

Alexander Jannaeus' coins and their dates

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Abstract

This paper deals with the issue of overstruck coins associated with Jannaeus. The author makes a distinction between the main bronze Jannaeus coins whom some he refers to as "royal" and some "priestly". Overstruck minting is characterized by dies with priesthood models minted on coins with royal models in such a way that allows dating the order of their appearance. The author suggests a number of solutions for the overstruck phenomenon which will be detailed later on.

Alexander Jannaeus' reign was a very tumultuous time. Alexander was a vibrant ruler and conducted a lot of conquering, most successfully, but also suffered defeats. During his time the civil war in Judea occurred. During his reign he created a large variety of coin models, some minted in large quantities. King Alexander ruled from year 104. He was the youngest son of John Hyrcanus I who was the first Hasmonean ruler who minted coins. He inherited rule over Judea from his brother Judah Aristobulus I and married his brothers widow – Salome Alexandra (76-67 BCE), who was Simeon Ben Shetach the leader of the Pharisees sister. Jannaeus bore the title High priest as well as king. A few controversial issues exist that refer to some of his coins and in this paper the author will suggest a number of solutions for some of them.

THE COINAGE OF JANNAEUS

The author segmented most of Alexander Jannaeus' coins into two major types: "Royal" and "Priestly" coins. The coins are described as royal as they are mostly bilingual and are characterized by the paleo Hebrew inscription "Yehonatan the King" along with the lily emblem. The other side of the coin shows the symbol of the anchor along with the Greek inscription "of King Alexander". The anchor symbol was minted by his father, John Hyrcanus I on a common coin with Antiochus VII Sidetes (138-129 BCE).



A common coin for John Hyrcanus I



A royal coin by Alexander Jannaeus and Antiochus VII Sideres

At the same time, Alexander minted coins in a denomination of half a Prutah on the obverse of the coin is shown dates with the inscription “Yehonatan the King” surrounded with the paleo Hebrew legend and on the other side the lily emblem. The lily emblem also appears on some of the “YHD” coins from the Persian period. The lily emblem also appears on a coin minted by his father, John Hyrcanus I with Antioch VII. On a similar model of the half Prutah, his father minted on the other side palm branch along with the inscription “Yehohanan the High priest and the Council of the Jews”. The lily was used as a royal symbol in Judea. Another late “royal” coin that Alexander Jannaeus minted is a bilingual coin showing on its obverse the symbol of the anchor along with the Greek inscription “of King Alexander” and on its reverse an eight rayed star within diadem with the Hebrew inscription between the rays of star “Yehonatan the King”. The inscription contains 10 letters and between the rays 8 spaces to include 8 letters and so the star shows two sets of double letters. The Hebrew inscriptions on the bilingual coins was intended for the Jewish population and the Greek inscription for the foreign population in the territories conquered by Alexander Jannaeus, in which the Hellenistic population read and spoke the Greek language.



A coin on the original minting of a double an

A star coin inside a diadem and on it

cornucopia overstruck and minting of star

inscription “Yehonatan the King”

An additional minting of coins by Alexander Jannaeus is the group described by the author as “priestly”. It is typical for these coins to have a paleo Hebrew inscription that reads “Yehonatan the High priest and Council of the Jews”. The other side of the coin bears a double cornucopia with a pomegranate standing on a staff, the symbol of the High priesthood. Some of the Hasmonean coins, showing this model, that John Hyrcanus I and Judah Aristobulus I minted, show that the bottom of the staff the pomegranate stands on a round base (or handle) as Deutsch asserts, on the First Revolt against the Romans silver shekel coin. The Hasmonean round base resembles the round base that is shown under the staff with the 3 pomegranates that symbolizes the staff of the High priest.



A pomegranate on a pole with a marble at the bottom¹



A "priestly" coin by Alexander Jannaeus with inscription "Yehonatan High priest and the Council and the Council

of the Jews"
Jews"



a Jannaeus coins with the
"YNTN the High Priest

of the



According to Strabo it stated that: "Alexander Jannaeus was the first to declare himself king instead of priest" (Geographica. XVI.2.40). Could it be that overstruck² coins have something to do with this quote?

Another minting associated with Alexander Jannaeus is the combined minting shown on overstruck coins when the obverse of the coin bears the lily model and the paleo Hebrew

¹ see Robert Deutsch doctorate. "Jewish Coins in the period of the First Revolt Against the Romans 66-73 AD".

² Overstruck

inscription " Yehonatan the King" and on its reverse the symbol of the anchor with the Greek inscription " of King Alexander". Over the original coin exists an overstriking that contains the minting of the priestly die of double cornucopia with the staff and pomegranate and on its other side the paleo Hebrew inscription. Sometimes the inscription shown is "Yntn the High priest and the Council of the Jews" and sometimes it is difficult to distinguish the name in the inscription. The name "Yntn" appears on Alexander Jannaeus' coins only with the title "High priest". In a few cases on the obverse side appears an anchor with the Greek

inscription and traces of a previous striking of the double cornucopia with the Hebrew inscription are minted over the previous minting that shows a coin with an anchor / flower. On the reverse, a star with the inscription "Yehonatan the King" between the star's rays and the remaining traces of previous striking. (Hendin, Shaschar 2008:90-91)

EARLIER COINS

From the overstriking we learn that the original minting which includes a lily with the Hebrew inscription "Yehonatan the King" and an anchor with the Greek inscription "of King Alexander" preceded the minting of the double cornucopia and pomegranate on a staff between them and paleo Hebrew inscription "Yntn the High priest and the Council of the Jews ". Accordingly to these coins with the lily and royal anchor were minted first and in the overstriking process the overstruck coins were minted with the double cornucopia and paleo Hebrew inscription. Found a small number of coins showing a star with the Hebrew inscription "Yehonatan the King" and the royal anchor with the Greek inscription "of King Alexander" coin on double cornucopia and the paleo Hebrew inscription coin. The over struck coin attest that the coins with a double cornucopia / Hebrew inscription minting preceded the minting of coins with a star/anchor



Examples for overstruck minting

The process of production of star/anchor coin actually was almost simultaneously to the minting of cornucopia /Hebrew inscription coins and the output of coins increased with the minting of the star inside the diadem with the above mentioned inscription and to that attest data from a survey the author conducted which contains data on a finding of Alexander Jannaeus' coins in 10 archaeological excavations in Israel. The author deduces from the findings that the inventory of coins with the lily and the inscription "Yehonatan the King" and on the other side the anchor model with the inscription "of King Alexander", that were in circulation were gathered mostly for the overstriking process. When this process was finished these coins were not used again and a relative small number of coins from this model remained compared to the rest of Alexander Jannaeus' coins. This data is confirmed according to a survey of Jannaeus' coins inventory from the 10 excavations that will be discussed later.





Overstriking minting and an example of the coins used in overstruck minting

Additional “royal” coins by Jannaeus are bi-lingual coins this time in Aramaic and Greek. The first is a lead coin bearing on its obverse the anchor inside a round circle and the Greek inscription “of King Alexander” around the circle. The other side of the coin shows an Aramaic inscription “of King Alexander”. In this bilingual inscription the Hebrew name of Alexander Jannaeus “Yehonatan” does not appear. The author claims that the lead coins was minted during the civil war in Judea between 89-95BC. The use of lead was due to a shortage of copper that was used for military purposes. The coin was intended for the Jewish Aramaic speaking population.



A lead coin with the Aramaic inscription “of King Alexander”

On its other side appears the Greek inscription “of King Alexander”

Another minting by Alexander Jannaeus is a bilingual coin in Aramaic and Greek. On its obverse appears the Greek inscription that includes an anchor within a circle with the royal inscription “King Alexander year 25”. On the other side of the coin appears the royal star. Around the star of eight rays appears the Aramaic inscription “of King Alexander year 25”, meaning year 79/8 to Jannaeus’ reign. Year 25 is half a jubilee and the meaning in research for this term is not clear. This coin does not bear the name “Yehonatan”.



A bronze coin with the Aramaic inscription

“of King Alexander year 25” and a Greek inscription

“of King Alexander”

THE ORDER OF ALEXANDER JANNAEUS’ COINS MINTING

The subject of dating Alexander Jannaeus' coins was previously reviewed in another paper on the subject (Shachar, 2004). The author will address the claims issued in the previous paper vs. new arguments on the subject.

Jannaeus' coins were divided into 7 types:

Type 1 (TJC-P,Q,R,S) – Cornucopia / Hebrew inscription. The argument suggested that this coin was minted first by Jannaeus, since the minting is similar to the common type accepted that have been struck by Hyrcanus I and Aristobulus I coins with double Cornucopia / Hebrew inscription included the title of High Priest and was adopted by Jannaeus before the title King, therefore, the minting of the cornucopia / Hebrew inscription along with High Priest were minted first. The author on the other hand, claims this is an assumption and the occurrence as known by Josephus that at first Jannaeus stressed that conquering Hellenistic towns (Stern 1991) and annexation of their populations was not taken into consideration. To the Hellenistic population, the title of High Priest was not significant, as opposed to the title of the Hellenistic king Basileus, a sole ruler in his country and was acceptable to them, therefore Alexander Jannaeus declared himself king, as a decisive step towards strengthening his absolute rule and to be recognized as ruler of the territories he conquered, constitutional renewal highlighting Jannaeus rule (Rappaport 1967:103). Jannaeus corresponded the minting of coins to the new situation and minted a new type of unique bilingual coins in Greek legend for the population he conquered and in Hebrew for the Judea population. As support for this claim, the author suggests Strabo's quote (XVI, 2, 40) "Alexander Jannaeus was the first to declare himself King instead of Priest". Strabo's words are also aided to the coins that correspond with the author's suggestion regarding the dating of the "royal" type coins before the Type 1 coins. Strabo's source, a historian from Augustus' days, preceded Josephus¹. As evidence, no overstruck coins were found with a minting of a lily/anchor on cornucopia/Hebrew legend coins which attests that the lily/anchor minting came first. Also on over struck coins Type 1 always appears on Type 3.

Type 2 (TGC-O) – a palm branch with the Hebrew inscription/ lily. The claim that was raised was that the coin is of the same prototype minted by Hyrcanus I. The author claims that the coins is indeed of the same prototype aside from the inscription, Alexander Jannaeus minted "Yehonatan the king" on it and not the inscription he could have minted and didn't "Yehonatan High Priest and the Council of the Jew". This suggests that the "royal" minting preceded the "priestly" one.

Type 3 (TGC-N) – Lily and Hebrew inscription / anchor and Greek inscription. The claim stated that the lily continues the symbol that appears on the Type 2 coin and it first arrived in order to bear his title in Greek. Meshorer claim that the appearance of the anchor on the coins of Jannaeus has another significance owing to the fact that his great and important conquest starting from his rise to power including the coastal cities. From the large issue of coins Meshorer concluded of significance: an original Hellenistic one and political connected

Josephus referred to the early Hasmonean monarchy attributed it to Aristobulus I. In contrast Strabu¹ claims that Jannaeus initially focused on monarchy.

with the conquests of the Hellenistic territories conquered by Jannaeus (Meshorer 1991: 37).

The author claims this coin is the first one minted as a bi-lingual coin in addition to Type 2 coin and declared Alexander Jannaeus' as king in Greek to the Hellenistic population that was attached to his country and to the Jewish population of Judea that inherited it.

The attests that the lily/anchor minting came first are: 1). Overstrike came with Type 1 on Type 3.

According to a survey of 10 archaeological excavations the finding of this type is low, something that suggest that most of the coin inventory was collected from circulation for the purpose of over struck minting. As a result very few coins were left in circulation and the minting was not renewed after the over struck process. 2). Triple struck coin of an anchor with Greek inscription on previous striking of double cornucopia /inscription which on anchor/flower (Hendin, Shaschar 2008:90). 3). Double overstrike on coin the author had, which the double cornucopia minted on lily and on the double cornucopia minting appear inscription with the name "YNTN".

Type 4 (TGC-K) – star / anchor. The claim that was raised suggested that a new symbol is different from the traditional Hasmonean minting. The coin entered circulation apparently in year 80. The author claims that the minting of "royal" coins, their production actually began almost simultaneously to the minting of cornucopia /Hebrew inscription coins

A review of the finding in the 10 archaeological excavations shows that these coins constitute approximately 85% of the total finding of Alexander Jannaeus' coins from these excavations.

The author also examined an over struck coin the author had, in which Type 4 is minted on top of Type 1 and it seems the minting of the star on coin appears over the first minting of the type cornucopia. This suggests that Type 1 preceded Type 4. The claim that was raised was that Type 4 entered circulation in year 80. The author claims that the coin was in circulation early in the year 90-89 BCE and the coin was minted in substantial amounts at the same time as the cornucopia / Hebrew inscription coins. In regards to the discovery of 1,729 Type 4 coins in the Dead Sea along with 6 Type 1 coins (Hirschfeld, Ariel 2005). The claim suggested that it attests that the date the hoard was hidden was when Type 1 coins were still in circulation before they began disappearing. The author accepted this and claims that Type 4 coins were minted in substantial amounts along with Type 1 coins. In a comparison according to the findings of the 10 archaeological excavations, excavations that the author will publish later on attest to the data reviewed before and after the over struck process the ratio is always in favor of the Type 4 coin.

The over struck minting- minting of Type 1 on top of Type 3 coins. A claim was made that because of a lot of claims and the lack of convincing evidence, such as two possibilities that Jannaeus he was responsible for the overstruck coins during the early part of his reign and the other to the very end of Jannaeus reign. These coins are associated with Alexander Jannaeus. The author examined 80 overstruck coins and asserts that these Jannaeus' coins

provide a lot of information about which type preceded which, Firstly they disprove the claim that Type 1 coins were minted first and before Type 3 coins when to consider about an unpublished Jannaeus over struck coin bearing the name *Yntn*. The paper (Hendin, Shaschar 2008)² proved beyond doubt that the name *Yntn* attributed to Alexander Jannaeus, so the over struck of Type 1 on Type 3 shows Type 3 was minted previously. Secondly if testimony that Type 3 was minted on the original Type 1 minting had been discovered it would have been compelling proof that Type 1 preceded Type 3 but in reality it doesn't exist.

In 1975 two seal impressions (*bullae*) were discovered with the inscription "Yntn High Priest" and "Yehonatan the king". (Avigad: 1975) According to Jannaeus' overstruck coins the inscription "Yntn", appears over Type 3 coins along with the inscription "Yehonatan the king". The author claims that given the earlier and later in overstruck analysis, the seal impressions (*bullae*) with the "Yehonatan" inscription preceded the "Yntn" inscription.

The author accepts the claims referring to Types: 5(**TGC-LI to L6**) (anchor and the date Year 25 Greek legend/star and legend in Aramaic), Type 6 (**TJC-M**) (lead- anchor and Greek legend/ Aramaic legend), Type 7(**TGC-L7 to L17**) (imitation of Type 5 and categorize Jannaeus coins in 6 stages which have been arranged as follows:

Stage 1 Lily / anchor

Half a Prutah, lily / palm branch

Stage 2 Overstruck minting – “coin on top of a coin”

Stage 3 Double cornucopia / Hebrew inscription and the end of issuing lily coins with the inscription “Yehonatan the King” with an anchor and the inscription “of King Alexander”.

Stage 4 Bilingual Star/Anchor coin and simultaneously double cornucopia / Hebrew inscription

Stage 5 Bilingual coins, Aramaic / Greek:

Lead coin in Aramaic / Greek with the inscription “King Alexandrus” / anchor. The lead coin was minted during the civil war of 89-95, apparently due to a shortage of copper to make war tools.

The 25 year to the reign of the king that was minted in 79/78.

Stage 6- Small prutot of Jannaeus anchor/star of 5/6/8 rays.

There are examples of over struck coins that the name "Yntn" is ,intend on an earlier over struck ² coin, including the coin published un Hendin, Shaschar paper and another double over struck coin the author displays later.



THE ARGUMENT FOR THE ORDER OF JANNAEUS' MINTING

1. Minting began with the lily/anchor coin at the same time the half Prutah lily / palm branch coin was minted.

- Every overstruck minting, double cornucopia /Hebrew inscription – meaning the “priestly” minting on the lily / anchor coins the “royal” coins. Thus the “royal” coins of the lily / anchor preceded the “priestly” coins of double cornucopia / Hebrew inscription according to the order of coins.

According to a survey conducted by the author of overstruck in whom about 80 coins were examined, only few star coins is minted on a double cornucopia. This means that the cornucopia/paleo Hebrew inscription type coin preceded the minting of the star/anchor coins.

The conclusion from this data is that the Jannaeus coins that preceded the overstruck minting of the double cornucopia/inscription were: 1) lily/anchor, when the minting was its highest; 2) the lily/palm branch minting began; 3) lily/anchor minting stopped with the overstriking process. Jerusalem excavations confirm this fact ³

- The finding of over struck coins of the cornucopias/ inscription type coins on which the star/anchor coins attest that after the completion of the overstruck process, double cornucopia / inscription coins began minting almost at the same time star / anchor minting. These were minted in substantial quantities during about 20 years. The findings of 10 excavations attest to that fact.

Findings of Alexander Jannaeus coins from 10 archaeological excavations and the percentage of “royal”, “priestly” as well as overstruck coins found.

Table 1

Overstrike coins	Star within circle/anchor (Type 4)	Anchor within circle/lily (Type 3)	Double cornucopiae (Type 1)	A total quantity of Jannaeus coins	site	excavation
111	1121	7	641	1880	Gamla	1
3	12		6	21	Meiron	2
	55		7	152	Yodefata	3
	4		5	9	Horvat Mazad	4
1	3	1		5	Samaria-Sebaste	5

A Comparative Study of Numismatic Evidence from Excavations in Jerusalem Haim Gitler (LA 46 ³

No coins with Lily/Anchor type were found in excavation in Jerusalem. .[1996]

	14	1	4	19	Pella	6
1	3		4	8	Bethsaida	7
	0			-	Gibeon	8
	2718		6	2724	Kh Mazin	9
4	981	6	63	1054	Jerusalem 1967 ⁴	10
120	4911	15	736	5782		Total

The ratio between Types 1, 3, 4 and over struck that were found in the 10 excavations.

Table 2

Total	Double cornucopia/Hebrew inscription (Type 1)	Lily/anchor (Type 3)	Star/anchor (Type 4)	Overstruck minting Double cornucopia/inscription on lily/anchor
5,782	736	15	4,911	120
Percentages	12.72	0.26	84.92	2.1

JANNAEUS COINS AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

When examining the findings data that contains 5,782 coins, it seems the final finding attest to the fact that most coins of the lily/anchor type that were in circulation, were used for the overstruck minting. With the end of the overstriking process their minting ceased and very few coins remained in circulation which is apparent in the findings of the excavations. The relative amount of this coin series in the excavations is very small compared to the overstruck coins findings that are actually the lily/anchor coin on top of which the additional minting out of the findings in the 10 excavations. The excavations in Gamla discovered 111 coins with an overstruck minting by Alexander Jannaeus, a significant amount, even though it constitutes 3.5% of the total findings of his coins in the site. According to Josephus (antiquities: 13, 394) it can be assumed that Jannaeus conquered Gamla a short time before his death in 76 BC. Gamla continued to exist a long time after Jannaeus died and the Hasmonean coins remained in circulation until the First Revolt against the Romans. We can therefore assume that Alexander Jannaeus' overstruck coins remained in circulation for a long time after their minting as overstruck coins.

A survey of coin in Jerusalem/ D. T. Ariel ⁴

Cornucopia/inscription type coins are struck shortly after the over striking process. The star/anchor production actually began almost simultaneously to the minting of cornucopia /Hebrew inscription coins

According to the author's examination, star/anchor coins account for approximately 85% of the surveyed coins in the data above.

NUMISMATIC AND HISTORY IMPLICATION

In 95 BC a civil war broke out in Judea. This war lasted six years until year 89. According to Josephus during this war about 50 thousand residents were killed. "And when the people picked on him for the disaster, the king fought and killed in six years no less than fifty thousand Jews. And when he asked that they stop their hatred towards him they hated him more for what happened" (*Ant.* 13:376). Jannaeus fell out with the Pharisees. The latter demanded that the king collaborate with the Sanhedrin, headed by the king's brother in law, Simeon Ben Shetach (Rappaport 1967:103-104). The people's representatives claimed that the King was acting like a Hellenistic king, in a contrary manner to his second important role - High Priest. Jannaeus used foreign mercenaries in order to kill his Jewish opponents which result in many deaths.

Groups of Jews called for Demetrius III to intervene in Judea (Josephus, *ANT*.13:376). In 89 king Demetrius III invaded from Syria. Initially Demetrius appeared in Samaria and conquered Jannaeus' army. He then turned towards Judea. Demetrius' invasion led to negotiations between the rivals in Judea followed by a compromise between Jannaeus and the Pharisees granting authorities to the Sanhedrin in favor of unifying the people. The people united behind king Alexander Jannaeus and removed Demetrius from Judea. The results of the compromise between Alexander Jannaeus, the Pharisees and the Sanhedrin may be apparent in the signs mentioned and appear on overstruck coins with symbols of priesthood and the Council of Jews (Sanhedrin) on or to the side of royal symbols.

Josephus writes about the civil war in Judea: "and Alexandrus' people raised a riot against him for the nation rose up on him at the time of the holiday and he stood by the alter and they threw citrons at him...and also insulted him...and he was angered and killed about six thousand of them..." , (Josephus, *Ant*13: 372-7).

..."and he also hired Cilician mercenaries...conquered the Arabs of Moav and Gilad to be tax collectors"

"but when he prohibited a battle with Ovdad, Arab king and fell in the hands of an ambush and was driven into a deep canal by Gadera and barely escaped to Jerusalem".

"...and when the people picked on him at the sight of the calamity, the king fought him and killed in six years no less than five thousand Jews. And when he asked that they cease hating them, his haters continued to hate them for what occurred...and they sent for Demetrius Icarus (III) and asked for his help. And Demetrius came with his army and took with him those who called him and parked by the city of Neapolis" (Josephus, *antiquities* 13:376).

THE REASONS FOR THE OVERSTRICKING MINTING ON THE ORIGINAL MINTING

The phenomenon of overstruck minting can be associated to the rift between king Alexander Jannaeus and the Pharisees. The Pharisees demanded Jannaeus stop acting in a Hellenistic manner which contradicts his role as High Priest. His "royal" coins attested to his habits. They suggest that he ignored "the Council of the Jews", the Sanhedrin. His father John Hyrcanus I and brother Judah Aristobulus I mentioned in the inscription of "High priest and Council of the Jews" that they minted on their coins at the beginning of their reign. Alexander Jannaeus on the other hand, on the contrary ignored the body called "Council of the Jews" and did not show this entity on his first "royal" coins. Due to the invasion of Demetrius III by Jews to Judea his approach changed. This change led to reconciliation with the Pharisees and the people's representatives in order to end the civil war in Judea. The circumstances of the situation brought Alexander Jannaeus to make a strategic decision to unite the people and mint on his "royal" coins that were in circulation "priestly" symbols: when one side of the coin bore the Hebrew inscription which included the title "High Priest" and "Council of the Jews" and the other side bore the double cornucopia with a staff and a pomegranate on it as a symbol of the High Priest which is his second title. Some scholars (Hendin, Shahr 2008:89) claimed that the attempts at appeasement did not succeed. After finishing the over struck process Jannaeus begin to mint coins the type of double cornucopia/Paleo Hebrew inscription

Another change based on a quote by Josephus occurred during the end of his reign when Alexander Jannaeus counseled his wife Salome Alexandra to give the Pharisees some authorities "to give a certain amount of authority to the Pharisees rule" (*Ant* 13, 401).

Kindler (Kindler 1991:16) assumed that large stock of anchor/lily type remained at the mint so when Jannaeus died the large stock was over struck by a ruler succeeding Jannaeus.

The author believes that these compromising steps by Alexander Jannaeus constitute appropriate grounds for the minting of overstruck coins and was meant to please the Pharisees and attest for the king's willingness to improve the stature of the High Priesthood. It must be assumed that overstruck coins were a legal tender both during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus and in the period after that.

DISCUSSION

The question is asked according to these overstruck coins did this "priestly" minting that appears over the first minting replace or added to the previous "royal" minting. Was the previous minting attempted to be removed or blurred. Some scholars claimed that Jannaeus abandoning the Greek inscription and royal title on the lily/anchor coin and promoting in status to "High Priest" (Hendin & Shachar 2008:89).



A triple strike coin

On the obverse anchor was over struck by an inscription and wreath. On the top of previous minting double cornucopia was over struck the inscription. On the reverse a lily was over struck by cornucopia and then over struck again by inscription *yntn* and attest the lily preceded the minting of double cornucopia.

From an examination of the minting of most overstruck coins by the author it can be assumed that the “priestly” minting that was done on top of the “royal” minting was not meant to blur or erase the previous minting but to incorporate it in such a way that will display another minting on the coins so both “royal” and “priestly” minting as well as “Council of the Jews” can be seen. If Jannaeus wanted with the overstruck minting to cancel or erase the previous minting he could have, for example, followed the technical path Bar Kochba followed on his bronze coins by filing down the face of the coin or alternatively using a hammer to erase the previous minting. The fact that Alexander Jannaeus didn’t do so as seen clearly over many of the over struck coins he minted attests to his intentions. According to what is noticeable on a large part of the coins, it can be assumed that the phenomenon of overstriking was meant to incorporate the two minting together as seen by a few examples shown below.



Examples of the overstruck coins in which the previous minting is clearly seen on the over struck side.

The author reviewed 29 overstruck coins in order to examine whether the overstriking process changed the weight of the coins. The following are the results of the sample:

- * 10 from 1 to 1.99g 34%
- * 19 over 2g 66%

Another examination was meant to test whether there was a trend during the overstriking process to mint the double cornucopia with the pomegranate and the paleo Hebrew inscription minting on a specific side of the previous coins. The results show that:

* 15 double cornucopia on lily / Hebrew inscription on an anchor⁵

* 13 An Hebrew inscription on a lily /double cornucopia on an anchor

* 1 star on cornucopia/anchor.

The conclusion from the sample was that the overstruck minting on both sides was random.

THE DIFFERENT NAMES OF JANNAEUS

Josephus mentions the name of Alexander but it doesn't mention his Hebrew name. Researchers deduce his Hebrew name from his "royal" coins with the lily or star bearing the inscription "Yehonatan the King" in Hebrew and "of King Alexander" in Greek. Since, according to Josephus, there were 4 Hasmonean kings and Josephus gives us information on the Hebrew and Greek name of one king "Judah called Aristobulus" and since only one king is called Alexander, the coins with the inscription "Yehonatan the King" in paleo Hebrew and "of King Alexander" in Greek on the other side are attributed to Alexander Jannaeus.

Alexander Jannaeus was a king with many names. According to current research Jannaeus' coins show 3 different names in Hebrew along with the name Alexander. Yehonatan- the common name. *Yntn* – appears on the overstruck coins and on a small number of coins without the overstruck minting. Only along with the "High priest" title can the name "*Yntn*" be called Yonatan or Yinatan. The third name Yonatan – Ywnatan. Coins with the name Yonatan-Ywnatan only appear on the inscription /double cornucopia type coins. The research doesn't refer to these coins. The inscription always appears with only the title High priest. Most researchers generalize Alexander Jannaeus with the names "*Yntn*" and "*Yonatan*".

CONCLUSIONS

The author reviewed in this paper a number of issues, some controversial, among them the issue of coins described as "royal" and "priestly" and their integration. The author attributed the beginning of the minting to "royal" lily type coins with the paleo Hebrew inscription "Yehonatan the King" and on the other side an anchor with the Greek inscription "of King Alexander". According to Josephus we are made aware of the fact that Alexander Jannaeus initiated conquest from the start of his reign and minted bilingual coins that were aimed on the one hand at the Jewish population and on the other to the foreign Hellenistic population that spoke Greek and dwelt in the regions that Alexander Jannaeus conquered. Using his coins under the circumstances described by Josephus, Alexander Jannaeus in fact declared his title and authority and advertised this to the new population through his coins.

The fact that Alexander was a High Priest of the Jews did not mean anything to the new Hellenistic civilians of his kingdom and so in the first stage of his reign he didn't find it necessary to mint the "priestly" coin series with the double cornucopia and staff topped

⁵ Yntn appears on the overstruck coins and on a small number of coins without the overstruck minting

with a pomegranate, the symbol of the High Priest, and on the other the paleo Hebrew inscription "Yehonatan High priest and Council of the Jews", even though his father, John Hyrcanus I and his brother Judah Aristobulus I minted these types of coins. And thus these circumstances in fact validate the testimony in Strabo: "Alexander Jannaeus was the first to declare himself king instead of priest" (Geographica. XVI.2.40. This fact, which Strabo attests to is expressed not only in his activity under his roles but according to his coins, a statistic that among others is proven by his lily/anchor type coins that were in circulation before the overstriking process which were later overstruck and the reference is also towards star type coins within a royal crown with the inscription " Yehonatan the King" inside the star which minted later.

To verify the above assumptions the author collected data of the findings of Alexander Jannaeus coins from the 10 archaeological excavations³, from which it seems that most coins discovered in the excavations were late "royal" coins indicating that Jannaeus emphasize the minting of "Royal" and bilingual coins and he continue to issue his coins considerable the increase of Hellenistic population by his rule and it can be assumed that some of them were in circulation until the First Revolt Against the Romans.

The author claims that that the civil war in Judea Josephus attests to stems from the Jewish population's disappointment from their king Alexander Jannaeus' Hellenistic behavior and his approach towards the his second role as High Priest. The king also recruited foreign mercenaries that severely hurt the Jewish population during the civil war and led to the Jewish population's hatred towards the king. Alexander Jannaeus' approach is expressed in his attitude to the "Council of the Jews" meaning the Sanhedrin as well as the fact that he did not collaborate with the people's representatives and the Pharisees. The fact that Demetrius III was invited by the Jewish citizens of Jannaeus' kingdom, to involved in the civil war in

³ the data is current for 2002.

Judea, was the straw that broke the camel's back and led Alexander Jannaeus to make a change under the circumstances that were formed and eventually had to reach a compromise with the Pharisees.

The author finds proof for this change in the overstruck coins that the compromise achieved between Alexander Jannaeus and the Pharisees is expressed by having been minted on overstruck coins, "minting of "royal" minters in the coins form that his father and brother minted during their reign, meaning double cornucopia and a pomegranate / paleo Hebrew inscription and include paleo Hebrew⁶ elements with the title "High priest" as well as

Some overstruck coins bearing the name *yntn* . According to an earlier paper on ⁶

the name *YNTN* attributed to Jannaeus. The author notice a numbr of double struck coins with the
,(Hendin & Shachar 2008) name *yntn* indicating

additional stage of addition overstruck.

mentioning the body "Council of the Jews". Thus, a bilateral combination was done between the role of Jannaeus as king and High priest and the "Council of the Jews".

However, Alexander Jannaeus under the compromise with the Pharisees, is not advocating his role as king, a fact that after the completion of the overstruck minting he continues to issue his "royal" coins in large quantities. Therefore, on the overstruck minting we can see that no real effort was done to blur or erase the previous "royal" minting, but symbolize the new combination in the compromise between Jannaeus' "royal" role and his other role as "High priest".

The author point out the fact that the late minting of cornucopia /Hebrew inscription on the original coin, lead to the conclusion that the impression of the cornucopia/ inscription used to issue the over struck process. After the completing the process the minter converted it to issue the "priestly" coins.

Parallel type of minting double cornucopia inscription, the author points out, that he discovered an over struck coins of cornucopia type was over struck by star /anchor type testifies that the minting of double cornucopia type preceded star/anchor type minting. Many star/anchor type coins were minted, in an amount superseding any other type of coin and the findings data of 10 excavations attest to it. Jannaeus used these coins for a long time throughout the kingdom.

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