

NOVUM TESTAMENTUM ET ORBIS ANTIQUUS

Series Archaeologica – 10

BRUNO CALLEGHER

**Following the Coins
from the Excavations at
Khirbet Qumran (1951–1956)
and Aïn Feshkha (1956–1958)**

École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem

VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT GÖTTINGEN



Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus

Series Archaeologica 10

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Khirbet Qumran and Aïn Feshkha V

Bruno Callegher

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“The interpretation of the coin evidence is a delicate matter.”

Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, London 1973, p. 19.

“Further discussion of this problem must await the full and final publication of the coins from Qumran or at least the surviving notes.”

Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Cambridge 2nd ed. 2021, p. 233.



Landscapes of Khirbet Qumran in 1953 (© SBF Archive-Jerusalem)





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I. Something more than an introduction

Still on the Qumran coins? The question cannot be considered rhetorical nor is it unjustified. Some seventy years have passed since the start of the archaeological excavations at that site and the site of Aïn Feshkha. Both were directed by Roland de Vaux (1903–1971)¹ (hereafter RdV), whose intellectual biography is so well documented that we refrain from presenting even a brief profile of him here. The numismatic dossier of those two sites remains however, beyond all perplexity, absolutely current, even inescapable, as a consequence of what has been discovered and verified in recent years precisely with regard to the coins of those excavations. Methodological rigour requires us to recall that many have written about the coin findings at Khirbet Qumran, a site that has become extremely famous (perhaps too famous?), not so much for its architectural evidence, the distribution of its dwellings, the network of its cisterns and water channels, nor the peculiarities of its ceramics and other finds, but rather for its location in regard to what began in a striking manner – I cannot find a more expressive adjective – in November 1947, but perhaps even earlier.² “*Dans une grotte de*

l’un des wadis aboutissant au nord de la Mer Morte, en territoire palestinien, un bédouin avait trouvé quelques jarres dont l’une ou l’autre étaient encore intactes et qui renfermaient des rouleaux soigneusement enveloppés de toile enduite d’une mélange de cire et bitume.”³ RdV remembered with good timing “*pour satisfaire la vive impatience du public*”.⁴ At the time, everyone’s attention was focused on the cave, in whose excavations Gerald Lankester Harding (1901–1979),⁵ director of the Department of Antiquities in Amman, had worked with the *École Biblique*. So much so that, in pointing out the cave’s exact topographical location, archaeologist de Vaux noted with strikingly modern precision for those times: “*La grotte est située au Nord-Ouest de la Mer Morte, moins d’un kilomètre au Nord du Khirbet Qumran, dans une falaise qui se dresse à deux kilomètres environ du rivage*”.⁶ Of the site on the plateau, however, there was no hint, only the kilometre marker as a reference point to calculate distances and provide a location. But this was only caused by an initial apparent lack of interest, because shortly afterwards, archaeological research came to the fore; it is the same archaeologist who writes about it: “*La grotte est située à 12 km au sud de*

1 AEBAF = *Archive École Biblique et Archéologique Française*
ASBF = *Archive Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*
cit. = cited

On his figure, now inextricably linked to Qumran, see Briend J., in Schiffman L. and VanderKam J. C. (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford 2000, *ad vocem*.

2 For the timing or chronology of the spread of news about the discovery of the “Scroll of the Dead Sea”, see VanderKam J. C., *The Dead Sea Scroll Today*, Grand Rapids 1994; for a comprehensive overview of the issues related to the Essenes and their relationship to the manuscripts, most recently Taylor J. E., *The Essenes, the Scrolls, and the Dead Sea*, Oxford 2012.

3 De Vaux R., “Les anciens manuscrits hébreux récemment découverts”, *RB* 56 (1949), pp. 204–237: p. 204. For orthographical reasons, the surname of Roland de Vaux is capitalized at the start of sentences and footnotes.

4 *Loc. cit.*

5 Macdonald M., “In Memoriam Gerald Lankester Harding”, *ADAJ* 23 (1979), pp. 198–200; Macdonald M., “A Bibliography of Gerald Lankester Harding”, *ADAJ* 24 (1980), pp. 8–12.

6 De Vaux R., “Post-scriptum. La cachette des manuscrits hébreux”, *RB* 56 (1949), pp. 234–237: p. 234.

Jéricho, 4 km au nord de Aïn Feshkha, approximativement au coordonnées 1934–1287 de la carte du Survey of Palestine”. “Le plus proche des sites anciennement habités est le Khirbet Qumrân, environ 1 km au Sud”.⁷ At the same time, however, the (albeit preliminary) analysis of some scrolls had already suggested, in an assertive and almost axiomatic form since 1949, that “Nous sommes ainsi peu à peu introduits dans le milieu intellectuel de la communauté – disons mieux: de la secte – qui cacha sa bibliothèque dans la grotte de la Mer Morte”.⁸ To what extent this preliminary view and all the psychological and ideological implications influenced the subsequent excavations at the site of Khirbet Qumran has been widely debated in the subsequent archaeological bibliography, which had already reached more than 100 titles within two years (1949 to 1950).⁹ Indeed, between November and December 1951, in a collaboration between the Department of Antiquities in Amman and the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem, the *École Biblique* began exploring the ruins near the rocky slopes of the Wadi Qumran: “Lorsqu’en 1949 Mr Harding et moi-même nous avions travaillé à la première grotte des manuscrits, notre attention avait été naturellement attirée par ces ruines qui sont les plus voisines de la cachette. Nous avons seulement pu faire une prospection de surface et fouiller deux tombes, et nous n’avions relevé aucun indice qui mît cette installation en rapport avec la grotte des manuscrits. Cet argument négatif ne nous satisfaisait cependant pas et, à l’automne de 1951 nous avons décidé de faire une petite fouille sur le site”.¹⁰ The excavation campaigns, attended by RdV and Lankester Harding, continued until 1956, with research also extended to the caves of Wadi Murrabba’ât,¹¹ and at the nearby site of Aïn Feshkha from 1956 until 1958,¹² when the Suez crisis compromised diplomatic relations between the countries of the participants. The consequence, which was not insignificant, was that the first architects of archaeology in this area found themselves ousted by events and

subsequent choices, not always made by the specialists themselves.¹³ Despite regular preliminary reports published in *Revue Biblique* (1953, 1954, 1956 and 1959) and the *Schweich Lectures of the British Academy* of 1959,¹⁴ the publication of the set edited by Jean-Baptiste Humbert can only be said to have started in 1994 and is still ongoing.¹⁵ After RdV’s sudden death in 1971 alone had made the interpretation of his excavation diaries, his extraordinarily precise notes, his surveys, the photographic archive, the drawings, and the various classes of finds very challenging the conspicuous numismatic documentation suffered an even more tormenting fate, almost bordering on a modern spy story or sequel thriller as we will say later.

Following the methods of his time, the first information on the coins was found in the earliest excavation report. Here, the coins are given an indisputable dating value, indeed, the report’s only interest in them was as a document: “Pour dater ces constructions, l’indice le plus sûr est celui que donnent les monnaies recueillies dans presque toutes les chambres”.¹⁶ The report followed a pattern distinguished by *loci* accompanied by a few contextual hints with a list of authorities and their dates. It was not much, but enough to get an

7 De Vaux R., “La grotte des manuscrits hébreux”, *RB* 56 (1949), pp. 586–669.

8 *Loc. cit.*, 669.

9 Baumgartner W., “Der palästinische Handschriftenfund: Zweiter Bericht”, *TR* 19 (1951), pp. 97–154.

10 De Vaux R., “Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân”, *RB* 60 (1953), pp. 83–106; de Vaux R., “Exploration de la région de Qumrân”, *RB* 60 (1953), pp. 540–561.

11 De Vaux R., “Les grottes de Murrabba’at et leurs documents”, *RB* 60 (1953), pp. 245–267; Benoit P., Milik J. T. and de Vaux R., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, II. Les Grottes de Murabba’at*, Oxford 1961.

12 De Vaux R., “Fouilles de Feshkha”, *RB* 66 (1959), pp. 225–255.

13 This human and scientific story is reconstructed, also in its archaeological aspects (such as the missing publication of reports and conclusions of excavation campaigns) by Humbert J.-B. and Chambon A., *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha, IIIA. L’archéologie de Qumrân*, Göttingen 2016, pp. 14–22. An indispensable reference, albeit with a different perspective, provides Magness J., *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Grand Rapids, Michigan 2002 (2nd ed. 2021); Hirschfeld Y., *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence*, Peabody 2004.

14 An overview of the archaeology of the *École Biblique* can be found in Benoit P., “Activités archéologiques de l’École Biblique et Archéologique française à Jérusalem depuis 1890”, *RB* 94 (1987), pp. 397–424.

15 Humbert J.-B. and Chambon A., *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha. I. Album de photographies. Répertoire du fond photographique. Synthèse des notes de chantier du Père Roland de Vaux OP*, Göttingen 1994; de Vaux R., *Die Ausgrabungen von Qumran und En Feshkha, IA. Die Grabungstagebücher*, Göttingen 1996; Humbert J.-B. and Chambon A. (eds.), *The Excavations of Khirbet Qumran and Aïn Feshkha, IB. Synthesis of Roland de Vaux’s Field Notes*, Göttingen 2003; Humbert J.-B. and Gunneweg J. (eds.) *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha, II. Études d’anthropologie, de physique et de chimie*, Göttingen 2003; Humbert J.-B., Chambon A. and Młynarczyk J., *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha. Fouilles du P. Roland de Vaux, IIIA. L’archéologie de Qumrân. Reconsideration de l’interprétation. Corpus of the Lamps*, Göttingen 2016 (English edition forthcoming 2023).

16 De Vaux R., “Fouille au Khirbet Qumrân. Rapport préliminaire”, *RB* 60 (1953), pp. 83–106: 93.

idea of the consistency of this class of artefacts and their distribution in the excavated area. Their fate, both as individual finds and as hoards, is well narrated in brief in a few passages of the *avant-propos* of the first volume of the series *Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus. Series Archaeologica* dedicated to Qumran, which is worthwhile to present here in full for all the implications contained therein. We will shortly explain it in this volume on a documentary/archival basis: “*La coopération avec le fr. Michele Piccirillo o.f.m., fut des plus fructueuses; qu’il trouve ici l’expression de notre gratitude. Nous lui devons d’avoir préservé de la disparition les documents de Fr. Auguste Spijkerman, du Studium Biblicum Franciscanum de Jérusalem, disparu en 1973.*”¹⁷ *R. de Vaux s’était naturellement adressé à A. Spijkerman pour l’interprétation des monnaies, puisqu’il était le meilleur expert disponible en Jordanie. R. de Vaux lui apportait directement les monnaies de la fouille à son couvent de la Flagellation à Jérusalem, où elles étaient nettoyées et lues. Le Fr. Spijkerman a, de sa propre main, constitué un fichier que le Fr. Piccirillo nous a communiqué. La précision des lectures y est fonction de l’état de conservation des monnaies. Pour toutes les pièces locales, les identifications sont faites par des renvois au manuel: Ancient Jewish Coins de A. Reifenberg, édité à Jérusalem, dans la seconde édition de 1947.*”¹⁸ *C’est le résultat de cette collation que nous avons adjoint à la liste des monnaies.*

*Les monnaies furent ensuite déposées par lot successifs au Musée Rockefeller, sauf le denier que le Fr. Piccirillo a conservé et que A. Spijkerman n’avait pas encore renoncé à réexaminer au moment de sa mort, Y sont répertoriées, les monnaies inscrites au catalogue général des objets de Qumrân, entre les numéros KhQ. 707 et KhQ.2650 et au catalogue de Ain Feshkha, entre les numéros Fesh. 003 et Fesh. 235. Les trésors ont été partagés entre le Musée Rockefeller et le Musée archéologique d’Amman, où ils ont été d’abord étudiés par Henri Seyrig, puis par le P. A. Spijkerman. M. Christian Augé (C. N. R. S. Paris) a été chargé en 1972 de l’étude de la numismatique. Les résultats acquis par les P. Spijkerman étaient consignés dans une mémoire que l’on retrouvera presque tel quel, publié en 1987 par l’entreprise du P. Pierre Benoit dans la Revue Biblique, sous le nom de Marcia Sharabani.”*¹⁹

17 On the personage, see *infra*.

18 In fact, the study had been published in 1939 and then received monographic form as Reifenberg A., *Ancient Jewish Coins*, Jerusalem 1940.

19 Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Ain Feshkha. I. Album de photographies* cit., p. XIV.

While these lines do give a number of certain data, their stylistic elegance elides many aspects of their implications. So much so that, even in 1994 information about the coins was only mentioned second-hand, deduced from the works of RdV. Everyone writing about the archaeology of this site and its interpretation relied on numismatic evidence without a single coin having been studied and published according to standards already widely accepted in the scientific community at the time.²⁰ Indeed, over the decades, the conviction had arisen that the coins had either partly disappeared, perhaps even sold on the Old Town antiques market, or were known but hidden.

At the same time as writing the volume from which the long passage above is taken, Robert Donceel (1938–2019) and Pauline Donceel-Voûte took an interest in the archaeological finds of the now “stellar” site and thus also in the coins²¹ between 1988 and July 1990. Fifteen years later, in 2006–2007, they were followed by Kenneth and Minna Lönnqvist.

But even these researchers, *inter alia* amateur numismatists, had not seen the coins nor took an autopsic examination into account even though it was the only one that could confirm or disprove what had been stated in previous publications. Alternatively, if they had seen them, they bungled it, perhaps because they had only limited knowledge or access to the archives in which the documents compiled by authoritative scholars such as Henri Seyrig (1895–1973),²² Spijkerman or RdV himself were located.

20 It should suffice to refer to two capital articles in the field of numismatic methodology, available shortly after the conclusion of the excavations at Khirbet Qumran: Grierson Ph., “The interpretation of coin finds (I)”, *NC* ser. 7.5 (1965), pp. i–xiii; Grierson Ph., “The interpretation of coin finds (2)”, *NC* ser. 7.6 (1966), pp. i–xxi.

21 Cf. Cannuyer C. (ed.), “La mer, les ports, les marins dans les civilisations orientales. Pauline Voûte et Robert Donceel in honorem”, *Acta Orientalia Belgica* 32 (2019): pp. I–XXVIII.

22 Le Rider G., “Henri Seyrig, 1895–1973”, *RSN* 52 (1973) 167–171; Cheynet J.-C., Morrisson C. and Seibt W., *Sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig. Catalogue raisonné*, Paris 1991. Seyrig’s archives are deposited in the *Cabinet des Médailles* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. Also essential are the contributions of various scholars in *Syria*. Supplement III is entirely dedicated to the memory of this scholar. In particular for his relations between Beirut and Jerusalem cf. Callegher B., “Henri Seyrig, Auguste Spijkerman et les institutions de recherches à Jérusalem”, *Syria. Supplément III: Henri Seyrig (1895–1973)*, Beirut 2016, pp. 347–368. While Seyrig’s archives are now kept in the *Cabinet des Médailles*, Paris, his library is in Neuchâtel (CH) divided between three institutes (I thank Prof. Hédi Dridi, director of the Institute of Archaeology in Neuchâtel for this information).

In their articles or notes, a methodological aporia imposed itself like a boulder: how was it possible to publish monetary finds if they had disappeared?

Qumran had a strong impact and appeal because it was linked to the manuscripts, their interpretation, the discussion on the function of the archaeological site and who had inhabited it; arguing about a numismatic datum, commonly held to be of undisputed dating capacity, could lead to the emergence of new interpretations, often programmatically asymmetrical with respect to other more widely shared views.²³

In 2012, when I was appointed as advisor to the numismatic collection of the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, I was very aware of how intricate RdV's Qumran excavation dossier was. Some 60 years had passed since those excavations. Walking through the door of the *SBF* vault was exciting: it had been Augustus Spijkerman's workplace, there he had met and discussed with Henri Seyrig, Leo Kadmann (1895–1963),²⁴ Ya'akov Meshorer (1935–2004),²⁵ Meir Rosenberg (1907–1982),²⁶ RdV, but most probably also with Józef Tadeusz Milik (1922–2006),²⁷ Lankester Harding, Jean Starcky (1909–1988),²⁸ Adnan Hadidi (1935–2016)²⁹ and with other archaeologists and numismatists of his generation in a pioneering era. But even more exciting was the outcome of my first action in the *SBF* vault. I picked up the first book-shaped coin box at hand. It sat on the shelf

to the right of the entrance. Opening it, I immediately noticed at the top, on the left, the initials “KQ”. With lightning speed, I connected it to the Khirbet Qumran. They were the lost coins that had been searched for and published without having been seen and examined. Subsequent archival research at the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* (thanks to Claudio Bottini), at the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française* (thanks to Jean-Baptiste Humbert) and at the Israel Antiquities Authority (thanks to Donald Ariel) has made it possible to reconstruct a large part, despite their dispersion in different institutes, of the entire numismatic history of the individual finds and the various treasures discovered at Khirbet Qumran between 1951 and 1956. The better: my numismatic study will not so much cover the protagonists, whose cultural background and psychology would, however, deserve a monograph in itself to understand the background to this dossier, but I at least will discuss their methodological choices.

All this substantiates the opening question: still on the Qumran coins? Yes, but not “still”, rather *only now*, after recovering much of the coins and available documentation. We could say: *finally*, because finally we are able to examine the real *realia*, i. e. the actual coins which remain, the manuscripts, the reports and notes of the protagonists, even though unfortunately almost all of them have remained unpublished for too long.³⁰

I am indebted to many institutions because they have supported my research: the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*; the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française*; the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem which awarded me the Seymour Gitin distinguished professorship on this topic in 2019 (later discontinued on 3 March 2020 due to Covid-19); and my University of Trieste, which authorised long periods of absence so that I could follow this dossier *in situ*. Numerous colleagues have supported me with advice, discussions, and encouragement: above all, I am infinitely grateful to Jean-Baptiste Humbert for his confidence in awarding me this dossier. I would not have succeeded without the active support of Rosario Pierrri Dean at the *SBF*, Eugenio Alliata archaeologist at the *SBF*, Donald T. Ariel Chief Curator of Numismatic of IAA, Gabriela

23 An assessment of the scientific quality of Minna and Kenneth Lönnqvist's book *Archaeology of the hidden Qumran. The new Paradigma*, Helsinki University Press 2002 is obviously not within my remit, but the title alone is indicative of a programmatic desire to find ‘new paradigms’. Cf. *infra*.

24 Klimowsky E. W., “Leo Kadman. In Memoriam”, *INJ* 2 (1964), pp. 3–6.

25 “In Memoriam Ya'akov Meshorer, 1935–2004”, *IMSA* 3 (2004), pp. 2–4; “Professor Ya'akov Meshorer”, *IEJ* 54/2 (2004), pp. 263–264.

26 “Foreword”, in *The Rosenberg Israel Collection, Aelia Capitolina, Akko, Antipatris and Ascalon*, Jerusalem 1972, p. 2.

27 Milik was an author of fundamental studies on the Qumran manuscripts and palaeography. For his first contribution on these topics cf. Milik J. T., “Fragments d'un Midrash de Michée dans les manuscrits de Qumrân”, *RB* 59 (1952), pp. 412–418; for its relevance in this area see Shanks H., “Milestones: Jozef Milik (1922–2006)”, *BAR* 32.3 (2006), p. 18; Kapera Z. J. “Józef Tadeusz Milik (1922–2006): qumranologo orientalista”, in *Qumran. Pomiędzy Starym, a Nowym Testamentem*, (Analecta Biblica Lublinensia II), Lublin 2009.

28 Puech E., “In memoriam. L'Abbé Jean Starcky (1909–1988)”, *RQ* 14 (1989), pp. 3–6.

29 In the absence of a bio-bibliographical reference, it should be recalled that Adnan Hadidi worked in the Department of Antiquities (DoA) of Jordan between 1959 and 1970, taught at the University of Jordan from 1970 to 1977 and was Director General of the DoA from 1977 until he retired in 1988.

30 Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran* (1st ed.), cit. p. 64 so wished: “Only the final publication of all the material from Qumran, including the pottery, coins, and stratigraphy, will make it possible to reconstruct and date these phases accurately”. Within my limits, I will try to live up to this more than understandable expectation, albeit twenty years after its expression.

Bjiovsky and Robert Kool of the Coin Department of IAA, Haim Gitler Director of the National Museum-Archaeology. They helped me in the identification of some Hasmonean *prutot* and some provincial Roman *assaria*.

Special thanks to Jürgen Zangenberg of Leiden University for his confident support in my research, for patiently waiting for its conclusion and supervi-

sion of the final version of this book. Many thanks to Giulio Carraro, Michol Stocco and Hannah Wilson for the English Translation.

During the long periods of study, I felt the closeness of the girls at home, Rita and Dotty: they were always at the back of my mind.

For any mistakes or questionable assumptions, I am solely responsible.

1. Roland de Vaux: from Old Testament history and exegesis to archaeology and numismatics

If one browses through the indexes of *Revue Biblique* in the second half of the 1940s, exactly at the time of the clamorous appearance on the antiquarian market of manuscript scrolls allegedly coming from caves at the Dead Sea or in the Judean Desert, it can be seen how, alongside articles on biblical subjects or Old Testament exegesis, contributions on archaeology begin to find space. In particular, the reports on excavations conducted in Samaria, at Tell el-Far'ah in the hills near the present-day Palestinian Nablus, gain importance. There, the excavations, directed by RdV, began on 1 June 1946 and continued until 22 October 1960, with as many as nine campaigns.¹ Some of the excavations between

1949 and 1958 were concomitant with those undertaken, in collaboration with Jordan's Department of Antiquities, first in the caves and then at the site of Khirbet Qumran. In his various articles (one thinks of the time and the possibilities of printing; certainly, for us today it is almost impossible to imagine the time and costs involved, especially for the iconographic apparatuses, drawings, maps, and photographs) emerges a strong scientific focus and a remarkable completeness of information on the site of Tell el-Far'ah, to the extent that Far'ah remained central to RdV's interests even during the campaigns following the discovery of the manuscripts. In fact, the publication of the findings here as well as there was always accompanied by 'evidence' and data, i. e. topographical references, descriptions of the finds, and illustrative tables. If RdV's Dominican training had been of a philological and historical nature, his long activity in the field had allowed him to develop rare methodological skills which he applied to his work and the collection of excavation documentation so rigorous that it is still widely usable today despite the limitations implicit in the methodology of the 1940s to 1950s. In the same years, however, precisely following the discovery of the manuscripts of the caves near Wadi Qumran, he also made room in his agenda, to organise and to take care of this new front.² This is done progressively

1 De Vaux R. and Steve A. M., "La première campagne de fouilles à Tell el-Far'ah, près Naplouse. Rapport préliminaire", *RB* 54 (1947), pp. 394–433; de Vaux R. and Steve A. M., "La première campagne de fouilles à Tell el-Far'ah, près Naplouse. Rapport préliminaire (suite)", *RB* 54 (1947), pp. 573–589; de Vaux R. and Steve A. M., "La seconde campagne de fouilles à Tell el-Far'ah, près Naplouse. Rapport préliminaire", *RB* 55 (1948), pp. 544–580; de Vaux R. and Steve A. M., "La deuxième campagne de fouilles à Tell el-Far'ah, près Naplouse. Rapport préliminaire (suite)", *RB* 56 (1949), pp. 102–138; de Vaux R., "La troisième campagne de fouilles à Tell el-Far'ah, près Naplouse", *RB* 58 (1951), pp. 393–430; de Vaux R., "La troisième campagne de fouilles à Tell el-Far'ah, près Naplouse. Rapport préliminaire (suite)", *RB* 58 (1951), pp. 566–590; de Vaux R., "La quatrième campagne de fouilles à Tell el-Far'ah, près Naplouse. Rapport préliminaire", *RB* 59 (1952), pp. 551–583; de Vaux R., "Les fouilles de Tell el-Far'ah, près Naplouse. Cinquième campagne. Rapport préliminaire", *RB* 62 (1955), 541–589; de Vaux R., "The excavations at Tell el-Far'ah and the site of ancient Tirzah", *PEQ* 88 (1956), pp. 125–140; de Vaux R., "Les fouilles de Tell el-Far'ah, près Naplouse. Sixième campagne. Rapport préliminaire", *RB* 64 (1957), pp. 552–580; de Vaux R., "Les fouilles de Tell el-Far'ah. Rapport préliminaire sur les 7e, 8e, 9e campagnes, 1958–1960", *RB* 68 (1961), pp. 557–592; de Vaux R., "Les fouilles de Tell el-

Far'ah. Rapport préliminaire sur les 7e, 8e, 9e campagnes, 1958–1960 (suite)", *RB* 69 (1962), pp. 212–253; de Vaux R., "Tirzah", in Thomas D. W. (ed.), *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, Oxford 1967, pp. 371–383.

2 De Vaux R., "Postscriptum. La cachette des manuscrits hébreux", *RB* 56 (1949), pp. 234–235; de Vaux R., "La grotte des manuscrits hébreux", *RB* 56 (1949), pp. 586–609; de Vaux R., "À propos des manuscrits de la Mer Morte", *RB* 57 (1950), pp. 417–419.



Photo 1.1 & 1.2: Roland de Vaux with his assistants on the excavations at Khirbet Qumran (© EBAF-Jerusalem)

and without ever forgetting the previous site, which was perhaps more closely aligned with his interests in Old Testament history because it is linked to the events of King Jeroboam as narrated in the Book of Kings.³ It should also be mentioned that at the same time, as if urged to find and publicise other expertise, *Revue Biblique* published numismatic articles devoted in particular to Roman provincial issues of the Decapolis.⁴ The regular succession of preliminary reports from the excavation campaigns organised at Qumran show how RdV was immersed in commitments and work with untiring dedication. In addition to his conventual life at the *École Biblique*, he was variously involved in the other contemporary excavations at Wadi Murrabba'ât and Aïn Feshkha. *Sufficit* to list the contributions cited in the bibliography in these first notes.⁵ RdV's contribution is of almost titanic dimension because he followed, or rather controlled, every phase of his sites; he personally wrote diaries, drew, photographed and compiled records that are still impressive today for their rationality and clarity. He also cultivated public relations both with the Jordanian authorities and with other archaeological colleagues engaged in significant projects during the same years.⁶

3 1 Kings 14:17; 15:33; 16:8.15.23.

4 Van der Vliet V., "Monnaies inédites ou très rares de Médailler de Sainte Anne de Jérusalem", *RB* 57 (1950), pp. 243–259 and pp. 430–442.

5 In addition to the previous footnote: de Vaux R., "Fouille au Khirbet Qumrân. Rapport préliminaire", *RB* 60 (1953), pp. 83–106; de Vaux R., "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân. Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne", *RB* 61 (1954), pp. 206–236; de Vaux R., "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân", *RB* 63 (1956), pp. 533–577; de Vaux R., "Les manuscrits de Qumrân et l'archéologie", *RB* 66 (1959), pp. 87–110.

6 Humbert J.-B., "Roland de Vaux archéologue", in *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha. IIIA* cit. p. 22.

In fact, he practised, at least in the preliminary phase, "holistic archaeology". After introducing the collaborators and describing, with a strong topographical *focus* (location, nature of the site, buildings, environments, *loci*), what had been excavated and brought to light, he proposed a description of the finds, "*les matériels*", especially the ceramics, accompanied by drawings and illustrations. In all that, there was no shortage of coins. RdV was not a numismatist and it is likely that he was helped by Lankester Harding, but perhaps above all by "*l'Abbé Jean Starcky*".⁷ In fact, he regarded coins in the same way as all other artefacts. Indeed, it was to these that he entrusted the confirmation of his chronological hypotheses for the dating of the various phases of occupation. He certainly devoted peculiar attention to the coin finds, so much so that one can find numerous numismatic notes in his diaries and in the handwritten documentation of his archive: descriptions within the report of the various *loci* and chronologically ordered lists of minting authorities; perhaps preparatory notes for what he would later edit in the reports; annotations for *loci* with corrective interventions, reconsiderations, and checks.

It is useful to go through the entire collection of available documents of Qumran and Aïn Feshkha coins, even starting from the handwritten notes, precisely in order to bring out the importance attributed to the monetary data and the consequent convictions expressed clearly, often in essential passages of his reports.

7 This is explicitly mentioned by the same de Vaux R., "Fouilles de Feshkha", *RB* 66 (1959), pp. 225–255: 245, note 2: "*Je remercie l'Abbé J. Starcky de m'avoir aidé dans la détermination de certaines monnaies*".

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Fouilles de Kh. Qumrân		Saison :		Photo. et Notes	
No.	DESCRIPTION	Mat.	Dim.	Date et Prov.	
105	Monnaie de bronze des Procureurs, sous Tibère ? an 5 = 18/19 ? Avers effacé. Revers : palme. ... A L E (?) Mal conservée.	Monn- aie.	Diam. 15mm.	3.12.51 loc. 2 N.W.	cf. Reifenberg, No. 129. Hill, pl. XXVIII, 19-20.
106	Monnaie des Procureurs sous Auguste. Avers : épi avec l'inscription KAICA ... Revers: palmier. Date : \wedge . 36 ou 39 = 5/6 ou 8/9. Assez bien conservée.	Monn- aie.	Diam. 16mm.	3.12.51 loc. 2 angle de la jarre enterrée.	cf. Reifenberg, No. 118 ou 119. Hill, N.W. prespl. XVIII, 1-2. <i>containing Hijman's 119</i>
107	Monnaie de bronze des Procureurs sous Auguste. Avers : épi avec l'inscr. AIC. POC. Revers: palmier. Date : L \wedge S ? = 36 = 5/6.	Monn- aie		3.12.51 loc. 2 N.W., près de la jarre, sous le niveau du pavé.	<i>Hijman's R. 130 1/2</i>

Photo 2: Excavation Registers, established by Roland de Vaux between 1951 and 1954 (© EBAF-Jerusalem)

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Fouilles de Kh. Qumrân		Saison :		Page: 42	
No.	DESCRIPTION	Mai.	Dim.	Date et Prov.	Photo. et Notes
115	Monnaie de bronze non identifiable.	Monnaie		4.12.51 loc. 2 angle N.W. sur le pavé.	<i>Handwritten notes:</i> A. 12.51 loc. 2 angle N.W. sur le pavé. R. 12.51 loc. 2 angle N.W. sur le pavé.
116	Monnaie de bronze non identifiable.	Monnaie		4.12.51 loc. 2 angle N.W. sur le pavé.	<i>Handwritten notes:</i> A. 12.51 loc. 2 angle N.W. sur le pavé.
117	Monnaie de bronze désintégrée au nettoyage.	Monnaie		4.12.51 loc. 2 angle N.W. sur le pavé.	<i>Handwritten notes:</i> A. 12.51 loc. 2 angle N.W. sur le pavé.
118	Monnaie de bronze de la première Révolte. Avers : Amphore avec inscription : שנת שתי Revers : Feuille de vigne avec inscription : חרת an 2 = 67/69. Bien conservée.	Monnaie	Diam. 17 mm.	9.12.51 loc. 4 sous le mur W. de la ré-occupation	<i>Handwritten notes:</i> cf. Reifenberg No. 147. Hill, Pl. XXX, 11, 13. <i>Handwritten:</i> Comparer à Reifeberg S. 11, 13 12.6.51

Photo 3: Excavation Registers, established by Roland de Vaux between 1951 and 1954 (© EBAF-Jerusalem)

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No.	DESCRIPTION	Mat.	Dim.	Date et Prov.	Photo. et Notes
332	Fragment d'un cône creux en fer. Niv. : c.6	Fer.	Diam. max. 25. Long. cens. 51.	8.3.53 Tr. A	Parti 3035 coll. 43 Journ. A. Chandi- A. 138 ST R. n. 154 7-1736
333	Monnaie de bronze. Face tournée à dr. inscr. en rend, cercle de points. Rev. génie ailé debout tourné à dr. et arbre, inscr. en rond Judea capta. Reifenberg : 154. Niv. : sup.	Br.	Diam. 21.	9.3.53 E du L. 17 = 24	ST R. n. 154 7-1736
334	Monnaie de bronze. Alexandre Jannée? Niv. : sup.	Br.	Diam. 13.	9.3.53 L. 19	ST R. n. 154 7-1736
335	Monnaie de bronze. Illisible.	Br.	Diam. 17.5	9.3.53 E du L. 16 et 21 = Lec. 22	ST R. n. 154 7-1736
336 à 339	Quatre monnaies trouvées ensemble. a/ face profil am dr. laurée inscr. en rond K AIEAP. rev. victoire (?) debout, tournée à gauche, lance à la main gauche inscr. en rond ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝΙΜΕΝ - = 67-68. b/ face profil à dr. laurée, barbue cercle de points, pas d'inscr. rev. figure féminine, face, tête tournée à dr. étendard à la main dr. cerne d'abondance à la gauche inscr. en rond. c/ face, à dr. laurée, cercle de points, indistincte. rev. génie, de face, lance au étendard à main dr. buste à main gauche, inscr. en rond indistincte. Oct. 11A d/ Pièce ovale 24 x 20, illisible; est-ce bien une monnaie ? a/ et c/ Césarée sous Néron. Hill pl. 2, No. 13 = 67-68. XXX b/ Dera. 67-68 Niv. : sup.	Br.	Diam. 21. 22. 23. 24.	E du L. 16 et 21 = 22. 9.3.53	ST R. n. 154 7-1736 ST R. n. 154 7-1736 ST R. n. 154 7-1736 ST R. n. 154 7-1736 ST R. n. 154 7-1736 ST R. n. 154 7-1736

Photo 4: Excavation Registers, established by Roland de Vaux between 1951 and 1954 (© EBAF-Jerusalem)

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No.	DESCRIPTION	Met.	Dim.	Date et Prov.	Photo. et Notes
1324	Assiette du type No.1323. Terre grise, rouge à la section, couverte blanche. Manque la moitié. Niv. : sup.	Pot.	Diam. 150 Diam. base L. 77W 40. Haut. 38.	10.3.54	
1325	Bol à base plate, bord rentrant, lèvre plate. Terre grise, couverte rouge. Incomplet. (Dessin cf. Nos. 1116 et 1181)	TerrePot.	Diam. ouv. 10.3.54 140. Diam. base 44. Haut. 73.	10.3.54 L. 77W	
1326	Gobelet à base en disque, bord droit, lèvre mince, côtelé. Terre grise, couverte rouge, brûlée. Incomplet. (Dessin cf. No. 1048) Niv. : sup.	Pot.	Diam. ouv. 10.3.54 90. irrég. L. 77 W Base 35. Haut. 82.	10.3.54 L. 77 W	
1327 à 1344 +1356- 1366	Monnaies de bronze. : 24 monnaies 1er Revolte : 2" année 2 " " " : 3" année = Reif. No. 148 1 " " Néron 1 " " Agrippa I 1 " " Illigible. Sup. : près du sol.	Br.	Diam. 11.3.54 moyen 17. L. 83	11.3.54 L. 83	
1345	Monnaie d'argent. Tetra drachme de Néron à Antioche, 110 61 q.I.C.	Argent	Diam. 11.3.54 27. L. 83	11.3.54 L. 83	
1346	Support du type No. 1153. Terre rouge, brûlée. Incomplet. Niv. : sol.	Pot.	Diam. sup. 11.3.54 107. Diam. inf. 121. Haut. 43.	11.3.54 L. 77	
1347	Support de jarre du type No. 1346. Terre rouge. Fragment. Mêmes dimensions. Niv. : sol.	pot	Mêmes 10.3.54 dimensions L. 77 ns.	10.3.54 L. 77	

Photo 5: Excavation Registers, established by Roland de Vaux between 1951 and 1954 (© EBAF-Jerusalem)

Mormans

statistique
monnaie/
épave
et essai de
géographie
(comme fin feuille)

Agrippa : Antiochus Epiphanes	- 3
Vespasien ?	- 1
2 autres	- 4
<hr/>	
Antiochus Epiphanes	3 argent.
Jean Hyrcan	10 (51 ans incertain). +1 +1
Hérode Ier	35 +10 incertaines
Hérode II	5 (51 ans incertain)
Antigon Mithridates	2
Hérode le grand	1 incertain +1 (?)
Tyr - 29	1
Hérode Antiochus	7
Evromachus s. Auguste	3
s. Tibère	6 +1
Agrippa I	24 +1 +1 +3
Evromachus s. Claude	5
s. Néron	13 +1
Lucius Renolt	10
Néron Vespasien 57-68	8
Vespasien 69-76	2
Agrippa I 70-73	1
Agrippa II 70-100	3
+ Juifs Coptes	1 argent. 100
Vespasien 70	1
Agrippa II	1/3 argent
Jean Hyrcan	109 5 1 argent ??
Jean Hyrcan	3
Agrippa	2
Ain	2
<hr/>	
	+54 165
	69
	223
	<hr/>
	223
	<hr/>

Photo 6: Preliminary remarks by Roland de Vaux concerning some early classification statistics on the coins found and classified (© EBAF-Jerusalem)

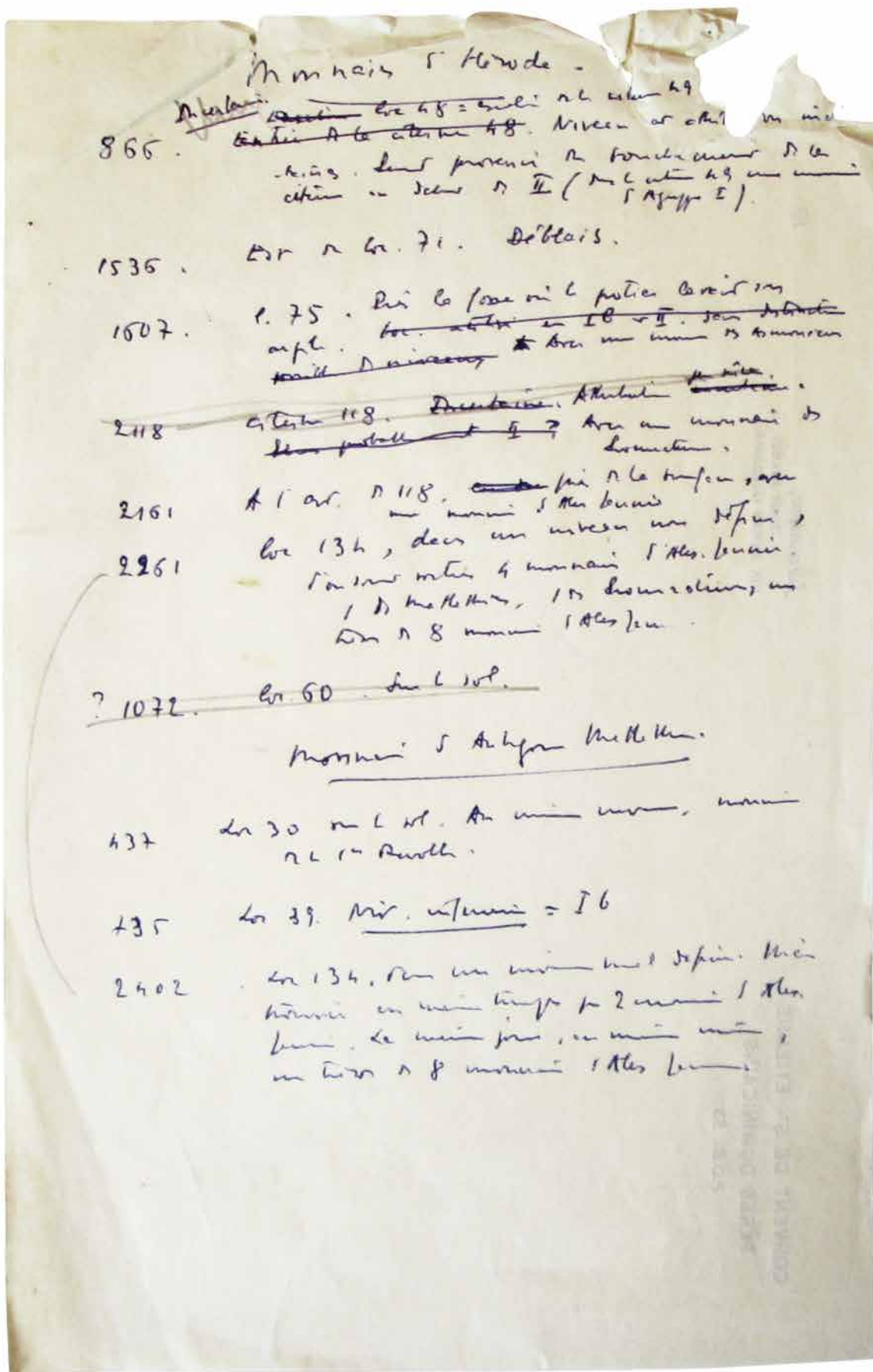


Photo 7: Roland de Vaux: Association of Herod's coins (marked with the excavation register number on the left side) with the find loci (© EBAF-Jerusalem)