

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XIV

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

Kraków 2019



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Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019) podczas wykopalisk archeologicznych w Egipcie (1960/1961)
Ze zbiorów Ośrodka Dokumentacji Filmowej Nauki Polskiej Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie
Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019) during archaeological excavation in Egypt (1960/1961)
From the Center of Visual Documentation of Polish Science (Pedagogical University of Cracow)

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XIV *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Polskojęzyczne wersje tekstów odnoszących się w większym stopniu do zainteresowań czytelnika polskiego są zamieszczone w formie plików PDF na stronie internetowej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). W podobny sposób udostępniamy cały obecny tom oraz tomy archiwalne. Na stronie internetowej dostępne są ponadto wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

11 czerwca 2019 r. w wieku 91 lat odszedł prof. dr hab. Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019), nestor polskiej numizmatyki, wieloletni pracownik i kierownik Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, wybitny znawca numizmatyki antycznej, wykładowca i pracownik Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie, wykładowca Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, członek wielu towarzystw i organizacji naukowych, w tym członek honorowy Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Krakowie.

Jego pamięci poświęcamy XIV tom *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*, czasopisma, które mocno wspierał jako autor i członek Komitetu Naukowego.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present volume XIV of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* to you. In accordance with the principles that we have adopted, our texts are published in the conference languages with English and Polish abstracts. The Polish-language versions of the texts that are more relevant to the interests of the Polish reader can be found as PDFs on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). Similarly, the whole of the present volume is available online, as are previously published volumes of the journal. The website also contains general information about the journal as well as information for prospective authors and reviewers.

Prof. Dr. Hab. Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019), the doyen of Polish numismatics, died on June 11, 2019, at the age of 91. For many years, he worked as an employee – and then as head – of the Numismatic Cabinet at the National Museum of Krakow. He was also a lecturer and employee of the Pedagogical University of Krakow, a lecturer at the Jagiellonian University, and a member of numerous scientific societies and organizations, having honorary membership status at the Krakow branch of the Numismatic Section of the Polish Academy of Sciences' Commission on Archaeology.

It is to his enduring memory that we dedicate volume XIV of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, a journal that he helped to support as both an author and as a member of the Scientific Committee.

The Editors

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

Jagiellonian University
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The Satraps of Caria and the Lycians in the Achaemenid Period: Where is the Numismatic Evidence?¹

ABSTRACT: This article attempts to answer the question as to whether the satraps of Caria engaged in minting activity within the lands of Lycia during the reign of the Achaemenids. Two monetary issues are taken into consideration. We know of the first via a unique stater struck in Xanthos and bearing the name of Tissaphernes. An Achaemenid grandee and *karanos*, he was satrap of Lydia between 413 and 407 and then between 400 and 395 BC, as well as satrap of Caria from 407 to 401 BC. The second issue is sometimes linked to Mausolos and consists of drachmas, diobols, and hemiobols struck in Xanthos in c. 360 BC. The present analysis shows that we cannot definitively tie these issues to the activity of these satraps of Caria and that it is very likely that they should be interpreted differently: the former should be regarded as an issue of *karanos*; the latter, as an imitative issue. The text also briefly mentions the minting activity of other representatives of the Achaemenid administration.

KEY WORDS: Caria, Lycia, satrap, Mausolus, Tissaphernes

¹ The present article is the print version of a lecture delivered at a conference at the Danish Institute in Athens. Held between January 24 and January 28, 2018, the conference was entitled *Karia and the Dodekanese Cultural interrelations in the south-eastern Aegean c. 500 BC – AD 500*. I wish to express my gratitude to the conference's organizers – Birte Poulsen (Aarhus University), Poul Pedersen (University of Southern Denmark), and John Lund (Aarhus University) – for giving me the opportunity to deliver the lecture. I would also like to thank Dr. Helle Horsnaes for agreeing to allow me to publish photographs of the coins from the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen. I would additionally like to thank Dr. Koray Konuk for helping me with some of the problems discussed in the text. Any errors or mistakes that may remain are mine alone.

ABSTRAKT: *Satrapowie Karii i Licyjczycy w okresie Achemenidów: czy istnieją świadectwa numizmatyczne?*

Artykuł jest próbą odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy satrapowie Karii w okresie panowania Achemenidów prowadzili działalność menniczną na terenie Licji. Pod uwagę wzięto dwie emisje monetarne. Pierwsza znana jest poprzez unikatowy stater bity w Ksantos w imieniu Tissafernesa, achemenidzkiego wielmoży, karanosa i satrapy Lidii w latach 413–407 i 400–395 p.n.e. oraz satrapy Karii w latach 407–401 p.n.e. Drugą emisję, łączoną czasami z Mauzolosem, tworzą drachmy, diobole i hemiobole wybite w Ksantos ok. 360 r. p.n.e. Przeprowadzona analiza dowodzi, że łączenie wspomnianych emisji z aktywnością satrapów Karii jest bardzo niepewne i bardzo prawdopodobne, iż należy interpretować je inaczej, odpowiednio jako emisję karaniczną oraz naśladowczą. Ponadto w tekście pokrótce wzmiankowana jest aktywność mennicza na terenie Licji innych przedstawicieli achemenidzkiej administracji.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Karia, Licja, satrapa, Mauzolos, Tissafernes

Ancient Caria and Lycia were neighboring countries.² Both faced the same fate, namely being conquered by the Persians and incorporated into the Achaemenid realm in c. 546 BC (Hdt. 1.171ff).³ However, the importance of the two regions was quite different. Caria (Karka), certainly richer, with a greater territory and population, with important Greek and native, coastal and inland cities was relatively quickly recognized as an important part of the Empire and eventually, at the turn of the 4th century BC, received the status of a separate satrapy.⁴ In the same century, Caria became under a rule of satraps from the Hekatomnid dynasty, one of the most powerful regions in the western part of the Achaemenid empire.⁵ This was never a fate shared by Lycia.⁶ The region was always dependent, however with some degree of autonomy, first to the satraps of Sparda (Lydia) and later to Karka (Caria),⁷ except during the relatively short periods of Athenian domination in the 5th century BC⁸ and during the rebellion of Perikle (380–362 BC) and his participation in the so-called

² On Lycian-Carian interrelations, see TIETZ 2009; cf. also BENDA-WEBER 2005.

³ For a discussion on the date of the conquest of Lydia and Harpagos' expedition against Caria and Lycia, cf. KEEN 1998: 220ff; MAREK 2010: 155; KOLB 2018: 116.

⁴ Generally, for information on ancient Caria and its position in the Achaemenid empire, see: WEISKOPF 1990: 806–812; JACOBS 1994; IDEM 2011; cf. also HORNBLOWER 1982: 1ff, especially 34; and BENDA-WEBER 2005: 12ff.

⁵ Cf. HORNBLOWER 1982: 34ff; WEISKOPF 1990; RUZICKA 1992; MÜLLER 2013; RUZICKA 2013.

⁶ On Lycian history in the archaic and classical periods see: TREUBER 1887; KEEN 1998; KOLB 2018; cf. also BENDA-WEBER 2005: 34ff.

⁷ On the dependence mentioned above, cf. KEEN 1998, 67ff, 90ff; JACOBS 1993; IDEM 1994: 136ff; KLINKOTT 2005: 123ff.

⁸ Cf. KEEN 1998: 87ff; KOLB 2018: 125ff.

Great Satraps Revolt in 2nd quarter of the 4th century BC.⁹ This mountainous country was significantly smaller and probably poorer, but judging by its prolific coinages, the numerous richly decorated rock-tombs, and the tributes and levies imposed on the country and its inhabitants, there is clearly evidence that the region was quite wealthy.¹⁰ Moreover, Lycia also had some advantages. Its strategic location on the maritime route leading to the East gave Lycia some importance.¹¹ Additionally, the Lycians, tough and independent highlanders, were welcomed as allied soldiers. During Xerxes' expedition in 480 BC, they formed a naval contingent led by the local leader Kybernis, son of Kossikas (Hdt. 7.98). Later Lycian contingents, commanded by local personages, acted as allies of Persian satraps like Tissaphernes and Autophradates both inside and outside the country.¹² Finally, after almost 200 years of some degree of autonomy, Lycia was subdued by the Persian Autophradates and later the Carian Mausolos, being included in the satrapy of Karka in the 350s BC as a result of the rebellion of Perikle and his participation in the so-called Great Satraps Revolt.¹³ The country remained under the control of the satraps of Caria until the region was conquered by Alexander the Great.

Both the Carians and Lycians began to strike coins at a very close time, not long after the Persian conquest. The indigenous Carian coinage started c. 540–520 BC.¹⁴ The Lycians begun their minting activity approximately two or four decades later.¹⁵

It is not easy to draw an exact pattern of early Carian coinages.¹⁶ It is, however, clear that the mints at Mylasa,¹⁷ and later at Halicarnassos¹⁸ and Kaunos,¹⁹ operated alongside those located in Greek cities like Knidos.²⁰ Some of them worked for local dynasties and tyrants.²¹ From the beginning of the 4th century BC, the Hekatomnids

⁹ On Perikle of Limyra cf. BRYCE 1980; HORNBLLOWER 1982: 181f; KEEN 1998: 154ff, especially 161ff; KOLB 2018: 140ff.

¹⁰ On the possible sources and evidence of the economic condition of Lycia, cf. VISMARA-MARTINI 2001: 345f.

¹¹ Cf. ZAHLE 1989: 170; KEEN 1993; IDEM 1998: 31f; VISMARA-MARTINI 2001: 346.

¹² On Tissaphernes activity in Lycia cf. TAM I: 44c; KEEN 1998: 136ff; KOLB 2018: 136f. On Autophradates in Lycia see: TAM I: 40d. 1; 61; DANDAMAYEV 1987; KEEN 1998: 170ff; SCHÜRR 2012; KOLB 2018: 143f.

¹³ Cf. HORNBLLOWER 1982: 119ff; KEEN 1998: 171ff; TIETZ 2009: 166ff; BENDA-WEBER 2005: 51ff; KOLB 2018: 144ff.

¹⁴ KONUK 2012: 54; cf. also IDEM 2000: 172; cf. CARRADICE 1987b: 80.

¹⁵ Cf. HILL 1897: XXVI; MØRKHOLM 1964: 68; MARTINI 1989: 18 (c. 520 BC); ZAHLE 1991: 155 (c. 510/500 BC); VISMARA 1993: 201 (c. 525 BC); MÜSELER 2016: 2ff (at around the end of the 6th century BC); cf. also KOLB 2018: 559ff.

¹⁶ Currently the best source to explore Carian coinages is the *Historia Numorum Online* Website (available at hno.huma-num.fr).

¹⁷ Cf. KONUK 2007: 472–473; IDEM 2012: 54.

¹⁸ ASHTON and KONUK 2019; cf. KAGAN and KRITT 1995.

¹⁹ KONUK 1998b; IDEM 2012: 54; cf. TROXELL 1979.

²⁰ CAHN 1970; KONUK 2012: 54.

²¹ Cf. PRICE 1979; KONUK 2000: 174.

produced their influential and copious coinages.²² Furthermore, it is also possible to associate some satrapal issues with Caria: one can list here a unique Daric from the French Bibliothèque Nationale,²³ a tetradrachm issue repeating its iconography,²⁴ the so-called “Great King with bow/Iranian horseman” series dated c. 360–333 BC²⁵ and perhaps others. All of this shows the complex pattern of coinages in Caria, including the intense activity of representatives of the Achaemenid administration in the region.

The Lycian coinages of the Achaemenid era, with its local and differentiated weight standards, with coin legends in native language and script, with many issuers and diverse iconography, is an even more complex phenomenon.²⁶ In brief, the history of Lycian coinages in the Achaemenid era is best characterized by the following statement: from uniformity to diversity. The first Lycian coins were uniform in terms of coin types and weight standard,²⁷ but this changed dramatically during the 5th century BC. A uniformity of types gave way to a diversity of motifs which were frequently borrowed or copied from foreign issues. Metrology also changed, with two different weight standards being introduced.²⁸ In the later 5th and 4th centuries BC, two iconographic types gained special popularity in Lycian coinage. These were the Athena/Maliya head in Western Lycia and the lion scalp or lion forepart in the central and eastern part of the country. It should be stressed that at least a great part of Lycian coinages were issues produced by local dynasts.

The fact that Caria and Lycia were neighbors, the fluid border that existed between them, their political contact – all these things were also reflected in their coinage. That this was the case is visible, above all, in the iconography of certain Lycian issues, an iconography that was inspired by the types of coins struck in Carian mints.²⁹ In certain instances, this was something more than just the straightforward borrowing which was characteristic of Lycian coinage. We know of instances in

²² KONUK 1998a; cf. IDEM 1993; DEBORD 1999: 140ff; KONUK 2000: 175ff; IDEM 2013.

²³ Cf. <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41747412f>; DE LUYNES 1846: 4, 9, Pl. I, 6; BABELON 1910: 36, Pl. LXXXVII, 24; KONUK 2000: Pl. XXX, 24; IDEM 2007: no. M53; BODZEK 2011: 150ff, 184f, Pl. IX, 1; IDEM 2014a: 62, Fig. 11; IDEM 2017: 36ff, Pl. 1.2. There further literature.

²⁴ Cf. <http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=638>; BODZEK 2017: Pl. 1.1.

²⁵ Cf. KONUK 2000, 177ff, Pl. XXX, 8–23; MEADOWS 2002: 210ff, Pl. 30–31; IDEM 2005: Cat. 327; BODZEK 2011: 76f, 250f, Pl. IX, 9–13b.

²⁶ Thus far, various classifications of Lycian coinage have been proposed (cf. CAU 1997). One could cite here the classification of O. Mørkholm (1964), which was based on earlier ideas proposed by G.F. Hill (1897) and which was developed by J. Zahle (1991) and accepted by many researchers. A different conception – one that has been subject to more criticism – was put forward by R. Martini and N. Vismara (MARTINI 1989; VISMARA 1993). Cf. also MÜSELER 2016 and KOLB 2018: 559.

²⁷ Cf. 1st Group according Mørkholm’s classification equal to J. Zahle’s group A or Predynastic issues according to N. Vismara’s arrangement (VISMARA 1989: 18–23).

²⁸ Cf. MÜSELER 2016: 1ff.

²⁹ Cf. ZAHLE 1991: 146.

which Lycian dynasts struck coins in Carian mints, and Carian letters and monetary types sometimes appeared on their Lycian issues. Kuprlli, one of the most important Lycian dynasts of the 5th century BC, struck coins with Carian letters.³⁰ Kheriga, in turn, active at the end of the 5th century BC, may have struck coins of the local type with his initial in Kaunos, Caria.³¹ Carian characters appear in the name of another dynast, Erbbina (c. 400–380), on coins struck in Telmessos, which was located on the border of Caria and Lycia.³² Erbbina may also have used the Carian monetary type, striking a different issue in this city, one in his own name using the Carian alphabet.³³ The examples given here have been discussed in detail by Koray Konuk.³⁴ At this point, it is worth mentioning that at least some of them are numismatic evidence of the political activity of the Lycian dynasts in the lands of Caria or on the border between Caria and Lycia; they are also numismatic evidence of Caria's influence on the coinage of Lycia.

In the context of the above-mentioned interactions, it is worth posing the following question – and turning the situation around somewhat – as to whether it is possible, within a Lycian coinage which is so iconographically and epigraphically rich, to find evidence of an interest or even direct interference on the part of the satraps of Caria. In other words, do we know of any examples of so-called “satrapal issues” that were struck in Lycia, ones that we would be able to attribute to the representatives of the Achaemenid administration in Caria?

Before we analyze this issue, let us first define the concept of “satrapal coinage”.

I repeat here a definition already proposed in my earlier publications:³⁵ “One should understand the term as covering all issues struck by representatives of the Great King, both Iranian, and of other nationalities. The issuers were not only satraps *sensu stricto*, but also other Achaemenid officials, (sometimes of lower rank), representatives of local elites included in the Persian administration, as well as military officers acting on behalf of the Great King. To the latter group belong issues struck both by *karanoi* acting on behalf of the King himself, and by lower-rank officers, subordinates of satraps. Some of the “civic” issues should also be treated as satrapal, such as, for instance, some of the imitating “owls”. Such a broad definition suggests that the term “satrapal coinage” should be understood as a symbolic rather than literal, designation”. The satrapal coinage is in fact the coinage

³⁰ Cf. CAU 1999; TIETZ 2003: 57ff; IDEM 2009: 164; KONUK 2007: M54; IDEM 2008: 195, note 29; The coin mentioned here may have been struck in Xanthos, cf. DURNFORD 1991; contra: KONUK 2007: 492; IDEM 2008: 195.

³¹ RAIMOND 2004: 396; cf. KONUK 2008: 194.

³² KONUK 2008: 194f; a summary of the earlier discussion can be found here.

³³ IDEM 2008: 195f; cf. ROBINSON 1936: 188–190, no. 37; Pl. XII. 17.

³⁴ KONUK 2008. A further bibliography can be found here.

³⁵ Cf. BODZEK 2011: 84; IDEM 2014a: 63.

of representatives of the Achaemenid administration, both civic and military, and thus its complexity reflects the complex character of the latter. The main feature of the satrapal coinage is its differentiation. There is no iconographic or metrological uniformity. Satrapal issues are characterized by the use of a different weight standard, denomination systems, iconography and legend (contents, language and alphabet). There are, however, some iconographic types used more readily by satrapal issuers. In most cases, there were no satrapal mints as they were royal in the case of king's coinage. The issuers usually used already existing mints where they could find competent staff. In other words, satraps (in sense of the definition stated above) struck coins in regions where they were active and where they needed this kind of financial means to complete their tasks.

We know of a number of examples of this kind of minting activity located in different regions of the western part of the Achaemenid state, including, as mentioned above, the lands of Caria (cf. above).³⁶

Returning to ancient Lycia, it needs to be emphasized that the insufficient number of non-numismatic sources makes it difficult to answer the question that has been posed. The coins themselves, whether anonymous or with legends in the form of proper names or the names of cities, are not entirely helpful in solving this problem. Two of the basic questions concerning Lycian coinage are concerned with the reasons the Lycians began to strike coins, as well as the origin of the metal used in their production. At one point, this problem was addressed by Jan Zahle, while Novella Vismara tried to explore it in more depth.³⁷ Putting aside the first of these questions, it needs to be emphasized that from the point of view of the metrology, epigraphy, and iconography of Lycian coins, it was rather the case that they were meant for the internal market.³⁸ On the other hand, one needs to ask, as Zahle did, who financed the pro-Persian military activity of the Lycian dynasts – and how they did this – whether it was during Xerxes' expedition or during the actions against Amorges or perhaps in other situations as well. Did the financing as mentioned here rest on the shoulders of the Lycian leaders or was it provided by the Achaemenid administration? If the latter, did it consist in reducing the tribute paid by the Lycians by the appropriate amount or did it consist, perhaps, in the Lycians receiving something like an earmarked subsidy?³⁹ Although we have no direct sources that aid us in answering these questions, there are signs that indicate that certain mechanisms of action existed within the Achaemenid state. According to the author of *Hellenica*

³⁶ In general see: BODZEK 2011; IDEM 2014a.

³⁷ Cf. ZAHLE 1989: esp. 172; VISMARA-MARTINI 2001.

³⁸ Which of course does not change the fact that much like silver coins from other centers, Lycian coins traveled around, as can be seen in their presence in hoards, cf. ZAHLE 1989: 172f; VISMARA 1999.

³⁹ Cf. ZAHLE 1989: 171ff and the literature cited by Zahle (LEWIS 1977: 122; TUPLIN 1987: 138).

Oxyrhynchia (19.2), in financing some military venture, the Great King could have handed over the resources by which to achieve the undertaking to the chief in charge of bringing it to fruition.⁴⁰ It may be that a similar scheme was used by the king's subordinates, that is, the satraps, *karanoi*, and others, who could have used this method to subsidize the local dynasts and the contingents that they were in charge of. This possibly having been the case, we can cautiously adopt the view that this was also true of ancient Lycia. The subsidies reached the Lycian dynasts in the form of monetary silver – for example, royal silver coins with an archer (so-called sigloi) – or that of non-monetary silver (bullion, silver dishes, chunks of silver).⁴¹ The result is that the dynasts and local military leaders struck their own monetary issues from metal obtained in this way. What may argue in favor of this hypothesis is the fact that certain Lycian coins are composed of an alloy that indicates that silver from royal sigloi was used to strike them.⁴² We may also have indirect evidence that sigloi circulated in the lands of Lycia thanks to countermarks in the form of a triskeles, or variations of a triskeles, which are sometimes regarded as Lycian.⁴³ It is also worth mentioning in this context that some Lycian coins were struck in the Persian standard.⁴⁴ On the one hand, this could indirectly indicate that royal sigloi or satrapal coins in the Persian standard circulated in the lands of Lycia.⁴⁵ On the other hand, we cannot rule out that other, non-royal coins – ones belonging to municipal or satrapal issues – could have reached the lands of Lycia as subsidies for the realization of tasks of a military nature.⁴⁶ The well-known anecdote about Datames bears testimony to the diversity of sources with regard to the origin of the bullion necessary to strike the coins used for the financing of military activities by Achaemenid officials (Polyaen. 7. 21. 1; Pseudo-Arist., Oec. 2. 1350b).⁴⁷ In this

⁴⁰ Cf. BRIANT 2002: 595f; BODZEK 2014b. In reality, these resources were for the beginning of the chief's duty; later, he would have had to take care of things himself.

⁴¹ The source of the metal from which Lycian coins were struck is explored at length in N. Vismara-Martini (2001).

⁴² Cf. CALLIARI and VISMARA 1998; VISMARA-MARTINI 2001. Vismara-Martini goes into a detailed discussion on the research that has been done on the composition of the silver of Lycian coins and the possible sources of the metal used to strike them; she also discusses the overstriking of Lycian issues both with regard to coins that belonged to earlier local series as well as the coins of foreign issuers.

⁴³ Cf. VISMARA-MARTINI 2001: 353f. Neither O. Mørkholm nor J. Zahle (1976: 67f) agree with the idea that the above-mentioned countermarks can be interpreted as Lycian. Moreover, it needs to be pointed out that sigloi did not necessarily reach the lands of Lycia as a result of their having been subsidies but instead could have arrived there, for example, as a result of activities on the part of Lycians outside of Lycia or as a result of commercial transactions.

⁴⁴ Cf. ZAHLE 1989: 170.

⁴⁵ It is worth reminding ourselves here of the presence of a double siglos struck in Tars, which was part of the Tissaphernes Hoard (HURTER 1979: 107, A, Pl. 9).

⁴⁶ Here it is worth citing once again N. Vismara-Martini's article analyzing the origin of the metal used to strike the coins in Lycia (VISMARA-MARTINI 2001).

⁴⁷ Cf. BODZEK 2011: 129f, 287; IDEM 2014b: 7.

instance, the metal used to produce the coins was supposed to have come from the melting down of silver dishes.

To a certain degree, it may be that the origin of the metal (from subsidies on the part of the Persian administration) is reflected in the pro-Persian iconography of some of the coins from c. 400 BC, that is, the motif of a “tiarate head”.⁴⁸

However, we also have other instances – albeit not many – in which a different strategy was taken up by Achaemenid officials with regard to the financing of what were probably military activities in either Lycia or with the participation of Lycians. This was the striking of coins by Persian officials in their own name, ones that were intended for the Lycian market.

The well known example of a direct interference by a Persian official into the Lycian coinage is a unique silver stater struck at Xanthos in the name of Tissaphernes (Pl. 1, Fig. 1).⁴⁹ The obverse of this coin shows the image of a horseman in Iranian cavalry attire with the legend ARNNAHE (= Xantos [gen. singularis]). The reverse has the head of Athena/Maliya in an Attic helmet and the legend ZISAPRNNA (= Tissafernes).⁵⁰ The stater is remarkable in several respects. Firstly, it was struck in the Xanthos (Lycian Arñna) mint, with legends in Lycian alphabet and according to local so-called light weight standard.⁵¹ Secondly, it bears the name of a real Persian grandee.⁵² Next, the coin iconography is somewhat unusual for Lycian coinage. Although the Athena/Maliya head was a typical coin type in Western Lycia at the end of the 5th and in the first decades of the 4th centuries BC,⁵³ the Persian/Iranian horseman motif is not attested in archaic and classical Lycian coinages.⁵⁴ One should have in mind of course the great

⁴⁸ On this topic, cf. MØRKHOLM and ZAHLE 1976: 70, 79ff; ZAHLE 1982; IDEM 1989: 175f; IDEM 1991: 150.

⁴⁹ Cf. MØRKHOLM and NEUMANN 1978: M221; HURTER 1979: no. 6; ALRAM 1986: 105, no. 317; ZAHLE 1990a: 176, no. 88; DEBORD 1999: Pl. I, 14; VISMARA 1999: 100, no. 14; MILDENBERG 2000: Pl. I, 13; SNG Cop. Suppl. no. 460; BODZEK 2011: 102ff, Pl. II, 4; IDEM 2014a: 64, Fig. 20. The coin was included in the so-called „Tissaphernes Hoard“ published originally by S. Hurter (1979) and hidden c. 390 BC. The author discussed also widely the coin itself; on the hoard see also: CH III: no. 14; CH IV: no. 16; CH V: no. 16; VISMARA 1999: 100–101, no. 14; IDEM 2018, *passim*.

⁵⁰ The exact legend on the obverse reads as follows: [AP]NNA[HE]; cf. MØRKHOLM and NEUMANN 1978: 25, M221; see also: ALRAM 1986: 105; MELCHERT 2004: 5, Arna-2. With regard to the legend of the reverse, which reads ZISA[PRN]NA, cf. MØRKHOLM and NEUMANN 1978: M221; ALRAM 1986: 105; MELCHERT 2004: 110, Zisaprna. The satraps' name was rendered in similar way in inscription wrote down on the famous “Inscribed Pillar” at Xanthos (TAM I: 44c 1 [zisaprna], 11, 15 [kizzaprna]); cf. MELCHERT 2004: 97, 110.

⁵¹ On the subject of the so-called “light weight” standard (a stater weighing between 8.2 and 8.8 g) used in western Lycia, cf. ZAHLE 1989: 171; TIETZ 2002; KOLB 2018: 562f. According to J. Zahle’s classification of Lycian coinage, coins struck in western Lycia in the light standard were placed in what is called group C.

⁵² I use here a term introduced by Leo Mildenberg (2000: 9).

⁵³ Cf. ZAHLE 1989: 180, Fig. 1.

⁵⁴ The assessment that Mildenberg (2000: 10) comes to – that the coin has “Lycian images” – is thus not entirely correct.

variety of types used by the Lycians in 5th and 4th centuries BC, as well as a habit of copying of foreign coin types by die engravers working in Lycia. In my view, however, the Tissaphernes stater is not such a case, or at least not definitively. Although the type itself is undoubtedly copied from Tarsos coins,⁵⁵ its choice was far from random. The Iranian horseman was a universal and popular motif recalling the ethos of the Achaemenid aristocracy and well understood in different regions of the Persian Empire,⁵⁶ as evidenced by its frequent appearances in minor and monumental art. The horseman motif is also well attested in monumental art in Lycia itself.⁵⁷ Therefore, one can assume that its meaning was also well known and understood by the Lycians. The motif is also well established in the case of satrapal coinages and was to be found in different mints in the western part of the Achaemenid empire from Mysia and Troas to Palestine and perhaps even Egypt.⁵⁸ It is known in two basic variations:

A/ horseman holding a flower or reins or whip or vertical sword on walking or depicted on a short, galloping horse (known mainly from Tarsos coinages dated around 400 BC),⁵⁹

and

B/ a horseman brandishing a spear or javelin on a galloping horse.⁶⁰

The meaning of the two types is generally similar, although perhaps they have slightly different detailed messages. In some cases, the type could be directly connected with particular Achaemenid officials,⁶¹ while at others such an attribution is less certain but still possible⁶² and in some other cases the coins remain anonymous.⁶³

It should be stressed that Tissaphernes himself used the Iranian horseman type twice in his coinages. Once was in the case of the discussed silver, a Lycian stater (variation A), and again on small bronze coins, issued somewhere in north-western

⁵⁵ Cf. It was already pointed out by Sylvia Hurter (1979: 107). However, see also: HARRISON 1982b: 391ff; CASABONNE 2000b: 43, note 18; IDEM 2004: 171, note 714; MÜSELER 2016: 23, note 24.

⁵⁶ Cf. FARKAS 1969; TUPLIN 2010: 104ff; BODZEK 2011: 241ff.

⁵⁷ Cf. ZAHLE 1983: 57f; IDEM 1989: 172, note 9.

⁵⁸ Cf. BODZEK 2011: 241ff, Pls II, 2, 4, III, 15, IX, 9–14, XIII, 1–22; IDEM 2014a: Pl. I, 1; IDEM 2015: Pl. I, 1; 2, 5a–5c.

⁵⁹ On type A BODZEK 2011: 243ff, Pl. II, 4; XII, 1–2, 4, 6, 8, 12–14; IDEM 2015: Pl. 2, 5a–5c (horseman holding flower); IDEM 2011: Pl. XII, 15–16 (horseman holding whip), 10–11 (spear). See also: NIESWANDT 2012: 84ff; MÜSELER 2015. On general classification of Tarsos issues, see CASABONNE 2004.

⁶⁰ On type B, cf. BODZEK 2011: 248f, Pl. II, 2–2b, 15–15b; IX, 9–12, 14–14b; XII, 17–21; IDEM 2014a: Pl. I, 1; NIESWANDT 2012: 78ff. There is another type which could be called Type C (or III), which represents some features of two former. The horseman holds a short staff or sword vertically (BODZEK 2011: 253, Pl. XII, 22); cf. also: IDEM 2004: 180; IDEM 2015: 2, note 7; NIESWANDT 2012: 94.

⁶¹ Respectively BODZEK 2011, Pl. II, 2, 4; Pl. XII, 19, 22.

⁶² One can recall here a coin attributed by Bodzek to Mazakes (BODZEK 2014c).

⁶³ Cf. BODZEK 2011: Pl. III, 15; IX, 9–14, XII, 1–16.

Asia Minor, possibly at Adramytteion in Aeolis (variation B).⁶⁴ This double use of the Iranian horseman type by the same satrap in the case of two different mints, located in different regions seems to be quite significant.

To sum up: while striking coins in his own name in Lycia, Tissaphernes decided to use a type which was unusual and extraordinary for Lycian coinage but meaningful and relatively popular for satrapal issues. What is significant is that the satrap did not choose the other coin type popular in Lycia and also recalling to ethos of Achaemenid aristocracy i.e. tiarate head. The latter type was used by some Lycian dynasts active in the later 5th and early 4th centuries BC,⁶⁵ and is usually interpreted as a manifestation of a pro Persian attitude. However, there is no degree of certainty who are depicted on the coins. Are they dynasts, satraps, deities or deified ancestors? For example, Herbert A. Cahn proposed identifying tiarate heads on Lycian coins as portraits of Tissaphernes and of other satraps.⁶⁶ Whatever the case, it seems that the Iranian horseman type, given that it is much more individual and stands out in the Lycian milieu, better served Tissaphernes' self-propaganda than the head with a tiara type presented on coins of different issuers of lesser rank (dynasts and so on). It is worth emphasizing that Tissaphernes would have probably had to supply his own metal in order to strike an issue with a distinctive iconography and carrying his name.⁶⁷

From our point of view, an interesting issue concerns Tissaphernes' position when he struck the discussed Lycian coins. Was he acting as a *karanos*, a satrap of Lydia or a satrap of Caria? The answer is far from clear and directly related to the question of how we date the Xanthian coin. Tissaphernes was politically active in the western provinces of the Achaemenid state c. 413–395 BC.⁶⁸ He twice fulfilled the post of *karanos* and satrap of Sardes (Lydia/Sparda) during this time, first between c. 413 and 407 BC (Ctesias 52) and again in the years 400–395 BC. Meanwhile, in 407–401 BC, he acted as a satrap of Caria where he had his *oikos* (i.e. a manor or palace) (Xen. Hell. 1.4.1ff; Xen. Anab. 1.1.2, 1.9.7).⁶⁹ It is generally agreed that Tissaphernes struck his Lycian issue between 400 and 395 BC, which is to say, during the second period of his rule as *karanos*.⁷⁰ The basis for these dates has to

⁶⁴ On the Tissaphernes bronze coins with horseman type, see: CAHN 1985: 588, no. 3, Fig. 4; IDEM 1989: 99, Pl. 3, 1; STAUBER 1996: 255f, A–B; KLEIN 1999: no. 255, Pl. IX; DEBORD 1999: Pl. I, 13; BODZEK 2011: 248f, Pl. II, 2; IDEM 2012: 109, Fig. 3; IDEM 2014a: Fig. 19; NIESWANDT 2012: 94, Tissaphernes typus 2.

⁶⁵ On this topic, see: SCHWABACHER 1968; MØRKHOLM and ZAHLE 1976: 76ff; ZAHLE 1982; IDEM 1990a; IDEM 1990b; BODZEK 1994.

⁶⁶ CAHN 1975.

⁶⁷ Cf. ZAHLE 1989: 172, 176.

⁶⁸ Cf. SCHAEFER 1940: 1579f; SCHMITT 1992.

⁶⁹ See: RUZICKA 1985; on Tissaphernes' *oikos* in Caria, cf. Xen. Hell. III. 2.12; and HORNBLLOWER 1982: 7, note 28. Cf. also PODRAZIK 2019 and a review of literature there.

⁷⁰ It was Hurter (1979: 101) who dated the coin under discussion to between c. 400 and 395 BC. A number of authors have come out in favor of the coin's having been struck between these dates, including Zahle (1989:

do with the close stylistic similarity between the head of Athena from the reverse and analogous images on the coins of the dynast Ddenewele.⁷¹ It is believed that Ddenewele was active slightly before 390 BC, among other things due to the fact that his name does not appear in an inscription dated to c. 400 BC on the “Xanthos Stela”.⁷² However, in more recent works, it is held that Ddenewele began his period of activity during the last decade of the 5th century BC and that the coin itself is dated to c. 400 BC.⁷³ In our opinion, we cannot rule out that the coin was struck even earlier than this, between 407 and 401 BC, when Tissaphernes was satrap of Caria, or even earlier than this, between 413 and 407 BC, when he was *karanos*.⁷⁴ In particular, the first dates would seem to be likely within the context of the above-mentioned similarity to the coins of Ddenewele, who, in the light of current research, was active between c. 410 and 390 BC. Nor is this contradicted by the date that “Tissaphernes Hoard” is traditionally said to have been hidden, i.e. c. 390 BC. Although the stater struck in his name is rather well preserved, it has signs of wear. Thus, with regard to the issue under discussion here, what we are potentially dealing with is an issue of the satrap of Caria within the lands of Lycia.

What remains, however, is the question as to why Tissaphernes struck his own issue in Xanthos. Interpreting the reason for this is not, however, easy. The various explanations that have been given as to why he struck the coinage under discussion – that it was an issue in his honor;⁷⁵ that it legitimized his authority in the region; that it brought prestige to the issue itself or to its issuer⁷⁶ – are not convincing.⁷⁷ Tissaphernes’ name appears on the so-called “Xanthos Stela” (“Inscribed Pillar”) within the context of the actions in Iasos that were taken by him against Amorges, in which he was aided by a Lycian contingent.⁷⁸ This was sufficient legitimacy for Tissaphernes’ authority. Nor am I entirely convinced by Wilhelm Müseler’s proposal, which ties the striking of the coinage to both Tissaphernes’ triumphant

172), Alam (1986: 105), Bodzek (1994: 116; 2010: 109), Mildenberg (1998: 270, no. 24), and Winzer (2005: 29, nos. 6, 4). On W. Müseler’s idea, which dates the stater to c. 400 BC, see below.

⁷¹ Cf. HURTER 1979: 101; ZAHLE 1989; MÜSELER 2015: 23.

⁷² Cf. ZAHLE 1989: 172, note 9.

⁷³ Cf. MÜSELER 2015: 23; IDEM 2016; KOLB 2018: 39.

⁷⁴ These dates have already been proposed elsewhere. C.M. Harrison (1982b: 394) leaned towards the possibility that Tissaphernes minted coins in Xanthos during the entire period of his activity in western Asia Minor. Another author who supports the widespread dates for the coin under discussion is P. Debord (1999: 126f). A. Keen, in turn, sees a connection between the coin under discussion here and the span of time during which it is confirmed that Tissaphernes worked with the Lycians during the first period of his rule as *karanos*. Keen above all questions the dates that are given for the time that Ddenewele was active as basing on the fact that the dynast name is missing from the “Xanthos Stela”. (1998: 137, footnote 8). Cf. also BODZEK 2011: 102ff.

⁷⁵ HURTER 1979: 108; MILDENBERG 2000: 10.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁷ HARRISON 1982b: 394.

⁷⁸ TAM I: 44, a53–a55; KEEN 1998: 136ff.

return to the rank of *karanos* after 401 BC and to the idea that the coinage was struck by Ddenewele – who ruled over at least part of Lycia – as a kind of “bribe” which was supposed to have convinced Tissaphernes of his loyalty.⁷⁹ It is my opinion that the issue under discussion was a form of propaganda on the part of Tissaphernes aimed towards his Lycian allies and soldiers.⁸⁰ If it is true that the coinage was struck during the years in which he was satrap of Caria, then it would have been a kind of confirmation or commemoration of the old ties from his expedition against Amorges; it may have been an attempt by him to find new allies during this difficult time, or perhaps the coins were struck simply to finance some military operations. At least in part, these reasons can be taken into consideration while maintaining the dates that are traditionally given, that is, to between 400 and 395 BC. In any case, as mentioned above, it was Tissaphernes who was responsible for the issue under discussion, and it was no doubt he who provided the metal so that the coins could be struck.⁸¹ On the basis of the above-mentioned characteristics, L. Mildeberg regarded the coin under consideration as an example of local coinage.⁸² And, in a certain sense, this assertion is justified: it is a local coin, for it was struck for local use.⁸³ This is evidenced by the weight standard, the reverse type, and, above all, the language and the alphabet in which the legend was written. There is, however, another side to the story. As mentioned, the coin has the name of one of the most powerful representatives of the Achaemenid administration at the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century BC. Moreover, the type of the obverse is completely new with regard to the repertoire of Lycian coinage. The coin under discussion can be regarded as evidence of Tissaphernes’ rule as *karanos* or satrap but tied to his military operations.⁸⁴ In other words, the coin can be interpreted as a satrapal issue⁸⁵ destined for the local market. It should also be emphasized that as satrap of Caria,

⁷⁹ MÜSELER 2015: 24.

⁸⁰ Cf. KEEN 1998: 137.

⁸¹ Cf. ZAHLE 1989: 172, 176.

⁸² MILDENBERG 2000: 10.

⁸³ Cf. ZAHLE, *op. cit.* Following the idea of Hurter (1979: 100–101), P. Debord (1999: 63) also posed a question about the nature of the issue under discussion, though he formulated it in a slightly different way: he asked whether Tissaphernes’ issue was a satrapal or a municipal issue. However, it is a mistake to pose the question in this manner. For one thing, we do not know whether the coin with Tissaphernes’ name should be compared to municipal issues or dynastic ones. Coins with dynasts’ own names and the name of the city-mint are represented in large numbers in Lycian coinage, and in our opinion it is at the very least risky to call them “municipal” issues. Second of all, the monetary type of “Athena’s head” should not be considered as (...) *thème iconographique le plus fréquent sur les monnaies de la cité* (...) but as a motive that is in general tied to the coinage of western Lycia at the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century BC, and one that is also characteristic for dynastic issues (cf. e.g. VISMARA 1989: no. 169 (Kherei), 178 (Ddenewele), 182 (Erbina)).

⁸⁴ The martial character of the Xanthian issue of Tissaphernes is emphasized by Zahle (1989: 172, 176) and Keen (1998: 137); cf. also HARRISON 1982b: 194.

⁸⁵ Within the frames of the definition given above.

Tissaphernes was probably also responsible for Lycia.⁸⁶ Thus, it may be that we really can regard the coin under discussion as an example of the satrap of Caria's minting activity in Lycia.

Finally, one more remark should be made. Tissaphernes' project of minting his own coins in Lycia was apparently short lived, as only unique exemplar has been preserved to our own time. The coins were also probably not highly esteemed by Lycians, who probably melted them down and used the bullion to produce their own dynastic coinages.

There is another interesting group of coins which is sometimes supposed to be evidence of relations between satraps of Caria and the Lycians.⁸⁷ These are coins in three denominations – drachmas, diobols, and hemiobols – belonging to one issue.⁸⁸ All of the denominations have the image of a lion's head on the obverse. The reverse type of the drachmas and diobols was an eight-rayed star;⁸⁹ that of the hemiobols, an astragal.⁹⁰ The reverses of all the coins have the legend *arñ (nahe)*, indicating Xanthos as the mint. The drachm and diobol of discussed type were already known to Babelon, who included them into his *Traité des monnaies grecque et romaine*, placed among issues of uncertain Lycian dynasts and dated to the post Perikle era i.e. between 360 and 336 BC.⁹¹ A new set of the coins (diobol and hemiobols) was recently collected and published by Müseler, who argues for their attribution to Mausolos and rightly flagged both denominations as belonging to the same issue⁹². If their attribution to the satrap of Caria is correct, the coins would be direct evidence of the minting activity of Mausolos in Lycia after subduing the region. However, is this really correct? The drachm and diobols partly repeat the general type used by Hekatomnids and more specifically by Hekatomnos and Mausolos.⁹³ There are, however, certain counterarguments that do not argue in favor of attributing the coins to Mausolos. The fabric of the Lycian issue differs from that of the coins struck in the Milesian standard by Hekatomnos and Mausolos. This, however, is a secondary argument, for the difference in the fabric may simply result from the fact that the coins

⁸⁶ Cf. HARRISON 1982b: 394. This researcher assumes that Lycia was under the rule of Tissaphernes as satrap in Sardis between 413 and 407 and between 400 and 395 BC. Lycia, however, must have also been under the rule of the satrap of Caria, and this office was filled by Tissaphernes between 407 and 401 BC. On Lycia's having been subject to the satrap of Caria, cf. JACOBS 1994: 136; IDEM 2003: 246ff.

⁸⁷ Cf. TIETZ 2009: 169f, Fig. 2; MÜSELER 2016: 71; KOLB 2018: 145f, Fig. 222 l.

⁸⁸ I would like to express my gratitude to K. Konuk for his valuable insights concerning this group of coins.

⁸⁹ Cf. BABELON 1910: Pl. CIV, 22 (drachmas), 23 (diobols); MÜSELER 2016: VIII. 61, and Pl. on p. 184 (diobols); cf. also TIETZ 2009: 169, Fig. 2 (diobols) = KOLB 2018: 596, Fig. 222 l.

⁹⁰ Cf. MÜSELER 2016: VIII. 62–65, and Pl. on p. 184.

⁹¹ BABELON 1910: 334f, LXXXII, no. 502, Pl. CIV, 22 (drachmas); 503, Pl. CIV, 23 (diobols).

⁹² MÜSELER 2016: 71 and VIII, 61–65.

⁹³ Cf. SNG Kayhan II, nos. 1675–1679 (Hekatomnos – stater, tetrobols, diobols, and obols); SNG Kayhan I 870–871 (Mausolos – staters).

were struck in the mint at Xanthos, perhaps making use of local workers. The coins were struck in the local western Lycian light weight standard. The stylistic differences between the “Milesian” and Lycian issues can be explained in a similar way. It must, however, also be noted that in its details the reverse type of the Lycian coins differs from that of the coins of Hekatomnos and Mausolos. With regard to the former, it is a star that we are dealing with, whereas the latter have a starlike floral ornament. A more significant problem, however, would seem to be the fact that Mausolos’ name cannot be found on the coins struck in Lycia. Mausolos usually struck his coins under his own name. In its shortened version, “MA” was also written on the above-mentioned coins struck in the Milesian standard.⁹⁴ As a result, the fact that the legend on the Lycian coins is reduced to the name of the mint should be cause for concern. On the other hand, it may be that Mausolos had a reason for not having put his name on the coins struck in Lycia. This cannot be ruled out. What is indisputable is that the coins under discussion here belong to the latest Lycian issue during the dynastic period.⁹⁵ It is commonly accepted that Lycian coinage disappeared at the end of the 360s BC, following the fall of Perikle. Antony Keen suggested it was due to the will of Autophradates.⁹⁶ Is it possible that Mausolos did not want to act against the will of his Persian colleague on this matter and so struck his coins anonymously? It is difficult to answer this question. As already mentioned, Mausolos put his name on other issues struck by him. There is one other possibility that would allow us to tie the coins under discussion to Mausolos, though not directly. It may be that they were struck by some representative of his, one who was active in the lands of Lycia (an officer? a governor?).⁹⁷ He did not have the right to strike coins in his own name, and for some reason he decided not to put Mausolos’ name on the coins. However, he reproduced – perhaps because of the recipients (for example, soldiers) – a type that was used by his master, making use of the local, that is, the Xanthian, infrastructure and workers in order to produce the coins. Mausolos and his successors had their representatives of the civil or military administration in Lycia. As an example of one of Mausolos’ men in Lycia we can cite the hyparchos Kandaulos, who collected taxes for his satrap (Pseudo-Arist., *Oec.* 2.2.14. (1348a)).⁹⁸ Once Lycia was subjugated by the Hekatomnids, garrisons were placed there – among other places, in Xanthos itself.⁹⁹ The soldiers serving there would have been natural recipients of the coins, and the commandants, the potential issuers.

⁹⁴ In similar fashion, the legend EKA appeared on the coins of Hekatomnos.

⁹⁵ Cf. TIETZ 2009: 169; KOLB 2018: 145f.

⁹⁶ KEEN 1998: 174.

⁹⁷ Cf. KOLB 2018: 146.

⁹⁸ Cf. HORNBLOWER 1982: 121, note 130; KEEN 1998: 173.

⁹⁹ Cf. HORNBLOWER 1982: 147, note 18; KEEN 1998: 174.

We know of a few instances in which coins were struck by lower-ranking representatives of the Achaemenid administration operating in Lycia. These examples are confirmed by way of the issues of Artumpara and, perhaps, Mithrapata, issues that have been traditionally attributed to the coinage of local dynasts,¹⁰⁰ but also to a personage – unknown apart from their coins – with the name of L’RYYN.¹⁰¹ The first, Artumpara, an Iranian, called the Mede (*Artumpara* : *medese*) in an inscription from Tlos,¹⁰² is known from epigraphic sources and coins struck in the lands of Lycia and outside of its borders (Side).¹⁰³ The work that he did in the lands of Lycia and beyond Lycia’s borders, which was probably tied to the unrest in the region, was almost certainly accomplished at the behest of Autophradates, the satrap of Lydia.¹⁰⁴ We can find evidence for this in the work done by Artumpara beyond the borders of Lycia. In Side, in Pamphylia, Artumpara struck an issue of tetrobols in his own name and written in the Lycian alphabet.¹⁰⁵ Thus, it looks like he did work for his sovereign in an area that went beyond one region.¹⁰⁶ It is worth adding that in striking coins in the lands of Lycia, Artumpara made use, among other things, of the “Median” type of a “tiarate head”, though it was not the only motive used with regard to the coins that were struck by him.¹⁰⁷ The coin of Artumpara struck in Side has on the reverse a representation of a “head of a bearded man in a Corinthian

¹⁰⁰ Mithrapata = Mitrobates, cf. MØRKHOLM and NEUMANN 1978: 18, M138a–M139f (here as a Lycian dynast with an Iranian name); ALRAM 1986: 50ff, nos. 84–99; cf. MELCHERT 2004: 99, Mi@rapata; Artumpara (or Artumpara) = Artembares, cf. MØRKHOLM and NEUMANN 1978: M 231a–d, M302; ALRAM 1986: 47f, nos. 72–77; DANDAMAYEV 1986: no. 4; MELCHERT 2004: 92; SCHÜRR 2012 – Artumpara.

¹⁰¹ See: MERZBACHER 1871: 428f; BABELON 1910: LXXXIII, ill. 39; ALRAM 1986: Pl. II, 349; SNG Keckman Pl. 19, 512; DEBORD 1999: Pl. III, 18; OLBRYCHT 2004: Pl. 5.2.C; ASHTON 2006: Pl. 5, 56; BODZEK 2011: Pl. IV, 13–13a.

¹⁰² TAM I: 29, 7; BORCHHARDT 1976: 101, b. The discussion concerning the controversies connected to the interpretation of the above-mentioned inscription is summarized by Keen (1998: 149f); see also: SCHÜRR 2012; VISMARA 2014. Artumpara was probably Persian (cf. Vismara, *ibidem*).

¹⁰³ The coins of Artumpara are compared in the following: BORCHHARDT 1976: 100f, a–f; ALRAM 1986: 47; VISMARA 2014; MÜSELER 2016: 176f, nos. VIII, 28–32, and Plate on p. 183; cf. also MØRKHOLM and NEUMANN 1978: M 231a–d, M302. Within the lands of Lycia, we know for certain that Artumpara struck coins in Telmessos and Tlos – cf. ZAHLE 1990a: 53, 173, no. 67 = SNG Cop. Suppl. 458; VISMARA 2014: 212, Series 3, Fig. 3.1; MÜSELER 2016: 43. Other mints have also been suggested: Xanthos, Kadyanda, and Pinara (ATLAN 1958: 91; BORCHHARDT 1976: 101; KEEN 1998: 151; VISMARA 2014: 213ff; MÜSELER 2016: 43). A comparison of the inscriptions mentioning Artumpara can be found in the following: BORCHHARDT 1976: 101f, a–c; SCHÜRR 2012; VISMARA 2014: 218ff.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. ATLAN 1958; BORCHHARDT 1976: 102; VISMARA 1989: 31; IDEM 2014: 220ff. Keen (1998: 148ff) attempted to provide a reconstruction of the events.

¹⁰⁵ ATLAN 1958: Pl. 19, 1; 2 = MØRKHOLM 1964: Pl. 4, 4 = SNG v. Aulock 4184 = ALRAM 1986: 47, Pl. 3, no. 77 = SNG Cop. Suppl. 459; BODZEK 2011: Pl. IV, 9; VISMARA 2014: 216ff.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. KEEN 1998: 150, 162f.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. HILL 1897: no. 111, Pl. VI, 12 = BABELON 1910: no. 389, Pl. C, 15 = ALRAM 1986: no. 72 = ZAHLE 1990a: 175, no. 82; HILL 1897: xxxvi, Pl. XLIV, 10 = BABELON 1910: no. 389bis; MÜSELER 2016: VIII, 29–32. Other monetary types of Artumpara from the lands of Lycia referred to the traditions of the local coinage – e.g. the “Head of Athena”, “Athena Sitting”, and the “Head of Herakles”.

helmet”, regarded as Artumpara’s portrait as a strategos.¹⁰⁸ A similar role was almost certainly played in the lands of Lycia by the mysterious L’RYYN, who is only known of via small bronze coins with the image of an archer on the obverse and an ibex on the reverse, coins that include an Aramaic legend recording his name. These coins have traditionally been attributed to the rulers of Cappadocia and dated to the early Hellenistic period. However, thanks to an analysis of the origin of a number of these coins, R.A.J. Ashton convincingly indicated Lycia as the place of their production and dated them to the late 4th century BC, to a time close to that of the expeditions of Alexander the Great.¹⁰⁹ However, we are still left with the problem of how to decipher the Aramaic legend that can be found on the reverse of these coins. A. Lemaire established a reading: L’RYYN.¹¹⁰ Ashton suggests that the issuer was a Persian governor (that is, a lower-level officer – a hyparchos or something similar). On the other hand, the hypothesis that L’RYYN could have been an Achaemenid officer active in this area either prior to or during the war with Alexander the Great would seem to be equally attractive. With its unique iconography, partially martial in its substance (the image of an archer in so-called “Median” attire), its Aramaic legend, and the material that was used to make it – unusual for Lycia – these coins would seem to indicate that they were an issue intended to finance military operations. The role played by Mithrapata is a somewhat more complicated matter. Keen argues in support of regarding him as a Persian officer active in the lands of Lycia at the behest of the satrap.¹¹¹ It should be added that, in contrast to Artumpara, Mithrapata did not make use of the monetary type “head in a tiara”. On the contrary, his staters had one of the most exciting portrait images – one that is in keeping with the Greek style – that can be found on coins struck before the Hellenistic Age.¹¹² The example of the bronze coins of Tissaphernes shows, however, that we should not draw far-reaching conclusions concerning the political substance of an image like this.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ See: ATLAN 1958: 95; ZAHLE 1990a: 52, 54, 174, no. 91.

¹⁰⁹ The following authors were in favor of attributing the coins under discussion to Ariarathes: MERZBACHER 1871: 428f; FRIEDLÄNDER 1877: 269; SIX 1885: 30; ALRAM 1986: 112, no. 349; SIMONETTA 1977: 47f, no. 1; HOOVER 2012: 297, no. 792. Debord (1999: 54, III, 18) was also in favor of Cappadocia as the place in which the coins were struck. C.M. Harrison (1982b: 194), on the basis of the provenance of the coins that were known to her, argued that the coins were struck in southwestern Asia Minor. Finally, on the basis of a similar analysis, R.H.J. Ashton (1999: no. 512; IDEM 2006: 11f) pointed to Lycia; cf. also LEMAIRE 2000: 129; BODZEK 2011: 108f. M.J. Olbrycht (2004: 306) was also in favor of attributing the coins, in general, to Asia Minor and to dating them to the late Achaemenid era.

¹¹⁰ LEMAIRE and LOZACHMEUR 1996: 100; LEMAIRE 2000: 129. On the various ways in which the legend has been deciphered, see HARRISON 1982a: 193f.

¹¹¹ Cf. KEEN 1998: 153.

¹¹² SCHWABACHER 1968: 117ff; MILDENBERG 1965: 47f.

¹¹³ On the coins of Tissaphernes, cf. CAHN 1985; WINZER 2005: 6.1–6.3, Pl. 2; BODZEK 2011: 160ff, Pl. II, 1–3; IDEM 2012.

Returning to the Xanthian coins attributed to Mausolos, however, it is very likely that we should accept that the coins of the issue under discussion here do not have any direct or indirect connection to this satrap and that they are instead the effect of the custom – characteristic of Lycian coinage – of borrowing monetary types from issues struck in other regions. It may be then that in this situation what we are dealing with is an imitative issue, one that was struck by the Xanthians and based on a prototype in the form of a coin of Mausolos. In this case, it really would be the case that the satrap of Caria had an influence on the coinage of Lycia – although in a way that was not at all deliberate on his part. As F. Kolb rightly pointed out, the small number of existing coins of this kind points to their having had a rather short lifespan.¹¹⁴ This may be evidence of the satrap having put an end to the idea of the Xanthians striking their own coinage, one that maintained the local tradition. Nor can it be ruled out that we can find the prototype or inspiration for the Xanthian issue in the coins of Miletos of a similar type.¹¹⁵ Due to the lack of sources, the ideas introduced here do not extend beyond the realm of theoretical possibility, and, at least for the moment, the circumstances under which this issue was struck remain unclear.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the interest in Lycia that was shown by the satraps governing in Caria, we do not have indisputable evidence that they were directly involved in the local coinage. It is only with a large question mark that the examples cited here can be interpreted as activity on the part of the satraps of Caria. It is more likely that this is the case when it comes to the coins struck by Tissaphernes. We do not know, however, whether the issue in question was struck during his reign as satrap of Caria or whether it was accomplished when he was satrap of Lydia and karanos. With regard to the coins that are tied to Mausolos, the likelihood that he was involved in their production is even smaller. The fact that his name is missing on these coins – as well as other differences – would seem to point to their being imitations of monetary types from other regions struck by Lycian issuers.

ABBREVIATIONS

CH = *The Coin Hoards*, vols. I–X, London–New York 1975–2010.

SNG v. Aulock = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Deutschland. Sammlung v. Aulock*, Berlin 1957–1968.

SNG Cop. Suppl. = S. SCHULZ and J. ZAHLE (eds.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum. Supplement: Acquisitions 1942–1996*, Copenhagen 2002.

¹¹⁴ KOLB 2018: 146.

¹¹⁵ Cf. SNG Kayhan II 1405–1407.

- SNG Kayhan I = K. KONUK (ed.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Turkey I. The Muharrem Kayhan Collection*, Istanbul–Bordeaux 2002.
- SNG Kayhan II = K. KONUK, O. TEKIN and A. EROL-ÖZDIBAY (eds.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Turkey I. The Muharrem Kayhan Collection*, Part 2, Istanbul 2015.
- TAM I = E. KALINKA, *Tituli Asiae Minoris: Tituli Liciae lingua Licia conscripti*, Vienna 1901.

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MAP 1

Lycia and the Lycian-Carian borderland (by Urszula Bąk):

1 – Kaunos (Kbid, Khbide); 2 – Kalynda; 3 – Daidala; 4 – Telandos; 5 – Kadyanda (Khadawati); 6 – Telmessos (Telebehi); 7 – Araxa (Araththi); 8 – Tlos (Tlawi); 9 – Pinar (Pillewi); 10 – Xanthos (Arřina); 11 – Patara (Pttara); 12 – Tymnessos (Tuminehi); 13 – Kandyba (Khākbi); 14 – Phellos (Wehñte); 15 – Antiphellos; 16 – Aperlai (Aprll); 17 – Apollonia; 18 – Zagaba; 19 – Kyaneai (Khhane); 20 – Simena; 21 – Trysa (Trusñ); 22 – Myra (Wedrēi?); 23 – Arykanda; 24 – Limyra (Zēmuri); 25 – Rhodiapolis; 26 – Olympos; 27 – Phaselis

PLATE 1

Fig. 1a–b. Tissaphernes, Lycia, Xanthos, c. 407–401 or 400–395 BC, AR, stater.

Photo: The National Museum / photographer Victor P. Bizoevb, CC-BY-SA

Fig. 2a–b. Tissaphernes, Mysia, Adramytteion ?, c. 413–407 or 400–395 BC, AE, chalkus?

Photo: CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=219564>

Fig. 3. Syennesis (?), Cilicia, Tarsos, c. 415–400 BC, AR, stater.

Photo: CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=257579>

Fig. 4. A satrap (?), Cilicia, Tarsos, c. 400–390/385 BC, AR, stater.

Photo: CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=79825>

PLATE 2

Fig. 5a–b. Mausolos (?), Lycia, Xanthos, c. 360 BC, AR, drachm.

Photo: Nomos AG Auction 19, Lot 68

Fig. 6a–b. Mausolos (?), Lycia, Xanthos, c. 360 BC, AR, hemiobol?

Photo: CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=279400>

Fig. 7. Mausolos (377–353), Caria, Mylasa, fourrée stater.

Photo: Roma Numismatics E-Sale 57, Lot 449

Fig. 8. Artumpara, Lycia, c. 385–370 BC, AR, stater.

Photo: Nomos AG Auction 5, Lot 198

Fig. 9. Artumpara, Pamphilia, Side, c. 370 BC, AR, drachm.

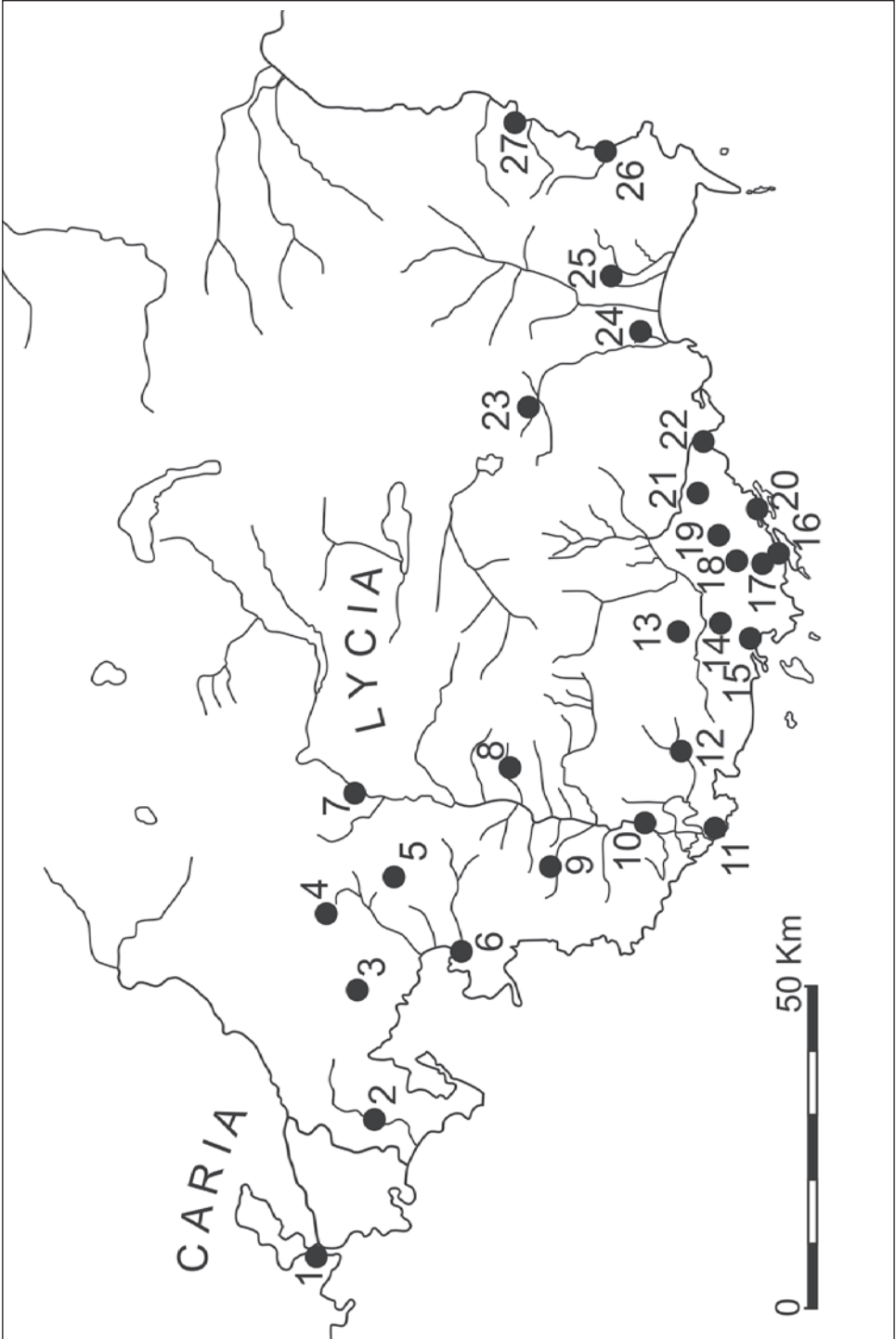
Photo: The National Museum / photographer Victor P. Bizoevb, CC-BY-SA

Fig. 10a–b. L'RYYN?, Western Lycia, c. 350–330 BC, AE, chalkus.

Photo: CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=112762>

Fig. 11. Mithrapata, c. 390–370 BC, AR, stater.

Photo: CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=309775>





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