

# Two unrecorded hoards of yehud coins of the second half of the fourth century BC

Autor(en): **Gitler, Haim / Lorber, Catharine / Fontanille, Jean-Philippe**

Objektyp: **Article**

Zeitschrift: **Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau = Revue suisse de numismatique = Rivista svizzera di numismatica**

Band (Jahr): **95 (2016)**

PDF erstellt am: **11.05.2024**

Persistenter Link: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-696763>

## **Nutzungsbedingungen**

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Inhalten der Zeitschriften. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern.

Die auf der Plattform e-periodica veröffentlichten Dokumente stehen für nicht-kommerzielle Zwecke in Lehre und Forschung sowie für die private Nutzung frei zur Verfügung. Einzelne Dateien oder Ausdrucke aus diesem Angebot können zusammen mit diesen Nutzungsbedingungen und den korrekten Herkunftsbezeichnungen weitergegeben werden.

Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. Die systematische Speicherung von Teilen des elektronischen Angebots auf anderen Servern bedarf ebenfalls des schriftlichen Einverständnisses der Rechteinhaber.

## **Haftungsausschluss**

Alle Angaben erfolgen ohne Gewähr für Vollständigkeit oder Richtigkeit. Es wird keine Haftung übernommen für Schäden durch die Verwendung von Informationen aus diesem Online-Angebot oder durch das Fehlen von Informationen. Dies gilt auch für Inhalte Dritter, die über dieses Angebot zugänglich sind.

TWO UNRECORDED HOARDS OF YEHUD COINS OF  
THE SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BC

PLATES 1–3

*Introduction*

A silver coinage was minted by or in the name of the province of Judah (Yehud) from the late Persian period (early fourth-century BC) to the reign of Ptolemy II<sup>1</sup>. The largest denomination was the drachm, but for the most part the coinage of Judah consisted of tiny fractions with weights of less than a gram and often less than a quarter of a gram. Since the publication of the first Yehud specimens in 1933 and 1934<sup>2</sup>, research has focused on inventorying and correctly describing the types and legends. This is not as simple a project as it might seem, because of the minute size of the coins and the rapid deterioration of some of the dies. Ultimately, fifteen basic obverse types and ten basic reverse types have been identified and these occur in 28 different combinations, with further varieties defined by details of style, orientation, reverse legend and denomination<sup>3</sup>. In the present paper we use the term «Type» to designate the varieties of our classification and «type» to refer to the pictorial representation on one side of a coin, and the Appendix below provides a list of the discussed Types and types. A secondary emphasis of the research has been to establish a relative and absolute chronology for the issues. The frequent changes of type limit the usefulness of die study as a chronological tool. A second major numismatic methodology, the study of hoards, was until now of little help because of the small number of hoards known.

Two new hoards of small silver coins of late Persian Period Palestine (second half of the fourth century BC) recently appeared in the antiquities market. Based on the partial information regarding the findspots we received from the dealers who traded these hoards, we tentatively named them the «Transjordan 2015 Hoard» and the «West Bank 2015 Hoard». The Transjordan 2015 Hoard which includes 35 specimens is currently kept at the Israel Museum as a long-term loan,

<sup>1</sup> GITLER 2011a, p. 27 and GITLER – LORBER 2006, pp. 13–18.

<sup>2</sup> SELLERS 1933, pp. 73–74, no. 9 and SUKENIK 1934.

<sup>3</sup> The classification of the Yehud coins is based on our current research which will be published in a forthcoming monograph on the coinage of Judah. An online updated corpus compiled by J.-P. Fontanille appears in *Menorah Coin Project (MCP)*: <http://www.menorahcoinproject.org>

enabling us to examine the coins at first hand<sup>4</sup>. Unfortunately, for the West Bank 2015 Hoard we only have very limited data, namely images of the coins wrapped in a linen bag, before and after partial cleaning of the group, as well as photos of 9 of the alleged 26 pieces which belong to this hoard.

The hoard record for Palestinian Persian and Early Hellenistic period provincial coinages is remarkably scanty. Two hoards of Philistian coins were published by Gitler, Ashkelon 1989 – the only hoard of this period so far found in a controlled archaeological excavation – and one allegedly found near Jerusalem<sup>5</sup>. In addition, several hoards which include isolated Philistian issues have been recorded so far<sup>6</sup>. Two fourth century BC Samaritan coin hoards with jewelry appeared on the market in 1968, «Samaria, before 1990» (*CH* 9, p. 42, no. 413<sup>7</sup>) and the «Nablus, 1968» (*IGCH*, p. 205–206, no. 1504 = *CH* 9, p. 45, no. 440<sup>8</sup>) (see Table 2 below).

Until recently only five hoards of Persian Yehud coins and Ptolemaic issues of Judah had been recorded<sup>9</sup>:

*Tel Gamma, 1970*

Type 19 (beardless head/winged lynx forepart, inscribed *Yehizqiyah*, x1); Type 24 (facing head/owl, inscribed *Yehizqiyah ha-peheh*, x3); unidentifiable (x1).

*Near Jerusalem, before 1982*

Type 8 (Athena/owl, x1); Type 27 (facing head/owl, inscribed *Yehudah ha-pehah*, x1); Type 28 (facing head/owl, irregular inscription, x1).

*Hebron area, 1999*

Type 8 (Athena/owl, x6); Type 16 (Persian king/falcon, x2); Type 23 (facing head/winged lynx forepart, inscribed *Yehizqiyah*, x1); Type 31 (lion head/dove, x10); Tetradrachm, mint of Alexandria, minted after 295 BC, *CPE* 183 = *Sv* 267 (x1); Type 37 O1-R? (Ptolemy I/eagle, x2); Type 37 O2-R? (Ptolemy I/eagle, x2).

There are several peculiarities in the contents of this hoard when compared with the other Yehud hoards (see Table 3 below), and the number of specimens per coin variety compiled in *MCP*: under-representation of the very common Type 16 (Persian king/falcon), absence of the extremely common facing head/owl issues (Types 24–28), heavy representation of Type 31 (lion head/dove), under-representation of the extremely common Type 37 (Ptolemy/eagle). In the original publication of this hoard we stated that its character as a hoard

<sup>4</sup> Israel Museum reg. no. 2016.12/1–35, long-term loan of Marian and Abraham Sofaer.

<sup>5</sup> GITLER 1996, pp. 1–6 and 2011b, p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> GITLER – TAL 2006, p. 51; FISCHER-BOSSERT – GITLER 2010; FISCHER-BOSSERT 2010, pp. 141–143, 165–184.

<sup>7</sup> MESHORER – QEDAR 1991, pp. 65–79, see also ELAYI – ELAYI 1993, pp. 218–231.

<sup>8</sup> SPAER 2009; GITLER – TAL forthcoming, see also ELAYI – ELAYI 1993, pp. 231–239 and FISCHER-BOSSERT 2010, pp. 169–171.

<sup>9</sup> GITLER – LORBER 2006, pp. 25–28.

was «a little in question» but proposed some arguments in favour of a hoard<sup>10</sup>. However, from the new evidence collected below which points out that the Yehud hoards were assembled during relatively short periods and mainly from coins in circulation, we cannot exclude the possibility that two different hoards got mixed up here, one from the Persian period and another from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period.

Findspot not recorded, before 1982  
Type 37 O2-R? (Ptolemy/eagle, x?)<sup>11</sup>.

Ramallah area, 2006<sup>12</sup>

Athena/owl

Nos. 1, 4–7 = Type 8 O2-R7 (x5)<sup>13</sup>; no. 2 = Type 8 O2-R6 (x1)

Persian king/owl

No. 3 = Type 9 O1-R2 (x1)

Samarian issue

No. 8 is a Samarian obol and not an issue of Ashkelon as we assumed at the time.

We attributed this coin issue to the minting authority of Ashkelon assuming that the stylised olive spray and crescent in the upper right field represent the Semitic letters *nun* and *alef*<sup>14</sup>. In our current ongoing study of the Nablus 1968 Hoard we recorded 12 such issues, and we are now of the opinion that their attribution should be changed from Ashkelon to Samaria<sup>15</sup>. This is in accord with Meshorer and Qedar's attributions, in their study of the Samaria hoard, of other Athenian styled issues to Samaria<sup>16</sup> differentiating them from their Philistian counterparts<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> The traces of soil evident on most of the pieces suggest that these coins were retrieved from the same findspot. Another argument in favor of describing this group as a hoard is the fact that the six Athena/owl (Type 8) specimens dating to the mid-fourth century BC, were visibly worn in comparison with the other coins. Moreover, it is extremely unlikely that a random group of 24 silver fractions would contain three sets of coins struck from the same reverse dies (cf. GITLER – LORBER 2006, pp. 26–27).

<sup>11</sup> Meshorer reported that the coins were stuck together by corrosion and separated in his presence. He did not indicate how many coins were in the clump, only that all were of the same variety (*AJC I*, p. 17).

<sup>12</sup> As per the descriptions of the coins in GITLER 2006, p. 320.

<sup>13</sup> It is interesting to point out that out of the 7 Yehud coins in this hoard, 5 are from the pair O2-R7 of Type 8 (Athena/owl). Coin no. 3 is a specimen of the Persian king/owl (Type 9 – and not Type 8) with the head of Athena on the obverse as it was classified in GITLER 2006, p. 320.

<sup>14</sup> Mildenberg published one such «obol» as «Pseudo-Athenian» (1996, pp. 61, 63, no. 7).

<sup>15</sup> GITLER – TAL 2016, p. 20, no. 12. An additional single specimen of this issue was found in the excavations of Khirbet Qeiyafa, see FARHI 2016, pp. 37, 44, no. 15.

<sup>16</sup> MESHORER – QEDAR 1991, pp. 61–63, nos. 94–106 = 1999, pp. 122–124, nos. 212–224 which selectively include Samaria Hoard catalogue nos. 167–182.

<sup>17</sup> MESHORER – QEDAR 1991, Samaria Hoard catalogue nos. 269–332.

The archaeologically provenanced Persian and Early Hellenistic period numismatic material recently collected by Ariel which is drawn from both published and unpublished licensed archaeological excavations helps us to understand another aspect of the circulation of locally minted coins of the Persian period in the southern Levant<sup>18</sup>. Ariel compiled altogether 192 coins: 88 Philistian, 52 Yehud, 32 Samaritan, 6 Edom and 5 Dor (9 were unattributable). The circulation pattern of the Yehud coins found at official archaeological excavations and the hoard data for this group are overlapping.

In 2015 two new hoards of Persian Yehud coins appeared in the antiquities market, the IM Transjordan 2015 Hoard and the West Bank 2015 Hoard.

*The IM Transjordan 2015 Hoard*

This hoard (*Plates 1–3*, 1:1 and 3:1 scale)<sup>19</sup> comprises 33 specimens of five different Yehud coin varieties, Types 13 (ear/falcon, x1), 16 (Persian king/falcon, x3), 19 (beardless head/winged lynx forepart, inscribed *Yehizqiyah*, x6), 24 (facing head/owl, inscribed *Yehizqiyah ha-pehah*, x20) and 27 (facing head/owl, inscribed *Yehudah ha-pehah*, x3) and two Philistian obols<sup>20</sup>. The breakdown of the IM Transjordan 2015 Hoard appears below in Table 1.

Hoards should be considered as essential primary chronological sources. For those found as stray finds or coming from the antiquity market we can never be sure if they are incomplete, yet they are still probably an indicative and random sample from what was originally in the hoard.

In the IM Transjordan 2015 Hoard, the ratios of coins for Types 13 (ear/falcon), 19 (beardless head/winged lynx forepart, inscribed *Yehizqiyah*) and 27 (facing head/owl, inscribed *Yehudah ha-pehah*) are normal, but that of Type 16 (Persian king/falcon) is amazingly under-represented (the general ratio is 600% higher), while that of Type 24 (facing head/owl, inscribed *Yehizqiyah ha-pehah*) is 200% over-represented (*Fig. 1*). This strongly suggests that varieties with the falcon reverse (Types 13 and 16) preceded the *Yehizqiyah* and *Yehizqiyah ha-pehah* issues (Types 19, 24 and 27) and that the hoard was probably assembled during a short time in the Macedonian Period (332–302 BC) and thus the most common of the Persian period issues – Type 16 (Persian king/falcon) – which comprises 52% of the general ratio of Persian period Yehud coinage, was not frequently circulating anymore.

<sup>18</sup> ARIEL forthcoming.

<sup>19</sup> Photos by Elie Posner, Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

<sup>20</sup> GITLER – TAL 2006, IX.10d and XIV.22O.

TWO UNRECORDED HOARDS OF YEHUD COINS OF  
THE SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BC

Yehud issues					
Hoard no.	Weight (gr.)	Die axis	Type	Obverse	Reverse
1	0.24	12	13 <sup>21</sup>	O1	R1
2	0.32	2	16	O3	R4
3	0.26	6	16	O15	R19
4	0.24	3	16	O24	R28
5	0.20	3	19	O1	R1
6	0.23	10	19	O5	R5
7 <sup>22</sup>	0.25	9(O5)/7 (O6)	19	O5/O6	R5
8	0.26	3	19	O6	R5
9	0.24	3	19	O9	R10
10	0.18	9	19	O10	R11
11	0.26	5	24	O1	R2
12	0.25	10	24	O1	R2
13	0.23	6	24	O1	R2
14	0.19	9	24	O2	R3
15	0.27	2	24	O3	R4
16	0.22	12	24	O3	R4
17	0.20	12	24	O3	R5
18	0.19	?	24	O4?	R6
19	0.24	12	24	O8	R10
20	0.21	7	24	O12	R14
21	0.28	?	24	O14?	R16
22	0.22	12	24	O24	R26
23	0.25	?	24	O?	R34
24	0.19	?	24	O?	R34
25	0.26	?	24	O?	R40
26	0.22	?	24	O?	R40
27	0.22	?	24	O?	R43
28	0.21	?	24	O?	R44
29	0.24	?	24	O?	R?
30	0.22	?	24	O?	R?
31	0.23	10	27	O1	R1
32	0.21	?	27	O1	R1
33	0.25	12	27	O1	R3
Philistian issues					
34	0.67	7	<i>cf.</i> GITLER – TAL 2006, IX.1Od		
35	0.61	5	GITLER – TAL 2006, XIV.22O		

*Tab. 1* Breakdown of the IM Transjordan 2015 Hoard (see *Plates 1–3*).

<sup>21</sup> Three specimens of Type 13 (ear/falcon) O1-R1 appear in the West Bank 2015 Hoard.

<sup>22</sup> Coin no. 7 in this hoard is double struck with two different obverse dies. Another example of this phenomenon was recorded for a large denomination of Herod the Great, see ARIEL – FONTANILLE 2012, p. 84, coin no. 2.

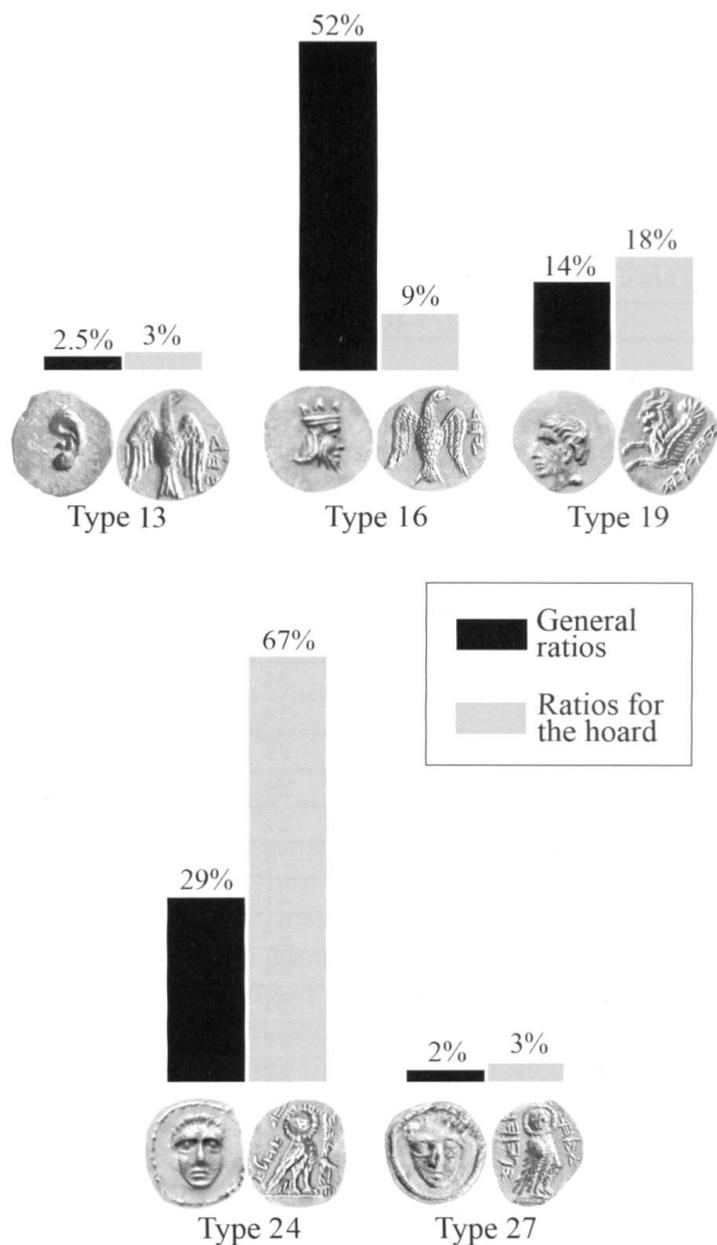


Fig. 1 Ratio for the IM Transjordan 2015 hoard compared to the general frequency of the same coin varieties in the current *MCP* corpus of Yehud coinage (2:1 scale).

The assumption that the hoard was assembled during a short time in the Macedonian Period is supported by the fact that there are a variety of die linked issues in this hoard dated principally to this period. The numerous die linked issues in this hoard suggest that the coins were most probably retrieved from circulation and added to the hoard shortly after they were minted or the hoard was formed by someone who was on the state payroll and received newly minted coins as his pay<sup>23</sup>, otherwise it would be quite improbable to find so many die

<sup>23</sup> The few Persian period coins in the hoard would represent coins that he pulled from circulation to add to his savings.

linked issues in such a relatively small assemblage especially since some of these obverse and reverse die pairs are quite rare (the number of known specimens recorded so far for each die pair appear in brackets below).

Macedonian Period:

Coin type 19 (beardless head/winged lynx forepart, inscribed *Yehizqiyah*)

**O5-R5** (no. 6), [15]

**O5/O6-R5** (no. 7)

**O6-R5** (no. 8), [14]

Coin type 24 (facing head/owl, inscribed *Yehizqiyah ha-peheh*)

**O1-R2** (nos. 11–13), [8]

**O3-R4** (nos. 15–16), [13]

**O3-R5** (no. 17), [1]

**O?-R34** (nos. 23–24), [7]

**O?-R40** (nos. 25–26), [2]

Coin type 27 (facing head/owl, inscribed *Yehudah ha-pehah*)

**O1-R1** (nos. 31–32), [10]

**O1-R3** (no. 33), [2]

Another point that supports our theory that this group was hoarded during a short period is the fact that the Athena/owl and Persian king/owl varieties (Types 4–9) are not represented in this hoard<sup>24</sup>. This also implies that these Athenian styled issues<sup>25</sup> preceded the varieties with the falcon reverse (Types 13–16) and were not commonly circulating after the conquest of Alexander the Great and thus when this hoard was assembled during a relatively short period these coin types were not collected into the hoard.

In this respect it is interesting to point out the parallel evidence drawn from the two known Samaritan hoards (see above, Samaria, before 1990 and Nablus 1968). These two assemblages which have burial dates 21 years apart, 352 BC for the Samaria Hoard vs 331 BC for the Nablus Hoard, contain almost entirely different Samaritan coin types (*Tab. 2*). In our opinion this plausibly represents different chronological minting stages. To this data we may add the evidence of the Samaritan issues found in the Samaritan site of Mt. Gerizim Temple Mount excavations which yielded the third known significant assemblage of Samaritan coins and represent yet another set of Samaritan coin types which differ from those found in the two hoards<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> It is extremely unlikely that anyone would have selectively removed Athena/owl and Persian king/owl coin types from this hoard after it was recently found as they are the least desirable commercially, and if any types were removed selectively, they would have been other types.

<sup>25</sup> These Athenian styled issues which imitate the *pi*-style Owls and depict Athena with a profiled eye, represent the final stage of Athenian influence on the locally minted early Palestinian coinages and have a *terminus post quem* date of 353 BC (GITLER 2011b, pp. 271–2; GITLER – TAL 2012, p. 8).

<sup>26</sup> We are grateful to Gabriela Bijovsky for providing us the data on Mt. Gerizim excavations, directed by Yitzhak Magen.

Mt. Gerizim Excavations	Samaria Hoard burial date c. 352 BC	Nablus Hoard burial date 331 BC
1		4
41	20	5
53	21	6
62	37	11
75	75	13
77	77	14
83	78	15
85	79	40
91	80	45
	81	47
	82	57
	93	58
	94	58
	95	59
		71
		74
		84
		92
96		96
102		97
103		100
110		101
127	154	121
159		126
165		130
185		134
186		135
187		141
193		177
204		197
205		201
		212
	213	213
	214	
	215	
		216
	217	
	218	218 variant(?)
		219
		220
		221
		222
		223
		224

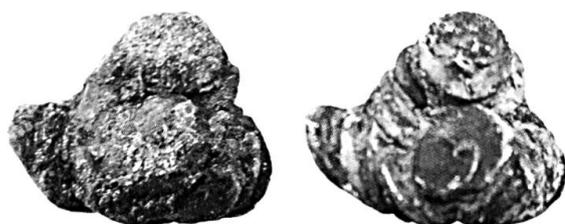
*Tab. 2.* Samaritan coin types in the three main assemblages of Samaritan coins. The numbers in the table follow the catalogue numbers in MESHORER – QEDAR 1999 (after GITLER – TAL forthcoming)<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> From *Table 1* it is evident that the Samaritan coin varieties found at the Mt. Gerizim excavations are also almost entirely different from those found in the two hoards. The fact that these three groups of Samaritan issues differ and are linked by only by a few coin varieties enables us to propose an inner chronological sequence for 76 of the circa 240 known Samaritan coin types.

The IM 2015 Transjordan hoard also includes two Philistian issues<sup>28</sup>. Since Philistian coins circulated in vast areas of Palestine, the inclusion of these specimens in the Transjordan hoard is not uncommon<sup>29</sup>. Coin no. 34 in the hoard belongs to the imitative Athenian styled obols with a profile eye Athena which are the most common coin types which circulated in Late Persian-period Palestine. These Athena/owl obols and hemiobols with the legend AΘE were minted in Philistia<sup>30</sup>, in the province of Samaria as is evident from the Samaria and Nablus hoards<sup>31</sup>, and most probably also in Judah. The fact that most of the specimens in this group depict a profile eyed Athena implies that these coins became more common towards the second half of the fourth century and specifically after 353 BC<sup>32</sup>.

*The West Bank 2015 Hoard*

For this hoard which allegedly comprised 26 coins, we only have partial data. The images below show the hoard as it was found, wrapped in a linen bag, and after its cleaning (*Fig. 2*)<sup>33</sup>.



*Fig. 2.* The West Bank 2015 Hoard wrapped in a linen bag, before and after partial cleaning (approximately 2:1 scale).

We were able to get images of 9 coins of this hoard (*Fig. 3*), 5 of these are of Type 13 with the ear/falcon O1-R1 (x3); O1-R2 (x1); O1-R4 (x1)<sup>34</sup> and 4 of Type 16 with the Persian king/falcon O2-R2 (x2); O3-R2 (x1); O4-R3 (x1).

<sup>28</sup> No. 34: GITLER – TAL 2006, IX.10d, dated to after 353 BC and no. 35: XIV.22O.

<sup>29</sup> Philistian coins strayed far from the heartland of Philistia (cf. GITLER – TAL 2006, pp. 50, 52–61) and have been found in numerous hoards in Jordan, Syria and Egypt (*ibid.*, p. 51 and FISCHER-BOSSERT – GITLER 2010). An updated database of the archaeologically provenanced Persian period numismatic material confirms the distribution pattern as suggested by Gitler and Tal, cf. ARIEL forthcoming.

<sup>30</sup> GITLER – TAL 2006, pp. 146–157, Athenian-styled imitations, Groups VII–X.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. MESHORER – QEDAR 1991, pp. 78–80, nos. 269–328.

<sup>32</sup> GITLER 2011b, p. 271.

<sup>33</sup> This reminds us of the Ashkelon 1989 Hoard which was similarly wrapped in a linen bag (GITLER 1996).

<sup>34</sup> Meshorer interpreted the type as the ear of the deity who hears prayers, with many supporting quotations from the Bible as well as examples from other ancient cultures (MESHORER 1996; *TJC*, pp. 11–13, followed by WYSSMANN 2014, p. 250).



Fig. 3. Nine coins from the West Bank 2015 Hoard (approximately 3:1 scale).

Figure 4 illustrates how over-represented is Type 13 in the West Bank 2015 Hoard, compared to its frequency in the global Yehud coinage (this Type is 600% over-represented).

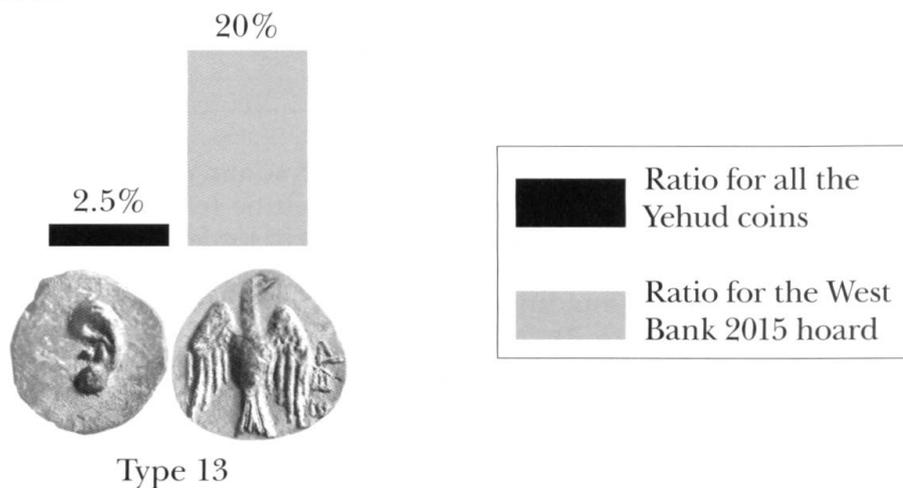


Fig. 4. Ratio for the ear/falcon variety in West Bank 2015 hoard compared to the general frequency of the same issue in the current MCP corpus of Yehud coinage (2:1 scale).

The most likely explanation for the makeup of this hoard is that it was formed during or shortly after the minting of Type 13, perhaps even by someone who was receiving these coins in his pay.

«*Yehizqiyah*» issue in the Nablus 1968 Hoard

We recently noticed that a single *Yehizqiyah ha-pehah* issue, facing head/owl, of the Macedonian Period (Type 24, O3-R4) is part of the Nablus 1968 Hoard (*Fig. 5*)<sup>35</sup>.



*Fig. 5. Yehizqiyah ha-pehah specimen, Type 24 from the Nablus 1968 Hoard (3:1 scale).*

The implication of the Yehud coin in this hoard, which has a burial date of 331 BC, is fascinating. It implies that the entire *Yehizqiyah* (without *ha-pehah*) coinage was produced in a very short time, something on the order of a year or less. This would give one year for the minting of this coin and its inclusion in the hoard.

Such a compressed chronology seems to be consistent with the contents of the Tell Gamma hoard and the IM Transjordan 2015 Hoard which tend to confirm that the *Yehizqiyah ha-pehah* issues followed the *Yehizqiyah* issues<sup>36</sup>.

So far, we have been able to record 14 specimens of Type 24 O3-R4, two belong to the IM Transjordan 2015 Hoard (above nos. 15–16) and one was found at the excavations of Khirbet Qeiyafa<sup>37</sup>.

In conclusion we have tabulated in Table 3 the evidence of the seven hoards of Persian-period Yehud coins and Ptolemaic issues of Judah plus the one *Yehizqiyah ha-pehah* specimen which belongs to the Nablus 1968 Hoard.

<sup>35</sup> Notice that this is a specimen does not show yet a die break in the right side legend, as do other specimens of this variety, so we can assume it is a relatively early issue in the series but yet it is not in fresh condition.

<sup>36</sup> As proposed by GITLER – LORBER 2006, p.70, Table 1.

<sup>37</sup> FARHI 2016, pp. 43, 54, no. 65.

Hoards and number of coins	Coin Types (number of coins per type)									
	after 353 until 340's BC		340's until 332 BC		Macedonian period 332–302 BC					after 295/4 BC
Ramallah area, 2006 8 coins	8 (x5)	9 (x1)								
West Bank, 2015 26 coins			13 (x5+?)	16 (x4+?)						
Nablus, 1968 Hoard (burial date of 331 BC) 1 coin out of c. 965 specimens						24 (x1)				
Tel Gamma, 1970 5 coins					19 (x1)	24 (x3)				
Transjordan, 2015 35 coins			13 (x1)	16 (x3)	19 (x6)	24 (x20)	27 (x3)			
Near Jerusalem, before 1982 3 coins	8 (x1)						27 (x1)	28 (x1)		
Hebron area, 1999 24 coins	8 (x6)			16 (x2)		23 (x1)			31 (x10)	37 (x4)
Findspot not recorded, before 1982 Unknown number of coins										37 (x?)

Tab. 3. Breakdown of the hoards of Persian Yehud coins and Ptolemaic issues of Judah.

The picture we get from this table is that the groups of coins were hoarded equally during the three relevant periods: Late Persian, Macedonian and Early Hellenistic. A similar picture appears from the long lived site of Khirbet Qeiyafa where 17 Persian-period Yehud coins and Ptolemaic issues of Judah were found<sup>38</sup>. The following is an updated cataloguing of these coins according to our current research which will be published in a forthcoming monograph on the coinage of Judah:

Coin type 4 (Athena/owl) O1-R1 (x1); 8 (Athena/owl) O2-R4 (x3), O2-R5 (x2), O2-R6 (x2), O2-R7 (x2); 9 (Persian king/owl) O1-R2 (x2); 24 (facing head/owl, inscribed *Yehizqiyah ha-pehah*) O3-R4 (x1), O20-R22 (x1), O?-R35 (x1); 33 (facing head/eagle) O3-R2 (x1); 35 (young head/eagle) O1-R1 (x1)<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> FARHI 2016, pp. 24–33, 42–43.

<sup>39</sup> Coin Types 8, 9 and 24 are found in the various known hoards while Types 4 (after 353 until the 340's BC) and Types 33 and 35 (302/1–c. 295/4 BC) have not been recorded so far in these hoards.

*Abstract*

Until recently only five hoards of Persian Yehud coins and Ptolemaic issues of Judah had been recorded. The two new hoards of small silver coins of late Persian Period Palestine (second half of the fourth century BC) presented in this paper shed further light on the chronology of the late Persian period coinage of the province of Judah. From the tabulated evidence of the seven known hoards, the picture we get is that the groups of coins were hoarded equally during the three relevant periods: Late Persian, Macedonian and Early Hellenistic.

The IM Transjordan 2015 Hoard which includes 35 specimens represents the largest known hoard of Yehud coins. The numerous die linked issues in this hoard suggest that the coins were most probably retrieved from circulation and added to the hoard shortly after they were minted, or else the hoard was formed by someone who was on the state payroll and received newly minted coins as his pay. The data we have for the West Bank 2015 Hoard is partial yet it also suggests that the hoard was formed during or shortly after the minting of one of its types, perhaps even by someone who was receiving these coins in his pay.

*Zusammenfassung*

Bis vor Kurzem waren lediglich fünf Horte von persischen Yehud-Münzen und ptolemäischen Prägungen von Juda erfasst. Die beiden neuen Horte von Kleinsilbermünzen aus der Spätzeit der persischen Herrschaft über Palästina (zweite Hälfte des 4. Jh. v. Chr.), welche in diesem Beitrag vorgestellt werden, tragen dazu bei, die Chronologie der Münzprägung aus der späten persischen Periode der Provinz Judäa zu erhellen. Die Zusammenstellung der sieben bekannten Schatzfunde zeigt, dass sie in folgenden Zeiträumen verborgen wurden: in der Spätzeit der persischen Herrschaft, unter makedonischer Herrschaft und in frühhellenistischer Zeit.

Der 2015 in Transjordanien entdeckte Schatzfund stellt mit 35 Exemplaren den grössten Hort von Yehud-Prägungen dar. Die zahlreichen stempelgleichen Münzen dieses Hortes legen nahe, dass die Münzen kurz nach ihrer Prägung gehortet wurden, oder dass der Hort von einem mit frisch geprägtem Geld bezahlten Staatsangestellten deponiert wurde. Die Daten des 2015 in der Westbank entdeckten Hortes sind zwar unvollständig, aber auch sie lassen darauf schliessen, dass der Hort kurz nach der Prägung eines seiner Typen deponiert wurde, möglicherweise ebenfalls von jemandem, der diese Münzen als Lohn erhalten hatte.

Haim Gitler  
The Israel Museum, Jerusalem  
P.O. Box 71117  
IL-Jerusalem 9171002  
Israel  
gitler@imj.org.il

Catharine C. Lorber  
5450 Fenwood Avenue  
Woodland Hills,  
CA 91367  
U.S.A.  
catharinelorber@hotmail.com

Jean-Philippe Fontanille  
454, Chemin du Fleuve  
Coteau du Lac,  
Quebec JOP 1B0  
Canada  
jp.fontanille@sympatico.ca

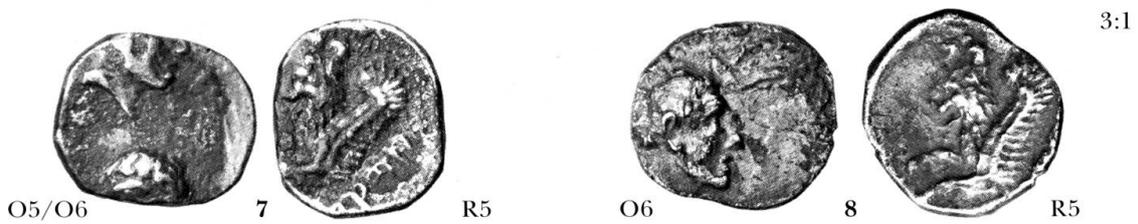
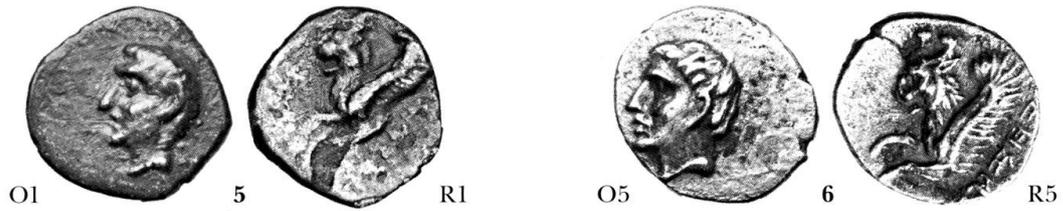
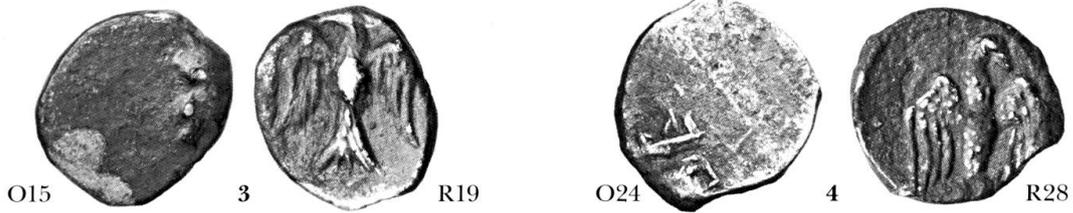
*Bibliography*

- AJC I*  
 ARIEL 2002 Y. MESHORER. *Ancient Jewish Coinage 1* (New York 1982).  
 D.T. ARIEL, The Coins from the Surveys and Excavations of  
 Caves in the Northern Judean Desert, *Atiqot* 41/2, 2002,  
 pp. 281–304.
- ARIEL forthcoming D.T. ARIEL, Circulation of Locally Minted Persian-Period  
 Coins in the Southern Levant, *Notae Numismaticae* 11,  
 2016 (Forthcoming).
- ARIEL – FONTANILLE 2012 D.T. ARIEL – J.-P. FONTANILLE, The Coins of Herod: A  
 Modern Analysis and Die Classification. *Ancient Judaism  
 and Early Christianity* 79 (Leiden 2012).
- CPE*  
 ELAYI – ELAYI 1993 C. LORBER, *Coinage of the Ptolemaic Empire* (forthcoming).  
 J. ELAYI – A.G. ELAYI, Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes  
 et circulation monétaire (V<sup>e</sup>–IV<sup>e</sup> siècles avant J.-C.).  
*Transeuphratène, Suppl. 1* (Paris 1993).
- FARHI 2016 Y. FARHI, *Khirbet Qeiyafa 5: Excavations Report 2007–  
 2013. The Numismatic Finds: Coins and Related Objects*  
 (Jerusalem 2016).
- FISCHER-BOSSERT 2010 W. FISCHER-BOSSERT, Notes on the Coinages of the  
 Philistian Cities, in: M. HUTH – P.G. VAN ALFEN (eds.),  
*Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms: Studies in Ancient  
 Arabian Monetization. Numismatic Studies* 25 (New York  
 2010), pp. 133–196.
- FISCHER-BOSSERT –  
 GITLER 2010 W. FISCHER-BOSSERT – H. GITLER, The Ismailiya Hoard 1983,  
*Israel Numismatic Research* 5, 2010, pp. 3–12.
- GITLER 1996 H. GITLER, New fourth-century BC Coins from Ascalon, *NC*  
 156, 1996, pp. 1–9.
- GITLER 2006 H. GITLER, A Hoard of Persian Yehud Coins from the  
 Environs of Ramallah. *Numisma: Revista de Estudios  
 Numismáticos* 250, 2006, pp. 319–324.
- GITLER 2011a H. GITLER, The Earliest Coin of Judah, *Israel Numismatic  
 Research* 6, 2011, pp. 21–33.
- GITLER 2011b H. GITLER, Different Aspects of the Quantification of  
 Persian Period Coinages of Palestine, in: F. DE CALLATAÏ  
 (ed.), *Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman  
 Times. Pragmateiai* 19 (Bari 2011), pp. 267–284.
- GITLER – LORBER 2006 H. GITLER – C. LORBER, A New Chronology for the Ptolemaic  
 Yehud Coinage, *AJN* 18, 2006, pp. 1–41.
- GITLER – LORBER 2008 H. GITLER – C. LORBER, A New Chronology for the  
 Yehizkiyah coins of Judah, *SNR* 87, 2008, pp. 61–82.
- GITLER – TAL 2006 H. GITLER – O. TAL, The Coinage of Philistia of the Fifth  
 and Fourth Centuries BC – A Study of the Earliest Coins of  
 Palestine, *Collezioni Numismatiche, Materiali pubblici e  
 privati* 6 (Milano 2006).

- GITLER – TAL 2012 H. GITLER – O. TAL, Some Notes on the Relative Chronology of the Fifth- and Fourth-Century BCE Coinage of Philistia, *Israel Numismatic Research* 7, 2012, pp. 7–15.
- GITLER – TAL 2016 H. GITLER – O. TAL, Reclassifying Persian-period Philistian Coins: Some New Identifications, *Israel Numismatic Research* 11, 2016, pp. 11–21.
- GITLER – TAL forthcoming H. GITLER – O. TAL, A Preliminary Report on the Nablus 1968 Hoard of the Fourth Century BC. Proceedings of the XV International Numismatic Congress, Taormina September 21–25, 2015 (forthcoming).
- MCP J.-P. FONTANILLE, *Menorah Coin Project*: <http://www.menorahcoinproject.org>
- MESHORER 1996 Y. MESHORER, The Ear of Yahweh on a Yehud Coin, *Eretz Israel* 25, 1996, pp. 434–437 (in Hebrew).
- MESHORER – QEDAR 1991 Y. MESHORER – S. QEDAR, Coinage of Samaria in the Fourth Century BC (Los Angeles 1991).
- MESHORER – QEDAR 1999 Y. MESHORER – S. QEDAR, Samaritan Coinage, *Numismatic Studies and Researches* 9 (Jerusalem 1999).
- MILDENBERG 1996 L. MILDENBERG, Petra on the Frankincense Road? – Again, *Aram* 8, 1996, pp. 55–65.
- SELLERS 1933 O.R. SELLERS, *The Citadel of Beth-Zur* (Philadelphia 1933).
- SPAER 2009 A. SPAER, A Note on the Nablus Hoard, *SNR* 88, 2009, pp. 157–159.
- SUKENIK 1934 E. L. SUKENIK, *Paralipomena Palaestinae. The Oldest Coins of Judaea*, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 14, 1934, pp. 178–184.
- TJC Y. MESHORER, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins: From the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba* (Jerusalem 2001).
- WYSSMANN 2014 P. WYSSMANN, The Coinage Imagery of Samaria and Judah in the Late Persian Period, in: C. FREVEL – K. PYSCHNY – I. CORNELIUS (eds.), *A «Religious Revolution» in Yehûd? The Material Culture from the Persian Period as a Test Case. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 267 (Fribourg 2014), pp. 221–266.

*Appendix. Types of the silver coinage of Judah*

Type 1	Facing female head/animal symplegma
Type 2	Helmeted head/god on winged wheel
Types 3–8	Athena/owl
Types 9, 11	Persian king/owl
Type 10	Diademed male head/owl
Type 12	Shofar/falcon
Type 13	Ear/falcon
Type 14	Lily/falcon
Type 15	Dove on basin/falcon
Type 16	Persian king/falcon
Type 17	Head of horned lynx/winged lynx forepart with head of Persian king, inscribed <i>Yehizqiyah</i>
Types 18–19	Beardless male head/winged lynx forepart, inscribed <i>Yehizqiyah</i>
Type 20	Unknown/winged lynx forepart, uninscribed
Type 21	Unknown/winged bull forepart, uninscribed
Type 22	Unknown/winged horse forepart, uninscribed
Type 23	Facing head/winged lynx forepart, uninscribed
Type 24	Facing head on shield/owl, inscribed <i>Yehizqiyah ha-pehah</i>
Type 25	Facing head on shield/owl, inscribed <i>Yohanan ha-kohen</i>
Type 26	Facing head on shield/owl, inscribed <i>Yehud Yehudah</i>
Type 27	Facing head on shield/owl, inscribed <i>Yehudah ha-pehah</i>
Type 28	Facing head on shield/owl, with Greek, pseudo-Greek or unintelligible inscription
Type 29	Lily/owl
Type 30	Lily/dove
Type 31	Head of roaring lion/dove
Type 32	Shofar/dove
Type 33	Facing head on shield/eagle
Types 34–35	Beardless male head/eagle
Types 36–38, 42–44	Ptolemy/eagle
Type 39	Ptolemy/Berenice
Types 40–41	Jugate busts/jugate busts



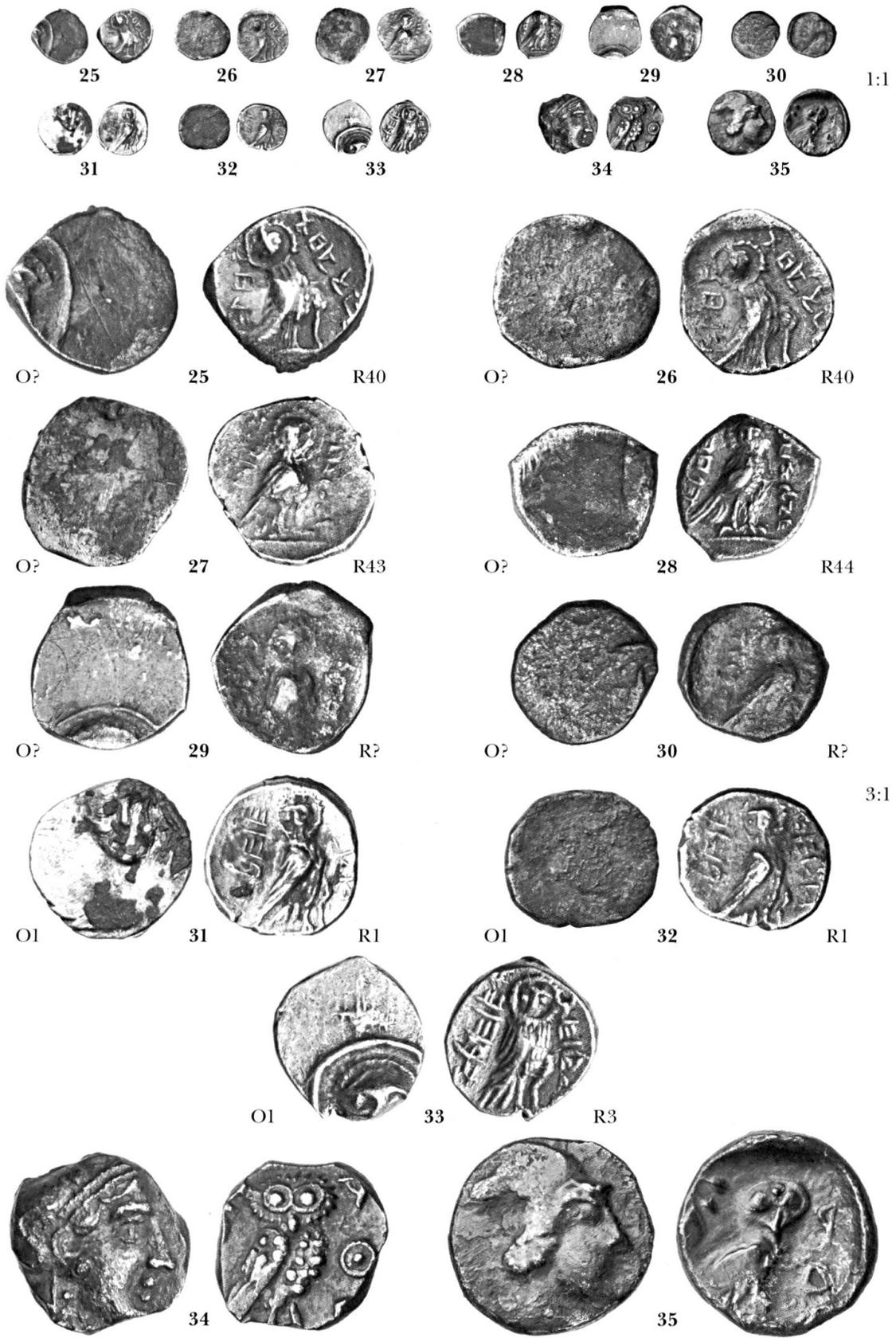
Haim Gitler, Catharine Lorber and Jean-Philippe Fontanille  
Two unrecorded hoards of Yehud coins of the second half of the fourth century BC





Haim Gitler, Catharine Lorber and Jean-Philippe Fontanille  
Two unrecorded hoards of Yehud coins of the second half of the fourth century BC





Haim Gitler, Catharine Lorber and Jean-Philippe Fontanille  
 Two unrecorded hoards of Yehud coins of the second half of the fourth century BC

