

BEYOND CYPRUS:

INVESTIGATING CYPRIOT CONNECTIVITY IN THE
MEDITERRANEAN FROM THE LATE BRONZE AGE
TO THE END OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

Edited by Giorgos Bourogiannis

AURA SUPPLEMENT 9

ΣΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΩΝ AURA 9

ATHENS
UNIVERSITY
REVIEW OF
ARCHAEOLOGY

This volume was published as part of the research project “Cypriot Connectivity in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Classical Period” (acronym CyCoMed). CyCoMed was hosted by the Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, and was implemented in 2018–2022 within the framework of the programme “Hellenic World and the East” of the Section of Greek and Roman Antiquity. CyCoMed was funded by the Hellenic Foundation for Research and Innovation (HFRI) and the General Secretariat for Research and Innovation (GSRI), under grant agreement no. 481.



INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION



H.F.R.I.
Hellenic Foundation for
Research & Innovation



**GENERAL SECRETARIAT FOR
RESEARCH AND INNOVATION**

Cover: CyCoMed Project logo, created by the Post-Spectacular Office.

ISSN: 2732-9267 (printed edition)

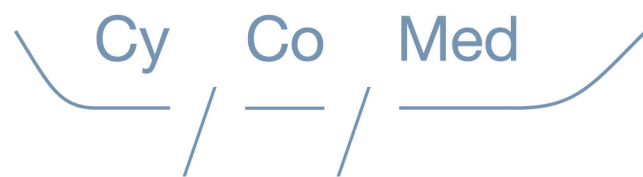
ISSN: 2732-9275 (digital edition)

ISBN: 978-618-85619-7-7 (printed edition)

ISBN: 978-618-85619-8-4 (digital edition)

BEYOND CYPRUS:
INVESTIGATING CYPRIOT CONNECTIVITY IN THE
MEDITERRANEAN FROM THE LATE BRONZE AGE
TO THE END OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

Edited by Giorgos Bourogiannis



Cypriot Connectivity in the Mediterranean

ATHENS 2022

AURA SUPPLEMENT 9 • ΣΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΩΝ AURA 9

EDITORS • ΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ

Konstantinos Kopanias • Yiannis Papadatos

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD • ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ

Georgios Vavouranakis • Yannis Galanakis • Georgia Kourtessi-Philippakis

Eleni Mantzourani • Christos Doumas • Diamantis Panagiotopoulos

Eleftherios Platon • Naya Polychronakou-Sgouritsa • Arnulf Hausleiter

Panagiotis Kousoulis • James Osborne • Panos Valavanis

Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos • Pavlina Karanastasi • Stylianos Katakis

Eurydice Kefalidou • Georgia Kokkorou-Alevras • Antonis Kotsonas

Nota Kourou • Vasileios Lamprinoudakis • Dimitrios Bosnakis • Olga Palagia

Lydia Palaiokrassa • Eleftheria Papoutsaki-Serbeti • Dimitris Plantzos

Eva Simantoni-Bournia • Katja Sporn • Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou

Michael Tiverios • Sophia Kalopissi-Verti • Maria Konstantoudaki-Kitromilidou

Georgios Pallis • Maria Panagiotidou • Platon Petridis • Andreas Rhoby

Peter Dent • Panagiotis Ioannou • Theodora Markatou • Evgenios Matthiopoulos

Efthymia Mavromichali • Dimitris Pavlopoulos • Sultana-Maria Valamoti

Lilian Karali-Giannakopoulou • Vasileios Kylikoglou • Alexandra Livarda

Ioannis Basiakos • Sevi Triantaphyllou • Marlen Mouliou • Alexandra Bounia

Maria Oikonomou • Eleftheria Paliou • Konstantinos Papadopoulos • Apostolos Sarris

PROOFREADING • ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ

Giorgos Bourogiannis • Jennifer Webb • Vanessa Pappa • Katerina Boukala-Karkagianni

LAYOUT • ΣΧΕΔΙΑΣΜΟΣ

Katerina Boukala-Karkagianni

Editorial • Εκδοτικό Σημείωμα

The Athens University Review of Archaeology (AURA) is an international, peer-reviewed archaeological journal published by the Faculty of History and Archaeology of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. It is dedicated to the publication of original research articles and reports focusing on, or related to the archaeology, art and material culture in the broader Greek world, from the earliest Prehistory to the Modern Era.

Part of the AURA journal is the AURA Supplement series, comprising studies in Greek or English, which, due to their extent, cannot be published in the journal as articles. The series share the same areas of interest with the journal.

AURA is a fully open access journal. Each issue of the journal and each monograph is published electronically as a PDF file. All papers are available on the internet to all users immediately upon publication and free of charge, according to the Creative Commons (BY-NC-ND 4.0). AURA issues and monographs can also be distributed on a print-on-demand basis and posted or collected from the bookstore of the Kardamitsa Publications, 8 Ippokratous str, Athens.

Το Περιοδικό του Τομέα Αρχαιολογίας και Ιστορίας της Τέχνης (AURA) είναι ένα διεθνές περιοδικό με σύστημα διπλής ανώνυμης αξιολόγησης, το οποίο εκδίδεται από το Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας του Εθνικού και Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών. Στόχος του είναι η δημοσίευση πρωτότυπων εργασιών που εστιάζουν στην αρχαιολογία, την τέχνη και τον υλικό πολιτισμό του ευρύτερου ελληνικού κόσμου, από την απώτερη προϊστορία έως και τη σύγχρονη εποχή.

Μέρος της έκδοσης του περιοδικού AURA αποτελεί η σειρά μονογραφιών με τίτλο «AURA Supplements». Περιλαμβάνει μελέτες στα ελληνικά ή στα αγγλικά, που λόγω της μεγάλης τους έκτασης δεν μπορούν να δημοσιευθούν με τη μορφή άρθρου στο περιοδικό. Η θεματολογία των μονογραφιών είναι ίδια με εκείνη του περιοδικού.

Το περιοδικό και η σειρά μονογραφιών είναι ελεύθερης και ανοικτής πρόσβασης. Τα τεύχη του περιοδικού και οι μονογραφίες δημοσιεύονται ηλεκτρονικά ως αρχεία PDF. Όλα τα άρθρα είναι δωρεάν διαθέσιμα για όλους στο διαδίκτυο αμέσως μετά τη δημοσίευσή τους και σύμφωνα με την άδεια Creative Commons (BY-NC-ND 4.0). Τα τεύχη του περιοδικού AURA και οι τόμοι της σειράς «AURA Supplements» μπορούν επίσης να εκτυπωθούν κατόπιν παραγγελίας και να αποσταλούν ταχυδρομικά ή να παραληφθούν από το βιβλιοπωλείο του Εκδοτικού Οίκου Καρδαμίτσα, Ιπποκράτους 8, Αθήνα.

CONTACT • ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Faculty of History and Archaeology
University Campus, GR-15784 Athens, Greece

Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών
Φιλοσοφική Σχολή / Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας
Πανεπιστημιόπολη Ζωγράφου / Αθήνα 157 84

Website • Ιστοσελίδα <http://aura.arch.uoa.gr/>
email: aura@arch.uoa.gr

Editing • Επιμέλεια: Giorgos Bourogiannis (gbourogiannis@eie.gr)
Layout • Σχεδιασμός: Katerina Boukala-Karkagianni (kmpoukala@gmail.com)

© Faculty of History and Archaeology, NKUoA © Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας, ΕΚΠΑ
All papers in this volume are subjected to the Creative Commons CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 License
(<https://creativecommons-mons.org/licenses/by-ncnd/4.0/>).

Όλα τα άρθρα αυτού του τόμου υπόκεινται στην άδεια χρήσης Creative Commons CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/deed.el>).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	15
ABBREVIATIONS.....	19
ROBIN OSBORNE Cypriot connectivity in the Mediterranean.....	21
JENNIFER M. WEBB Cyprus' maritime connectivity before and during the transition to the Late Bronze Age. The case of the north and northwest.....	23
ELENI MANTZOURANI AND GIORGOS VAVOURANAKIS The anthropomorphic figurines of Cyprus in the Bronze Age. Style, local traditions and foreign associations.....	35
GEORGE PAPASAVVAS Egyptian gold at Enkomi. A material manifestation of a ruling ideology on Late Bronze Age Cyprus.....	45
HARTMUT MATTHÄUS Cyprus, Egypt and the Levant during the Late Bronze Age. New evidence from Enkomi.....	63
VASILIKI KASSIANIDOU Tracing Cypriot connectivity with the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond through the trade of copper and other metals.....	73
HANAN CHARAF Disentangling the relationships between Cyprus and Lebanon during the second millennium BC. What Sidon can bring to the table.....	89
MICHAL ARTZY AND HUIXIN SHA Late Bronze II Cypriot counterparts from the Tell abu Hawam anchorage. The White Slip Ware.....	109
TATIANA PEDRAZZI Canaanite jars in Cyprus in the 13th–12th centuries BC. Transfer of goods, transformation of networks.....	119
ANGELOS PAPADOPOULOS Cypriot products and Cypriots away from the coast? A view from Late Bronze Age Tell el-Hesi.....	131
SARAH VILAIN Towards a reassessment of Levantine and Egyptian jugs and juglets related to Cypriot Base Ring Ware.....	141
ANNA LEKKA Pottery fashion in the Late Bronze Age. An overview of the stylistic similarities between Cypriot and other local wares in the Mediterranean.....	153
NIKOLAS PAPADIMITRIOU Cyprus and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age.....	179
CASSANDRA M. DONNELLY Cypro-Minoan abroad, Cypriots abroad?.....	195
JOANNA S. SMITH Cypriot seals and Cypriots overseas.....	207

JAN SIENKIEWICZ Social assemblages of things. Drinking practices and inter-cultural interaction between Rhodes and Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age.....	225
FOTEINI ZERVAKI From Cyprus to Rhodes and beyond. Cypriot imports and influence in Rhodes in the 11th and early 10th centuries BC. Links to the Aegean and the central Mediterranean	239
KONSTANTINOS KOPANIAS, ERATO VEMOU AND KATERINA SIDIROPOULOU 3D model analysis of some Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age swords from Cyprus.....	251
ANNA LUCIA D'AGATA Networks of similarities, worlds of shared practices. On the use of the term koine for the connections between Cilicia and Cyprus in the first centuries of the first millennium BC.....	263
ANASTASIA CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU Ancient migration or ancient mobility? Perspectives from Cyprus.....	273
GIUSEPPE GARBATI Cypriot (?) gods beyond Cyprus. Some notes on the western Phoenician evidence.....	287
ADRIANO ORSINGHER Sailing east. Networks, mobility, trade and cultural exchanges between Cyprus and the central Levant during the Iron Age.....	305
KONSTANTINOS KOPANIAS, DIMITRIS PAPAGEORGIOU, CHARA THEOTOKATOU AND IOANNIS VOSKOS External contacts and a reassessment of socio-political evolution in the Kouris region during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age.....	323
ANNA GEORGIADOU AND MARIA DIKOMITOU-ELIADOU The Iron Age pictorial pottery of Salamis within and beyond. An overview of ceramic styles, wares and fabrics.....	335
FRANCISCO J. NÚÑEZ The beginning of the Cypro-Archaic I period. A revision proposal.....	351
GIORGOS BOUROGIANNIS Cypriot Black-on-Red pottery in Early Iron Age Greece. In search of a beginning and an end.....	365
NICHOLAS SALMON The “Spaghetti Workshop” of Rhodes. Cypriot inspirations, Rhodian alterations.....	389
NOTA KOUROU The artist and the donor. The inscribed statuettes of Cypriot type found in the Aegean revisited.....	399
NUMAN TUNA, NADIRE ATICI, İLHAM SAKARYA AND ÜFTADE MUŞKARA The connectivity of Cyprus and Knidia. Limestone votive statuettes found at the Archaic Apollo sanctuary.....	411
STELLA DEMESTICHA Transport containers and maritime networks. The case of Cyprus.....	421
ALINA DIMITROVA Beyond Cyprus. The evidence from the Black Sea.....	437
ANNE DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES The evolution of the specific contribution of Cypriot coins in the relations of the island with other geographic entities in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Achaemenid period. The case of Kition and Salamis.....	449
EVANGELINE MARKOU AND YOAV FARHI A rare coin of Idalion from Israel and Idalion's coin production and circulation in the 5th century BC.....	461

ANNA CANNAVÒ Mercenaries. Cypriots abroad and foreigners in Cyprus before the Hellenistic period.....	473
AGNIESZKA HALCZUK Paphians outside Paphos. Inscriptions in the Paphian syllabary found outside Cyprus.....	485
ARTEMIS KARNAVA Incoming goods and local writing. The case of classical Marion in Cyprus.....	497
EIRINI PAIZI Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical pottery from the Knossos Unexplored Mansion. New evidence on connections between Crete and Cyprus.....	509
MARGIT LINDER <i>Omnium eorum ars urbibus excubabat, pictorque res communis terrarum erat</i> . Artists' mobility in the Mediterranean from the Archaic era to the end of the Classical period.....	519
MARIA CHRISTIDIS Equestrian scenes from Kerameikos to Cyprus.....	531
GABRIELE KOINER Cypriot antiquities in Austrian collections and Cypriot archaeology in Graz. An update.....	543
JOHN LUND Cypriot connectivity from the Late Classical to the Roman periods. A diachronic perspective.....	553
INDEX OF SITES AND GEOGRAPHIC TERMS.....	565

A rare coin of Idalion from Israel and Idalion's coin production and circulation in the 5th century BC

Evangeline Markou

Institute of Historical Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation

Yoav Farhi

University of Haifa, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

ABSTRACT

The paper offers a general overview of the coins minted by the kings of Idalion in Cyprus during the first half of the 5th century BC. The kings of Idalion adopted the local Cypriot weight standard for their silver coins, based on a siglos of ca 11 g and its divisions. The characteristic type of Idalion represents a sphinx on the obverse and an irregular incuse square on the reverse, replaced later by a lotus flower.

Coin production in Idalion ended in the middle of the 5th century, when Idalion lost its autonomy and was integrated into the areas under the control of the kings of Kition.

Particular attention is given to a rare silver-plated coin of Idalion, discovered at Khirbet Qeiyafa, Israel, which allows us to raise questions regarding coin circulation in Cyprus and in the Southern Levant and address the use of foreign plated coins in Judea in the 5th century.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE COINS MINTED BY THE KINGS OF IDALION

The coins produced in Cyprus by the kings of Idalion during the first half of the 5th century BC¹ are limited in number, compared to that of the other local kingdoms. This is because the life span was limited for the autonomy of this specific kingdom, as it lost its autonomy as well as its privilege to issue coins in the middle of the 5th century.²

The dating of the coin issues of Idalion is secured with the help of hoard evidence brought to light in Cyprus and abroad, as well as overstrikes on other Cypriot coins, that give us some relative chronology.³ Only one king of Idalion is mentioned in the other primary sources such as inscriptions; Stasikypros appears to be the last king, before the conquest of the city by Kition.⁴

1 All dates in the text are BC.

2 Destrooper-Georgiades 2002, 351–62; Markou 2015, 114–15.

3 On the smaller denominations of various kings, such as the twelves and twenty-fourths of a siglos, the head of Athena is represented on the obverse and the lotus flower on the reverse. Only a few examples survive of this denomination. See examples in Zapiti and Michaelidou 2008, 99–100 nos. 1, 4 and 7.

4 Masson 1983, 235–44 no. 217.

The earliest coins attributed to Idalion bear no legends and represent a seated sphinx on the obverse with curled wing and raised forepaw and an irregular incuse square on the reverse with no legends.⁵ The dating of the series is placed around 500, based on a coin of this type which was included in the Asyut hoard (see Fig. 4.b)⁶

Another series without a legend and with the same types, but with a circle of dots with a pellet in the centre of the left field behind the sphinx, is probably of the same period.⁷

Then follows a series of inscribed coins bearing the same iconography; four Cypriot syllabic signs are visible on the obverse of these issues but their meaning remains unclear, although different readings have been proposed.⁸ That two coins of this type, which were included in the Larnaca hoard, are overstrikes, one over a coin from an unidentified Cypriot mint and another over a coin of Paphos, places the series between 500 and 480.⁹

The following series shows an important change of the reverse type. A lotus flower with two symmetrical tendrils on the base is now represented on the reverse, and is surrounded by the Cypriot syllabic signs *pa-si ki (-)*, that is of a king *Ki (-)*. The royal name cannot be completed, because of the absence of any other mention of this king in literary or epigraphic sources, but the dating is rather secure because of an overstrike. One of his sigloi was struck using as a flan a siglos issued by Baalmilk I, king of Kition, who reigned from ca 475 to 450. This observation places the rule of king *Ki (-)* of Idalion after 480.¹⁰

The following king, also exclusively known through the coin legends, is the king *Gra (-)*, whose name is partially engraved on the obverse of his coins with the Cypriot syllabic signs *pa* (for the royal title) and “*ka-ra*” (for the name) and therefore cannot be completed securely. Sigloi and sixths of a siglos are attributed to this king who adopts the previous iconography, but now with the sphinx facing left and the lotus flower surrounded by an ivy leaf in the left field and an astragalos (knuckle bone) on the right. His coins are vaguely dated after 480, since no coins from this ruler were included in the Larnaca hoard, whose burial date is placed around 480, but were included in the Dali I hoard (*IGCH* 1275) found in Cyprus and buried between ca 425 and 400.¹¹

The last coins issued by the kings of Idalion are dated before the middle of the 5th century and are attributed to the king *Stasikypros* based on the presence of the Cypriot syllabic sign “*sa*” on the obverse of a series that preserves the same iconography. Thirds and twelfths of a siglos, which bear the initial of this king’s name and are attributed to this king of Idalion, are mentioned in the famous Idalion tablet, dedicated to Athena, which was discovered in situ in the goddess’ temple in the acropolis of the city.¹² The bronze tablet, the most extensive document in Cypriot syllabic script, commemorates the victory of the city against the unsuccessful attack of the Kitians and the Medes.

Most of *Stasikypros*’ coins surviving today are thirds of a siglos weighing ca 3.50 g which explains why only the sign “*sa*” is apparent on them, while the twelfths of the siglos, fewer among surviving coins, represent the head of Athena wearing an Attic helmet on the obverse and a lotus flower on the reverse with the sign “*sa*” in the left field. Coins of this king were also included in the Dali I hoard.¹³

Finally, there is another series with a peculiar, to the Cypriot numismatics at least, coin legend. The types maintain the sphinx on the obverse and the lotus flower on the reverse (with an ankh in the place of the astragalos) but the legend in Cypriot syllabic script reads “*e-ta-li*”. There have been several discussions regarding

5 Hill 1904, li and 24 no. 1.

6 Price and Waggoner 1975, 105–6 no. 777.

7 Hill 1904, li and 24 no. 2.

8 Dikaios 1935, 167; Masson 1983, 250 no. 225.

9 Dikaios 1935, 167 no. 4 and no. 20; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, 143–44.

10 Hill 1904, 25 no. 6 n. 2, pl. V, 5.

11 Hill 1904, 26–27 nos. 10–19, pl. V, 9–12.

12 Masson 1983, 235–44 no. 217; Georgiadou 2015.

13 *IGCH* 1275; Hill 1904, 28 nos. 20–28, pl. V, 13–16 (named erroneously *Stasioikos* rather than *Stasikypros*).

the meaning of this legend, which refers to the name of the coin “*i-da-li-kon*”, which is common in the Greek world and in Cyprus is attested in other kingdoms.¹⁴

The silver coins minted by Idalion ended in the middle of the 5th century when the kingdom was included in the areas of control of the kings of Kition by Ozibaal. This is attested by Phoenician inscriptions of the kings of Kition, who include Idalion in their territory until the demolition of Kition by Ptolemy in 313, as well as by the fact that, having lost its autonomy, Idalion no longer existed as a kingdom and issued no more coins after that date.¹⁵

CIRCULATION OF IDALION COINS (TABLE 1)

The coins of Idalion are absent from many hoards that included Cypriot issues and were buried at the end of the 6th century, such as the Ras Shamra hoard in Syria (*IGCH* 1478) and the Demanhur hoard in Egypt (*IGCH* 1637). This is an indication for the dating of the earliest issues at the end of the 5th century. Idalion coins are common in hoards found in Cyprus. The Larnaca hoard (*IGCH* 1272), buried around 480, included 39 examples from Idalion, where both the irregular incuse square (29 specimens) and the lotus flower reverses (10 specimens) were present. Thirty coins from Idalion were also included in the Dali I hoard (*IGCH* 1275). Idalion coins were also incorporated in hoards discovered overseas, in Asia Minor, Egypt and Jordan.¹⁶

Burial date	Hoard name	Area	<i>IGCH</i> No.	Total of coins	No. of Idalion coins	Denominations
c. 485	Behna el Asl	Egypt	1640	92+	1	Siglos
c. 480	Larnaca	Cyprus	1272	700	39	Sigloi
c. 475	Asyut	Egypt	1644	681+	1	Siglos
c. 460	Fayum	Egypt	1646	c. 15	1	Siglos
c. 445	Jordan	Jordan	1482	82	4	3 Sigloi / 1 third
c. 430	Asia Minor	Asia Minor	1252	32+	1	1 third
c. 425–400	Dali I	Cyprus	1275	122	30	20 Sigloi / 1 fraction
c. 380	Vouni	Cyprus	1278	252	1	1 fraction

Table 1. Coins of Idalion discovered in hoards (5th–early 4th centuries).

As one can see from Table 1, only eight coins of Idalion have so far been discovered in hoards outside Cyprus, and not one is said to be plated. Only two of them are thirds, which makes the discovery of the coin that will be discussed below especially interesting.

14 Masson 1996, 39.

15 Iacovou 2002 on the documentation of the Cypriot kingdoms. On the Phoenician epigraphic documents regarding the kings of Kition and their areas of control, see Yon 2004.

16 For the hoard evidence see Destrooper-Georgiades 1995; 2004; Markou 2011a.



Fig. 1. Khirbet Qeiyafa: view to the north (photograph by Sky View).

INTRODUCTION TO KHIRBET QEYAFYA – THE SITE AND ITS NUMISMATIC FINDS

The excavations at Khirbet Qeiyafa in Israel (Fig. 1) have disclosed occupation layers from various periods, among them layers dating from the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods (Stratum III) rich with small finds.¹⁷ The strategic location of this site –above the fertile Elah Valley, close to the border between Judea, Philistia and Idumea and adjacent to major routes leading to Jerusalem and to the north, south and west–support the assumption that this was an important site under successive Persian, Macedonian and Ptolemaic rule. On the basis of the numismatic evidence the site is presumed to have been abandoned ca 260.

The numismatic finds from Khirbet Qeiyafa, from the Persian-Hellenistic periods, are so far unique, both in quantity and variety, compared to other sites in Judea and in the region in its entirety. This, however, might be the result not only of the site's strategic location and its possible foreign population during these periods, but also of the method of retrieval of the finds during the Khirbet Qeiyafa excavations. A metal detector, which assists archaeologists in finding tiny metal objects, was systematically used by one of the authors (Y.F.) and hundreds of coins and various metal objects were retrieved thanks to this method, which is not standard in all archaeological excavations. These finds shed light upon the various types of coins that were in circulation in the region of Judea during the transitional period from Persian to Hellenistic domination and allow us to reconstruct the local and regional circulation patterns.

The finds from Khirbet Qeiyafa Stratum III (Late Persian-Early Hellenistic period) include local and foreign coins, primarily of silver and bronze (very few are silver-plated bronzes), as well as various *hacksilver* (irregularly

¹⁷ The excavations at Khirbet Qeiyafa, conducted from 2007 to 2013, were directed by Y. Garfinkel, S. Ganor and M. Hasel on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. For the final publication series, see Garfinkel and Ganor 2009; Garfinkel et al. 2014. For the final publication of the numismatic finds, see Farhi 2016. We wish to thank the directors of the excavation for permission to use the photos of the coins and the site which are included here.



Fig. 2. Other Archaic coins from Khirbet Qeiyafa (scale 2:1).

- a. A stater/didrachm of Chios, dating from the beginning of the 5th century (5.18 g, 15.5 mm; Israel Antiquities Authority, no. 153926).
 b. A quarter of an Athenian tetradrachm of the mid-5th century (3.51 g, ca 20 mm; Israel Antiquities Authority, no. 153927).
 c. A drachm of Samos of the late 5th or early 4th century (3.45 g, 15x16 mm; Israel Antiquities Authority, no. 153928).

cut silver) pieces.¹⁸ The coins range from the late 6th to the second quarter of the 3rd century and have been divided into several groups according to their chronology and provenance: Archaic and Classical Greek coins (late 6th to late 5th centuries); Athenian tetradrachms (5th to late 4th/early 3rd centuries); local coins from the mints of Philistia (Gaza, Ashdod and Ashkelon), Judea, Samaria and possibly Idumea (4th century); coins from Phoenicia (late 4th century); coins of the early Hellenistic period (mainly Macedonian and “satrapal”) struck in the names of Alexander the Great and his successors (late 4th to early 3rd century); and Ptolemaic coins (late 4th to the second quarter of the 3rd century).

The coin of Idalion belongs to the earliest group, which includes four Archaic and Classical Greek coins, originating from various extra-regional mints.

In addition to the coin from Idalion the group includes: a cut stater/didrachm of Chios, dating from the beginning of the 5th century (Fig. 2a); a quarter of an Athenian tetradrachm of the mid-5th century (Fig. 2b); and a drachm from Samos of the late 5th or early 4th century, with a deep test cut (Fig. 2c).¹⁹ Such early coins are quite rare in the region, with only a dozen Archaic and early Classical issues reported from controlled archaeological excavations in Israel.²⁰ The fact that three of the coins were deliberately cut in antiquity and the fourth has a deep test cut suggests that they were used not as actual coins but as *hacksilber*, that is, as bullion to be weighed in commercial transactions.²¹ Such coins, especially cut ones, are usually found in hoards alongside silver ingots and other silver pieces used as bullion, rather than as strays.²²

18 The term *hacksilber* (irregularly cut silver) describes broken pieces of silver ingots, coins, jewelry and other silver objects that were used as currency. Material in this form was weighed on scales against standardised weights for the purposes of exchange or payment, and this usage continued after coinage became the main means of exchange and different coinage systems had developed. The excavations at Khirbet Qeiyafa yielded nine pieces of silver ingots and other silver pieces, as well as 15 pieces of silver jewelry, either complete or broken (Farhi 2016, 161–66; Shalev and Shilstein 2016).

19 Farhi 2016, 35 nos. 2–4.

20 Gitler and Tal 2006, 13–6; Farhi and Gadot 2012. Some 30 additional Archaic and early Classical issues are listed as stray finds (Gitler and Tal 2006, 17–22).

21 See discussions in Gitler and Tal 2006, 14; Farhi and Gadot 2012, 4.

22 See, e.g., Kraay and Moorey 1968; Price and Waggoner 1975; van Alfen 2004–2005.



Fig. 3. The coin of Idalion from Khirbet Qeiyafa (1.92 g, 16 mm; Israel Antiquities Authority, no. 153925).

These four coins were found in Area C,²³ within Stratum III, dated to the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic period. Many coins were found in Area C. The most recent are dated to the mid-4th century; none belong to the Macedonian or Ptolemaic periods.²⁴ All the ceramic vessel forms found in Area C are well-known types traditionally dated to the 6th–4th centuries, especially to the 4th.²⁵ Taking in conjunction the numismatic and ceramic evidence, it seems that the final occupation phase in Area C should be dated to the late 4th century. The construction date of the buildings in Area C cannot be determined. However, the fact that all the coins of this early group derive from Area C may indicate that this was the first area occupied by the new settlers of Khirbet Qeiyafa during the Persian period, probably in the early 4th century.

These early coins from Khirbet Qeiyafa may have arrived in Judea soon after their minting, in the late 6th or 5th centuries – that is, during the transitional stage predating the beginning of a monetary economy in the Southern Levant, or as late as the 4th century. The lack of any remains dated to the 6th or 5th centuries at Khirbet Qeiyafa suggests that this early group of coins, including the coin of Idalion, arrived at the site during the latter part of the Persian period, as late as the 4th century.

THE COIN OF IDALION FROM KHIRBET QEYAFYA

The coin under discussion was found during the 2010 excavation season (Fig. 3).²⁶ It represents on the obverse a sphinx seated right with curled wing and raised forepaw and an incuse square on the reverse. The coin was intentionally cut in half and thus only half of the coin survived. It is silver-plated and weighs 1.92 g. An X-ray

23 For the stratigraphy of Area C see Freikman and Garfinkel 2014.

24 Farhi 2014, 377–83; 2016, 57, map 3.

25 Typical forms of the Early Persian period, such as carrot juglets and certain forms of jugs and cooking-pots, are absent from Khirbet Qeiyafa. The scanty amount of imported pottery is securely dated to the late 5th–4th centuries (Sandhaus and Kreimerman 2015, 261).

26 The coin was found in Area C, locus 6081, basket 8227. See Farhi 2016, 35 no.1. It is now in storage at the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) coin department, no. 153925. The authors wish to thank Anne Destrooper-Georgiades and Nicholas Hardwick for discussing the coin with one of them (Y.F.).



Fig. 4. Sigloi and thirds of sigloi from Idalion (scale 1:1).

- a. Oxford, the Ashmolean Museum, no. 11729, silver siglos (10.83 g, 22 mm) from the Fayum Hoard.
 b. Numismatic Lanz München, Auction 106, November 27, 2001, no. 167. Silver siglos (11.05 g, 20 mm) from the Asyut Hoard (no. 777).
 c. ANS, no. 1944.100.57996 from the E.T. Newell Collection. Siglos (10.94 g, 19 mm).
 d. ANS, no. 1944.100.57997 from the E.T. Newell Collection. Silver third of a siglos (3.60 g, 16 mm).

Fluorescence Spectrometry (XRF) analysis of the coin revealed that it is made of tin bronze and coated with silver,²⁷ with no traces of Au or Pb, which usually appear in archaic coins.²⁸

The diameter of the coin (16 mm) and its suggested original weight (ca 3.80 g) attest that it was initially a third (1/3) of a siglos (ca 25 mm, 11.16 g).

This coin can be included in the first issues of Idalion which have on their obverse a sphinx facing right with raised forepaw while the reverse has been struck by an incuse which produces a shallow irregular pattern. The reverse of the coin from Khirbet Qeiyafa is slightly different from the first issues of the mint –since it was not struck by an incuse which produces a shallow irregular pattern– and from the later issues as well –since it does not present a clear stylised lotus flower within an incuse square. Thanks to the almost uncirculated condition of the Khirbet Qeiyafa specimen, one can also see that the chest of the sphinx is decorated with dots, as is the third of a siglos from the American Numismatic Society (ANS) coin collection.²⁹ The reverse of this coin might suggest that this specific specimen should fit between the early known issues (in which no flower is seen on the reverse) and the later issues (in which the stylised lotus flower is clear), but this sequence is not totally secure.

Examples of this early type are relatively rare.³⁰ The Khirbet Qeiyafa coin can be compared with two coins discovered in hoards from Egypt; one coin from the Fayum hoard (*IGCH* 1957), currently kept in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Fig. 4a), and one coin that has been sold in auctions in the past years (Fig. 4b). A close parallel can also be found in a siglos from the collection of the ANS (Fig. 4c), which also holds a third of a siglos (Fig. 4d).

27 Shalev and Shilstein 2016, 170–71 no. 1.

28 See for example Shalev and Shilstein 2016, 170–71 nos. 2–3.

29 The other known specimens are too worn to see if the sphinx is decorated in the same way or not.

30 Coins of this type were included in hoards such as the Asyut hoard (Price and Waggoner 1975, 105–6 no. 777), and in another hoard, probably from Egypt (Van Alfen 2004–2005, 10 no. 15); it is also possible that two other specimens of this type were part of a hoard from Jordan (Kraay and Moorey 1968, 189 nos. 73–4), and three are in the British Museum (Hill 1904, 26 nos. 8–9; Sheedy 1999, 282).

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DISCOVERY IN THE UNDERSTANDING OF CIRCULATION AND COIN USAGE PATTERNS

This discovery from Israel is exceptional, since the coin from Idalion seems to be the first archaic silver-plated coin from this mint to be found in excavations outside Cyprus. Although no specific study on silver-plated Cypriot coins has been conducted to date, it is clear from the number of surviving coins in private and public collections that a large number of Cypriot silver coins, from various kingdoms, especially from the 5th century, are silver-plated,³¹ as evidenced by the test cuts made in antiquity, and this has been explained by the lack of silver in the island.³² The tradition of saving precious metal by mixing it with less precious metals continues for the Cypriots in the classical period, with their issues in gold, especially during times of war.³³

Silver-plated coins of the late 6th–4th centuries, usually large denominations, both from local mints (Samaria, Philistia and Phoenicia) and foreign ones (Athens, Aegina), are known from hoards and stray finds in the Southern Levant.³⁴

Two explanations are given for the presence of silver-plated coins; they may be official issues coined in periods of financial crisis, or they may be fraudulent imitations.³⁵ The occurrence of silver-plated coins can also be explained as deriving from the need to produce a specific number of coins from a given amount of silver. Thus, if the minter had difficulty in dividing the given amount of silver into the correct number of coins, or if the given amount of silver bullion did not suffice to produce the requested number of coins, or if he wished to steal part of the silver, he would supplement his production with coins that had bronze-alloy cores. When dealing with locally minted currency serving the local market, it is possible that such “counterfeits” were tolerated by the authorities, as long as they did not upset the stability of economic conditions.³⁶ Foreign silver-plated coins could have been treated in a similar way by the local authorities in Judea, especially in periods when no local coins were struck, e.g. the late 6th and early 5th centuries, and possibly even later into the 4th century.

Whether this silver-plated coin of Idalion was minted by the authorities in certain circumstances (e.g. a shortage of silver bullion), or produced as fraudulent coin, is impossible to know, as contemporary historical references to the production of silver-plated coins in Idalion are unfortunately not available. However, its discovery in Khirbet Qeiyafa, alongside other intentionally cut silver coins from foreign mints, suggests that this coin was possibly treated during local transactions similarly to the non-plated silver coins and not removed from circulation, even though it was obvious that it is plated.

31 If not mentioned in the description of the image and without an autopsy, identifying silver-plated coins requires either a test cut or a clear alteration in the metal consistency. Few examples of such coins (none from Idalion) have been published so far (Hill 1904, 46 no. 4; Sheedy 1999, 284; Pilides and Destrooper-Georgiades 2008, 317 no. 36). These silver-plated coins as well as the bronze core of silver coins (Hill 1904: 58 no. 58) and the evidence of test cuts on other Cypriot coins (see for example Kagan 1994, 31, 33) prove that plated coins were known in Cyprus as in other areas such as the Levant (Pilides and Destrooper-Georgiades 2008, 324–25, 327).

32 Kassianidou 2009, 49.

33 Gold coins of king Evagoras I of Salamis included an important amount of bronze that was intentionally added by this king in order to produce more coins with a limited amount of precious metal, pay his mercenaries and finance the Cypriot war (391–380/79) (Markou 2011b, 216–18, 260–63; 2013, 121–22).

34 See for example: Meshorer and Qedar 1991, 67; Gitler and Tal 2006, 10, fig. 1; 17, fig. 1.4 no. 1; 19, fig. 1.5 no. 2; 27–29, fig. 2.3 nos. 6, 12, 15; 54; 122 cat. V.10Db; 126 cat. V.16Dc; 132 cat. VI.1Db; 148 cat. VII.2HDa; 160 cat. XI.6Da–b; 184 cat. XIII.16Da–b; 312–13; Farhi 2010; 2016, 22; 2021, 107, fig. 7.5 nos. 1–2.

35 Kroll 1993, 7, 9–10; Gitler and Tal 2006, 313.

36 Gitler and Tal 2006, 313.

CLOSING REMARKS

This rare find from Khirbet Qeyiafa is another missing piece in the puzzle of the classical coins of Idalion. Its discovery emphasises the importance of excavation finds and their publication for supporting ongoing numismatic research, especially for mints such as Idalion, with a limited coin production and difficulties in attribution and dating. This find also contributes to a better understanding of the circulation patterns of the coins of Idalion outside Cyprus. In addition, this coin, being not only from a foreign mint but also plated, gives another insight into the use of coins from distant mints in a region which lacks local silver coins during the 6th and 5th centuries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliographical Abbreviations

- IGCH: Thompson, M., O. Mørkholm, and C.M. Kraay. 1973. *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. New York: The American Numismatic Society.
- Destrooper-Georgiades, A. 1984. "Le Trésor de Larnaca (IGCH 1272) réexaminé." *RDAC*:140–61.
- _____. 1995. "Chypre et l'Égypte à l'époque achéménide à la lumière des témoignages numismatiques." *Transeuphratène* 9:149–60.
- _____. 2002. "Les royaumes de Kition et d'Idalion au Ve et IVe siècles à la lumière des témoignages numismatiques." In *Hommage à Marguerite Yon. Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 32:351–68.
- _____. 2004. "Les rapports monétaires entre Chypre et l'Asie Mineure méridionale à l'époque achéménide." *Res Antiquae* 1:247–74.
- Dikaios, P. 1935: "A Hoard of Silver Cypriot Staters from Larnaca." *NC* 15:165–79.
- Farhi, Y. 2010. "A Silver-Plated Samaritan Coin from Tel Dor." *Israel Numismatic Research* 5:21–30.
- _____. 2014. "A Preliminary Report on the Coins and Selected Small Finds." In *Khirbet Qeiyafa*, Vol. 2. *Excavation Report 2009–2013: Stratigraphy and Architecture (Areas B, C, D, E)*, edited by Y. Garfinkel, S. Ganor and M.G. Hasel, 375–90. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- _____. 2016. *Khirbet Qeiyafa*, Vol. 5. *Excavation Report 2007–2013, The Numismatic Finds: Coins and Related Objects*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- _____. 2021. "Coin Circulation in Judea during the Transition Period from the Persian to Hellenistic Era: A View from the Ella Valley." In *Times of Transition: Judea in the Early Hellenistic Period. Mosaics: Studies on Ancient Israel* 1, edited by S. Honigman, C. Nihan and O. Lipschits, 103–17. University Park, PA and the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University: Eisenbrauns.
- Farhi, Y., and Y. Gadot. 2012. "Aegina in Jerusalem: A 'Turtle' Stater from Southern Jerusalem." *Israel Numismatic Research* 7:3–6.
- Freikman, M., and Y. Garfinkel. 2014. "Area C." In *Khirbet Qeiyafa*, Vol. 2: *Excavation Report 2009–2013: Stratigraphy and Architecture (Areas B, C, D, E)*, edited by Y. Garfinkel, S. Ganor and M.G. Hasel, 93–226. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Garfinkel, Y., and S. Ganor. 2009. *Khirbet Qeiyafa*, Vol. 1: *Excavation Report 2007–2008*. Jerusalem. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Garfinkel, Y., S. Ganor, and M.G. Hasel. 2014. *Khirbet Qeiyafa*, Vol. 2: *Excavation Report 2009–2013: Stratigraphy and Architecture (Areas B, C, D, E)*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Georgiadou, A. 2015. "The Tablet of Idalion (ICS 217)." *Kyprios Character. History, Archaeology & Numismatics of Ancient Cyprus*. kyprioscharacter.eie.gr/en/t/AO
- Gitler, H., and O. Tal. 2006. *The Coinage of Philistia of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC: A Study of the Earliest Coins of Palestine. Collezioni Numismatiche* 6. Minal and New York: Edizioni Ennerre and Amphora Books / B & H Kreindler.
- Hill, G.F. 1904. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Cyprus*. London: The British Museum.
- Iacovou, M. 2002. "From Ten to Naught. Formation, Consolidation and Abolition of Cyprus' Iron Age Polities." In *Hommage à Marguerite Yon. Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 32:73–87.
- Kagan, J. 1994. "An Archaic Greek Coin Hoard from the Eastern Mediterranean and Early Cypriot Coinage." *NC* 154:17–52.
- Kassianidou, V. 2009. "'May He Send Me Silver in Very Great Quantities' EA 35." In *Egypt and Cyprus in Antiquity*, edited by D. Michaelides, V. Kassianidou and R.S. Merrillees, 48–57. Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow books.
- Kraay, C.M., and P.R.S. Moorey. 1968. "Two Fifth Century Hoards from the Near East." *RN VIe Série* 10:181–235.
- Kroll, J.H. 1993. *The Athenian Agora*, Vol. XXVI. *The Greek Coins*. New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Markou, E. 2011a. "Le voyage de la monnaie chypriote archaïque et classique dans le temps et dans l'espace." In *Nomisma: La circulation monétaire dans le monde grec antique*, edited by T. Faucher, M.-C. Marcellesi and O. Picard, 397–416. *BCH Suppl.* 53, Athens: Ecole française d'Athènes.
- _____. 2011b. *L'or des rois de Chypre. Numismatique et histoire à l'époque classique. Μελετήματα* 64. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation.

- _____. 2013. "Gold Coinage and Economic Politics in Cyprus (Fourth Century BC)." *The Numismatic Report. Cyprus Numismatic Society* XXXIX–XLIII (2008–2012):117–32.
- _____. 2015. *Coinage and History. The Case of Cyprus during the Archaic and Classical Periods. Lectures on the History of Numismatics* 6. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
- Masson, O. 1983. *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Recueil critique et commenté*. 2nd ed. *Études chypriotes* 1. Paris: De Boccard.
- _____. 1996. "Le nom d'Idalion sur des monnaies de la ville." *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 25:37–39.
- Meshorer, Y., and S. Qedar. 1991. *The Coinage of Samaria in the Fourth Century BCE*. Jerusalem: Numismatic Fine Arts International, Inc.
- Pilides, D., and A. Destrooper-Georgiades 2008. "A Hoard of Silver Coins from the Plot on the Corner of Nikokreontos and Hatjopoullou Streets (East Extension of the Settlement of the Hill of Agios Georgios, Lefkosia)." *RDAC*:307–35.
- Price, M., and N. Waggoner. 1975. *Archaic Greek Coinage: The 'Asyut' Hoard*. London: Vecchi and sons.
- Sandhaus, D., and I. Kreimerman. 2015. "The Late 4th/3rd Century BCE Transition in the Judean Hinterland in Light of the Pottery of Khirbet Qeiyafa." *Tel Aviv* 42:251–71.
- Shalev, S., and S. Shilstein. 2016. "XRF Analysis of Silver Coins and Various Silver Objects." In *Khirbet Qeiyafa*, Vol. 5. *Excavation Report 2007–2013. The Numismatic Finds: Coins and Related Objects*, edited by Y. Farhi, 167–74. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Sheedy, K.A. 1999. "The Idalion Stater found in a Tomb at Marion in 1886." *NC* 199:281–84.
- Van Alfen, P. 2004–2005. "Herodotus' 'Aryandic' Silver and Bullion Use in Persian-Period Egypt." *AJN* 16–17:7–46.
- Yon, M. 2004. *Kition-Bamboula V. Kition dans les textes testimonia littéraires et épigraphiques et corpus des inscriptions*. Paris: Recherche sur les civilisations.
- Zapiti, E., and L. Michaelidou. 2008. *Coins of Cyprus from the Collection of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation*. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.