

Coin minting in Eretz Israel during the Persian period – does it reflect various political situations?

Yehoshua Zlotnik zlontnik@bezeqint.net

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Imperial minting

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Abstract: An examination of local coins inventory minted during the Persian period reveals that various changing political situation in the area, particularly during the fourth century BCE may have occurred. The characteristics of the phenomenon are: types of coin models, minting on one side of the coin and flaws on various models. It is the author's opinion that these and other models can define the political state of affairs such as independence, autonomy or transition period.

This paper will examine the question of whether the flaws on local coins represent technological mishaps that occurred during production or were they caused by other reasons? It will also deal with the effects of the revolts occurring during the 60 years of Egyptian independence and its rule over the region and local minting.

Introduction: From the numismatic findings which attest to local coin minting in the provinces of Eretz Israel, it appears that local minting probably began towards the end of the Persian period. This paper will focus on the processes performed to improve local minting authorities as autonomous minting that began towards the end of the Persian period due to the weakening of the central Persian government, or alternatively as independent minting that began with the declaration of independence by countries in the region due to Egypt's revolt that became an independent state for a duration of 60 years¹ (O. Morkholm 1974:3) and as a result of its presence and control in widespread areas in Eretz Israel during part of that period, while driving the Persians out of the region. It is well known that the Egyptians ruled Gezer in Judea, Jaffa and the coastal plains to Acre.

The heads of states and Provinces in Eretz Israel accustomed themselves to new political situations in order to strengthen their status and in favor of the growing financial needs of their state. They took it upon themselves to mint coins as autonomous rights in the name of the Persian king. This shows a viable relationship with the central government (Cat. No. 3). As evidence to that, we can see coins bearing the Persian sovereign on one side and local symbols on the other which in the authors view, are used as the model of autonomy (Cat no. 9). The coins were made from pure silver or by silver plating on bronze coins, which shows a lack of silver. This process probably began in 332-375 BCE² (Meshorer & Qedar 1991:9) (Narkis 1938:4).

Some of the events in Eretz Israel during the Persian period can be learned from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah and the prophets: Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. The period is characterized by very little written sources and these are very succinct and partial as well, and do not allow a general focus on the entirety of the events as they occurred during the reign of the Persian Empire.

O. Morkholm. A coin of Artaxerxes III "in 404B.C Egypt immediately revolted and in spite of several attempts...Egyptian independence lasted until 343/2 B.C² Y.

Meshorer. S. Qedar. The coinage of Samaria in the fourth century BCE, Jerusalem, 1991,p9.

M. Narkis. The coins of Eretz Israel - second volume, the foreigners coins, Jerusalem, 1938. P4 "in this time between the years 378-333BCE, which are a time of dissention for the Persian rule before the conquest of Alexander the great, not just for the state of Judea but probably for other cities that were colonies to foreigners".

The remainder of the historical sources, including archaeological excavations, the numismatic findings and the Wadi Dalyeh missives, the Ostracons discovery in Arad by Hashbiyahu and the written sources discovered in Yeb-Elephantine, Egypt, give us an opening and allow anecdotal aspects on a situation or events that took place during that time.

The author distinguishes between three political situations that prevailed during the 4th century in Eretz Israel: autonomy, independence and transition period (temporary revocation of autonomy and control under Persian rule with a low degree of autonomy). Autonomy is defined as a state of self ruling, the authority to self govern in specific areas such as autonomy in religious or cultural lives or financial autonomy, including minting coins in certain values in a defined space. Independence – a sovereign state independent of others. Independence is restricted to ruling in a defined region. In the authors view, some of the inventory of coins from that period can be attributed to one of these political situations.

The coins in the reviewed period are divided according to local provinces in Eretz Israel and into four groups: 1) Philistia coins from the Gaza, Ashkelon and Ashdod provinces (Cat no. 12-15); 2) Phoenician coins from Tyre and Sidon in the south Levantine countries (Cat no. 9-11, 27); 3) Judea and Samaria coins are Jewish coins, since they were intended for the use of their population which was mostly Jewish (Cat no. 1- 8, 16-19); 4) Edomite coins³ (Gitler and Tal 2007) (Cat no. 20-23).

The coins of the period which were reviewed by the author show that some of the silver coins minted in the area during the Persian period in values of Drachm, Obol, Half Obol and a quarter Obol were minted only on the back of the coin (Cat no. 4-8, 10, 19-23) and the face of the coin is blank or damaged. Often the damages are a result of the erosion of the die⁴ Jean Philippe Fontanille (2008) such as cracks on the die and/or degeneration of the die. Since they did not damage the components of the model on the same side of the coin, coins with a crack do not constitute a problem other than the signs of the crack. However, this raises a question as to why coins with a degenerative or defective minting were minted at all? Could it be that the Persian government deliberately damaged the face of the coin or confiscated the dies with the local / autonomy symbols⁵? The result was that minters were forced to mint defective coins or minted on the back of the coins. This will be discussed later on.

Evidence of the reciprocal relationships between the central government and the local rule exists in sources until the second half of the fourth century. There are scarce written sources on the other hand, that can attest to the goings on in Eretz Israel in a later period, from the end of the fifth century to the first half of the fourth century BCE. We have clear information on the control of independent Egypt over Eretz Israel during the fourth century BCE, which means driving out the Persian Empire over dozens of years from the region. It is more than likely that this political situation has had an effect on the minting of coins. It is hard to

³H. Gitler, O. Tal, P. Van Alfen. INR2/2007

⁴Jean Philippe Fontanille: "Extreme Deterioration and Damage on Yhud Coins Dies

⁵The author defines autonomous coins as coins with a imperial Persian model, on one side of the coin, as the other side includes a national symbol, attesting to autonomy. For example, a half Obol Sidonian coin carries on its face

the image of the king similarly to the way it appears on the imperial siglos coins. The imperial sovereign Persian minting identity on the imperialistic siglos in comparison to the identical imperial sovereign symbol on the sidonian half Obol is absolute and proves that this side of the coins represents the imperial model. In minting one side of the coin one can see that the Persians have reinstated the minting of the sovereign side similarly to the imperial siglos which is minted on one side of the coin.

believe that countries, not ruled by the Persian government(Stern 1982:255), continue to mint coins carrying the Persian sovereign model. On the other hand, we know that in independent Egypt coins were minted during the fourth century which mimicked Athenian coins (Cat no. 24). It is possible that local countries that were influenced by Egyptian involvement also minted independent coins which were imitation to Athenian coins. To complete the numismatic picture on the situation in the region, the historian Diodorus, depicts the great rebellion of the Satraps that took place between 360-366 BCE⁶. These vassal kings minted coins during the first half of the fourth century, at a time when the Persian government was weak. These coins bore their image and name.

The coins in use in the Persian Empire were Persian coins and to some degree Athenian coins and local coins. The earliest coin discovered in Eretz Israel was found in Jerusalem and it originated in Cos from the sixth century BCE⁷ (Barkay: 1984-5). Two archaic coins from Athens were discovered in Jerusalem⁸ (Meshorer 1961). Previously, Hacksilber was used in Eretz Israel⁹ (Meshorer Tashnach:L18) (Gitler & Tal 2006).

Local coins as a financial and political tool and the stages of minting

These coins were a financial tool, but were gradually used as a tool with political expression as well. The coins reflected the degree of sovereignty or autonomy or the political frameworks existent in Eretz Israel during the Persian period that were called provinces or states.

Minting and the use of coins in Eretz Israel began during the second half of the fifth century BCE. Tyre is the only state that minted in the fifth century. Sidonian coins from the south Levantine area, are very common in the coastal planes of Eretz Israel since the Persians gave the Sidonians extensive coastal areas from Acre to Ashdod including the sea ports of Dor and Jaffa¹⁰.

A large portion of minting included miniscule silver coins weighting between 0.15 to 0.7 grams, at values of Obol, half and quarter Obol. The local coins were in circulation and their models changed from time to time. Athenian coins were still common in Eretz Israel during the Persian period (Meshorer 1997:16).

Financially the coins that were used at that time were Athenian coins in values of tetradrachm and drachm along with the imperial Persian coins at values of daric and siglos and the coins

⁶ According to Diodorus Siculus (XV. 90-93), The Satraps Ariobarzanes of Hellespontine Phrygia and Orontes of Armenia rose up in rebellion against the Great King in 362-361 BCE, supported by Mausolus of Caria, Athens and Sparta, the Greek cities of Asia, Tachos of Egypt, and finally by a reluctant Autophrates of Lydia. In addition, the southern coastal peoples of Asia Minor from the Lycians to the Cilicians, as well as the Syrians and Phoenicians, purportedly joined the rebellion.

⁷ Rachel Bakay. An Archaic Greek Coin from the 'Shoulder of Hinnom' Excavation in Jerusalem. INJ No.8, 1984-5 The coins were discovered in a burial cave in Hinnom Valley. The find probably attests to the international trading relations during that period with the Aegean sea and the use of coins in this early time, or alternatively it was

brought to Jerusalem by someone returning from travel. Other archaic coins from the sixth century were found in Gaza and Akko.

⁸ Y. Meshorer. "An Attic Archaic Coin from Jerusalem", *Atiqot* 3 (1961) P.: 85, Pl. XXVIII:6.

⁹ hacksilber are revealed as an archeological finding from the Bronze and Iron period. These hacksilbers were weighted by scale and weights. Y. Meshorer. *Archaic payment methods, weights and coins*. Haifa, Tashnach, p.18.

¹⁰ These type of rights appear as an inscription on Eshmunazar, king of Sidon's sarcophagus stating "The Lords of the Kings give us Dora and Japhia, the fertile corn-lands, which are in the plain of Saron..."

of Anatolia¹¹ (Stern 1973). The primary use of imperial coins in Eretz Israel, whose value was relatively high, was for trade and large scale business, saving, to pay taxes and local administrative expenses. ¹²We come across in the written sources the term "Drachmon" or Adrachmon" (Nehemiah: 7, 71). The author claims that most Persian imperial coins that were in circulation were converted to Alexander the Great coins at the time of conquest to be used in financial activities.

An examination of excavations in Eretz-Israel reveals that no *sigloi* have been found. This indicates that some parts of Eretz Israel were not under Persians control during the first half of the fourth century BCE. If the Persians conquered and ruled the territory, some *sigloi* are sure to have been found in the region. During the fourth century BCE, the use of imperial coins in the region declined when the local satraps increased production of their own local coins because of the changing political situation. The same phenomenon is observed in the satrapal coinages of Asia Minor.

There are no hoards with gold *darics* and silver *sigloi* together. Most hoards of *sigloi* have been found in Asia Minor, with isolated examples in distant lands like Egypt and Afghanistan, while *daric* hoards have been found not only in Asia Minor. Carradice argues that the *sigloi* can be identified as a local currency for Asia Minor, and that during the fourth century the local satraps increased the production of both their coins and of coins with the Persian king kneeling on one side and satrap on horseback on the other (Cat. No. 29–31). The question is why would the imperial *siglos* be struck only for local use of in Asia Minor?

The coins in use in Eretz Israel were minted in three sets of weight: a) the Persian, gold daric 8.4 grams. The weight of a silver siglos 5.5g; b) the Phoenician (silver stater 13.9g / half a stater 6.5g); c) Athenian (tetradrachm 17.5g/ drachm 4.2g)¹³ (Stern 1973).

In Gaza which was at the time the biggest commercial center in Eretz Israel, three types of silver coins were minted:

1. Recycled Drachm size coins at about 4.2g.
2. Athenian imitation coins, in denomination of Drachm and Obol including the inscription AΘE (Cat no. 12-15).
3. Philistia coins where some of the models seem to be inside a square frame. The images on them of: heads, lions, horses, animals and mythological images.

Sidonians began minting at the end of the fifth century BCE. In Sidon, in the south Levantine region the most dominant silver coins denomination was the obol. On the face of the coin was the model of the Persian king facing a lion (Cat no. 9) or alternatively a kneeling king with a bow in hand (Cat no. 11), (similar to the imperial siglos) and on the back of it, a model of a warship with rowers. Tyre began minting in the middle of the fifth century. These coins show a model of an owl as imitation of an Athenian coin and in the background an Egyptian symbol the staff and flail. On the other side, under Egyptian influence is a hippocampus or a dolphin.

In Jerusalem, coins were minted under the name of Yahud and in Samaria province coins were minted under the name of SMRYN (Shamrin), The capital of Samaria province was the city Samaria. At the same time YHD coins were minted presumably and with a high degree of certainty in Jerusalem.

YHD(yehud) Coins

From the research YHD coins were minted between 332-375 BCE. These coins constitute a confirmation of the first degree to the existence of the Judea Province even at the end of the Persian period.

The revolt of Tennes the king of Sidon during the fourth century BCE occurred when the central Persian government grew weak, which manifested in the decline of the Persian Empire. The political situation led the same countries that were far away from the center of the Persian empire, along with the state of Yehud, to achieve improved autonomy conditions as a condition to their loyalty and in some cases to independence¹⁴ (Stern 1974:194, 1980:421-422) (Brian 2002:1004) (Stern 1982b:242,255), (Barag 1966:8-9). In the Provinces of Judea, coins were minted with the inscription "YHD" in ancient Hebrew writing. The author claims that minting may have begun before the beginning of the fourth century BCE. The coins, one can assume, were minted by a Jewish autonomous authority, headed by the province, that minted local coins according to the rights given by the central Persian government.

¹¹ Several Cilician coins were discovered in Tel El-Fukhar (Stern 1973).

¹² A Darius coin was discovered by the Jordanians in 1961 during an excavation in Samaria (Hugo)

¹³ E. Stern. "The materialistic culture of Eretz Israel during the Persian era 538-332 BCE" Jerusalem. 1973. P. 215

¹⁴ The Hebrew Encyclopedia volume XI p.324 (M. Stern 1974: 194, 1980:421-22, P. Brian 2002 p. 1004, Barag 1966:8-9, Barag (as well as Kleinitz 1953: 102 and several others) sees it as proof of the revolt of Judea, but it must be noted that the archaeological evidence offered by Barag much less conclusive than he thinks: on this Stern 1982b: 242 and 255.

When the Egyptians ruled the region, it is possible that the province minted independent coins mimicking Athenian coins while adopting the common model with the Egyptian authorities. In actuality only miniscule pure silver coins were minted in Judea and not bronze coins plated with silver. These coins may have been used as donation to the temple and it was mandatory to donate pure silver in addition to the use of the coins in regular business dealings.

Different models of YHD coins exist. Some mimic Athenian coins and some other models. A large portion of the "YHD" coins was discovered in Jerusalem the capital of the Province and its surroundings and it is likely they were minted in Jerusalem.

Some other YHD coins bear the image of a bird on one side only¹⁵ (Meshorer 1982:14) (Rappaport 1981: 7-21), (Cat no. 4-8). The authors views the minting on one side only of the coin as a significant component of the political status of minting, as will be detailed later on. This phenomenon appears on YHD coins more than on other local coins in Eretz Israel. The other side of these coins show an owl or a different bird.

Some of the YHD coins bear the image of the lily flower, and the back of the coin shows an eagle with its wings spread and the inscription YHD(Cat no. 2). This coin is considered to be an independent coin. The Lily, which is clear Jewish symbol in the region, also appears during the Hasmonean period, on coins minted by the high priest Yehoanan Hyrcanus I and king Alexander Jannaeus This symbol was used by the high priesthood and was a Jewish royal symbol. The Lily models appear during the iron period on ivory plates from Nimrud. It seems the origin of this model is in Mesopotamia. Like the model of the Athenian coins, minted with the inscription AΘE on the back and with olive branches on the sides and on the face head of Athena. On a similar model of YHD coins, on the back a model of a falcon with

its wings spread and the inscription "YHD" and on the face of it the image of the Persian king with a crown(Cat no.3). YHD coins are defined as autonomous coins. On the one hand is the symbols of the sovereign on the face of the coin and on the other is the symbol of autonomy or a local symbol, on the back of the coin. In comparison to Athenian coins, there are a number of independent models of YHD coins: the model of the Lily on the face of the coins and the an owl on the back of it(Cat no. 2), the model with the owl on the back of the coin and to its left a lily with the inscription YHD(Cat no. 1) replacing the inscription AOE and the lily replacing the olive branches. The head of the Persian king is replaced by the Lily (Meshorer 1997:19), since this YHD coin model was left without the symbols of the Persian sovereign, then it is an independent coin. Another series is of the model of the owl on the back of the coin, along with the inscription YHD and the lily model, when the face of the coin is not minted(Cat no 4-8). It is the authors belief that this series is of transition coins attesting to temporary revocation of autonomy. In the Ptolemaic period the sovereign's symbols appeared on both sides of the coin, and only the inscription is in Hebrew.

Some of the YHD coins, bear, along with owl model, the inscription of "Yehezkiyah the pasha" without the inscription YHD. This may refer toYehezkiyah the high priest as governor, as mentioned by Josephus in his book "Flavios Josephus against Apion", but it can also be assumed that it refers to a governor ruling in the second half of the fourth century BCE.

These coins were found in the excavations in Bet Tzur south of Jerusalem. One of these coins shows an owl on one side and on its left the inscription Yohanan. To the right of the owl appears the inscription priest vertically, and on the other side of the coin a model of a mask similar to the model of the "Yehezkiyah the pasha" coin model. It is obviously a high priest.

There are conflicting opinions as to the meaning of the mask on the coin, since the bible says "thou shall not make any statue or picture". It is possible that the coin is a commercial one, and that because it was intended for use by foreigners, the use of a mask was permitted.

There is no coin bearing the image of the Hasmonean kings, but the same miniscule silver coins from the Persian and Ptolemaic periods, bearing the inscription "YHD"(Yehud) and "YHDH"(Yehuda) also bear the heads of Ptolemy and the Persian king. It seems that at the time, this did not bother the Jews, although they were minted in the province of Judea after the leadership of Ezra and Nehemiah, a time when the Jewish leaders were strict about upholding the commandments of the bible, the masked image on the coins of Yehezkiyah the pasha(governor) and Yehoanan the priest are similar to the coins of Datamas from Cilician

(Cat no.25) where the face of the coins bears the name of the satrap (pasha) and the back of it shows an image facing the front.

The model of the Persian king appearing on YHD coins and/or local coins in the remainder or the provinces means Persian royalty. However, the lack of imperial model on the local coin may attest to a different political state of the province at the time of minting, a state of independence from the Persian rule. If the image of the Persian king validated the coins, then the lack of it symbolized independence and a situation of disconnection of the relationship between the state of YHD and the central Persian government (Cat no. 2)¹. Asia minor may have had vassal kings with the status of "eye of the king"¹ and these minted coins bearing their image and inscription with (Cat. No. 31-32) or without the symbols of the Persian sovereign, a situation which attests to the weakness of the Persian rule especially during the reign of Artaxerxes II.

(Cat. No. 29-30)

Samarian coins

Coins were minted in Samaria under the Samaria province (SMRYN). The capital of the Samaria province was the city Samaria. It is very likely that while coins in values of Obol, some of which were Athenian imitation and in lower values minted in Jerusalem, in comparison to Samarian coins that adopted models of autonomous Sidonian coins, Cilician and Athenian. Some researchers attribute "Athenian imitation" coins to the Yehud province who had connections with regions where Athenian coins were used in trade. Samaria, however, that was tied to the coastal areas under the Sidonian wardship used a imitation of autonomous Sidonian coins. The author claims that the "Athenian imitation" coins and Cilicians imitation with the models of the province governors are independent coins and were

According to account by Josephus' citing HECATOEUS OF Abdera in Ap.1.194, Artaxerxes III ¹

on his way to regain Egypt exiled rebellious Jews to Hircaia near the south of the Caspian Sea and other to Babylonia. He also subdued Jerico.

instituted in the region when the Egyptians took over Eretz Israel. If the model of the Persian sovereign or a "sidonian" (the model of a king facing a lion on one side and the model of a oar ship on the back of the coin), (Cat no. 17) appeared on them they were minted at a time when autonomy ruled the province.

The Greek researcher Herodotus of Halicarnassus suggests that the Median leader Astyages had several countries, one of them being the "eye of the king" (Histories 1.114). This is the first time this official, which is better known from the Achaemenid empire, is mentioned. It is not impossible that the Persians copied the office from the Medes. The Persian inside their well-defined regions, they had more powers than the Satraps.

In Wadi Daliyeh papyri this state is expressively stated "in Samaria Medinata" and on one of the "bullea" appears the inscription "in Samaria medinata di birata" (in Samaria the fortress which is in Samaria the capital, attests to it being the capital of the province).

Meshorer and Qedar believe Samarian coins were minted between 332-375 BCE, following the revolt of Tennes King of Sidon and the same goes for YHD coins. They explain their claims by the fact that two coin hoards were found: in Samaria (334 coins) and in Nablus hoard. They claim the Tennes revolt in 350 BCE significantly affected minting coins in the region in that there was an increase of minting autonomous coins, Phoenician coins and coins from Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod and YHD coins in Jerusalem and Samarian coins in Samaria.

Even though the imperial language was Aramaic, many coins from Judea and Samaria bore ancient Hebrew inscriptions. This was an absolute sign of local autonomy. It can not be ruled out though, that the considerations of the central government were to allow the use of local coins minted in the provinces to fulfill some of the monetary needs of the region. If it weren't for these coins, product prices would have had to be raised. Locals may have used silver Obols, mainly for daily purposes.

The model of the Persian king appearing on the face of local coins validated the autonomous coin and central government (Cat no. 17) and bestowed local minting rights to the province. Some of the coins at a value of Obol weighed 0.6g and some at a value of half Obol weighed 0.3g and the coins at the value of quarter Obol weighed 0.15g. After its re-conquest of Eretz Israel the Persian government reinstated the use of autonomous coins. It is possible that at the time, Sidonian autonomous coins were mimicked in Samaria, while renewing the dependency relationship between the central government and the provinces.

Philistia coins

During the fourth century BCE, silver coins were minted in Eretz Israel that were referred to as Philistia-Arabic. Some of these coins are an imitation to Athenian coins and bear the image of the owl with the letters ΑΘΕ in Greek, and on the back bear the image of Athena.

Gaza, a commercial port city, that was very active in international trade, received the oriental perfume trade and from there shipped to Mediterranean ports.

¹⁵ Uriel Rappaport, Judea coins from the end of the Persian period and the beginning of the Hellenistic period. From Aaron Oppenheimer, Uriel Rappaport and Menachem Stern (editors).

Chapters in the history of Jerusalem during the second temple: a memorial to Abraham Shalit, Jerusalem 1981, p. 7-21.

Some researchers determine the time of minting at the second half of the fifth century. Three types of coins were minted in Gaza:

1. Recycled coins, the size of a Drachm weighing about 4.2g. The method was to produce from the large tetradrachm lower value coins weighing 4g each¹⁷.
2. Numerous independent Athenian imitation coins in, tetradrachm, drachm size and in Obol value (Cat no. 12, 14), including the inscription AΘE often adding Gaza symbols Mem(Cat no. 13). Identical coins were in use in independent Egypt which ruled the region. A small portion of the coins was made of bronze and plated by silver (Cat no. 15). These coins were in circulation, legally accepted in trade along with the Persian coins.
3. The third type of Gaza local coins, is called "Philistia coins" . These models seem to be in a square frame. The images minted on them were of: heads, lions, horses, animals, mythological figures. Some of the coins bear Phoenician letters and others, letters that can be attributed to Gaza.

Edomite coins

A recently published research claims that some of the coins are in values of drachm and a few in Obol which were previously attributed to Philistia originating in Edom (Gitler, Tal and Van Alfen 2007). They are unusual in the way that they are minted. These coins are defined as Edomite coins today. The research spans 59 coins in values of Drachm (quarter Shekel) and 12 coins in values of Obol, two of which are from the Samaria hoard (Meshorer and Qedar 1991:80, nos 333-334). The research refers to Drachm and Obol that according to the research have undergone a renewal process¹⁸ where the "Athenian imitation" model instead of the image of Athena, exhibits a dome-shaped which very scarcely can be identified as the Athenian model. The explanation given for this phenomenon was probably financial. The origin of the coins is from Edom.

29 of these coins in values of Drachm and 3 coins in value of Obol were examined by the author. He claims these coins were intentionally minted without the image of Athena when that side of the coins was flawed, after using a machine whose edge was shaped in a half ball like shape which left a dent in the dies that carried the image of Athena. The end result of the minting process was that the coin minted was usually made in a lumpy way (Cat no 20-23). This was done after a long standing rift between the local Authority and Persian central government, and the central government damaged the dies of the face of the coin in order to remove signs of independence from the coins minted for the financial circulation(Cat no. 29-30).

Phoenician coins

1. Sidon coins

Miniscule silver coins were minted in Sidon in values of Obol. The face of the coin bore the inscription of the image of the Persian king facing a lion (Cat no 9) as a symbol of the Persian sovereignty or an image of the king kneeling as a imitation of the imperial siglos(Cat no. 11) and on the back of the coin, the image of a warship with rowers and shields, as a local autonomous symbol which appeared on many of the coins. A different coin describes the

Persian king driving his chariot. A small portion of Sidonian coins bear the Persian imperial sovereign symbols on one side whereas on the other side there is blank or it may be that the model was worn down and may have been damaged intentionally.

¹⁷ the change could have been used to manufacture an Obol coin.

¹⁸ Re-cut and re-polished

The author physically examined a sampling of 16 Obol Sidonian coins out of which 3 were minted with the symbol of the Persian sovereign on one side and the other side is blank (Cat no. 10). Other coins include a coinage defined by the author; the side representing the autonomy symbol was diagnosed in bad condition.

It must be noted that the phenomenon of minting on one side of Sidonian Obols, where the warship model was omitted, and the minted side of the coin carries the model of the image of the Persian king facing a lion is very clearly presented, attests to a political shift. It may be that the phenomenon of minting stems from the central government reluctance to show, for a while after the revolt of Tennes a model representing the nautical strength and autonomy of Sidon. The first Obols to be produced by the Sidonians may have been minted on one side only, as did the Persian imperial coins that were used in circulation with the king and the crossbow. Later on both sides of the coin were minted.

2. Tyre coins

Tyre began minting in the middle of the fifth century BCE. The coins show a model of an owl, as imitation of Athenian coins and in the background an Egyptian symbol – the staff and flail (Cat no. 27). On the other side of the coin is a winged animal from the mythology or a dolphin. During the second half of the fourth century BCE, the first bronze coins were minted in Tyre. These coins are virtually unknown. They are not rare and were found along the northern shore of Eretz Israel, including Acre. These bronze coins were minted in low values and constituted the smallest denomination of silver values.

Revolts during the Persian ruling and their affects on the freedom to mint local coins

It is commonly acceptable by many researchers that the revolts occurring in the region, in particular in Egypt against the Persian regime, brought about the autonomous minting in Eretz Israel. According to a new perception the author raises according to the local coins models minted in Eretz Israel, some coins are characterized by political independence that was the result of the revolts.

Various models on coins minted locally in Eretz Israel during the Persian period, show the image of the Persian king. The other side of these coins shows the symbol of autonomy. This means that minting was executed at the approval of the Persian king or his representative, and was under the supervision of the central government. This political situation attest to the fact that the relationship was functional, meaning the authorities of the governors and the local leaders were upgraded, in order to mint coins while advertising the central government symbols, including Persian sovereign symbols in the format of local minting with autonomous minting.

The revolts which occurred during the Persian period have a substantial significance as to the subject of authorizing the satraps in minting local coins. The mutinies against the Persian regime took place from the end of the fifth century BCE and resulted in a decrease in the potency of the Persian Empire. The author will bring a number of examples for revolts,

focusing on the fourth century BCE which had an effect on the minting of local coins in Eretz Israel.

During the years 406-408 BCE, Egypt became independent by 343/2 BCE¹⁹ (Morkholm 1974) under Egyptian rule, after in the year 404 BCE the leadership of Amyrtaeus was revolted against, the year of the death of Darius II. Other revolts began gradually in the region.

During the years 380-400 BCE an Egyptian invasion began into Eretz Israel. Pharaoh Amyrtaeus (399-404 BCE) battled the Persians in Eretz Israel in the coastal planes. At the same time a struggle was occurring in Persia for the sovereignty between Artaxerxes II and his rebel brother Cyrus.

¹⁹ O. Morkholm. A Coin of Artaxerxes London 1974

The revolt that occurred in the region existed with the involvement of Phoenician cities, Cyprus, Egypt and Greece. Evidence of this revolt can be found in Eretz Israel in the form of findings attesting to Egyptian presence and control over the coastal planes. A signet and inscription on a stone was found in Gezer carrying the name of Pharaoh Nephertites (393-399 BCE). (Aharoni 1987:317; Macalister 1912:313; Stern 1973:250) According to the inscription and probably until 396 BCE this king expanded his rule over the south of Eretz Israel. Inscription of Pharaoh Achoris (380-393 BCE)²⁰ (Cat. No. 28) that aligned with king Cyrus who rebelled and was released from the Persian regime in 391 BCE.

In the year 385 BCE the Persians attempted, headed by Abrocomas, to conquer Egypt, but were badly defeated. In 375 BCE they made another attempt. In 362 BCE Tachos enlisted a large army in Egypt and invaded Eretz Israel. He took over the ports of Eretz Israel and Syria. In 360 BCE, the Persians succeeded in re-conquering the coastal planes of Eretz Israel.

Many researchers, including Meshorer and Qedar view the revolt of Tennes as a substantial factor influencing the achievement of autonomy or independence that resulted in minting coins. In 352 BCE the council of Phoenician cities gathered and announced its independence from the Persian regime. The Sidonians revolted against the Persian rule and in 349 BCE, drove away the Persian garrison and burnt down the cavalries warehouses. The Sidonians were reinforced by 4000 Greek mercenaries from Egypt. In 351 BCE the revolt against Artaxerxes began. The Persian king amassed a great infantry and numerous ships. The Persians placed a heavy siege on Sidon and Tennes fled the city with most of the able bodied warriors. Most of the city's residents of about 40 thousand people of all ages shut themselves up in their houses, started fires throughout the city and were killed in the flames. Sidon was never rebuilt. The Persians executed Tennes later on.

The researchers opinion of political minting and additional aspects

In terms of the sequence of the historical – scientifically research of the Persian period it seems that most of the researchers²² (Rappaport 1981:7-21) claim that minting miniscule silver coins had a lot of latitude in minting mimicked coins and may have been done without authorization, due to the fact that the Persian empire was in the beginning stages of minting in the east and oversight was still loose and decentralized²³ (Schlumberger 1953: 19-22).

Some researchers, Goldman among them, claim there is an affiliation between YHD coins to the prerogative of the Persian sovereign to the minting authority²⁴ (Goldman, 1975:6). Rappaport claims there is too much emphasis in Goldman's claim. He believes local minting that was done without authorization was not considered a revolt against the regime²⁵.

Smith²⁶ (Smith 1971:60) attributes minting YHD coins to the revolt against the Persians.

Part of current research refers to local coins in Eretz Israel as a phenomenon of the lack of minting. A model of minting on one side only, the Athenian model, as a technological failure during minting.

²⁰ The new encyclopedia for archaeological digs in Eretz Israel, Jerusalem 1992. Volum 3 p. 1230

²¹ Diodorus

²² Uriel Rappaport "YHD coins from the Persian period and the beginning of the Hellenistic period. From Aaron Openheimer, Uriel Rappaport and Menachem Stern (editors). Chapters in the history of Jerusalem: A memorial to Abraham Shalit, Jerusalem, 1981 p. 7-21.

²³ D. Schlumberger, in R. Curiel & D. Slumberger, *Tresors Monetaires d' Afganistan*, Paris 1953 pp.19 ff: esp p.22

²⁴ Z. Goldman, *Das Symbol der Lilie*, : *Archiv fur Kulturgeschichte*, LVII (1975) p. 261

²⁵ D. Auscher, *Les relations entre la Greece et la Eretz Israel avant la conquete. D Alexander*, VT, XVII (1967), p.23

²⁶ M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics*...N.Y 1971, p. 60

Stern (1973:225) claims that many coins minted during the 60 year of independence could be in circulation in Eretz Israel. Egypt certainly controlled some parts of Eretz Israel, and thus spread its coins, though these have not yet been found.

There have been two major publications in the subject. One of which, which was done by H. Gitler, Tal and Van Alfen²⁷ (Gitler, Tal and Van Alfen, 2007) refers to drachm's and Obols, according to the research underwent a renewal process with the model of the "Athenian imitation" which shows on one side a dome-shaped instead of the image of Athena that very rarely can be identified with Athenian traces. The explanation given to this phenomenon was financial. The circulation of these coins was in Edom in the south of Eretz Israel. The second researched published dealt with degeneration and damage to YHD coins (Fontanille 2008). The claim was that many Obol coins were damaged during the minting process in various levels including wear and tear and cracks in the YHD coins.

Discussion

It is the author's opinion that there is a strong affiliation between local minting in Eretz Israel to the Persian sovereign prerogative to local minting authority. For example, the satrap of Egypt, Arisandes that minted many coins without any authority was executed by the Persians, according to Herodotus.

From an examination of local coins in Eretz Israel in the above mentioned period, a small portion of coins lack the model of Athena on the face of the coin, in particularly in the "Athenian imitation" models. It is the authors opinion that it is possible the due to the revolts in Egypt which led to the Egyptian take over, over many parts of Eretz Israel, most likely with the help of local forces, the local states used the Egyptian presence in the region and the lack of Persian presence and announced independence and the coins are its evidence. In a chronological aspect the period is the end of the fifth century and the first half of the fourth century BCE²⁸ (Stern 2001:580-582, Fantalkin and Tal, 2006; Ariel 2002:287-294, Lipschits and Vanderhooft 2007).

The author believes that the model of the "Athenian imitation" in local coins, which does not bear any Persian sovereignty insignia, was used as a tool to express independence, often without an affiliation to the inscription of the minting authority and often with the inscription of "YHD", Samaria, the symbol of Gaza, etc. it must be noted that during Egypt's independence for a few dozen years the Egyptians minted coins of "Athenian imitation" model (Buttrey 1982). From an examination of a number of models of the period's coins it seems that after the control returned to the hands of the Persians, the Persian sovereign made a few political decisions which banned or disqualified models in such a way that one side of

the coins was not minted or intentionally damaged. 84 coins in values of Obol were sampled by the author. 8.3% are minted on one side of the coin; most of them are "Athenian imitation" models and three Sidonian coins (the king facing the lion / war ship). It is the author's belief that this phenomenon is not related to the minting authority decision, that was used for minting, as an executing contractor of supervised local minting – possibly the satrap, to disqualify coins that were not standard, but according to the directions of the central government. This means that when the Persian sovereign regained control of Eretz Israel, Judea, Edom and Sidon, he disqualified the Athenian side of the Athenian imitation model on coins (Cat no. 4-8, 10, 20-23) and the result is coins minted on one side alone.

²⁷ Silver dome shaped coins from Persian period southern Eretz Israel. INR2/2007

²⁸ Gitler, Tal and Van Alfen (2007), Stern 2001: 580-582, Fantalkin and Tal (2006), Ariel 2002: 287-294, Lipschits and Vanderhooft (2007).

The authors claim does not contradict the claim that was raised in the research regarding creating defaults during minting which damaged the quality of coins, including cracks or low levels of dies design. The authors claim is that its difficult to assume] that the central Persian government will ignore local independent minting in the regions of uprising and this minting phenomenon is more that likely a response of the central government, following the frequent revolts, that directed local minters in order to sanction rebels and reinstate sovereignty signs in local minting by disqualifying clear independent signs. It is possible that the main goal was to disqualify the profile of Athena on the face of the coins, because the sovereign would mint the signs of sovereignty on the face of the coin.

After the revolt of Tennes, the central government disqualified or damaged significantly the dies carrying the symbol of autonomy, the Sidonian war ship. The model of Athena in Edom also seems to have been disqualified. This may have been caused by a tool with a rounded or semi-rounded edge which damaged the lower die of the drachm and as a result left a dome-shaped on the coin. Two Obols which were found in the Samaria hoards are also known to carry this dome-shaped on the face of the coin instead of the model of Athena (Cat no. 19).

Implications of the revolts on local minting in Eretz Israel

There is scarce evidence attesting to the active participation of the local states in the revolts. The sources we have go up to the middle of the fifth century BCE .Eretz Israel experienced frequent revolts during the Persian period. As a result of these revolts the Egyptians took over large areas which were under the control or sovereignty of the Persians. It is well known that the Egyptians ruled Gezer in Judea, Jaffa and the coastal planes up to Acre.

Were the province`s Judea and Samaria active in the revolts? Even if they did not participate physically in them, their status may have been influenced as a result, after having more independence, by the presence of the rebel Egyptian army in the province region or near them when the Persian were pushed out. It is likely that the political situation in the region affected minting coins in the region²⁹ (Eph'al 1998:106-119). It is possible that if there was partial presence of the Persian in the area they would act to preserve and strengthen the loyalty of YHD and Samaria, compensate them by increasing their rights and autonomous authorities including minting local coins. Alternatively, in the event the Egyptians controlled the provinces or their forces were present in adjacent regions to the province's uninfluenced by the Persians, this new situation allowed the satraps freedom to mint independently their own coins, in the model of "Athenian imitation" (Cat no. 1, 2, 12-15, 18) or others that bore the name of province or satraps.

As testimony to the political situation, we can see models on local coins of Judea and Samaria whose political situation can be defined as follows: the fact that we don't see imperial Persian signs on coins of this period, including the image of the Persian king or other representative signs, can hint to them being minted independently. The same applies to the period of the revolt of Tennes. If the rebellion was [Its] success in removing Persian presence from the Judea and Samaria province's, the situation led the governor's to mint independent local coins, independent of imperial Persian models.

²⁹ Eretz Israel Eph'al, Changes in Eretz Israel during the Persian period in light of epigraphic sources, IEJ 48 (1998) pp. 106-119... V "During that period Eretz Israel marked the furthest reaches of the Persian empire, for Egypt has cast off the Persian yoke in 404 BCE and remained independent until 342 BCE. During this period of over 60 years the political pendulum in Eretz Israel swung back and forth several times, as Persia made abortive effort to regain control of Egypt, while the Egyptians seeking a foothold in Eretz Israel, conquered various parts of the country, mainly along the coast. IN 361 BCE Tachos king of Egypt made an unsuccessful attempt to occupy Phoenicia, and the 'Satraps' revolt broke out... Thus for example, ostraca from Idumaea from 360-360 BCE, still bear dates reflecting the regional years of the Persian king (See Eph'al and J. Naveh: Aramic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea, Jerusalem 1996.

In order to examine and define the political state of the province, which were influenced by the revolts in the region, it can be described according to the coins bearing a number of models and components. On the one hand these coins can be sorted and categorized according to three types of political states prevalent in the province throughout the periods. Firstly according to the frequency of the revolts occurring near and/or in part of it, on the other the stability of the central Persian government can be measured and according to the financial strength of the countries.

How do we examine the affects of the revolts in the area on local coin minting?

The author claims that the phenomenon of a number of model types on coins attests to the various measures of political status of the province or country. The assumption is that there are three different types of political situation of the province and they are: a) coins with the imperial Persian model on one side of the coin as the other side includes a national model (Cat no. 3, 9, 11, 17), or local symbols attesting to autonomy³⁰ b) in the event when no imperial Persian signs appear on both sides of the coin – it may point to independence³¹ (Cat no 1, 2, 12-15, 18), since the Persian sovereign can not enforce them, for example the coins with "Athenian imitation" on both sides may attest to independence³² (Weiskopt 1982:505-9, Babelon 1910 II 2: 575-77m Betlyon 1982: 16-17, Briant 2002:1004); c) in the event that the coin is minted with the Persian imperial model on one side and there is no inscription or the model of autonomy is damaged on the other side, it may attest to a temporary revocation of autonomy. For example, after the revolt oppression in 360 BCE and as a sanction of the Persian sovereign and removing the signs of independence³². (Cat no. 4-8, 10, 19-23) . d) In the event that there is a imperial Persian minting on both sides of the coin – this attests to the state of affairs in provinces either under Persian warship or a low degree of autonomy.

Athenian coins that were in circulation for local commerce and finance may have been ordered to be re minted with the familiar commercial sign of Athens, the owl. And the other side was left blank to prevent a sign of independence with legal justification in circulation. At the same time the imperial siglos which was minted on one side only (Cat no. 26), could be used.

Therefore we notice a phenomenon in the inventory of coins in values of Obol of Judea and Philistia as coins modeled like Athenian imitation which bear only the commercial symbol without Athena on the other side. This phenomenon also exists in Drachm coins of Edom; d)

in the event that there is Persian imperial minting on both sides of the coin – it points to a pasha under the control of the Persians or a low degree of autonomy.

³⁰ A Sidonian half Obol, bearing the face of the king similarly to the imperial siglos. The identity of the imperial sovereign Persian minting on the imperialistic siglos in comparison to the identical imperial symbol of the sovereign on the Sidonian half Obol is absolute and attests that this side of the coin represents the imperial model. In Egypt which was re-conquered by the Persians in 343/2 BCE an "Athenian imitation" model coin was minted carrying the inscription Artaxerxes, most likely referring to Artaxerxes III.

³¹ P. Briant. *From Cyrus to Alexander*. Winona Lake, Indiana, 2002. P.1004. Weiskopt 1982:505-9; Tennes coins confirm his revolt, since after a few years they no longer show the king in his chariot (ef. Babelon 1910 II 2:575-77; also Betlyon 1982:16-17)

³² it is the author's opinion in the article that the imitation of the Athenian coin on both sides is an act attesting to the independence of the state since there is no sign of the Persian sovereign on the coin. After the oppressing the revolt and the Persian sovereign's re-taking, the author believes the Persians allowed, in the transitional stage, to mint local coins when in Phoenicia they minted one side of the coin, in Sidon carrying the signs of the sovereign without the sign of the autonomy and in the Eretz Israel pasha's they allowed Athenian coins carrying only the commercial sign of the Athenian coins, when in Judea they allowed minting along with the bird the word YHD that replaced the Athenian ATE. The other side of the coin carrying the model of Athena was disqualified. On other YHD coins show a falcon along with the word YHD, and on the other side appears the Persian sovereign. Some of the falcon coins bear the image of the lily on the other side as an additional sign of autonomy, instead of the sovereign model on the face of the coin which attests to independence.

Who minted coins in the Judea province?

According to Herodotos³³ the satrap Arisandes of Egypt minted coins on his own accord and was executed (Herodotus 4:166). This took place during the reign of Darius I in the end of the sixth century BCE and it served as a precedent and warning to the following governors in the Persian empire. It is likely that the satrap's who did mint local autonomous coins in their region received minting authority prior to minting from the Persian regime in order to keep their heads.

In reference to the model of coin with the inscription "Hezekiah the pasha" discovered in the excavation of Beit Zur and Tel Jama in the Northern Negev. According to Selers, was it Hezekiah that appears at Josephus as the high priest in the days of Ptolemy I. It is very likely that this coin should be attributed to the Persian period since Hezekiah's title is a Pasha-governor.

As far as we know Bagohi II served as the governor of Judea during 404-425 BCE. Hezekiah the governor appears on YHD coins, serves as testimony that he served³⁴ after the reign of Bagohi from the first half of the fourth century BCE. Between 404-359 BCE occur several revolts in Egypt, among them an Egyptian invasion to Eretz Israel in 380-404 BCE. There are written testimonies on headstones from Acre and Gezer that attest to the Egyptian control over large parts of Eretz Israel. These revolts and the Egyptian control may have brought Judea under other sovereignty than Persian. At the head of the province stood high priests and/or the pasha`s-governor. According to numismatic findings, three leaders whose names appear on YHD coins are: Yehoanan the priest, Hezekiah the pasha and Jaddua-the high priest (without title), minted coins in YHD. Hezekiah the pasha's coins seem as coins of a transitional period between a political state of independence to autonomy or Persian wardship(Cat no 5, 7). In the inventory of coins exist several components: coins with an owl without Athena on the face of the coin and on the coin the image of a man similarly to the Datamas of Cilician coin, as well as coins minted on one side only. Coins with a winged animal with a Lynx head and some with the head of the Persian king, as coins under Persian

wardship, when Hezekiah minted as the pasha according to the minting authority of the central Persian government along with the inscription Hezekiah without the inscription YHD. The coin of Jaddua, most likely the high priest, may have been minted at the end of the Persian period or with the approval of Alexander the great, if it was Jaddua that met with him during his conquest of Eretz Israel.

The coins of Hezekiah the pasha and Yehoanan the priest were minted during the first half of the fourth century. They were probably not minted at the same time. This minting may have been done as a result of political independence for Judea, given that the coins don't bear a Persian sovereign model. It must be noted that these coins, do not bear the name of the pasha. For comparison, the minting in Anatolia, the rulers that were vassal kings under their relationship with the central government, minted on the coins they issued before the revolt of the satraps in 366-260 BCE, their names and image on the coins minted even before the satrap revolt.

Conclusion

They hypothesis of this article on local minting authority, is that the satrap's who minted local coins had to get approval from the Persian government, under the autonomy rights¹ (Stern 1973: 233-234) in order to avoid the Arandas precedent, the Egyptian satrap who was executed for minting without approval.

Therefore, when there are no markings of the Persian sovereign on coins and an inscription of the minter exists for example Hezekiah the pasha, the author assumes that a state of independence existed in the territory at that time. The author has reviewed written sources in financial contexts and did not locate a specific approval for minting authorities from the central government. As such, the coins alone, attest to the autonomous approved minting, in particular those who bear the Persian sovereign models on the face of the coin.

The basic premise is that due to the weakness of the Persian regime, the autonomous rights were upgraded to mint local coins. The Egyptian revolts, their victory over the Persians and achievement of independence². The Egyptian take over, over parts of Eretz Israel, brought to the retreat of the Persian and their banishment from the region, including control of the coastal planes. A political turn around may have also occurred in Jerusalem and Samaria and/or around them (Gezer which was in Judea) and there is evidence to that affect, which manifests in local minting. The countries achieved political independence³ (Stern 1973), (Daiodorus 15:b, 8-9) by the year 380 BCE and in the authors opinion the models on the local coins attest to that. From the findings in this article it seems that a change occurred and the countries within Eretz Israel used the opportunity to mint "Athenian imitation" coins in large quantities, as minted in independent Egypt (Cat no. 24). For example, in the Judea province which in the fifth century had not yet issued local coins, in the fourth century autonomous coins were first issued bearing Persian models and models with signs of autonomy, including the inscription YHD in ancient Hebrew, and the province replaced the model bearing the Persian head with the symbol of the Lily (Cat no. 2, 3), (Meshorer 19:1997) which is a symbol of Jewish priesthood on one side of the coin and on the other an eagle with his wings spread and the inscription YHD, this means an independent coin.

The author has examined the effects of the Tennes revolt on minting and believes this revolt constitutes a part of an on going process of revolts mentioned throughout the article. It has many implications on minting local coins while it occurred, including the development in minting autonomous coins which began before the revolt or independent coins.

The author along with an expert in minting coins and medals believes that when minting miniscule degenerate coins, the force of the minting blow in particular during the process of dealing with Obol coins, was relatively weak and therefore the damage to the small coins was not significant. Although a continuous erosion existed on the coin and on the back of it. From an examination of part of the coins it seems that not minting one side of the coin, including autonomous signs was intentional. The ratio of these coins is about 8% of coins.

¹A. Stern (1973 pp 233-234) claims that Gazi examined a number of _____ from Babylon that were signed by a team of clerks that were often replaced and institutes this method on a team of treasury clerks to mint Philistia – Arab coins and YHD coins, as an explanation to the numerous types of coins.

² at that time the Jewish-Persian military colony was destroyed (Stern 1973)

³ the Persian conquered the plain in Eretz Israel along with destroying cities in the plain and the Negev (Stern 1973). Together with Avagoras king Cyrus declared independence in 391 BCE (Diodorus) which lasted until 381 BCE.

It is likely that every mint that would manufacture coins would replace a damaged die unless the die was only cracked by the force of the minting blow and there was no need to replace it. In local minting some of the dies seem of good quality and these were probably done by a master and some are of poor artistic quality, maybe because of limitations and constraints in dealing with the quality of the die, given its tiny size.











The author had differentiated between YHD coins for example, which have a defect like a crack which didn't damage the shape of the coin and the state of erosion. At the same time, it must be taken into account that damaging the die of the face of the coin may be intentionally done by the sovereign regime for the above mentioned reasons in a way that would harm the quality of the coin.

Characteristics of coins in the Persian period (4th century BCE)




transitional coins	autonomous	independent *
Obv. Persian sovereign. Rev. blank	Obv. Persian sovereign.	No symbol of the Persian sovereign on either side of the coin
	Rev. local symbols autonomous /religious/national	
Yehud/Sidon/Gaza	Yehud/Sidon/Samaria Misia/Ionia(Ionia)	Egypt/Gaza/Yehud /Samaria/Asia Minor
both sides with symbol of the Persian sovereign		
Samaria		
deliberate defacing of the die		
Samaria/Edom		

* During its 60 years of independence (400–343 BCE) Egypt minted in gold and silver, but its rule over Eretz-Israel does not require proof (Stern 1973:225).

cat. No	mint	political status	obv.	Rev.	Inscription	Coll.	denom.	Wt.(g)	photo
1	Yehud	Independence	Helmeted head of Athena to r.	Owl stg. to r.&lily	Paleo-Hebrew <i>yhd</i>	AC	obol	0.53g	
2	Yehud	Independence	lily flower	Falcon	Paleo-Hebrew <i>yhd</i>	AC	Hemibol	0.37 g	
3	Yehud	autonomy	Persian king	Falcon	Paleo-Hebrew <i>yh[d]</i>	AC	Hemibol	0.2 g	
4	Yehud	Transition-period/Ex-independence	blank	Owl stg. to l	Paleo-Hebrew <i>yhd</i>	pco	obol	0.47 g	
5	Yehud	Transition-period/Ex-independence	blank	winged and horned lynx		AC	Quarter Obol	0.18 g	
6	Yehud	Transition-period/Ex-independence	blank	bird stg. r.				0.33 g	
7	Yehud	Transition-period/Ex-independence	blank	Owl r.		AC	Hemibol	0.24 g	
8	Yehud	Transition-period/Ex-independence	blank	Owl stg. to r.&lily	Paleo-Hebrew <i>yhd</i>	AC	obol	0.51 g	
9	Sidon	autonomy	Persian king fighting lion	Sidonian galley to l.		pco	obol	0.61	

10	Sidon	Transition-period/Ex-independence	Persian king fighting lion	blank	between them small o	pco	obol	0.71 g	
11	Sidon	autonomy	Persian king running, holding bow and arrow	Sidonian galley to l.		pco	obol	0.82 g	
12	Philistian	Independence	Helmeted head of Athena to r.	Owl stg. r.&lily	AΘE	pco	obol	0.52g	
13	Philistian	Independence	Helmeted head of Athena to r.	Owl stg. to r.	Mint mark of Gaza letter "MEM" - Marnas	pco	Hemibol	0.34 g	
14	Philistian	Independence	Helmeted head of Athena to r.	Owl stg. to r.	AΘE	pco	drachm	4.06 g	
15	Philistian	Independence	Helmeted head of Athena to r.	Owl stg. to r.	AΘE	pco	plated drachm	3.29 g	
16	Samarian	Transition-period/Parsian sponsorship	Persian king	Persian king	letter d on l. (rev)		obol	0.70 g	
17	Samarian	autonomy	Persian king fighting lion	Sidonian galley to l.	Sanubalit (obv)		obol	0.70 g	
18	Samarian	Independence				pco	obol	0.57 g	
19	Samarian	Transition-period/Ex-independence	Dome-shaped "obol"	Owl r.			obol	0.98 g	

20	Edomite	Transition-period/Ex-independence	Dome-shaped "obol"	Owl r.		pco	drachm	4.13 g	
21	Edomite	Transition-period/Ex-independence	Dome-shaped "obol"	Owl r.			obol	0.53 g	
22	Edomite	Transition-period/Ex-independence	Dome-shaped "obol"	Owl r.		pco	drachm	4.13 g	
23	Edomite	Transition-period/Ex-independence	Dome-shaped "obol"	Owl r.		pco	drachm	3.17 g	
24	Egyptian	Independence	Helmeted head of Athena to r.	Owl r.			tetradrachm	17.06 g	
25	Cilician			Datamas					
26	Persia	imperial		king with a bow		pco	siglos	5.57 g	
27	Tyre	Independence	∴ Melqarth riding hippocamp	Owl standing				8.9g	
28	Acre	Independence							
29	Mysia	Independence	Helmeted head of Athena to r.	Pegassos	ORONTA		Tetraobol	2.53g	

30	Mysia	Independence	Head of Satrap	Pegassos	ORONTA			1.68G	
31	Ionia	autonomy	Persian king	Satrap on horse			tetradrachm	15.27g	
32	Ionia	autonomy	Persian king	Head of Satrap	Bacileo		drachm	3.75g	

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