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COUNTERMARKED COINS OF ROMAN PREFECTS OF JUDAEA

Information provided by countermarked coins issued by Roman prefects of Judaea help gain insight into the organization of that province in the first century AD[1]. As countermarks on imperial coinage have been given comprehensive treatment, there is no need to offer a detailed analysis of coinage outside Judaea[2]. It will be useful to note, however, that occasions for countermarking are usually called „imperial" or „local." The latter, being the more numerous, are the more elusive and harder to define. Imperial events were mostly the emperor's visits to the province, his victories, or *damnatio memoriae* of former rulers. Local events occurred

[1] It is customary to refer to governors in Judaea as procurators. However, it seems that in the years 6-41 AD, they bore the title of prefect, as is indicated by an inscription alluding to Pontius Pilate found in Caesarea Maritima; cf. A. FROVA, „L'inscrizione de Ponzio Pilato a Caesarea", *Rendiconti dell'Instituto Lombardo, Accademia Di Scienze e Lettere Estratto dai Rendiconti, Classe di Lettere* 95 (1961), pp. 419-434.

[2] C.J. HOWGEGO, „Greek Imperial Countermarks" in: *Studies in the Provincial Coinage of the Roman Empire*, London 1985, pp. 4-17.

mainly in provincial cities, although the use of countermarking was also widespread in the imperial army. It was very rarely that some specific coins or types were slated for countermarking, as is revealed by hoards of bronzes countermarked at the same place and time. It is therefore plausible to conclude that a countermark could serve to warrant a coin's worth that was being raised, decreased, or confirmed. Thus, using denominational countermarks, it was possible to determine the value of old and new coinage. Particularly the old, worn-out coins had their life prolonged in this way. Moreover, countermarking could extend the circulation of old coins when the mint was down.

Numerous as occasions for countermarking were, small denominations (such as Roman *quadranses*)[3] were not as rule subjected to the process. Most coins bearing countermarks were issued outside Rome and Italy, and large proportion of them was in circulation in the empire's frontier regions[4]. A variety of symbols and abbreviations were used in countermarks, their derivation from either Latin or Greek depending on which language prevailed in the area where the coin was to be circulated or was the dominant tongue in a given military unit (legionary countermarks).

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[3] H. MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, I, London 1923, p. XVII, note 4. Apart from Judaean prefects' coinage, we know of other *quadranses* countermarked, namely: a) 14 city coins of Ascalon struck in 72/73, 76/77, 86/87 AD; b) 12 city coins of Sidon from 47/48, 77/78, 87/88 AD; c) some uncertain pieces of Tyre; d) one coin of Gadara issued during the reign of Titus (79-81 AD). All the above coins are countermarked with an X or XF (or their variants), indicating only the number of a Roman legion. For group a), see *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Palestine*, London 1914, p. 113, No. 56; for groups b)-d), see C.J HOWGEGO, *op. cit.* ctrm. 735. See also Y. MESHORER, „The Coins of Masada" in: *Masada*, I, Jerusalem 1989, Nos. 1309, 3782-3783; K. LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea," *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 12 (1992-93), p. 57, note 3. For the many grouping variants of coins, see D. BARAG, „The Countermarks of the Legio Decima Fretensis" in: A. KINDLER, ed., *Proceedings of the International Numismatic Convention, Jerusalem 27-31 December 1963, The Patterns of the Monetary Development in Phoenicia and Palestine in Antiquity*, Jerusalem 1967, p. 120, group IV.

In discussing the countermarks on coins of Judaean prefects, Ascalon coins are especially remarkable as the countermarks were struck on them doubtless by a legionary detachment stationed nearby. We know that the imperial possessions in Ascalon were supervised by at least one Roman infantry cohort and one *ala* of cavalry, probably belonging to Legion X Fretensis (?), which conducted military operations in this area commanded by Vespasian during the First Jewish War (FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Bellum Judaicum* III, II, 1, 12). Another point to bear in mind is that a large issue of city coinage struck in Ascalon mint early in the first century AD may also have to do with the presence of a large Roman military force nearby.

[4] MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, pp. XXIX, XXXI.

The first countermarked coin to be published was a piece of Valerius Gratus (15-26 AD)[5]; today we know 20 such coins issued by Gratus and Pontius Pilate (26-36 AD)[6]. Yakov Meshorer suggested that countermarking was used solely on coins from before 29/30 AD[7], but the latest known specimen of countermarking is a coin of Pontius Pilate struck in 31/32 AD[8]. A countermark in the form of a palm branch and some letters can be seen only on one type of bronzes – issued early in the history of the province of Judaea – and usually equivalent to Roman *quadranses* or Jewish *perutah*.

Countermarks were mainly stamped on the reverse[9], often in its lower field. In many instances, the axis of the countermark is opposed to that of the coin, although it is not a rule. A clear majority of countermarks are found on worn-out coins, in a flattened area remaining after a previous representation has been worn out. Yet it should be remembered that there are some countermarked specimens that did not suffer wear. The countermark stamp could be round or oval-shaped with diameters from 5 to 7 mm.

All countermarks that have been read bear the same initials: CΠ. The letter to the left of the palm branch seems at first to be a Latin C, while the one on the right is doubtless a Greek Π[10]. A. Spijkerman put forward a hypothesis that the CΠ is abbreviation for „Palaestinae"[11], while Y. Meshorer argued that the countermarks came from the reign of Agrippa I

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[5] A. SPIJKERMAN, „Some Rare Jewish Coins", *Studii Biblicii Franciscani*, Liber Annuus 13 (1963), p. 312. The coin was again published by Y. MESHORER, *Ancient Jewish Coins in the Second Temple Period*, Tel-Aviv, 1967, no. 229a.

[6] For a full catalog of all twenty known countermarked pieces see LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea" pp. 68-70.

[7] Y. MESHORER, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, II, Dix Hills, New York, 1982, p. 185. For the revised view see IDEM, „Ancient Jewish Coinage. Addendum I," *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 11 (1990-91), p. 112.

[8] LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea", p. 70.

[9] In the first nine countermarked coins (issued in 17/18-24/25 AD), the countermarks are placed only on the reverses; on four more coins (issued in 29/30 AD), countermarks are found on both obverse and reverse; finally, the last six pieces (issued in 30/31-31/32 AD) have countermarks on the obverse only. Unfortunately, we can offer no explanation for this peculiar irregularity.

[10] MESHORER, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, II, p. 223, note 32. Meshorer rightly points out that on one coin of Valerius Gratus, the big Greek letter P is reversed. We can therefore confidently limit ourselves to the abbreviation CP as we reject another, suggested by HOWGEGO, „Greek Imperial Countermarks", p. 178, cntrm. 386, of a CU which, in the light of this discussion, is impossible.

[11] SPIJKERMAN, „Some Rare Jewish Coins", p. 312.

(41-44 AD), when the Romans used countermarks to confirm the circulation of Roman coins issued early in the existence of the province of Judaea[12].

Both hypotheses are interesting but unfounded for all the countermarks – as well as monetary inscriptions in early-Roman provincial monetary system – are Greek. Consequently, the first letter in the abbreviation is not a Latin C but rather a Greek sigma (Σ), and in one of its best known forms to be found on coinage[13]. The use of the letter sigma in the form of a C is well known e.g. from Judaea's early provincial coinage. It is not impossible that the letters in question, instead of being the initials of two separate words, are the first two letters of the military term *spe<ra* that can be found on coins in the genitive[14]. The term first referred to a detachment of Ptolemaic troops and was later borrowed into Latin military nomenclature as another word for *manipulus*. After that *spe...rhj* came to signify the Roman *cohors* as is also attested to by numerous inscriptions[15].

Thus the CΠ in a countermark may really stand for a Roman cohort, which seems to be corroborated by epigraphic material from the second-century AD Egypt which suggests that the word cohort could be abbreviated in Greek. One inscription[16] reads as follows:

H A L C I M V S
HELPIDVTIS. F
VIXI ME. XIIX
C. PINARI PACC
NI LIBERTVS
ALKIMOC ELPIDOT
UIOC EZWKE MH IH
GAIOU PINARIOU CP
LEG KB/PAKWNIOU

Important for the present discussion is especially the Greek part of the inscription and the letters CΠ in it. The text is partly obliterated but

[12] MESHORER, *Ancient Jewish Coinage* II, p. 186.

[13] LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea", p. 59.

[14] *Ibid.* p. 59.

[15] *Ibid.* p. 59.

[16] EE III 344 (*Ephemeris epigraphica III. Supplementum II*, ed. by G. REINER, Rome 1875) = *Corpus*

it seems that the C. Pinarius mentioned in it served in one of the legion's cohorts designated CΠ. It is not impossible that the legion was XXII Deioteriana. There are also other countermarks containing spe<ra in a number of contexts[17].

The CΠ countermark differs from ordinary legionary countermarks by its stamp style and clear identification of the authority that performed the countermarking. Legionary countermarks show the legion number in a square or rectangle as opposed to the round or oval shape of a CΠ stamp[18]. It is difficult to decide what this specific shape was supposed to indicate. It cannot be ruled out that it stressed some special authority of the cohort. It should be remembered that countermarks on the coins of Judaean prefects antedate other military countermarking in that area by more than 30 years. Those later military countermarks were struck during the First Jewish War (66-70AD) or later[19]. Unfortunately, countermarks do not provide all the information that the numismatist would desire, if only for the confined space available on coins. Legionary units possessed coins that were in circulation in the area where the men were stationed,

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Inscriptionum Latinarum III, 6632 (henceforth *CIL*). LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea" p. 60, note 13, presents translations and comments by professors Errki Sironen and Olli Salomies on this inscription.

According to Sironen, the Latin and Greek texts are not identical. The Latin part contains erroneous spellings of Greek names while the conclusion of the Greek text with its references to legion and century is difficult to translate. He therefore proposes the following reduction of the inscription: / *Halcimus, the son of Helpidus, lived 18 months; the century of Gaius Pinarius, freedman of Paconius / Alcimus, son of Elpidotus, lived 18 months. Cohort / of Gaius Pinarius, 22nd legion, century of Paconius.*

O. Salomies points out that we could have expected to find in the inscription a military rank or office preceding the legion's Roman ordinal (LEG KB). While studying the inscription, T. Momsen rightly read BB as KB as he pointed out that the reconstructed abbreviation can only be CP. This view rules out the theory that CΠ may stand for soldier *(stratiwthj)*, abbreviated from CTP. If the short form refers to an office, such as spekoulatwr, *speculator* in Latin, then it is impossible to determine why the century of C. Pinarius appears in the inscription. K. Lönnqvist quotes another interpretation of CΠ, according to which spoUrioj (*spurius* in Latin) is an illegitimate child, which, however, does not fit in with the context of the inscription or with the countermarks. It thus seems that the only logical supposition is that the CΠ in the inscription can only be interpreted as *ope<ra*.

[17] W. DITTENBERG, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptiones Graecarum*, I, Hildesheim 1970, among other inscriptions, nos. 280, 2; 421, 4; 480, 3; 489, 7; 540, 14; 586, 3; 660, 25; 678, 6; 705, 3. See also E. LITTMAN and M. DAVID, *Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-05 and 1909*, Division III, Section A, Southern Syria, part 6 (Si;Seeia), Publications of Princeton University, Leyden 1916, no. 769.

[18] HOWGEGO, „Greek Imperial Countermarks", pp. 249ff.

[19] LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea", p. 61.

yet countermarks on those coins only contained the legion's number, without reference to specific units within the legion[20]. Seen in this light, СП-countermarked coins of Judaean prefects appear to supply heretofore unknown evidence on early movements of troops in the province of which sources make no mention.

Based on the numismatic material available to us, we can determine the *terminus ante quem* for the use of countermarks to be the year 41 AD, which is suggested by a lack of countermarks on coins issued by Agrippa I, who ascended to power in Judaea in that year. The first coins bearing countermarks were struck in 17/18 AD by Valerius Gratus, while the last by Pontius Pilate in 31/32 AD. Thus the *terminus post quem* is 17/18 AD[21]. It should be noted that matrix analyses have revealed all СП countermarks to have been struck after 29/30 AD, perhaps even after 31/32 AD, but definitely before 41 AD[22]. The events that took place toward the end of Pontius Pilate's term or soon after it, or perhaps under Marcellus (36 AD) or Marullus (37-41 AD), seem to indicate that the countermarks were struck in 36/37 AD[23] (more on which below).

Let us attempt to answer the question, which Roman cohort used countermarks on prefect's coins and where it was stationed. Already under Herod the Great (37-4 BC), stationed in Judaea was one infantry cohort and one *ala* of cavalry commanded by Roman officers but recruiting its men from the local population[24]. In the period 6-66 AD, Judaea had five infantry cohorts and one *ala* of cavalry stationed in it which, as auxiliary units, also conducted enlistment locally[25] (mostly among Seba-

[20] HOWGEGO, „Greek Imperial Countermarks", cntrm. nos. 725-741; see also p. 17.

[21] LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea", p. 61.

[22] Assuming that one stamp was used for five-to-six years (which is hardly probable), we would have to date the countermarking at after 29/30 or 31/32 AD. This proposition is contradicted by numismatic evidence that clearly suggests that countermarking must have taken place after 31/32 AD (more likely after 36/37 AD) but before 41 AD.

[23] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Antiquitates Judaicae* XV, XI, 4, 405; XVII, X, 3-5, 267-272; XVIII, IV, 2, 89; *Bellum Judaicum* II, III, 4, 52; X, 3-5, 192-202.

[24] *CIL VIII*, 9358 and *CIL III*, 2916, *Bellum Judaicum* II, III-IV, 4, 1-2, 52-58.

[25] E. SCHÜRER, The *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)*, I, Edinburgh 1973, pp. 363-364. *Antiquitates Judaicae* XV, XI, 4, 405; XVII, X, 3-5, 267-272; XVIII, IV, 2, 89; *Bellum Judaicum* II, III, 4, 52; X, 3-5, 192-202.

stenes). It is not impossible, however, that on a few occasions[26] Roman recruitment supplemented their force[27]. Recruiting new soldiers from among non-Roman citizenry (who yet received Roman citizenship later) was standard practice, also in Palestine[28]. The problem is that we have no evidence for the stationing of such units in Judaea before 66 AD, i.e. before the first Jewish rising broke out. Besides, it is quite unlikely that those units should have countermarked coins of prefects of Judaea[29].

In connection with this problem, let us consider the following remark in the Acts of the Apostles 10, 1, which makes a reference to an officer and a unit: *Korn>>lioj «ekatontarchj tmk spe...rhj tÁj kaloumšnhj 'ItalikÁj*, „*Cornelius*, a centurion of the band called the Italian band." Unquestionably, this unit consisted of Roman citizens and was probably *cohors Italica civium Romanorum*, constituting part of a legion deployed near Judaea, most probably in the province of Syria. It is not easy to identify the legion and its task in the area. Some scholars recognize it to be the *cohors II Italica* known from an inscription[30]. For now it seems to be the most plausible hypothesis, and consequently this unit should be assumed to have been responsible for the countermarking of coins of Judaean prefects. Not without significance is the coincidence in dating as the countermarks were used between 31/32 and 41 AD while the events described in Acts 10, 1 are dated at about 40 AD[31]. Epigraphic

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[26] M. SPEIDEL, „The Roman Army in Judaea under the Procurators," *Ancient Society*, 13/14, Leuven 1983/83, pp. 233-234.

[27] It should be remembered that we cannot exclude the possibility that at least some of the five cohorts in Judaea we are cognizant of could be Roman for we know from an inscription only one cohort and one *ala* of cavalry consisting of Sebastenes. Of course, this does not mean that it was not commanded by Roman prefects as available evidence suggests Roman command of these two units. Cf. SPEIDEL, „The Roman Army in Judaea under the Procurators,", p. 235. Since at present we have no other evidence, we must conclude that early in the province's history, its garrison consisted of five infantry cohorts and one *ala* of Sebastene cavalry.

[28] E. SCHÜRER, The *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. - A.D. 135)*, I, p. 362, note 40, lists some units: *cohortes Ascalonitarum, Canathenorum, Damascenorum, Ituraeorum, and Tyriorum.*

[29] LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea", p. 62.

[30] E.M. SMALLWOOD, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, Leiden 1976, p. 147, note 13. Noteworthy is the abbreviation ITAL found as a countermark on a coin issued under emperor Nero in 67/68 AD; see also HOWGEGO, „Greek Imperial Countermarks",, cntrm. no. 596.

[31] SPEIDEL, „The Roman Army in Judaea under the Procurators", p 233.

[32] *CIL XI*, 6117.

materials[32] suggest that the unit under discussion was transferred back[33] to Syria in 69 AD[34].

It was common practice in the empire's eastern provinces to employ the Greek language in countermarks, of course in addition to Latin. It must have been a remnant of the broad Greek influences in the Hellenistic period, but another consideration must have been the recruitment of soldiers also from Greek-speaking areas[35]. A rendition of an olive branch can be seen on many imperial Greek[36] and Roman[37] countermarks. It may well be that in some cases other symbols used in countermarking make a reference to military units or a geographical region. And thus, e.g. a *pileus*, *triquetra*, palm, lyre, and dagger are classified as characteristic for countermarks from Sicily[38]. Legionary countermarks are doubtless related to the unit responsible for the countermarking; there is thus much likelihood that the СП countermark has to do with the Roman cohort that impressed it on coins of Roman prefects of Judea. It follows that the palm branch symbolizes the Roman cohort much like the galley that would later come to represent

[33] It cannot be ruled out that the arrival of this unit in Judaea had to do with the resignation of Pontius Pilate, whose place was temporarily taken by Marcellus, a staff officer with the legate of Syria, Vitellius. He probably came to the province with additional troops to ensure peace after Pilate's heavy-handed rule. This detachment was most probably *cohors II Italica*, which would remain in Judaea until 69 AD. A mention is also due to two Roman legions that the governor of Syria, Petronius, took with him in 40 AD to erect in Jerusalem temple a statue of emperor Caligula shown as Jupiter. However, those legions did not enter Judaean territory, halting in Ptolemais (*Antiquitates*, XVIII, VIII, 2, 262), and consequently could not be responsible for countermarking Roman coins of Judaean prefects.

[34] SCHÜRER, The *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. - A.D. 135)*, I, p. 365.

[35] We know that the optio of the *cohors II Italica* came from the area of Philadelphia (now Amman, the capital of Jordan), where he had entered Roman service in the early sixties AD; see also *CIL III*, 13 483a; SPEIDEL, „The Roman Army in Judaea under the Procurators", pp. 235-236.

[36] HOWGEGO, „Greek Imperial Countermarks", ctrm. no. 385. We know only one certain palm branch on a second-century AD countermark on a Tyrean coin.

[37] MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, I, pp. XXXIX-XL. A palm branch was a typical Gallic symbol which, however, spread to Syria and Palestine. Occurrences of the symbol are plentiful on asses of emperor Augustus issued at Nemausus, and palms were even represented on countermarks. In all Augustan *tresviris monetales*, appropriate symbolism was used in their countermarking: C. Cassius Celer (sestertii), C. Gallius Lupercus (sestertii), palm branch with the letters DD (decree ...) on the sides; L. Naevius Surdinus (dupondii) - palm branch, lyre, triskelis, and gorgoneion; M. Sanquinius (dupondii) - lyre and palm branch, and triskelis and palm branch.

[38] MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, I, p. XXX, note 5.

legion X Fretensis. Nor can it be ruled out that the branch is a reference to the place of recruitment[39].

We remember that countermarking of the discussed coins of Valerius Gratus and Pontius Pilate took place between 31/32 and 41 AD. Josephus Flavius quotes more occasions when Roman legions or their parts entered Judaea between 36/37 and 41 AD[40]. The problem is that such movements of the military are not confirmed by other sources, and the arrival of a Roman cohort in 36/37 AD is only suggested by the numismatic evidence presented[41]. It is only in one case that it was possible to determine the origin of a countermarked coin. During 1993 excavations by Israel Antiquities Authority at Qarantal near Jericho, a single Nabataean piece and a single countermarked coin of Valerius Gratus were discovered in a cave[42]. Unfortunately, we have no way of determining how those coins had found their way to that isolated location, although it is not impossible that they had been brought there after 31/32 AD by a wanderer or a soldier seeking shelter in the cave[43]. Perhaps our cohort took part in a military mission in the Dead Sea region[44]. Nevertheless, it seems obvious that the Qarantal cave is not where the countermarking of Judaean prefects' coins was done. Regrettably, we do not know the provenance of other countermarked coins of Valerius Gratus and Pontius Pilate. Besides, no CΠ-countermarked coin was found in a hoard. We therefore need to revert to the New Testament for more clues.

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[39] LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea", p. 64.

[40] See notes 27 and 33 above. For the deployment area of *spe<ra Sebast*>> (Acts 27, 1), see SPEIDEL, „The Roman Army in Judaea under the Procurators", pp. 238-240, who argues that the cohort was not stationed in Caesarea Maritima at the time of St. Paul's questioning, but that its task was to escort Agrippa II on his way to Caesarea Maritima.

[41] It cannot be decisively ruled out that the unit as a whole was recruited ad hoc locally.

[42] The coin of Valerius Gratus bore a wreath on the obverse and a palm branch on the reverse. The countermark itself is on the reverse, representing an upright branch without any letters; cf. no. 8 in the catalogue in LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea", p. 69. The Nabataean coin is also a bronze, showing busts facing right on the obverse and crossed horns of plenty. The coin was struck by Aretas IV (9 BC - 40 AD) or Malichos II (40-70 AD).

[43] LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea", p. 65.

[44] Perhaps a part of the cohort stationed at Masada, see note 46 above.

Numismatic evidence suggests the presence of an Italic cohort in Judaea shortly before 40 AD. The Acts of the Apostles[45] suggests, in connection with the later arrest of St. Paul in Jerusalem, that a civic Roman cohort or its detachment was stationed in the Antonia fortress[46] .The unit was commanded by a military tribune (*tribunum militium* or *cil...arkoj tÁj spe,,rhj*) The tribune normally led a division of 1000 men, which suggests that the unit stationed in Antonia was probably a *cohors militaria.* It is notable that the commander of 1000 men was actually titled *cil...arkoj* instead of *'šparkoj* (prefect), which title would normally be applied to an officer commanding such a detachment. Consequently, it is justified to surmise that we are dealing with an irregular auxiliary cohort consisting of non-Romans[47]. This does not preclude a connection between *spe..ra 'Italik>>* from Acts 10, 1 (*cohors II Italica*) and the Roman unit mentioned in Acts 23-24. Let us note that a division of 1000 men (*cohors militaria* in Acts 23-24) was led by *cil..arkoj*, and the so-called Italic cohort is in reality known as *cohors militaria*[48]. It is on order to mention an inscription suggesting that the Italic cohort was moved back to Syria in 69 AD. Its text: COH. MIL. ITALIC. VOLVNT. proves that in both cases we are dealing with the same unit[49].

Still, centurion Cornelius mentioned in Acts 10, 1-8 was stationed at Caesarea Maritima, commanding some military unit. It should consequently be surmised that the cohort of 1000 men brought to Judaea in 36/37 AD was divided into three smaller units deployed in Jerusalem, Caesarea Maritima, and perhaps Masada[50]. Even though the countermarks supply

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[45] Acts 21, 31, 37; 22, 24, 29; 23, 10, 15; 24, 7, 22. There does not seem to be any reason to doubt St. Luke's account of the cohort. Cf. SCHÜRER, The *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)*, I, p. 366, note 60.

[46] The suggestion in Acts 10, 1, that Cornelius stayed in Caesarea Maritima at the time of the events described seems to suggest that the cohort might have been subdivided into smaller detachments - perhaps three - stationed in different locations. One of those smaller units no doubt served in Jerusalem, another in Caesarea Maritima. The third was probably quartered at Masada, which seems to be borne out by imported Italic lamps discovered there that must have been brought in by the soldiers of the Roman garrison deployed there; cf. D. BARAG and M. HERSHKOVITZ, *Lamps from Masada, Masada IV*, Jerusalem 1994, pp. 125f and note 125.

[47] LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea", p. 66.

[48] See A. PAULY ET AL. (eds.), *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumwoissenschaft*, IV, Stuttgart 1901, p. 304, on *cohors II Italica civium Romanorum voluntarium militaria* = *CIL III*, 13 483a.

[49] *CIL XI*, 6 117.*

[50] See note 46 above.

no hints as to where the countermarking was performed, the most likely place seems to be Jerusalem, where the most substantial force was serving, probably to enforce order following Pontius Pilate' departure and to lend support to the acting governor Marcellus.

To conclude, let us attempt to determine the functions of the countermarks under discussion. Undoubtedly, the countermarking was conducted on the provincial level only, but the role played by Judaea's prefect is unclear[51]. It is unquestionable that the countermarking was done in military settings, testifying to what coins were in use in the legionary unit. It is difficult to determine the exact procedure employed, but the numbers of known stamps (12) and countermarked pieces found (20) suggest a large scope of the operation.

Researchers have proved that most legionary countermarks were stamped on worn-out coins or in the vicinity of military camps[52]. Yet countermarked coins of Valerius Gratus and Pontius Pilate defy our ability to track them down. Only circumstantial evidence seems to point to Jerusalem. Given a lack of any marking referring to value, we can surmise that countermarks on coins of Judaean prefects had to do with military finance and their function was to confirm the prefects' coinage as legal tender paid out to soldiers. Importantly, after the issues of Pontius Pilate followed a break in Roman coinage (of course Agrippa I continued to issue coin), which rendered countermarking indispensable. At any rate, the historical significance of countermarks on coins of Roman prefects of Judaea lies in their being evidence of military movements within the province after 36/37 AD that escaped historical records, and in suggesting the presence in pre-44 AD Judaea of six rather than five cohorts, which has been the belief so far[53].

Translated by Tadeusz Stanek

[51] See M. GRANT, *From Imperium to Auctoritas. A Study of Aes Coinage in the Roman Empire 49 B.C. – 14 A.D.*, Cambridge 1946, p. 95, presenting a discussion of equestrian governors and countermarking in Rhaetia and Noricum.

[52] LÖNNQVIST, „New Vistas on the Countermarked Coins of the Roman Prefects of Judaea", p. 67.

[53] See SMALLWOOD, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 147, note 13. She thinks that the cohort arrived in Judaea after 44 AD.

JERZY CIECIELĄG

KONTRAMARKOWANE MONETY RZYMSKICH PREFEKTÓW JUDEI

Kontramarkowane monety rzymskich prefektów Judei pozwalają lepiej poznać organizację tej prowincji w I wieku po Chr. Zauważmy, że okazje, które spowodowały zastosowanie kontramarek określa się zazwyczaj jako cesarskie lub lokalne. Okazjami cesarskimi były głównie wizyty cesarzy w prowincjach, cesarskie zwycięstwa lub damnatio memoriae poprzednich władców. Lokalne wydarzenia miały miejsce przede wszystkim w miastach prowincjonalnych, choć nie wolno zapominać, iż kontramarki były też rozpowszechnione w rzymskiej armii. Kontramarka pełniła głównie rolę gwaranta wartości monety, którą pomniejszała, powiększała lub potwierdzała.

W przypadku Judei znamy kontramarki na monetach wyemitowanych przez Waleriusza Gratusa i Poncjusza Piłata. Kontramarki na monetach prefektów Judei znane są tylko dla pierwszego okresu istnienia Judei jako prowincji, czyli do roku 41 po Chr. Bardzo istotną kwestią jest fakt, iż dzięki kontramarkom można wysunąć hipotezę, że cohors Italica civium Romanorum, którą znamy z Dziejów Apostolskich stacjonowała w Judei jeszcze przed rokiem 41 po Chr.

Omawiane kontramarki spełniały swoją funkcję tylko w odniesieniu do obszaru Judei. Nie wiemy jednak jaką rolę w tym procesie odegrali prefekci. Jest rzeczą bezsporną, że kontramarkowanie miało miejsce w kontekście wojskowym, wskazując jakich monet używano w danej jednostce. Tak więc możemy przypuszczać, że kontramarki na monetach prefektów Judei związane były z finansami wojskowymi, a ich zadaniem było poświadczenie monet prefektów jako środka płatniczego dla żołnierzy.

fig. 1

fig. 2

fig. 3

fig. 4

fig. 5

1. Year 29. Countermark with letters „CY".
2. Year 29. Countermark with letters „CΠ".
3. Year 29. Countermark with letters „CΠ".
4. Year 30. Countermark with letter „U".
5. Year 31. Countermark with no letter.

Tab. I