

A Silver Coin of Yoḥanan Hakkôhên¹

(Pls II-V)

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Sommaire : Une monnaie, actuellement conservée au Musée d'Israël, porte au droit une tête de face et au revers une chouette de type athénien. La légende du revers, en paléo-hébreu, est la suivante : *Yoḥanan hakkôhên*, « Yoḥanan le prêtre ». Dans les publications antérieures, on avait daté la monnaie de la dernière moitié du IV^e s. et on avait corrigé la liste des prêtres du livre de *Néhémie* en ajoutant un second Yoḥanan et un second Yaddua' (son fils) afin de tenir compte de cette monnaie. Cependant, en la comparant à des monnaies analogues de Samarie et de Cilicie, et en utilisant les données de deux trésors de Samarie, je propose de dater la monnaie de Yoḥanan de 378-368 av. J.-C. ; la liste des prêtres du livre de *Néhémie* n'a plus besoin d'être corrigée. Ce Yoḥanan (410 à environ 370) est celui qui est mentionné dans les *papyri* d'Eléphantine, et qui a tué son frère Jésus dans le Temple (Jos., *Ant.* 11 : 297-301).

A single extant silver coin may help to elucidate the history of Judah during the Persian period.² The coin (Pl. II, 1), now in the Israel Museum, is a quarter obol (0,16 g) with a facing head on the obverse and the Athe-

1. This paper would not have been possible without the guidance of A. M. Stahl, formerly of the ANS, and his numismatics seminar at the University of Michigan. It has also benefited greatly from comments by J. Elayi, A. Lemaire, B. Porten, and O. Casabonne on a previous draft. I thank them all. Any remaining errors are my own. I thank J. Bergman for his help with the photographs and M. Fried for his help with the graphs. I also thank L. H. Cole.

2. The coin has been published by D. Barag, « A Silver Coin of Yoḥanan the High Priest and the Coinage of Judea in the Fourth Century B.C. », *INJ* 9, 1986-87, pp. 4-21, pl. 1 ; *id.*, « A Silver Coin of Yoḥanan and the High Priest », *Qad.* 17, 1984, pp. 55-58 (Hebrew) ; *id.*, « Some Notes on a Silver Coin of Joḥanan the High Priest », *BA* 48, 1985, pp. 166-168.

nian owl to right facing front on the reverse.³ The reverse bears a legend in Paleo-Hebrew: on left, upwards *YWHNN*, on right, downwards, *KWHN*, Yoḥanan the priest. This is the only extant Persian period Judean coin which bears the title *hakkôhên*. The paper aims to date the coin, and so determine who this Yoḥanan was and when he lived.

The coin is nearly identical to seven other coins (Pl. II, 2-8) which bear the legend *YH̱ZQYH HPH̱H*, Yehizqiyah *happehāh*, Yehizqiyah the Governor, also in Paleo-Hebrew.⁴ In fact, it was originally mistaken as simply another Yehizqiyah coin.⁵ This governor is not known except from his coins.

Where was the coin minted ?

The prefixed article, *H*, « the », indicates the language is Hebrew.⁶ The Hebrew language suggests the coin was minted in Judah. The epigraphy suggests the fourth century. The phrase *HKWHN* the priest, indicates Yoḥanan was the high priest of the Temple of YHWH in Jerusalem.

When was the coin minted ?

As shown in Table 1, most investigators date the Yehizqiyah and the Yoḥanan coins to the third quarter of the fourth century, BCE. Barag, the initial publisher of the Yoḥanan coin, dates it to 345-343, the years when, according to him, Judah joined with Sidon and rebelled against Persia during the Tennes revolt, initiated by Tennes, king of Sidon.⁷ Mildenberg dates the Yehizqiyah and the Yoḥanan coins to 340 to 333, as does Machinist.⁸ They base this late date on the fact that four other coins (Pl. II, 9-12)

3. Y. Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins from the Persian Period to Bar Kochba*, Jerusalem 1997 (Hebrew), pp. 21-22, 173, plate 3, coin number 20; coins are numbered right to left. I thank Prof. Meshorer for permission to copy his plate. According to Barag, the coin weighs 0,16 g, and has a die axis of 10:00. According to Meshorer, the coin weighs 0,51 g with a die axis of 2:00. H. Gitler, Curator of Numismatics, The Israel Museum, assures me there is only one coin extant. He was kind enough to examine it for me. It weighs 0,16 g, and has a die axis of 3:00.

4. Meshorer, *ibid*, pp. 21-22, 173-74; pl. 3, Coins # 23a-h, 24. Six of the seven weigh between 0,20 and 0,28 g, the seventh is 0,14 g, it is more worn than the others, and the writing is not legible on it. I thank him for allowing me to copy the Judaean and Samaritan coins.

5. L. Mildenberg, « Yehud : A Preliminary Study of the Provincial Coinage of Judaea », in O. Mørkholm and N. M. Wagoner eds, *Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson*, Wetteren 1979, pp. 183-196, pls 21-22.

6. That is, not Aramaic.

7. D. Barag, « The Effects of the Tennes Rebellion on Palestine », *BASOR* 183, 1966, pp. 6-12; as well as the articles cited in n. 2. This date has been accepted recently by J. Schaper, *Priester und Leviten im achämenidischen Juda*, Tübingen 2000, pp. 155-56.

8. Mildenberg, *loc. cit.* (n. 5), see more recently, *id.*, « On the fractional Silver Issues in Palestine », *Trans* 20, 2000, pp. 89-100, pls VIII-XI; P. Machinist, « The First Coins of Judah

with Yehizqiyah's name on them do not have the title *HPHH*. The absence of title signifies to them a change in status, most likely effected by the transfer from Achaemenid to Macedonian rule in 333-331. Thus they date the four coins which bear Yehizqiyah's name without title to 331-312, and the ones with title to just before that. They consider the nearly identical Yoḥanan coin to be contemporaneous with them. Betlyon, on the other hand, dates the Yehizqiyah *happehāh* coins to 358-346, a period which he considers the reassertion of Persian authority following Judea's participation in the so-called Great Satraps' Revolt.⁹ These would have been minted until Judea joined the Tennes revolt in 346. Betlyon dates the Yoḥanan *hakkôhên* coin to the end of Persian rule, a period in which he believes the high priests exerted secular authority (335-333). Meshorer abstains from dating the coins except to the last half of the fourth century, but prior to the Macedonian invasion.¹⁰ Thus, scholars have dated the Yoḥanan coin from 350 to 333, the last years of Persian rule.

Table 1
Date of Coins Suggested by Various Authors

Coin Type	Barag	Mildenberg	Machinist	Betlyon	Meshorer	Fried
Yoḥanan Ha Kohen	345-343	340-333	340-333	335-333	350-333	378-368
Yehizqiyah Ha Peḥah		340-333	340-333	358-346	350-333	378-368
Yehizqiyah (without title)		331-312	331-312	358-346	350-333	368-333

Dating the coin from 350 to 333 implies that a Yoḥanan was high priest in Judah then, and that the Biblical text needs to be emended. Table 2 (Column 1) presents the list of high priests according to *Ne* 12:10,22: «Yešua was the father of Yoiakim, Yoiakim the father of Eliašib, Eliašib the father of Yoiada, Yoiada the father of Yoḥanan, and Yoḥanan the father of Yaddua».¹¹ According to *Ne* 12:22, this list is complete up until the time of Darius the Persian. There are three Persian kings named Darius. Darius I can be ruled out. The Biblical text places Yešua, the first

and Samaria : Numismatics and History in the Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Periods », in *AchHist* VI, Leiden 1991, pp. 365-380.

9. J. W. Betlyon, « The Provincial Government of Persian Period Judea and the Yehud Coins, » *JBL* 105, 1986, pp. 633-642.

10. Meshorer, *op.cit.* (n. 3), pp. 21-22.

11. The genealogy in *Ne* 12:10 actually reads Yonatan instead of Yoḥanan, contrary to *Ne* 12:22 where the list of high priests is given as « Eliašib, Yoiada, Yoḥanan, and Yaddua ».

high priest of the Restoration period and the first in the list, to the time of Darius I and Zerubbabel — 520 (*Za* 1:1, 3:1). Thus, the list in *Nehemiah* must continue until either Darius II or III. Eliašib, Yešua's grandson, is dated to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I (445) by the Biblical text (*Ne* 2:1, 3:1) and the Elephantine papyri (TADA 4.7-9).¹² Yoḥanan, Eliašib's grandson, is dated by the same papyri to 410 and Darius II (423-405). According to Cross, « unless the name of Darius in *Ne* 12: 22 is added by a late editor », Yoḥanan's son, Yaddua, was also high priest during the reign of Darius II, at the earliest by 405, the last year of his reign.¹³ That is, if *Nehemiah* was the author of his book, and was governor in 445, he could not have referred to Darius III who became king in 335, over one hundred years later. The Darius named in *Ne* 12: 22 would have to be Darius II.¹⁴

Josephus also discusses the high priests during Persian occupation. He lists them as Eliasib, Iodas his son, and Ioannes, the son of Iodas, corresponding to Eliašib, Yoiada, and Yoḥanan (*Ant.* XI 297).¹⁵ According to Josephus, this Yoḥanan was high priest during the time of the « other » Artaxerxes (*Ant.* XI 297), and Yaddua, his son, was high priest in the time

These are identical lists except that Yoḥanan replaces Yonatan. The two names look similar in Paleo-Hebrew script, and since a Yoḥanan is known from elsewhere, and no Yonatan is known among the high priests, I emend Yonatan in *Ne* 12:10 to Yoḥanan to conform to the list in 12:22, as does J. C. VanderKam, « Jewish High Priests of the Persian Period : Is the List Complete ? », in G. A. Anderson and S. M. Olyan, *Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel*, Sheffield 1991, pp. 67-91. Others argue for two separate lists (one including Yonatan and one Yoḥanan) neither of which is complete (e.g., J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, Philadelphia 1988, pp. 336-340 ; H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, Waco 1985, pp. 362-365). This issue will be discussed below.

12. TAD 4.7-9, dated to the 17th year of a King Darius, refers to a Yoḥanan the High Priest and to Delaiah and Shelemiah, sons of Sanballat governor of Samaria. It is assumed that this Sanballat is the one referred to in the book of *Nehemiah*, that he is now elderly, and that his sons have taken over his duties. According to the book of *Nehemiah*, we have a Sanballat who was governor, and an Eliašib, who was High Priest, during the reign of an Artaxerxes, and according to the letter, Sanballat's sons and Eliašib's grandson, Yoḥanan, were active during the reign of a Darius. This Darius must be either Darius II or the III (the only ones who ruled after an Artaxerxes). Only Darius II reigned long enough (19 years), so it must be Darius II, and the date of the letter is therefore November 25, 407. The only Artaxerxes who reigned before Darius II is Artaxerxes I (464-424), so he is the Artaxerxes of the book of *Nehemiah*.

13. F. M. Cross, « Aspects of Samaritan and Jewish History in Late Persian and Hellenistic Times », *HTR* 59, 1966, pp. 201-211 ; *id.*, « Papyri of the Fourth Century B. C. from Daliyeh », in D. N. Friedman and J. C. Greenfield eds, *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology*, Garden City 1971, pp. 45-69 ; *id.*, « The Papyri and Their Historical Implications », in P. W. Lapp and N. L. Lapp eds, *Discoveries in the Wādi ed-Dāliyah*, AASOR 41, 1974, pp. 4-18 ; *id.*, « A Reconstruction of the Judaean Restoration », *JBL* 94, 1975, pp. 4-18. See articles cited in note 11 for some criticism of Cross' theory.

14. Although scholars no longer assume *Nehemiah* wrote the entire book which bears his name, Cross' theory still has adherents.

15. Josephus' list of high priests supports the emendation of Yonatan to Yoḥanan.

of Alexander's conquest, 333 (*Ant.* XI 302). Because it is unlikely for Yaddua to have been high priest from 405 to 333, scholars conclude that some names must have dropped out of the Biblical text. Based on evidence of the phenomenon of papponymy in contemporaneous Samaritan papyri (in which the son is named after the grandfather), Cross suggests that a second Yoḥanan and Yaddua father-son pair were omitted from the Biblical list due to haplography. Most scholars concur, and assume one Yoḥanan, high priest in 410 (revealed in the Bible and the Elephantine papyri), and another toward the end of Persian rule (revealed in the coin and Josephus).¹⁶ Cross' emended list of high priests is shown in Table 2 (Column 2).

Table 2
List of High Priests

Biblical List of High Priests (Neh. 12:10, 22)	Emended List
Yešua – 520 (Zech. 1:1)	Yešua – 520 (Zech. 1:1)
Yoiakim	Yoiakim
Eliašib – 445 (Neh. 3:1)	Eliašib – 445 (Neh. 3:1)
Yoiada 429 (Neh. 13:28)	Yoiada 429 (Neh. 13:28)
Yoḥanan – 410 (Elephantine papyri TAD 4: 7-9)	Yoḥanan – 410 (Elephantine papyri TAD 4: 7-9)
	Yaddua (name omitted by haplography)
	Yoḥanan – 350 (his coin, name omitted by haplography)
Yaddua – 333 (Josephus, <i>Ant.</i> XI 302)	Yaddua – 333 (Josephus, <i>Ant.</i> XI 302)

The Cilician Coins

Some new evidence may shed light on the date of the coin, and on the date of Yoḥanan the Priest. The reverse of the Yoḥanan and Yehizqiyah coins is the familiar Athenian owl which often appears on the reverse of the Athenian tetradrachm. This owl is common to many coins of fourth-century Levant and does not help to date them.¹⁷ The obverse, however, appears to imitate the facing heads on the obverses of two issues of silver

16. That is, the scholars listed in Table 1 employ Cross' dating of high priests to date the coins.

17. *SNG-ANS : Palestine-South Arabia*, 1981, pls 1-2, #1-31, 51 ; H. Nicolet-Pierre, « Tétradrachmes athéniens en Transeuphratène », *Trans* 20, 2000, pp.107-119, pls XII-XIII. See references cited there.

staters from Cilicia (Pl. III, 1-7, and 8-12).¹⁸ These obverses are themselves derived from the famous Syracusan tetradrachm of Kimon (c. 405) that depicts the Syracusan nymph, Arethusa, on the reverse (Pl. IV).¹⁹ In other words, as Meshorer and Qedar note, « This coin type could be an imitation of an imitation ».²⁰ The reverses of the Cilician Arethusan coins (Pl. III, 1-12) depict the head of a bearded male with Attic helmet.²¹ They include various legends : *klk/hlk* (Cilicia) in Aramaic ; KIAIKION, of Cilicia, in Greek. Coins 1-7 also bear the title *prnbzw klk* (Pharnabazus Cilicia) in Aramaic ; or just *prnbzw*. Identical coins (Pl. III, 8-12) bear a different Aramaic legend now correctly read by Lemaire : *trkmw*, Tarkumuwa.²² The name may refer to the Hittite and Luvian storm god, Tarḫu, or Tarḫunt (TRK/H), to which is added the Luvian suffix -muwa (MW), « strong », meaning « Tarḫu is strong ». The name is also attested in Greek as Tarkomôs and Tarkimos. Pharnabazus is well-known from the ancient sources as a Persian general under Artaxerxes II (Diodorus XV 29 : 3ff). He was also Satrap of Daskyleion (Thucydides VIII:61 ; Xenophon, *Hell.* III:1, 10 ; *Anabasis*, VII, 8:25). Tarkumuwa, unknown from the Greek sources, may be the local Cilician name of Datames, known to have been general after Pharnabazus, or the name of a local Cilician dynast. Along with the staters (each weighing between 10 and 11 g), the two issues include many small denominations, ranging in weight from 0,17 to 0,95 g.²³

18. H. von Aulock, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland. Sammlung v. Aulock*, Berlin 1957, pls 200 and 201. My coins 1-7 are his coins 5916-5922, plate 200, all Pharnabazus. My coins 8-13 are his coins 5938-5943, plate 201, all Tarkumuwa. See also, E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, Vol/3, Paris 1907, pls 108-109 ; C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, London 1976, pp. 379-462 ; C. M. Harrison, *Coins of the Persian Satraps*, University of Pennsylvania, Ph. D. Dissertation, 1982, pp. 304-377 ; R. Moyses, « The Silver Stater Issues of Pharnabazos and Datames from the Mint of Tarsus in Cilicia », *ANSMN* 31, 1986, pp. 7-61, pls 1-5 ; G. Le Rider, « Le Monnayage Perse en Cilicie au IV^e siècle », *NAC* 26, 1997, pp. 151-167, pls 1-2 ; *id.*, *La naissance de la monnaie : Pratiques monétaires de l'Orient ancien*, Paris 2001, pp. 207-237 ; J. D. Bing, « Datames and Mazaeus : The Iconography of Revolt and Restoration in Cilicia », *Hist.* 46, 1998, pp. 41-76 ; P. Naster, « Les statères ciliciens de Pharnabaze et de Datame à types communs », *Numismatica Lovaniensia* 10, 1989, pp. 191-201, pl. 46.

19. N. K. Rutter, *The Greek Coinages of Southern Italy and Sicily*, London 1997, p. 146, with kind permission of author and publisher.

20. Y. Meshorer and S. Qedar, *The Coinage of Samaria in the Fourth Century BCE*, Jerusalem 1991, p. 41.

21. These have been referred to as the god Ares, e.g., Moyses, *loc. cit.* (n. 18), but this is disputed by O. Casabonne, personal communication, Dec. 30, 2001.

22. A. Lemaire, « Remarques à propos du monnayage cilicien d'époque perse et de ses légendes araméennes », *REA* 91, 1989, pp. 141-156 ; *id.*, « Recherches d'épigraphie araméenne en Asie Mineure et en Égypte et le problème de l'acculturation », in *AchHist VI*, Leiden 1991, pp. 203-205. See also, J. P. Six, « Le Satrape Mazaios », *NC* 4 (3rd Series), 1884, pp. 97-159, and C.M. Harrison, *op. cit.* (n. 18), pp. 332-336.

23. *BMC Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia*, London 1900 ; H. von Aulock, *SNG Deutschland. Sammlung v. Aulock*, Berlin 1957 ; D. R. Sear, *Greek Coins and Their Values, Vol. II : Asia and*

The name Pharnabazus in Greek (ΦΑΡΝΑΒΑΖC) also appears on the obverse (in retrograde) on three Samarian coins,²⁴ suggesting that the Samarian coins belonged to the same monetary system as the Cilician. Like many Cilician coins of Pharnabazus, these depict a male head with helmet on the obverse, and the forepart of a winged Pegasus with the name of the province *ŠMRN*, Shomron, in Aramaic, on the reverse. Two are obols, weighing 0,49 g and 0,65 g respectively ; the third is a hemiobol, weighing 0,25 g — all within the weight range of the smaller Cilician coins. Pharnabazus likely minted these coins in his role as *Karanos*, general, of the combined Persian armies of Cilicia, Philistia, Judea, and Samaria.²⁵ This would have been true of Tarkumuwa as well, since this combined army fought against Egypt throughout the reign of Artaxerxes II.²⁶ De Callataÿ estimates that the combined issues of Pharnabazus and Tarkumuwa would have been enough to maintain an army of 20,000 soldiers for 26 months with the new coins alone, and the smaller coins would have been required for the daily life of these soldiers.²⁷ Figure 1 compares the weights of the smaller Cilician coins (under 1 g) with the smaller Sama-

North Africa, London 1979 ; E. Levante, *SNG Switzerland 1 : Levante-Cilicia*, Berne 1986 ; *id.*, *SNG Paris 2. Cilicie*, Paris-Zürich 1993 ; T. Götürk, « Small Coins from Cilicia and Surroundings », in O. Casabonne éd., *Mécanismes et innovations monétaires dans l'Anatolie achéménide : Numismatique et Histoire*, Varia Anatolica XII, Paris 2000, pp. 144-151 ; A. Davesne, « Remarques sur le développement des monnaies divisionnaires d'argent en Cilicie », in Casabonne, *ibid.*, pp. 153-158.

24. Meshorer-Qedar, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 83, #1 and # 2. There are two examples of coin #1. All three coins are in private collections. The authors conclude (pp. 28-29) that the name refers to the Cilician satrap.

25. T. Petit, « Étude d'une fonction militaire sous la dynastie perse achéménide (Κάρναος : Xénophon, *Helléniques*, I, r, 3) », *EtCl* 51, 1983, pp. 35-45 ; A. Lemaire and H. Lozachmeur, « La Cilicie à l'époque perse, recherches sur les pouvoirs locaux et l'organisation du territoire », *Trans* 3, 1990, pp. 143-155, pl. XI ; Le Rider, *op. cit.* (n. 18), pp. 221-226 ; O. Casabonne, « Conquête perse et phénomène monétaire : l'exemple cilicien », in *id.*, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 21-91 ; F. De Callataÿ, « Les monnayages ciliciens du premier quart du IV^e s. av. J.-C. », in *ibid.*, pp. 93-127 ; *pace*, L. Miltenberg, « Artaxerxes III Ochus (358-338), A Note on the Malign King », *ZDPV* 115, 1999, pp. 201-227 ; *id.*, *loc. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 89-100, pls VIII-XI. Miltenberg refers to satrapal coinages ; that Pharnabazos minted coins not as satrap, but as *Karanos*, suggests a wider, more general monetary system.

26. J. Elayi, *Sidon, cité autonome de l'Empire perse*, Paris 1989, p. 173, suggests that the satrapal emission of Tissaphernes at Tarsus were likely destined to pay for the Phoenician army. This would be no less true of Pharnabazus and Tarkumuwa.

27. De Callataÿ, *loc. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 96-97 ; Davesne, *loc. cit.* (n. 23). The Cilician issue included from its inception the stater (11g, diminishing to 10.8 g), plus coins weighing a third (3.6 g) and a sixth (1.8 g) of a stater. The shekel played the role of the half-stater. Some decades later, perhaps at the time of Tiribazus, even smaller fractions were included ; 1/12th (= the obol, 0.9 g), 1/24th (= hemiobol, 0.45 g), 1/48th (= quarter obol, 0.22 g), *perhaps* 1/96th (= 1/8th obol, 0.11 g). All of these were struck at Tarsus as well as other cities. The diversity and abundance of strikes increased until the time of Mazday. The fact that there is no half-stater, but that the shekel took its place, suggests to Davesne that the entire monetary system was under the control of the central authorities, implemented by the satrap.

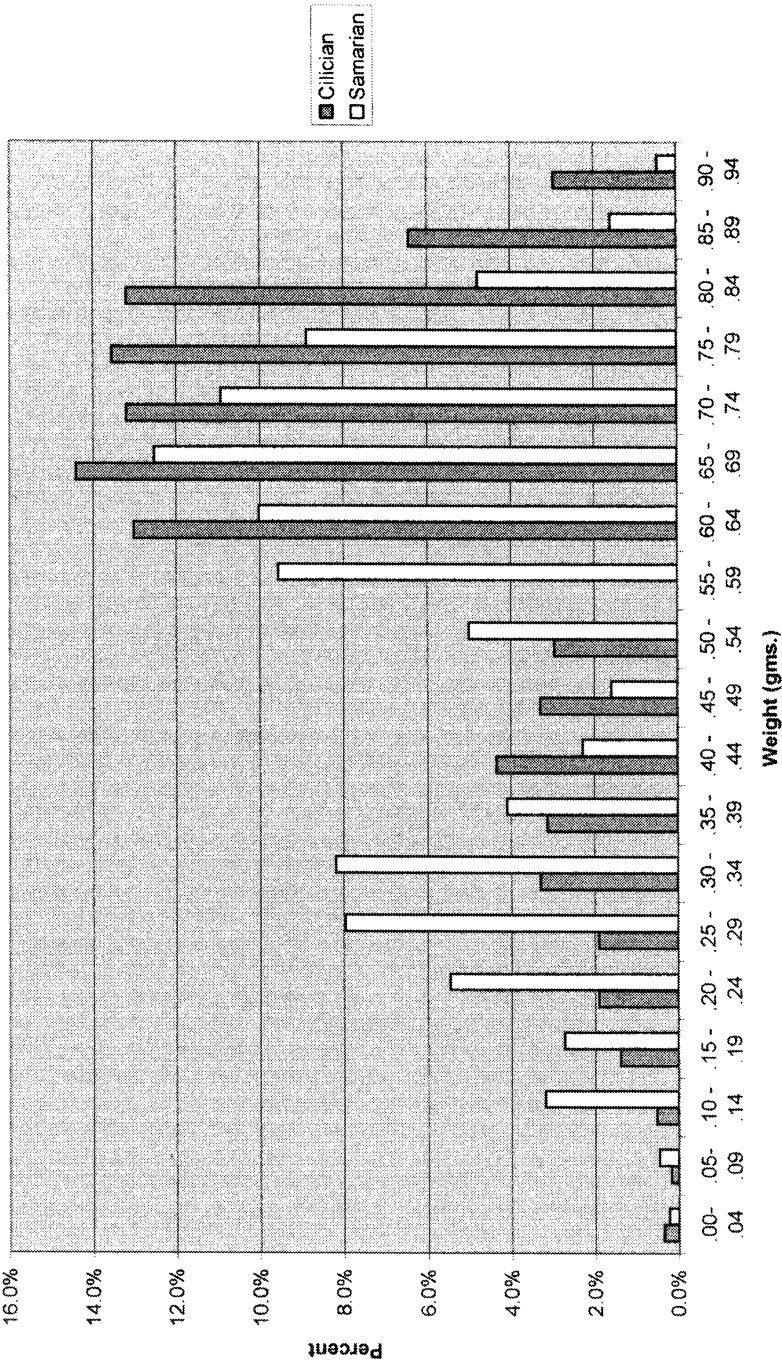


FIG. 1 : All Small Cilician and Samarian Coins

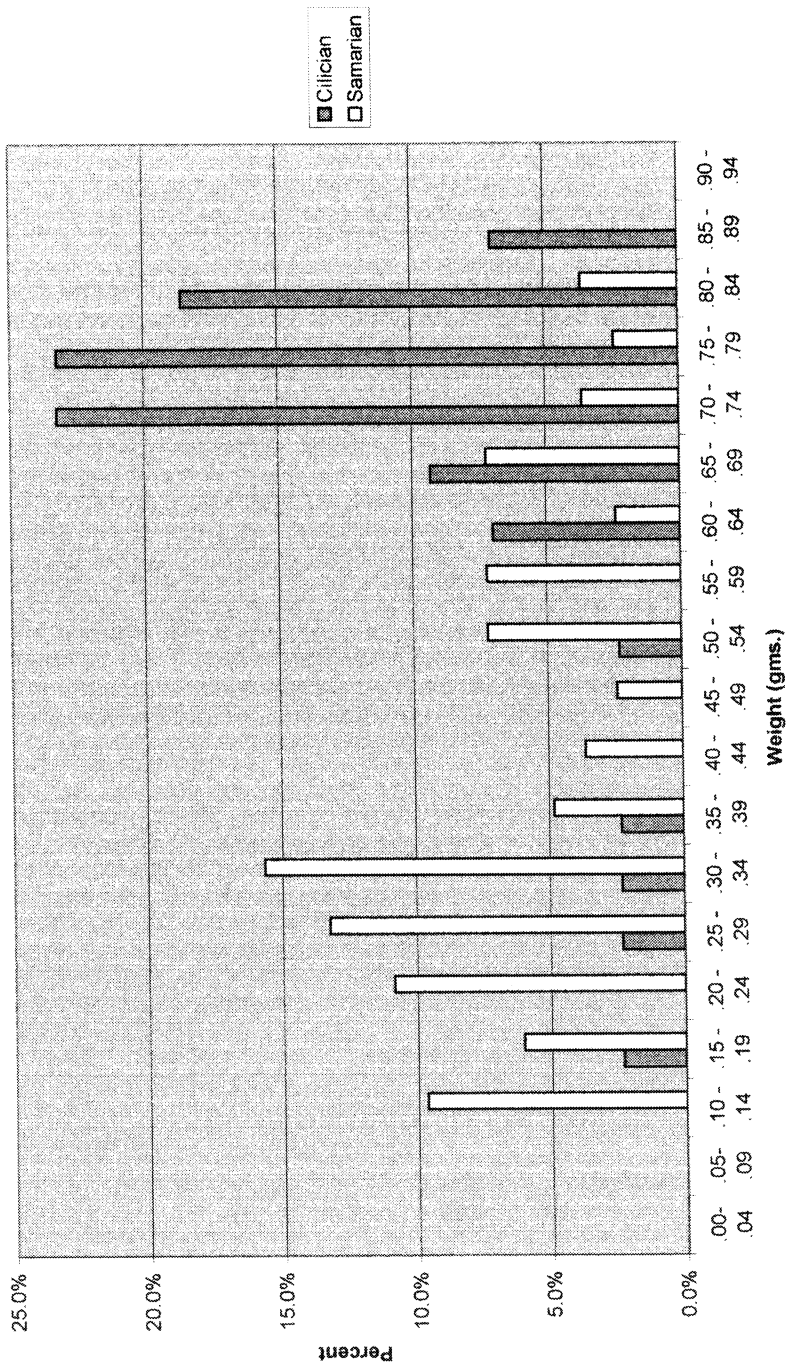


FIG. 2 : Small Cilician and Samarian Arethusan Coins

rian ones.²⁸ Figure 2²⁹ compares the smaller Cilician and Samarian Arethusan coins. Though tending to be lighter in weight, the Samarian coins are well within the weight range of the smaller Cilician ones, and many of the Samarian Arethusan coins depict on their reverse a male head facing left with Attic helmet, just like the Cilician (Pl. V, 1-3).³⁰ Moreover, several Cilician coins inscribed with the names Pharnabazus and Tarkumuwa also include the inscription « Beyond the River » in Aramaic.³¹ A common monetary system would have facilitated integration of the various regional forces.

If the Cilician and Samarian coins were part of the same monetary system and were meant to circulate together, they would have been minted at the same time. To date the Pharnabazus and Tarkumuwa Arethusan coins would be to date the Samarian ones. Yet to determine when the Cilician facing heads were minted requires some historical background. The treaty of 386 between the Greek cities and the Great King brought relative peace to Asia Minor and permitted Persia to turn its attention toward Egypt. From 386 onward, the Persians prepared to invade the delta. Isocrates (*Panegyrikos* 140), our only source, describes an attack against Egypt in 385-383 led by the combined forces of Abrokomas, Tithraustes, and Pharnabazus, the top generals of Artaxerxes II's army.³² The attack was futile, and the armies returned to Acco to regroup. Pharaoh Achoris' death in 380, and the succession of his son, Nephertites II, led to an uprising in Egypt against the new king. Very quickly, by the summer of 380, Nectanebo, son of Tachos, had defeated the forces of Nephertites, and

28. Data for the Cilician coins are from E. Babelon, *op. cit.* (n. 18), Vol 3; *BMC, Lycania, Isauria and Cilicia*, London 1900; Göktürk, *loc. cit.* (n. 23); E. Levante, *SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia*, Berne 1986; *id.*, *SNG France 2: Cabinet des Médailles-Cilicie*, Paris-Zürich 1993; Sear, *op. cit.* (n. 23). The coins include all Cilician coins under 1 gram up to the advent of Mazday. The Arethusan coins are all from Tarsus.

29. I thank my husband, M. Fried, for producing these graphs (figs 1-2).

30. Y. Meshorer and S. Qedar, *Samaritan Coinage*, Jerusalem 1999, pl. 12, nos 80-82; pl. 20, Coin 139. See also, *op. cit.* (n. 20), SH 71-143. Coins 144-153 show Arethusa on the obverse with a horse galloping left on the reverse. That there are fewer lighter Cilician coins than Samarian (and fewer lighter Samarian coins than Judean) may indicate significantly different standards of living in the three areas.

31. Meshorer-Qedar, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 20. *SNG Switzerland*, nos. 69-74, and 78-80. O. Casabonne, *loc. cit.* (n. 25), p. 57, notes that the Cilician coins are the only ones that carry Aramaic epigraphy. He suggests that the eastern part of Cilicia had always oriented itself toward Mesopotamia; so also A. Lemaire, « Remarques sur certaines légendes monétaires ciliciennes (v^e-iv^e s. av. J.-C.) », in Casabonne, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 129-141.

32. P. Briant, *Histoire de L'Empire Perse: De Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris 1996, p. 671; the dates are suggested by N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, I. Malden, Mass. 1992, p. 374. See also Harrison, *op. cit.* (n. 18), pp. 315-321; M. Weiskopf, *The So-Called 'Great Satraps' Revolt', 366-360 B. C.*, *Historia Einzelschr.* 63, Wiesbaden 1989; P. Debord, *L'Asie Mineure au iv^e siècle (412-323 a.C.): Pouvoirs et jeux politiques*, Bordeaux 1999. Abrokomas was based in Akko.

cemented his rule over Egypt.³³ Artaxerxes II determined to take the opportunity to reclaim Egypt as his own, perhaps to capitalize on the mayhem there. Preparations took 6 years, and it was not until spring of 373 that Artaxerxes sent an expedition against Nectanebo. The leaders of the army were then Pharnabazus and the outstanding Athenian general Iphicrates. They assembled an imposing fleet of 300 triremes and 200 30-oared vessels plus a huge army of 200,000 troops and 20,000 Greek mercenaries at Acco (Diodorus XV 41:3). In the spring of 373, the Persian force started out from Acco; the army marched along the shore while the fleet sailed along the coast (Diodorus XV 41:4). When they arrived in Egypt, they found that the time that they took to plan the attack and assemble the troops had permitted Nectanebo to prepare his country (Diodorus, XV, 41:5). Faced with strong Egyptian fortifications in the Delta, the Persian armies waited for further instructions from the King. When the Nile's flooding had made their Delta positions dangerous, the Persians retreated.

By 371, they were back in Acco, Pharnabazus was relieved of his command, and Datames was put in charge of the army (Nepos 14 3:3).³⁴ According to Nepos, Datames' biographer, Datames became Satrap of Cilicia after the death of his father Camisares.³⁵ If so, the Cilician coins after 371 would have been minted by Datames. Tarkumuwa, the name on the coins, would then be Datames' Cilician name, as suggested by Lemaire.³⁶ According to Diodorus, however, Datames' official satrapy was Cappadocia — not Cilicia (XV 91:2). Tarkumuwa, not known from elsewhere, would have been a native satrap of Cilicia according to this view.³⁷ Nepos and Diodorus agree that Datames revolted against the Great King, probably around 368. He remained in power until he was finally killed, around 360. Tarkumuwa is not listed as a participant of the Great Satraps' Revolt. The identity of Tarkumuwa, and whether or not he rebelled against the Great King, is not relevant to the purpose of this paper. Only the dates of his issues are relevant, and participation in the revolt will not be used to date his coins.

33. Again, the date is supplied by N. Grimal, *ibid.*, p. 375.

34. O. Casabonne suggests the army changed hands around 373/2: « De Tarse à Mazaka et de Tarkumuwa à Datames : D'une Cilicie à l'autre ? », in E. Jean, A. M. Dinçol and S. Durugönül eds, *La Cilicie : Espaces et pouvoirs locaux (2^e millénaire av. J.-C. - 4^e siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale d'Istanbul, 2-5 novembre 1999, Varia Anatolica XIII, 2001, pp. 243-263.

35. N. V. Sekunda, « Some Notes on the Life of Datames », *Iran* 26, 1988, pp. 35-53; Bing, *loc. cit.* (n. 18).

36. Lemaire, *loc. cit.* (n. 22) 1989. This is also argued by Sekunda, *ibid.*; Bing, *ibid.*; Debord, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 361, and J. Elayi and A. Lemaire, *Graffiti et contremarques ouest-sémitiques sur les monnaies grecques et proche-orientales*, Milan 1998, pp. 188-201.

37. This is the view taken by P. Briant, *op. cit.* (n. 33) and G. Le Rider, *op. cit.* (n. 18); and most recently O. Casabonne, *loc. cit.* (n. 34).

It is against this historical background that R. Moysey conducted a die-study of 124 Pharnabazus — and 307 Tarkumuwa — Arethusan staters (the latter Moysey attributes to Datames).³⁸ According to Moysey :

« Examination of 180 different surviving obverses of these two issues [one by Pharnabazus and one by Tarkumuwa/Datames] shows that only two obverses were used to mint staters with both Pharnabazus and Datames reverse dies. The fact that there is no further overlapping suggests the two satraps minted separately, not concurrently... Moreover, one of the two obverse dies was broken at the nymph's chin. The two coins minted with this obverse die by Pharnabazus indicate that the break had begun, but the rest of the die is in relatively good condition. The five coins minted by Datames with the same die show progressive deterioration of the die until, in the latest example, the outer perimeter of the die is also broken ».³⁹

Other factors support the theory that Tarkumuwa's coins follow immediately upon those of Pharnabazus'. In the Karaman hoard (*IGCH* 1244), Mørkholm notes that « all the coins of Datames (= Tarkumuwa) look quite new and fresh, » while the coins of Pharnabazus showed varying degrees of wear.⁴⁰ In averaging all the Arethusan staters from various hoards and collections, Moysey finds a small drop in average weight in the coins of the two men (10,60 g to 10,50 g), suggesting the Tarkumuwa Arethusan issues followed those of Pharnabazus.

Moysey suggests Pharnabazus' earliest coins are those of Herakles with lion headdress on the obverse and head of Aries in Attic helmet on the reverse.⁴¹ These bear the legend *klk* or *h̄lk* (Aramaic) or *KIAIKION* (Greek), but no personal name. He dates these from 385-383 when Pharnabazus shared command with Tithraustes and Abrokomas and no single personal name would have been appropriate. They likely were minted to fund the first expedition against Egypt. Moysey suggests that Pharnabazus' coins were minted under his own name only from 378 when he took solitary command of the Persian army. They continued until he was ousted in 371, upon the failure of his 373-371 expedition in Egypt. Pharnabazus' issues comprise Arethusan and Ba'al Tarsus obverses both with the helmeted head of a warrior on the reverse.

Datames was given charge of the Persian army in 371 after Pharnabazus' ouster (Nepos XIV 3:5). Whether or not Tarkumuwa is Datames, the period of die overlap in the coins between his and Pharnabazus' doubtless

38. Moysey, *loc. cit.* (n. 18).

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

41. R. Moysey, *ibid.* (p. 10) seems to describe an Arethusan coin under this rubric, but elsewhere (in his Table, p. 16, and in the Catalog, pp. 30ff), he describes it as Herakles with lion headdress.

occurred in 371, when Pharnabazus was relieved of his duties. The Cilician coins of Tarkumuwa begin at this point and continue until coins begin to be minted with the mint mark of Mazday, governor (ἄρχων) of Cilicia (Diodorus XVI 41:2). Mazday did not use the Arethusan facing head on his coins.⁴² Dates of 362-360 are usually given for the beginning of Mazday's rule in Cilicia, but this is based on the assumption that Tarkumuwa is Datames, and that Datames was killed at this time.⁴³ This is not unreasonable, however. Elayi has shown that Mazday minted coins in Sidon with his initials on them for 21 years. Assuming that his control must have ended in 333 with the Alexandrian conquest, it must have begun in 354.⁴⁴ Diodorus tells us that he served as governor of Cilicia before he extended his rule to include the satrapy of Beyond the River. He could have been appointed in Cilicia as early as 362 at the end of the satrapal disturbances, or as late as 358 when Artaxerxes III became king, as suggested by Debord.⁴⁵ On the other hand, it is also possible that he took control of Cilicia and Beyond the River at the same time, in 354. In the latter case, Tarkumuwa's coins would have been in use until then.

The similarity of the Samarian coins to the Cilician Arethusan ones suggest they were minted in the same period, the years when Pharnabazus (385-371) and Tarkumuwa (371-361/354) were minting theirs. The dates can be narrowed further. The Pharnabazus Ba'al Tarsus and Arethusan coins with the reverse legend *Parnabazu* likely originated during the Egyptian expedition when Pharnabazus was in sole command of the Persian armies (378-373). Tarkumuwa also minted two other issues in addition to the Arethusan. Both show the seated Ba'al of Tarsus on the obverse, but Moysey notes this obverse differs from those of Pharnabazus and is similar to those of Mazday who followed as Governor of Cilicia. One of the reverses is unique among satrapal issues, according to Moysey.⁴⁶ As shown in Plate III, Coin 13 depicts two male figures standing within a rectangle likely meant to portray a temple. On the left is a bearded nude Greek-looking divinity making a pointing gesture with his upraised right arm toward a semi-draped standing male figure in Greek attire. The latter, identified as Tarkumuwa, raises his right hand to his chin in a gesture of submission. The figure on the left is the god Anu ('N').⁴⁷

42. Lemaire-Lozachmeur, *loc. cit.* (n. 25), p. 148; L. Mildenberg, « Notes on the Coin Issues of Mazday », *INJ* 11, 1990-91, pp. 9-23.

43. The date most often suggested is 360; it is not certain, but likely. See Six, *loc. cit.* (n. 22); Weiskopf, *loc. cit.* (n. 32), p. 97.

44. Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 218-219.

45. Debord, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 414.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

47. Lemaire, *loc. cit.* (n. 22), identifies him with the Babylonian sky-god Anu, and suggests it indicates the Mesopotamian influence on Cilicia, as does the presence of the god Nergal, Babylonian god of the underworld, who also appears on many Cilician coins.

Moysey finds these are lighter than the Arethusan coins, and argues based on this and on historical considerations that they were minted later, probably from 368- 361.⁴⁸ He suggests that the Arethusan coins of Pharnabazus and Tarkumuwa/Datames should then be dated to 378-368. This would place the Samarian Arethusan issues to 378-368 as well. Davesne disagrees, and argues that only the Ba'al Tarsus (called Baaltars) coins were minted in Tarsus and that the Arethusan coins were minted concurrently in another Cilician city.⁴⁹ If so, the date of the Arethusan coins cannot be narrowed beyond 378-354, that is, from Pharnabazus' sole rule until the advent of Mazday.

Evidence from two Samarian hoards may help to decide between the hypotheses of Moysey (378-368) and those of Davesne (378-354). The first hoard, maintained intact in a pottery jar, included 182 coins from the mint of Samaria, 43 from Sidon, 32 from Tyre, 11 from Arvad, 66 imitations of Athenian prototypes, and several pieces of jewelry.⁵⁰ The Samarian coins included a large number with the Arethusan head on the obverse and male head in Attic helmet on the reverse (SH coin numbers 71-143). There are no coins from Mazday (354-333). The coins from Tyre and Sidon in the hoard are dated to Years 1, 2, etc., with the latest being Year 14. The Sidonian coins with year dates bear the inscription 'B, the initials of the Sidonian king 'Abd'āstart I. Coins minted with this king's initials are dated to this king's regnal years, not those of Artaxerxes III, as suggested by Meshorer and Qedar.⁵¹ Elayi and Elayi agree that this is the most recent datable coin in the hoard, but the date of this king is disputed. According to Betlyon, the fourteenth year of this king would be 361, according to Elayi and Elayi, it is around 355.⁵² This date, then, either 361

48. Moysey argues the Ba'al Tarsus coins of Tarkumuwa were those Datames minted to fund his revolt in 368-361. He argues they indicate the iconography of revolt. See also Bing, *loc. cit.* (n. 18). This has been disputed by O. Casabonne, « Notes Ciliciennes », *Anatolia Antiqua* 5, 1997, pp. 35-43 ; *id.*, « Présence et influence perses en Cilicie à l'époque achéménide », *Anatolia Antiqua* 4, 1996, pp. 121-145 ; Le Rider, *op. cit.* (n. 18).

49. A. Davesne, « La circulation monétaire en Cilicie à l'époque achéménide », *REA* 91, 1989, pp. 157-168.

50. Meshorer-Qedar, *op. cit.* (n. 20). The Phoenician coins from this hoard are discussed in J. Elayi and A. G. Elayi, *Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes et circulation monétaire (V^e-IV^e siècles avant J.-C.)*, Paris 1993, pp. 218-231.

51. Pace, Meshorer-Qedar, *ibid.* A. Lemaire, « Les formules de datation en Palestine au premier millénaire avant J.-C. », in *Proche-Orient ancien ; temps vécu, temps pensé*, Antiquités Sémitiques 3, 1998, pp. 53-82 ; as has already been asserted by Elayi and Elayi, *ibid.*, pp. 229-231.

52. J. W. Betlyon, *The Coinage and Mints of Phoenicia : The Pre-Alexandrine Period*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 26, Chico 1982, pp. 11-14. Betlyon only assigns him twelve regnal years, but coins dated to the 14th year of this king suggests this should be revised. His dates must be 374 – 361. There are two other Sidonian kings with these initials, 'Abd'āstart II (342-339) and 'Abd'āstart III (340-332) but none had reigns long enough. Cf. Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.*

or 355, would have been when the hoard was buried. These dates are confirmed by the fact that there are no coins in the hoard from the last three Sidonian kings (Tennes, ʿAbdʿaštart II, ʿAbdʿaštart III).⁵³ The Elayi place the oldest coin in the hoard to the end of the Vth century.⁵⁴ The Samaritan Arethusan coins in the hoard appear quite worn relative to the late Sidonian and other Samaritan coins, supporting Moysey's hypothesis that the Arethusan coins were not minted after 368.

A second Samaritan hoard, the ex-Nabulus hoard (Hoard No. 1504 in *IGCH*), may help further to date the Arethusan issues. There are no Arethusan heads in the ex-Nabulus hoard, but a Samaritan imitation of the Anu-Tarkumuwa Cilician coin does occur in it (Pl. V, 4; another one appears in a private collection).⁵⁵ The reverse of these coins displays two standing male figures enclosed in a shrine or temple facing each other. The figure on the left is stretching out his arm, the figure on the right raises his right hand to his chin. Elayi and Elayi date the earliest Phoenician coin in this hoard to the end of the reign of Baʿalšillem II, around 372/368.⁵⁶ They date the latest to the last year of Mazday, 333.⁵⁷ The ex-Nabulus hoard was probably buried around 333/2, at the time of the Macedonian invasion.⁵⁸ The lack of Arethusan heads in the hoard and the presence of the Anu-Tarkumuwa imitation confirms Moysey's hypothesis that the Arethusan coins preceded the Anu-Tarkumuwa coins in Cilicia, with probably no overlap among them. This suggests a date not after 368, and between 378 and 368 for the Arethusan coins, both in Cilicia and in Samaria.

The Judean Arethusan coins can be dated by the framework provided by the Samaritan ones. A comparison of the weights of the Judean and Samaritan coins suggests they were also part of the same monetary system, and were meant to circulate together. Figure 3 compares all the known Persian-period Judean coins to the Samaritan ones. Figure 4 compares the Samaritan Arethusan coins to the Judaeen ones. The Samaritan and Judaeen Arethusan coins were likely minted at the same time (378-368)

(n. 50), p. 230; Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 245-248. I thank J. Betlyon for examining the photographs of the Phoenician coins in the Samaritan hoard.

53. Betlyon, *ibid.* Elayi and Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 51) consider the last three Sidonian kings to be Tennes, Evagoras, and ʿAbdʿaštart II.

54. Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 50), p. 229.

55. Meshorer-Qedar, *op. cit.* (n. 30), pl. 20, Coin # 134. A similar coin, from the collection of Gil Chaya, Geneva, and cannot be independently dated. Meshorer and Qedar, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 47, note the similarity of that coin to the Anu issue of Tarkumuwa and state that « the two figures... obviously imitate the two figures on the coins of Datames » (=Tarkumuwa).

56. Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 50), pp. 231-239; Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 248; Betlyon, *op. cit.* (n. 52), pp. 9-11.

57. Elayi-Elayi, *ibid.*, p. 239.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

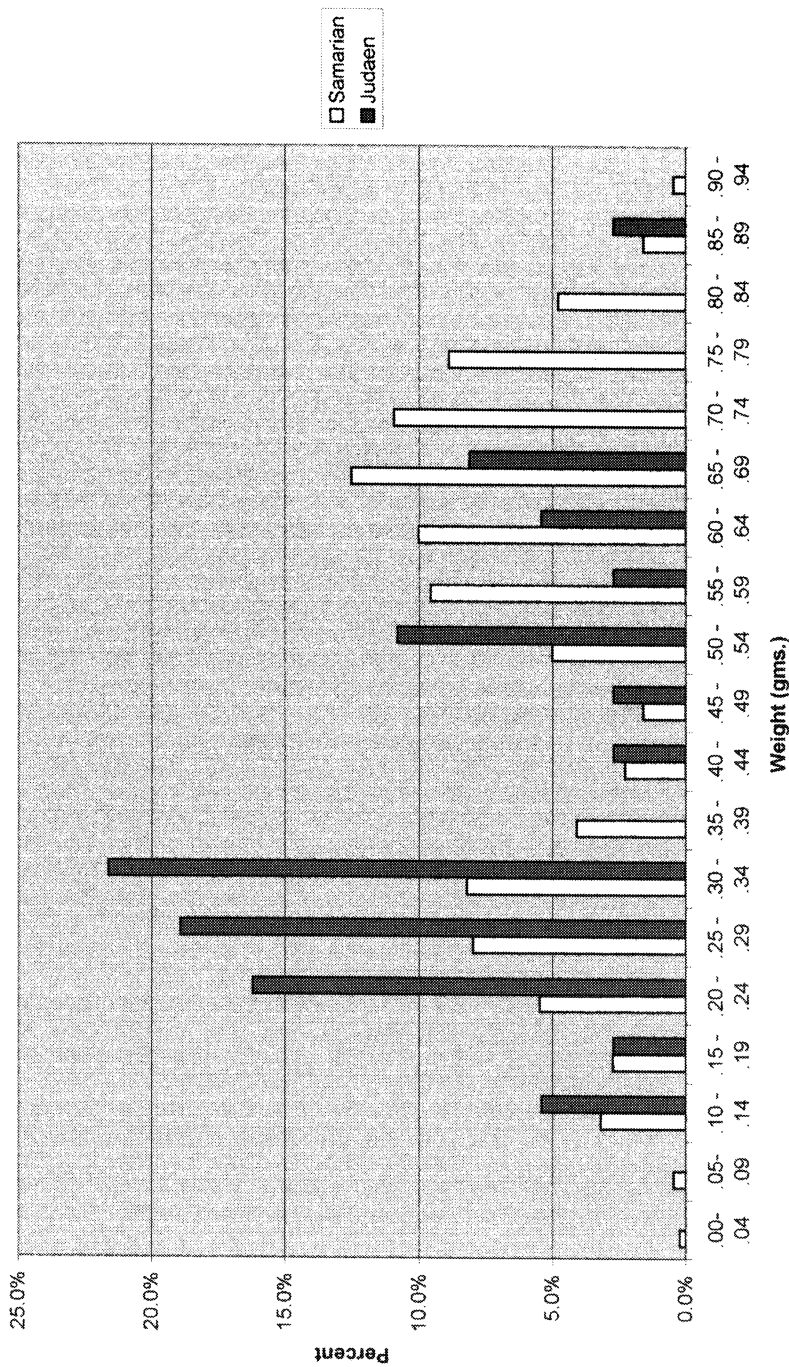


FIG. 3 : Small Samarian and Judean Coins

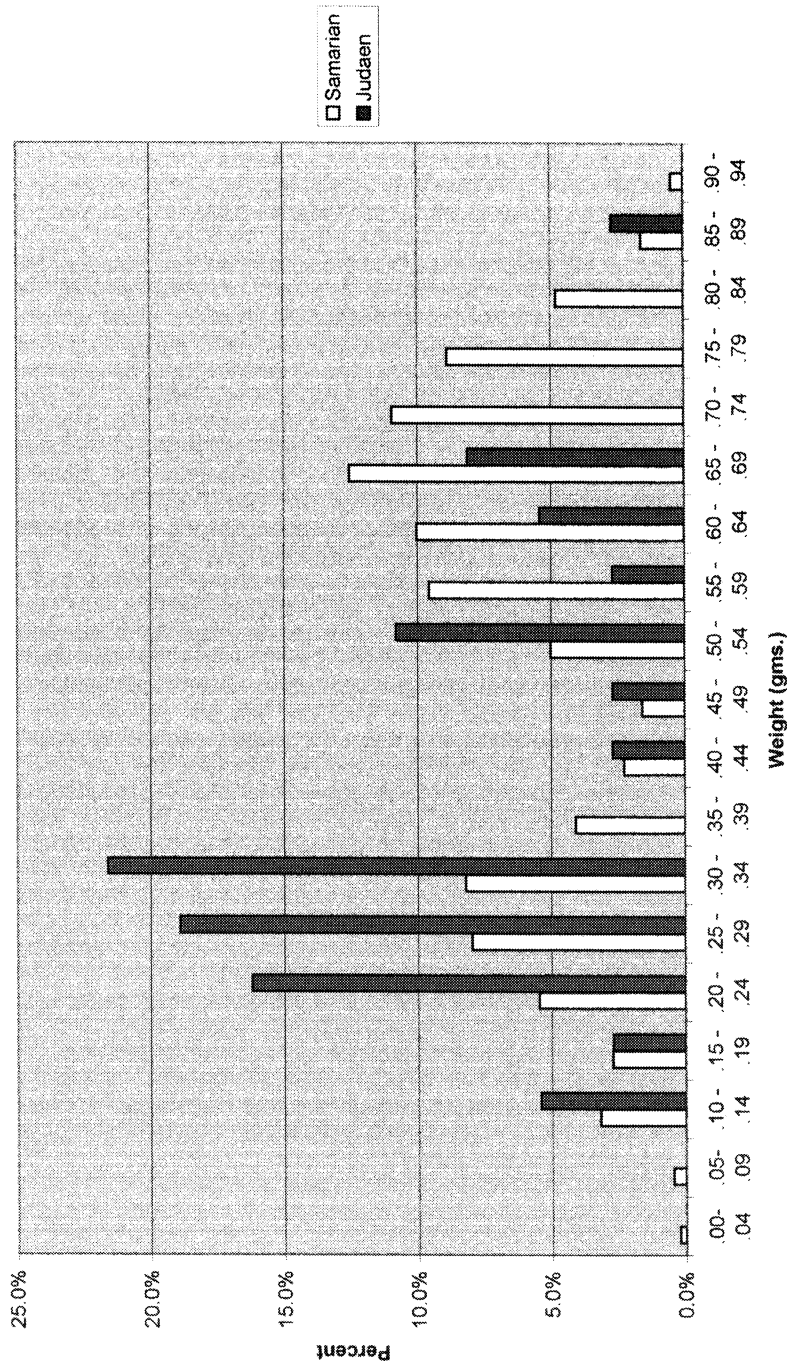


FIG. 4 : Small Samaritan and Judean Arethusan Coins

and for the same reason the Cilician coins were — to raise money for the campaign against Egypt. Ships and battalions were gathered at Acco, and men from Judea and Samaria would have been recruited.⁵⁹ Local coinage would have defrayed local costs.

The date suggested for the Yehud Arethusan coins means that Yoḥanan was high priest and Yehizqiyah was governor sometime between 378 and 368. In addition to the seven Yehizqiyah Arethusan coins, four more Yehud coins bear the governor's name (Pl. II, 9-12). This makes 11 separate die pairs for Yehizqiyah, one-fourth of the extant Persian period Yehud coins. His four non-Arethusan coins employ strong Achaemenid motifs on the reverse, *i.e.*, winged beasts, three with heads of a horned lion, and one with the head of the Persian king with beard. These four were likely minted after the Arethusan issues, *i.e.*, after c. 368. They exhibit a strong Persian presence. Evidence is not sufficient to suggest an end date, they may have been minted up to the Macedonian conquest. Yehizqiyah may have been the last governor of Judah as has been suggested by several investigators (see Table 1). He may have been governor from 378 to 333, 45 years. The long reign is consistent with his relatively large number of issues. The absence of the title *happehāh* on the last Yehizqiyah coins does not suggest a Macedonian date. There are many Samaritan coins from the ex-Nablus hoard bearing the names of known Samaritan governors; none appears with title. This similarity to coins in the Nablus hoard places these coins to the last years of the Persian period; it does not require a date beyond it.

The proposed date of the Yoḥanan ha Kohen coin suggests Yoḥanan was priest sometime between 378 and 368. Little more can be said from the coin alone; literary data must be invoked to determine who he was and when he officiated. A high priest named Yoḥanan is well-attested in the Biblical texts, the Elephantine papyri, and Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*.

Who was Yoḥanan hakkôhên ?

According to *Nehemiah* 12:22 the priests of the Persian Empire, down to « Darius the Persian », were Eliašib, Yoiada (Yehoiada), Yoḥanan, and Yaddua. As discussed above, most scholars assume this to be Darius II (423-405) and not Darius III (335-331), the last Persian king.⁶⁰ Eliašib was high priest when *Nehemiah* arrived in Jerusalem in 445 (*Ne* 3:1). Nehe-

59. For a discussion of Achaemenid military policy, see P. Briant, « Contrainte militaire, dépendance rurale et exploitation des territoires en Asie achéménide », *Index* 8, 1978-79, reprinted in *Rois, tributs et paysans*, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 269, 1982, pp. 175-125.

60. E.g., Barag, *loc. cit.* (n. 2), p. 11; Cross, see articles cited in note 13.

miah left Jerusalem to go to the king in 432 (*Ne* 13:6,7), and returned perhaps after three years (the probable stay abroad of Arsames, the Persian satrap). Nehemiah describes the state of affairs he found at his return (*Ne* 13:28), « And one of the sons of Yehoiada son of Eliašib the high priest married [the daughter of] Sanballat the Horonite, and I removed him from me. » The usual translation of this verse is « One of the sons of Yehoiada, son of the high priest Eliašib... »⁶¹ It is equally possible to read, « One of the sons of Yehoiada, the high priest, son of Eliašib. »⁶² According to the latter interpretation, Yehoiada was high priest some time after 432, when Nehemiah returned from Babylon. Eliašib may have already been elderly in 445 when Nehemiah arrived; we hear no more of him. Yehoiada may have been high priest from shortly after Nehemiah's arrival until Yoḥanan, his son, succeeded him. When would that have been?

As stated above, a high priest named Yehoḥanan is known from an archive found on the Nile Island of Elephantine. A letter (TAD A4.7) was sent in 407 from the Jewish garrison there « to our lord Bagavahya, governor of Judah (*pht yhwd*). » The letter states that the garrison had sent a letter three years before to Bagavahya and to Yoḥanan the high priest (*khn' rb'*) and his colleagues the priests (l. 17-18), a letter which had gone unanswered. Thus, a Yoḥanan was high priest in Jerusalem in 410, probably the beginning of his term. According to the biblical text, he was the son of Yehoiada, who would have been high priest sometime between 445 and 410. The Jewish garrison at Elephantine must have thought Yoḥanan had some secular authority, because they appealed to him for help against Persian officials in Egypt. The answer came only after three years – not from Yoḥanan, but from Bagavahya and Delaiah, governors of Judah and Samaria respectively. Yoḥanan's failure to respond may indicate the high priest had no secular authority to intervene. Or, it may reflect a power struggle between Yoḥanan and Bagavahya early in both their careers. Such a power struggle is suggested by Josephus (*Ant.* 11:297) :

« On the death of the high priest Eliasib, his son Jōdas (Ἰώδαζ/Yehoiada) succeeded him in the high priesthood. And, when he also died, Jōannēs (Ἰωάννης/Yoḥanan), who was his son, assumed this office; it was through him that Bagōsēs, the general of the other Artaxerxes (Βαγῶσης ὁ στρατηγός τοῦ ἄλλου Ἀρταξέρξου) defiled the sanctuary and imposed tribute on the Jews, so that before offering the daily sacrifices they had to pay from the public treasury fifty drachmae for every lamb. The reason for this was the following happening.

61. So the NRSV.

62. This is recognized by many commentaries, e.g., Blenkinsopp, *op. cit.* (n. 11), *ibid.*; Williamson, *op. cit.* (n. 11), *ibid.*

Jōannēs had a brother named Jēsūs (Yehošua), and Bagōsēs, whose friend he was, promised to obtain the high priesthood for him. With this assurance, therefore, Jēsūs quarreled with Jōannēs in the temple, and provoked his brother so far that in his anger he killed him... Now when Bagōsēs, the general of Artaxerxes, learned that Jōannēs, the high priest of the Jews, had murdered his own brother Jēsūs in the temple, he at once set upon the Jews... Bagōsēs made the Jews suffer seven years for the death of Jēsūs.⁶³

Scholars question whether the Jōannēs and Bagōsēs in Josephus refer to the Yoḥanan and Bagavahya of the Elephantine papyri.⁶⁴ Williamson suggests they are not the same, even if the same names lie behind both renditions. He argues that Josephus had a reliable source for the incident but misinterpreted it.⁶⁵ The phrase « the other Artaxerxes » refers literally to Artaxerxes II (404-358), but according to Williamson, Josephus may not have known there were several Artaxerxes and conflated them.⁶⁶ Moreover, Josephus' Bagōsēs cannot be the Bagavahya of the papyri because the Bagavahya in the papyri is called *pehāh*, governor, whereas Josephus calls Bagoses a military officer, στρατηγός. Williamson argues that another Bagoses, a Persian general of Artaxerxes III, a vicious eunuch (Diodorus XVII : 3), better fits Josephus' source. Following Cross, he argues for supplementing the Biblical high priest list with another Yoḥanan-Yaddua pair who would have been high priests during the time of Artaxerxes III (358-338).⁶⁷

It is likely, however, that Bagavahya was both governor of Yehud and military στρατηγός. In fact, it was common, if not obligatory, for governors and satraps to go to battle, and to lead a contingent of troops at the king's command.⁶⁸ The Achaemenid Empire was in a constant state of war or preparation for war. The Great King had to be ready to deploy huge armies anywhere in its realm — at little cost. There were conquests and rebellions, satrapal revolts, dynastic struggles, attacks from Greek cities. The satrap's major responsibility was to maintain an organized battalion which could respond immediately at the command of the king. The governor Bagavahya would have had to lead a contingent in his satrap's army.

63. This is the translation of R. Marcus, of the Loeb Classical Library.

64. For a discussion of the issues, see L. L. Grabbe, « Who Was the Bagoses of Josephus (*Ant.* 11.7.1, # 297-301) ? », *Trans* 5, 1992, pp. 49-61.

65. H. G. M. Williamson, « The Historical Value of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* XI. 297-301 », *JTS* 28, 1977, pp. 49-66 ; *id.*, « The Governors of Judah under the Persians », *TynB* 39, 1988, pp. 59-82.

66. There are actually four Artaxerxes. The Persian king Arsēs (335-333) took the throne name Artaxerxes IV.

67. This is also argued by Schaper, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 158, fn. 165.

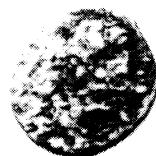
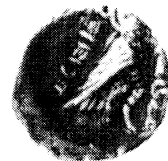
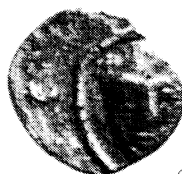
68. See my « Political Struggle in Fifth Century Judah », *Trans* 24, 2002, pp. 9-21, for discussion and bibliography.

The coin minted with the name Yoḥanan indicates a Yoḥanan was high priest sometime between 378-368. If so, he was likely the same Yoḥanan who was high priest in 410. There is no reason to doubt a period in office of forty years for a high priest. Nor is there reason to add other high priests named Yoḥanan to the Biblical high priest list. This Yoḥanan would have been the one who killed his brother Yešua^c in the Temple. In 410, when Yoḥanan was high priest, the Persian governor of Yehud was Bagavahya (*i.e.*, Bagohi or Bagoses), known from the Elephantine papyri. This Bagavahya would have been the Bagoses who placed the surtax on the temple priesthood in response to the murder. If Yoḥanan was high priest from 410 to 370, it is entirely likely that his son Yaddua was high priest until the Macedonian conquest, from 370 to 333. It would have been this Yaddua who welcomed Alexander to Jerusalem (*Ant.* XI: 326). The list of priests in *Ne* 12:22 is complete up to Darius the Persian, that is, Darius III, and was concluded not by Nehemiah, but by an editor writing during the Hellenistic period.

If Yoḥanan obtained secular control for the priesthood, it did not outlast himself. He may have seized power while Bagavahya was away fighting in the campaigns against Egypt, and demonstrated it both by murdering his brother, Bagavahya's favorite, and by minting some coins with his name on it. His authority was short-lived and illusory. The coins of Yehizqiyah *happehāh* indicate that Yehizqiyah became governor after Bagavahya, also sometime between 378-368, and held it until the advent of Alexander the Great. Secular control quickly reverted into the hands of Persia.⁶⁹

69. A. Spaer, « Jaddua the High Priest ? », *Israel Numismatic Journal* 7, 1986, pp. 1-3, suggests that a coin with the proto-Aramaic inscription YDW^c was minted by a Judaeen High Priest in the first half of the fourth century, a priest whose name had dropped out of the list of priests due to haplography. Meshorer has since concluded that these Yaddua^c coins are Samaritan. Meshorer states (personal communication) : « Except for the coin published by Spaer and myself, there [are three others]. All come from Samaria... Not only the provenience, but the 'fabric' is decisive. (I wish it were Jerusalem but it is definitely not) ».

Pl. II



PL. IV

