyre and grapes and the same legends as the Reichardt example, but the legends are rendered less legible owing to a hole towards the side. On one side is *ישראל שחר*, and on the other *א. ת. ל. ת. ישראל*, which means *ישראל שנת אחת למארת*. This is described as No. 2570 in the Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition, but Madden treats it

¹⁷ This is attached in manuscript to my copy of the original work, and is in Dr. Graetz's own handwriting.—H. M.

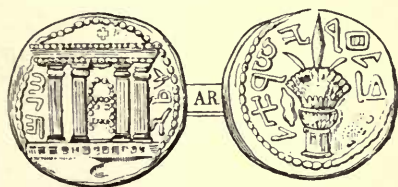
as false (*Num. Orient.*): "I do not consider this piece to be genuine." Mr. H. Montagu, on the other hand, maintains "This coin appears to be perfectly genuine, but the use of two reverse dies with different dates is remarkable." But it is just the use of these different words לחרות לגאלת, which stamps it as being a false coin. Mr. Montagu was kind enough to lend me this coin, and its appearance has convinced me more effectually of its want of genuineness. The coin is not struck but is cast, and every cast must be regarded as false of which no struck original is forthcoming to prove the contrary.¹⁸ This example of Dr. Babington's is therefore in the same category with the Reichardt example, which experienced numismatists have condemned. Both prove that forgers have existed who have driven a trade by striking or casting scarce pieces in feeble imitation of genuine coins.

¹⁸ I have again examined this coin by the kindness of its owner, and have submitted it to the highest authorities. It is clearly struck and not cast.—H. M.

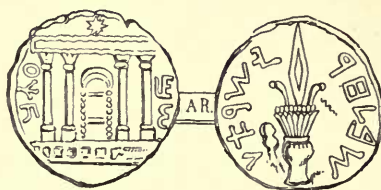




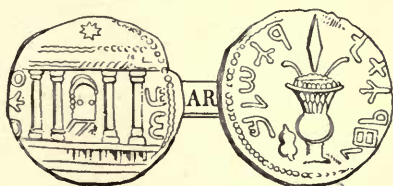
I



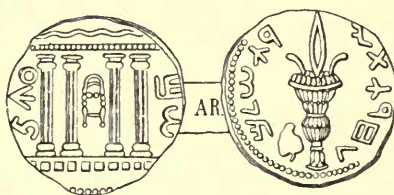
2



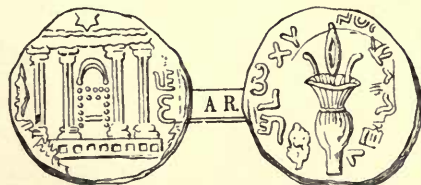
3



4



5



6

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
Return this material to the library
from which it was borrowed.

QL RECD 10
JAN 27 1991

JAN 1 6 1991

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



A 000 045 168 2

150

1506

Universi
South
Libra