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MYRIANDROS—ALEXANDRIA KAT'ISSON

BY EDWARD T. NEWELL

In working out the various coinages which Alexander the Great caused to be issued from the mint situated in the great Cilician metropolis of Tarsos the writer became much interested in the previous coinage struck there by the Persian satrap Mazaios. The result has been a growing conviction that M. Babelon¹ is undoubtedly correct in removing from the coinages generally assigned to the mint at Tarsos those Persian staters of Mazaios which bear a prowling lion as their reverse type. Unfortunately he does not clearly state his reasons for so doing and perhaps, for this very reason, the compilers of the British Museum Catalogue have been content to follow the old theory as the safest and to assign, once more, these lion staters to Tarsos. It seems to the writer that a reworking of the material available, for the purpose of arriving at a definite decision, would not only be interesting but also profitable. It also appears to him that this can be made to lead to far more certain conclusions than even M. Babelon was able to secure.

As a premise to our study let us here state that unquestionably the greater portion of the coins bearing the name of Mazaios were actually struck at Tarsos. The personal history of that great satrap, from about 361 B. C. when he became governor of Cilicia, to about 333 B. C. when he was succeeded here by Arsames, goes far to show that Tarsos must have been the seat of his principal mint. To bring clarity into the question it will be necessary for us to commence our studies with a discussion of Mazaios' issues which are attributable, beyond all question, to the Cilician capital. Of these the initial series is that one bearing the lion and the stag type, "adopted" as Mr. Hill says² "at the time of the war (B. C. 350) which had as its object the restoration of Evagoras II to the throne of Salamis." These were followed by the lion and bull type. Now if we carefully collect the known varieties of these staters as published by Six (Num. Chron. 3rd Ser. Vol. IV, 1884), Mr. Hill (Brit. Mus. Cat. *Cilicia*), and M. Babelon (*Traité*, II²) we will find

¹ *Les Perses achéménides*, Paris, 1893; also *Traité des Monnaies Grecques*, 2me Partie, vol. II.

² Brit. Mus. Cat., *Cilicia*, Introd. p. lxxxii.

them all, both stag and bull varieties, falling into several successive but clearly articulated series, which eventually merge into the Attic tetradrachms and Persian staters struck by Alexander at Tarsos after his occupation of that city in the summer of 333 B. C.³

The earliest issues of the Mazaios staters at Tarsos are distinguished by the shallow incuse square of the reverse, as follows :



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

SERIES I.

Group A.

בַּעֲלָתָר on right.

Baal'tars enthroned to left, rests l. arm on sceptre and holds ear of wheat and bunch of grapes in r. The whole in linear circle.

a. Footstool ornamented with facing lion's head.

Paris (*Traité*, no. 674, Pl. xci, 14).⁴

b. Beneath throne, Aplustre (?) or γ .⁵

B. M., no. 37 Pl. xxx, 1 (γ off flan), from Montague Sale, no. 662; Newell; Boston, Fig. 1; Consul Weber Sale, no. 3896, Pl. 1.

מורי above.

Lion, head in profile, attacking stag to l. The whole in a plain incuse square.

Beneath stag, γ .

Beneath stag, γ .

³ See the author's *Tarsos under Alexander*, Amer. Jour. of Num., Vol. LII, 1918.

⁴ For the specimens preserved in the Paris collection the numbers of M. Babelon's *Traité* are given rather than those in his *Les Perses achéménides*, as several coins appear to have been added to the collection since the appearance in 1893 of the latter work.

⁵ The exact nature of this symbol is perhaps still somewhat doubtful. After a careful examination of the well preserved coin in Boston the symbol appears to the writer to be something more in the nature of an aplustre than a letter, as suggested in the British Museum catalogue. Six (*Num. Chron.* 1884 p. 105, no. 6) describes a coin ostensibly belonging to this group but with the unusual feature of a dotted circle on the obverse. Furthermore, beneath the throne is the letter γ , while on the reverse is Δ instead of γ . These three peculiarities, namely the dotted circle on the obverse, the letter instead of a symbol beneath the throne, the greek letter on the reverse, leads the writer to suspect that this particular coin, although he has unfortunately never seen it, is really one of the many barbarian imitations so common to this series. On the other hand it may be a regular issue similar to the piece in the Consul Weber Sale (Pl. L, no. 3896) where the object beneath the throne certainly looks like γ , while the malformed γ on the reverse has very much the shape of a greek delta. The obverse, however, is certainly surrounded by a linear circle, and the coin therefore would present no anomalous features if placed here.

c. Beneath throne, Helmeted Head to Beneath stag, ϩ.

r.

B. M., no. 40, Pl. xxx, 3, Fig. 2; Newell.

d. Beneath throne, Ankh. Beneath stag, ϩ.

Hague; B. M., no. 39; Newell; Boston; Paris (*Traité* no. 676, Pl. cxi, 16); Hoskier Coll. (Hirsch, 1907) no. 430; Carfrae Sale (now J. Ward Coll.). On this coin the Ankh has peculiar form.

e. Beneath throne, Ankh. No letter beneath stag.

B. M., no. 38, Pl. xxx, 2; Paris (*Traité*, no. 677, Pl. cxi, 17).

Group B.



Fig. 3.

Same as for preceding group. Linear circle.



Fig. 4.

Similar, but the lion's head is facing and the whole design is surrounded by a dotted square.

f. Beneath throne, Ankh. Beneath stag, ϩ.

B. M., no. 43, Pl. xxx, 5, Fig. 3; Newell.

g. Beneath throne, Bunch of Grapes. Beneath stag, ϩ.

B. M., no. 41, Pl. xxx, 4.

h. Beneath throne, Lion's head facing. Beneath stag, ϩ.

Jameson, no. 1618, Fig. 4 (ex Prowe Sale, no. 1471); Boston: Hague (Coll. Six); Paris (*Traité*, no. 683, Pl. cxii, 2. This coin definitely shows the symbol beneath the throne, although described in the text as being without a symbol).

i. No symbol beneath throne. In field, Beneath stag, ϩ.

ϩ reversed.

B. M., no. 42.

It would be difficult to state definitely which of these two groups appeared first. Group B, with the lion's head depicted as facing and with the incuse square outlined by dots, would seem to be the earlier of the two because in these respects it is closer to the stater of Kition which served as its prototypes. On the other hand the Ankh symbol on the obverse and the Phoenician letter ϩ on the reverse are both found on Series II, which makes it possible that Group B fell between the earliest coins of that series and Group A of Series I. However, the point is not really of great importance as both groups belong to the

same general issue, and so I have followed Mr. Hill in placing the dotted incuse square after the plain incuse square.

The divinity on the obverse of these coins is depicted in the guise of Zeus but holding the ear of wheat and the bunch of grapes — the constant emblems of the great Tarsian nature god. He is, however, of a far earlier origin and is to be recognized in the famous Hittite sculpture of Ibreez where he likewise holds the bunch of grapes and the wheat ear. At Tarsos he was evidently assimilated to Zeus by the Greek element in the city's population. As Frazer points out in his *Golden Bough* "if the Baal of Tarsos was a god of fertility, as his attributes clearly imply, his identification with Zeus would be natural, since it was Zeus who, in the belief of the Greeks, sent the fertilizing rain from heaven." The divinity presided over the fruitfulness of the broad and exceedingly rich plain surrounding the city and was naturally the principal and most widely worshipped god of the district. In him the ruling element, of Semitic origin or at least imbued with Semitic civilization and culture, recognized the chief deity of the city and named him accordingly Baal Tars — or *the* Baal of Tarsos.

Beneath the throne on the obverses of our coins may be found various magistratal symbols, following the custom first introduced at Tarsos on the later coin issues of the satrap Datames (see Brit. Mus. Catalogue, Plate xxix, 11-13). The entire obverse design on the coins of Series I is invariably surrounded by a linear circle.

The close resemblance between the lion and stag type on our coins of Series I and the similar design to be found on the contemporaneous coinages of the kings of Kition in Cyprus has long been noticed by numismatists. On the strength of this very striking resemblance they have gone further and assigned the first appearance of these Tarsian coins to the year 351-350 B. C. when Idrieos, satrap of Caria, and Evagoras II, the dethroned king of Salamis, were battling unsuccessfully in Cyprus against the revolted kings of that island. Mazaios however, so far as our historical sources show, had nothing to do with the war in Cyprus; he was charged with the reduction of the revolted Phoenician cities. There is no reason why the campaign in Cyprus should not have been financed from Caria, the home of the commander-in-chief, the actual starting place of the expedition itself, and the seat of a very active mint (Halikarnassos). There is even a series of coins which Babelon (*Traité*, pp. 159 ff.) has assigned to this very occasion as having been struck by either the Carian satrap or by Evagoras to defray expenses, though there is legitimate doubt that these particular

coins were struck at this time only, and not for a considerably longer period. Mazaios' mint at Tarsos, on the other hand, would have had about all it could handle to supply the needed funds for the long and at first disastrous campaign in Phoenicia. M. Babelon indeed assigns to this time (*Traité*, pp. 451-462) the coinages of Mazaios with the lion and bull types, with the inference — though he does not expressly state this — that the earlier coins with the lion and stag types came previous to 351 B. C. In other words they could have had nothing to do with the war in Cyprus. In this case the reason for an adoption of the types prevalent at Kition in Cyprus is not very apparent. Six even makes the conjecture that these silver staters of Mazaios, with the lion and stag type, were intended to circulate alongside of the gold halfstaters of Pumiathon of Kition, of which king, curiously enough, no silver coins are known.

It is just possible that Mazaios' choice of the lion and stag for his first issue of coin may have been governed by the above-mentioned coins of Kition, but it would appear somewhat difficult to find a real reason for such a choice. On the other hand it must not be lost sight of that, on the whole, the types of the Tarsian coinages reflect the religious beliefs prevalent throughout the district of which that city was both the metropolis and the capital. The choice of a possible type for his coins by Mazaios would seem to the writer much more likely to have been determined by some such consideration than by the rather haphazard choice of a type common to the coinage of another city. If the coins of Kition had been peculiarly current throughout Cilicia, this fact might have led to the choice of type. However, as shown by the find described a few years ago by the writer (A Cilician Find, *Nom. Chron.* 1914), there were other coins just as commonly current in this district whose types might just as well have been chosen by Mazaios. There must then have been some other determining reason for this particular choice. In fact, it appears to the writer as most probable that the lion and stag type in question — like so many other types found on the coinages of Tarsos — owes its true origin to some popular myth. We know from various classical sources and the researches of modern students that the prevailing cults of Tarsos were very strongly tinged by the Hittite culture of preceding ages.⁶ Now one of the outstanding peculiarities of Hittite religious representations is the close association between the god and some animal sacred to him, the deity nearly always being depicted as stand-

⁶ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, p. 185.

ing on the back of the animal. At Tarsos itself we have in the representation on her coins of Sandan a typical example of the influence of Hittite religious and artistic conceptions, first on the popular myths of the district and later appearing among the coin types of the city. In this particular case Sandan, a god of certain Hittite origin, is seen standing on the back of a horned lion. The lion and bull type, becoming eventually the very coat-of-arms of the city, is now known to trace its origin not to a scene common to some wild country infested by lions but to a popular representation of a definite religious conception. Might not the type of the lion and stag be susceptible of a similar explanation? It should be noted that the contemporary half staters of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia (the home of Hittite culture !), give us a spirited representation of a griffin attacking a stag — clearly a mythological and not a naturalistic design. The clue to the problem may be furnished by a seal-stone now in the author's possession but which was formerly in the collection of Dr. William Hayes Ward and came originally from central Asia Minor. As can be seen by the ac-



Fig. 5.

companying reproduction of one side of this stone (Fig. 5) we here have a typical Hittite divinity, with his tall, pointed headgear, standing on the back of a magnificent stag. We thus have direct evidence that the stag must have played a definite rôle in Hittite mythology and so may have found its way to Tarsos through the medium of that somewhat mysterious people. That the lion and stag embodied a conception similar to the one presented by the lion and bull is suggested by the fact that these two types appear practically simultaneously in Tarsos. Certainly, if the lion and bull is the artistic expression of certain religious conceptions — as we have every reason to believe — is it not almost presupposed that the same is true of the lion and stag? If the former really typifies some solar aspect of a popular myth,⁷ the latter

⁷ See J. W. Crowfoot in *J. H. S.*, xx, pp. 118 ff.

almost certainly does likewise and this is apparently proved by the types on a more or less contemporaneous tritemorion of Mazaios. This coin (illustrated on Pl. cxiii, no. 3 of the *Traité*) gives us a facing head of Herakles with the lion's skin covering, and an eagle perched on the head of a stag and between the antlers. Now at Tarsos we have direct evidence⁸ that Herakles was but another name for Sandan, and the solar

⁸ Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographia*, Vol. I, p. 290.

characteristics of both these deities are very pronounced. That Herakles in this case is represented facing would suggest that his solar aspect might have been uppermost in the artist's mind. On the reverse of the coin we have what is practically a short-hand version of the lion and stag type, the eagle taking the place of the lion. This ought not to occasion surprise for, like the lion, the eagle was distinctly associated with solar conceptions and thus might, at times, readily take the place of the larger animal. The small surface at the artist's command in the present case was possibly his reason for thus abbreviating the type used on the stater.

By this long digression the writer does not desire to deny the possibility that the die-cutters at Tarsos turned to the coins of Kition for their artistic inspiration, but he does desire to express his protest against the belief that Mazaios adopted this type solely because the coins bearing it were intended to circulate in Cyprus (which is very doubtful), or to supplement the gold coinage of Pumiathon. Both of these reasons are of such a flimsy texture that Mr. Hill is apparently uncertain (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Cilicia*, Introd. p. lxxxii) which one to follow — a suggestion that it were better not to follow either. Incidentally no adequate explanation has ever been given of the reason for the adoption of this very type at Kition itself. M. Babelon's suggestion that it was symbolic of the successes of the Persians over the Greeks appears to the writer somewhat far fetched.

SERIES II.

Group A.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Inscription and type exactly as in Series I except that the whole design is now surrounded by a dotted circle.

Inscription and type as in Series I except that the design is no longer placed in a shallow incuse square but is surrounded by a linear circle.⁹

j. Beneath the throne, Ankh.

Beneath stag, ς.

Paris (*Traité*, no. 678, Pl. cxi, 18); B. M. no. 44, Pl. xxx, 6, **Fig. 6**: Newell; Hague (Coll. Six).

k. Beneath throne, uncertain letter or symbol (Aplustre?).

Beneath stag, ς.

B. M. no. 46; Newell; Bunbury Sale, 1896, no. 397; Benson Sale, 1909, no. 745.

l. Beneath throne, Ram's Head.

Beneath stag, ς.

B. M. no. 45, Pl. xxx, 7; C. S. Bement Coll., **Fig. 7**; Paris (*Traité*, 680, Pl. cxi, 20).

m. Beneath throne, Ram's Head.

Beneath stag, ς.

Paris (*Traité*, 682 Pl. cxii, 1).



Fig. 8.

Group B.

Similar to preceding.

Similar to preceding, but lion's head is again facing.

n. Beneath throne, ς

Beneath stag, ςς.

In field, Ankh.

Newell; B. M. no. 47, Pl. xxx, 8, **Fig. 8**.

⁹ The coin described under no. 679 in M. Babelon's *Traité* (Pl. cxi, 19) has already been considered by Six (Num. Chron. 3rd Ser., Vol. IV, p. 107, no. 8) and by Friedländer (*Griech. falsche Münzen*, 1883, p. 43) as a modern forgery. Although I have never handled an actual example of this piece I would concur in this opinion because of the symbol on the obverse (an eagle's instead of a ram's head), the curious cursive form of the inscription, the absence of any letter on the reverse, the peculiar style and fabric, and the uniformly high weights of the half dozen known specimens.

In Series II we may notice that the shallow incuse square of the preceding issue has entirely disappeared, its place being taken by a plain circle surrounding the design. Furthermore, the obverse linear circle of Series I is now replaced by a dotted circle.

As γ , seen on the reverse beneath the stag, appears to have been the chief magistrate for Group A, Series I, so β appears as the chief magistrate for both Group B, Series I and Group A, Series II.



Fig. 9.

SERIES III.

Group A.

- | | |
|---|--|
| α . בעלתרן on right. | α . Lion, head facing, attacking bull to l. |
| Baaltars enthroned to l., head facing, | The whole surrounded by a linear circle. ¹⁰ |
| rests left hand on sceptre and holds eagle | |
| in outstretched r. The whole is sur- | |
| rounded by a dotted circle. | |
| β . No letters in field. | Beneath bull, $\beta\beta$. |
| Cunningham, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1881, I, p. 175, no. 38. | |
| γ . In field, α . | Beneath bull, $\beta\beta$. |
| Munich. | |
| δ . In field, ϵ . | Beneath bull, $\beta\beta$. |
| B. M. no. 57. | |
| ϵ . In field, ζ . | Beneath bull, $\beta\beta$. |
| Berlin. | |
| ζ . In field, η . | Beneath bull, $\beta\beta$. |
| B. M. no. 58, Pl. xxxi, 2, Fig. 9; Newell. | |

Group B.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| Similar but Baaltars now holds bunch | Similar to preceding. |
| of grapes and ear of wheat as well as the | |
| eagle. Border of dots. | |
| θ . In field, η . | Beneath bull, $\beta\beta$. |

Imhoof-Blumer (now in Berlin?); Paris (*Traité*, 697, Pl. cxii, 15. Six was mistaken in describing this coin as having dotted letters on reverse).

¹⁰ Those stateres which are of an apparently transitional type (the Baal figure in profile with the bull and lion reverse) are really barbarian imitations and not true issues of the Tarsian mint. This is easily seen by their more or less crude style; compare B. M. Cat. *Cilicia*, Pl. xxx, 10, 11; *Traité*, Pl. cxii, 22; Paris Collection, Pl. v, 3 and 12 (these two from the same obverse die).



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.



Group C.

Similar to preceding.
Dotted circle.

Similar but מורי and סס are composed
of dotted lines. Linear circle around.

u. In field, מר or רמ.

Beneath bull, סס.

B. M. no. 56; Newell, Fig. 10; Paris (*Traité*, 696, Pl. cxii, 13, 14); Hague.

v. In field, נח or חנ.

Beneath bull, סס.

B. M. no. 55, Pl. xxxi, 1; Newell; Paris (*Traité*, 698, Pl. cxii, 16, 17); C. S. Bement Coll., Fig. 11.

w. In field, נה.

Beneath bull, סס.

Berlin; Hague (Coll. Six).

Series III is distinguished from its predecessors by a change in the attitude of Baaltars, by the substitution of the bull for the stag in the reverse type, and by the constant presence of the magistrate letters סס. The same system of circles, however, is carried over from Series II. That is, we find the obverse design surrounded by a dotted circle, the reverse design by a linear circle.

Baaltars is now depicted as holding his bird — the eagle — on his outstretched right hand, at first (Group A) alone, later (Groups B and C) accompanied by the usual bunch of grapes and ear of wheat. The god's face is also turned towards the observer, while a wreath conspicuously crowns his head.

On the reverse a bull replaces the stag of Series I and II, thus reviving an old type of the Tarsian coinage (see Brit. Mus. Catalogue, Pl. xxviii, 12). Although this interesting conception is of common occurrence throughout the East, being found in all ages and among the most diverse peoples, still, as far as the numismatist is concerned, it has come to be most intimately associated with the city of Tarsos and considered as the actual *ἐπίσημον* of the place itself. The type had however a very deep religious meaning, particularly so, apparently, to the inhabitants of this district, and was therefore adopted as the emblem of their city. It is well known that to the peoples of Asia in ancient times the lion played a large part in their religious conceptions, being endowed by them with a solar significance and considered, in this

aspect, as a beneficent, creative, and masculine power. The bull, on the other hand, as the common associate of the goddess Ateh, became a symbol of the female principle. This conception was often still further developed and the bull considered as typical of the earth, of the ground, and even of dampness and water. This idea would seem to manifest itself in the truly oriental scene of the lion attacking the bull. It indeed possesses a far deeper significance than that of a mere hunting scene. It was the belief that the blood which flowed from the dying bull fertilized the earth, in the words of F. Cumont (*The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 136) "From the body of the moribund victim sprang all the useful herbs and plants that cover the earth with their verdure. From the spinal cord of the animal sprang the wheat that gives us our bread, and from its blood the sacred drink of the mysteries." It is interesting to note, in this connection, that on certain of the coins of Series IV both the so-called "Key of Life" (the ankh) and the ear of wheat are actually associated with the reverse type of the lion and bull. On the early stater of Tarsos mentioned above, the wheat ear fills the field of the reverse, the lion and bull scene that of the obverse. Thus the juxtaposition on one coin of the allegorical scene and the wheat ear, an object so symbolic of the earth's fruitfulness, would certainly lead one to suppose that the religious conception, as outlined above by F. Cumont, was prevalent in Tarsos at this period. In later times, under the Empire, the lion's place is taken by the great sun god Mithra himself who slays the bull for the good of man. This scene is depicted on the roman imperial coins of Tarsos, a city that formed one of the centres of this particular cult.

In studying the Mazaios coinage it may be noted that, significantly enough, with the introduction of the lion and bull type Baaltars is represented with a *facing* head, and also that now, for the first time, he holds an eagle. That the divinity represented is still Baal of Tarsos is proved both by the accompanying inscription and by the fact that his peculiar emblems, the bunch of grapes and the ear of wheat, are added to the eagle in the immediately succeeding group of staters. In view of the solar significance of the allegorical representation on the reverse of these coins there can be little doubt that the artist was attempting to emphasize also the solar character of Baaltars. The facing head with the full beard and the leaves of the wreath radiating from the crown of the head¹¹ has much that is reminiscent of other solar representations. The eagle, too, is appropriate as being the constant

¹¹ M. Babelon (*Traité*, no. 701) even considers the head to be actually radiate at times.

companion of the greek Zeus and therefore by analogy of *Zeus Téppios* under which name Baaltars was known to the Greeks. To the ancients this bird had also very strong solar associations and would therefore soon become a natural emblem of Baaltars.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.



SERIES IV.

Group A.

Similar to preceding. Circle of dots.

x. In field, ג.

Beneath throne, ט.

Paris (*Traité*, 701, Pl. cxii, 20.)

y. In field, נח.

Beneath throne, ט.

Newell, Fig. 12; Imhoof-Blumer (now Berlin?); Sandeman Sale, 1911, no. 249 (formerly "Well Known Amateur" sale, 1905, no. 237); Delbeke Coll., 1907, no. 214.

Similar to preceding. Linear circle.

Beneath bull, י.

Beneath bull, י.

Group B.

z. In field, ג.

Beneath throne, ט.

Newell, Fig. 13; Imhoof-Blumer (now Berlin?).

aa. In field, גמ.

Beneath throne, ט.

B. M. no. 53, Pl. xxx, 13.

Beneath bull, Ear of Wheat and י.

Beneath bull, Ear of Wheat and י.



Fig. 14.

Group C.

Similar to preceding. Circle of dots.

bb. In field, נח.

Paris (*Traité*, 702, Pl. cxii, 21) Fig. 14.

Similar to preceding except that the design is henceforth surrounded by a circle of dots.

Beneath bull, Ankh.

Group D.

Similar. Circle of dots.
cc. In field, γ (?) γ .
B. M. no. 54.

Similar. Circle of dots.
Beneath bull, Ram's Head.

Series IV is distinguished from its predecessors by having a symbol placed beneath the bull on the reverse. We now, for the first time, find the letter γ beneath the throne of the obverse. The magistrates γ , $\gamma\gamma$, and $\gamma\gamma$ are carried over from Series III, as is also the practice of placing the obverse design in a circle of dots. At first (Groups A and B) the reverse displays the linear circle of Series III, but in Group C this is changed to the dotted circle which henceforth is used for both obverse and reverse.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.

SERIES V.

Similar to preceding. Circle of dots.

Similar to preceding but without symbol or letter. A dotted circle again surrounds the design.

dd. In field, γ .
Beneath throne, γ .

Paris (*Traité*, 700, Pl. cxii, 19); Hague; Jameson Coll. no. 1620, Fig. 15.

ee. In field, $\gamma\gamma$.

Beneath throne, γ .

Paris (*Traité*, 699, Pl. cxii, 18); Newell; B. M. no. 51, Pl. xxx, 12 (this is the only specimen known to the writer which apparently has a linear instead of a dotted circle on the obverse).

ff. In field, $\gamma\gamma$.

Newell, Fig. 16; B. M. no. 52.

gg. No letter in field or beneath throne.

Paris (*Traité*, 694, Pl. cxii, 12).

Series V is distinguished by the absence of either letters or symbols on the reverse but is nevertheless evidently a continuation of Series IV. It carries on the same system of using dotted circles for both obverse and reverse which we noticed was first introduced in Group C of that series,¹² and it displays the initials of the same magistrates

¹² The coin (no. 51) in the B. M. appears to be the "exception that proves the rule."

on its obverses, namely γ and η . The letter σ is also found beneath the throne on two of its coins.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.



SERIES VI.

Group A.

η on right.

Baaltars enthroned to l. The throne has a back ending in a swan's (or geoses) head. The god holds an eagle-adorned sceptre in his outstretched right hand and rests his left on his hip. His head is again in profile. Before him an intertwined wheat ear and bunch of grapes.¹³ The whole design is surrounded by a dotted circle.

hh. Beneath throne, σ .

Paris (*Traité*, 709. Pl. cxiii, 5, 6), **Fig. 17**.

η מורי זי על עברנהרא והלך

Lion, head facing, attacking bull to r. above a double row of turreted and battlemented walls, the whole surrounded by a dotted circle.

Group B.

Similar, but the throne is without a back, and the wheat ear and bunch of grapes are placed separately in the field. Circle of dots.

ii. In field, η .

Beneath throne, σ .

B. M. no. 48, Pl. xxx, 9, **Fig. 18**; Newell; Jameson Coll. no. 1619 Pl. L.

jj. In field, σ .

Beneath throne, σ .

Yale University Coll.; Paris (*Traité*, 710, Pl. cxiii, 7, 8).

kk. No letters either in the field or beneath the throne.

Hague (Six Collection).

Similar. Circle of dots.

This series again slightly modifies the former types, but by style, fabric, the dotted circle surrounding both obverse and reverse designs,

¹³ Six (Num. Chron. 3rd. Ser. Vol. IV, p. 130, no. 12, second coin) is mistaken in describing this type as being without the bunch of grapes. He evidently had before him only the coin illustrated in Babelon's *Traité*, Pl. cxiii, 6, where the bunch of grapes is off the flan. The complete design is given in the companion piece, no. 5, on the same plate.

and the magistrates letters ρ and ς, it is evidently the immediate successor of Series V. Baaltars is once more depicted in profile, while his right hand now holds a sceptre and his left is placed upon his hip. In this scheme he is no longer able to hold his accustomed bunch of grapes and ear of wheat. But so vital are these emblems to the representation of this deity at Tarsos that they have been placed by the artist in the field immediately in front of the god. Thus these symbols, which were evidently of such great local significance, still form a very conspicuous portion of the coin type. As stated above, obverse and reverse designs are again surrounded by dotted circles, while magistrate's initials are to be found both in the field and beneath the throne. The reverse type has been changed in so far as the lion and bull allegory now appears over the walls of Tarsos,¹⁴ accompanied by a long and interesting inscription which proclaims Mazaïos as the governor of both Cilicia and Abernabra (Northern Syria).

With these coins the true satrapal issues in Tarsos come to an end. There succeeded the Alexander tetradrachm and a later re-issue of the Persic stater, this latter with types borrowed from the coins of Series VI—all of which has been recently brought out at length in the writer's *Tarsos under Alexander* in the American Journal of Numismatics, Vol. LII. Here it will be sufficient to state that in every detail, such for instance as the throne, the footstool, the robes of the seated god, etc., the Alexander issues are the direct copies of the coins of Series VI, the last of Mazaïos' Tarsian coinages.

We have now seen how very complete are the various series' of coin which Mazaïos caused to be issued in his name from his seat of government at Tarsos. The coinage, indeed, constitutes a uniform and continuous whole, each series merging easily and clearly into the one following. It is just this perfect continuity, from the time when the coinage was first inaugurated early in Mazaïos' rule at Tarsos until it was finally superseded by Alexander's own issues of Attic tetradrachms and Persic staters, that the writer hopes he has here brought out with sufficient clearness.

There still remains, however, a certain series — for identification's sake called the "Lion Series"—which also bears the name of Mazaïos and which most writers have assigned to Tarsos. This series is constituted as follows:

¹⁴ Proved by Mr. Hill (*Historical Greek Coins*, p. 99) as against Six's theory that here are represented the famous Cilician Gates.

THE MINT OF MYRIANDROS

FIRST SERIES.

Group A.



Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.

STATER.

נעלתרו on left.

Deity (or the king of Persia?) enthroned to r. He is clothed in a long robe with wide sleeves, wears a crown, suggestive of an Egyptian origin, holds a lotos-tipped sceptre in his left hand and a flower (lotos bud?) in his right. The throne has a back ending in a swan's head. The entire design is surrounded by a linear circle.

1 Letter in field (?).

Paris (*Traité*, 734, Pl. cxiv, 5).

Lion crouching to l. Strung bow above.

The entire design is surrounded by a linear circle.

STATER.

Similar, but the throne has a back ending in a lion's head. Inscription reversed.

2 In field, ט.

Jameson Coll. (formerly Warren Coll. no. 1274). Plate I, 1.

Similar.

OBOL.

Lion, head facing, leaping upon recumbent bull to r. The whole is surrounded by a linear circle.

3 No letters.

Paris (*Traité*, 741, Pl. cxiv, 13), Fig. 19.

Same deity or king seated to r. as on no. 1. Linear circle.

OBOL.

Youthful male head to l. with curled hair, and crown similar to the one worn by the seated figure.

4 No letters in field.

Paris (*Traité*, 740, Pl. cxiv, 12), Fig. 20.

Same deity or king seated to r. as on no. 1.

Group B.

OBOL.

Persian king wearing Kidaris, enthroned to r. and holding sceptre and flower as on preceding coins. The design is surrounded by a circle of dots.

Lion prowling to l.



Fig. 21.

5 No letters in field.

Above, 7.

Paris (*Traité*, 742, Pl. cxiv, 14), Fig. 21.

SECOND SERIES.

Group A.



Fig. 22.



Fig. 23.

STATER.

בַּעַלְתָּרִי on right. Baaltars enthroned to l., his right hand holds the sceptre while his left rests upon his hip. Linear circle around.

מַרְיָ above. Lion prowling to l. over the sea. Linear circle surrounding the design.

6 Thymiaterion surmounted by an eagle in front of Baaltars.

The sea is here indicated by conventional waves.

B. M., no. 64, Pl. xxxi, 6, Fig. 22.

7 Thymiaterion without eagle.

The sea is here indicated by wavy lines.

Paris (*Traité*, 747, Pl. cxiv, 18), Fig. 23.

8 Similar. Beneath, Rose.

Similar.

Newell.

Group B.



Fig. 24.



Fig. 25.

STATER.

Similar, but a dotted circle replaces the linear.

Similar. Lion now appears to be walking over rough ground.

9 Double ax in front of Baaltars.

B. M., no. 63, Pl. xxxi, 5, Fig. 24.

10 In field, Double ax. Beneath throne, 2.

Paris (*Traité*, 749).

- 11 Round shield behind throne. Similar to preceding.
C. S. Bement Coll. (ex Carfrae Sale, no. 289) **Plate I, 2.**
- 12 Round shield behind the throne. Lion is on a dotted exergual line. In the exergue, \mathfrak{L} .
B. M., no. 62, Pl. xxxi, 4, **Fig. 25.**
- 13 Linear circle around. Sixteen-pointed star above the lion and a crescent below.
Paris (*Traité*, 743, Pl. cxiv, 15).
- 14 Dotted circle around. Beneath Sixteen-pointed star above the lion and throne, uncertain object. a crescent below.
Newell, **Plate I, 3**; B. M., no 59, Pl. xxxi, 3.
- 15 In field, \mathfrak{L} . Beneath throne, \mathfrak{L} . Sixteen-pointed star above the lion and a crescent below.
Paris (*Traité*, 744, Pl. cxiv, 16).
- OBOL.
Similar to preceding. Circle of dots. No inscription. Similar to preceding except that the lion is now turned to the r. A sixteen-pointed star above the lion and a crescent below.
- 16 In field, Shell.
Newell, **Plate I, 4**; Paris (*Traité*, 745, Pl. cxiv, 17).
- 17 No symbol. מלך above. Lion to l., no symbols.
Newell.

The two series of coins described above have already been associated by M. Babelon (*Traité*, p. 467 ff.). It is indeed very evident that they are the products of a single mint which used the lion as its emblem. On the obverse is a representation of the Baal of Tarsos, by which name the great nature god of the Cilician Plain was known to the neighboring peoples. In the same manner Tyrian Melkarth was worshipped in foreign lands under the name of the "Baal of Tyre." In the First Series (Plate I, 1) he is seated to the right on a throne which is adorned with a richly carved back. He is magnificently robed, his head is surmounted by a curious and interesting crown, he holds sceptre and lotos-bud. M. Babelon hesitates between naming this figure Baaltars or the king of Persia. The first suggestion appears the more reasonable of the two because of the accompanying inscription מלך which would seem to definitely designate the figure. As M. Babelon believes, these coins were struck outside of Tarsos and there would then be no meaning in that inscription if the figure it accompanies were really the king of Persia. To be sure, the representation of the god in the present case differs widely from the one we have come

to know as Baaltars on the coins issued in Tarsos itself, but may this not, in all probability, be due to a local conception of the god which would not necessarily have to conform in every particular with that prevalent in Tarsos? In other words we have a case very similar to Tyrian Melkarth who is represented on the early coins of his native city as riding on a hippocamp and clothed in oriental fashion, while on the contemporaneous coins of Kition, a Tyrian colony and closely bound to her by ties of blood and commerce, he is represented in Greek guise, striding along in lion's skin and brandishing club and bow. Furthermore it is hardly likely that at this late date the king of Persia, if such he be, would be represented wearing a crown or bonnet of a shape which is particularly close to the purely Egyptian form of crown.¹⁵ The writer, at least, knows of no clear instance, outside of Egypt itself, where he actually does wear such a crown. On the other hand, gems and seals from Syria and the Phoenician coast often give representations of *deities* attired in a more or less Egyptian fashion — a relic of the Egyptian domination of bygone ages. It should be noted, however, that the figure on the obols nos. 4, and 5 does appear to wear a crown very much of the nature of the Persian royal head-dress or "Kidaris." It is probably because of this fact that M. Babelon would see the Persian king in the figure on the staters. But certainly the head on the obverse of the obol no. 4 cannot be the king of Persia with its long curled locks, clean shaven features, and a crown so suggestive of Egyptian form. It is therefore highly improbable that the figure on the staters, with an exactly similar crown, can be anything but what the accompanying inscription declares it to be, namely Baal of Tarsos. The figures, placed in an exactly similar attitude but without the legend, on the obols may all be Baaltars as well, but wearing a crown which is Persian rather than Egyptian in character. Possibly the lack of space at the artist's command may have had something to do with the choice of crowns on the obols.

In the case of the recumbent lion on the reverses of our staters the artist, here too, seems to have been inspired by a Cypriote model. At least the type is very reminiscent of the recumbent rams and goats of the staters of Salamis or the recumbent lions of the Amathusian staters. The latter display an eagle in heavenward flight above the lion, sug-

¹⁵ Although the headdress found on the two staters in question is usually described as a bonnet, in form it has undoubtedly descended from the ordinary Egyptian type of royal headgear which is composed of the united crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. The present crown is a degenerate copy, having in time come to vary in minute details from its Egyptian prototype, its general form and outlines however, unmistakably proclaim its true origin.

gesting a solar idea underlying the whole design. In the present case we have a bow, the symbol of Apollo, above the lion. Have we here a similar idea or is the bow simply a magistrate's symbol?

There is no question about the identity of the figure found in the Second Series of the lion staters. He here is figured exactly as on the coins of Series VI of the Tarsos mint. He is now clothed in the Greek fashion and is seated on a diphros. He still grasps the lotos-tipped sceptre, but his left hand rests upon his hip instead of holding the flower. As the Second Series followed closely upon the First Series, each displaying the בַּלְעָמִי legend accompanying the god, we have every reason to see in the figure on nos. 1 and 2 not the king of Persia but an oriental concept of the Baal of Tarsos.

The fact that the staters with the prowling lion follow closely upon those with the recumbent lion and belong to one and the same mint is proved by the obols which accompany them. We first have an obol (no. 3) with the seated divinity of the staters on the reverse and a lion attacking a bull on the obverse. This might make us think of Tarsos, where the latter type enjoyed such popularity, were there not such a divergence in details between the two designs. Their die-cutters worked under different artistic traditions. The die-cutter of our obol, like his fellow in Bambyce who produced the coin illustrated on Plate VII, no. 18, of the Paris Catalogue, was apparently influenced from Babylonia, as shown by the details of his bull. For instance, the bull's horns are depicted in profile, are noticeably longer and more curved than on the Tarsian bulls, and jut out forward in a curve above the forehead. This type of bull, as against the Tarsian with its short thick, and straight horns, is found again and again on Babylonian and Persian sculptures.¹⁶

The next obol (no. 4) has the youthful male head wearing the crown of Egyptian form. There apparently is no doubt that this obol belongs to our series because of the crown and because of the seated figure on the reverse. The third obol (no. 5), clearly a transition piece, presents the same seated divinity on the obverse thus associating the coin with the staters of the First Series, but on its reverse bears a prowling lion. This lion is not in the recumbent position as on the accompanying staters but is stalking majestically along as on the staters of the Second Series. This prowling lion too, is very reminiscent of Babylonian art

¹⁶ See, for instance, the bulls on the Ishtar Gate of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon (Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon*, Engl. Trans., 1914, Figs. 26, 27, 29, 30), the Bull and Lion on Xerxes' Palace at Persepolis (Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, p. 741), and many others.

and should be compared with the noble animal in glazed and colored tile-work discovered by Koldewey at Babylon. Compare it also with



Fig. 26.

the hematite seal cylinder in the author's possession (fig. 26) which came to him from the north Syrian or Mesopotamian district.

This Second Series of the lion staters has long been attributed, probably because of the נעלהו inscription, to Tarsos. M. Babelon, however, assigns them vaguely to Syria, but without giving any very definite reasons for so doing. That these staters cannot possibly belong to Tarsos would at once be evident were one to attempt fitting them at any point into the carefully worked out sequential arrangement of the true Tarsian issues of Mazaïos as described on pages 2-14. In the first place the lion staters commence with a linear circle adorning both obverse and reverse. With no. 9 we find a dotted circle replacing the linear on the obverse, the reverse remaining as before. On the Tarsian coins the dotted obverse circle appears as early as Series II, Group A and continues throughout the remainder of the coinage until long after the coming of Alexander. Neither types nor style will allow us to insert the lion staters ahead of Series II, Group A, nor is it at all likely that the dotted circle, having once been adopted, would be temporarily dropped and then once more employed—as we would be forced to admit if we insisted on inserting the lion staters into the Tarsian series. Neither is it likely that the Greek type of Baaltars having once been adopted (as early as Pharnabazos) would later, even for a very short time, give way to a purely oriental concept of this deity, only to be reinstated soon after. It is likely that the lion staters of the Second Series were issued about the same period as Series VI of Tarsos which they resemble in the details of the Baal figure. But stylistically they would certainly not fit into the Tarsian coinage at this point. From the standpoint of types the lion staters cannot be made to precede Series VI as there would then be a violent break in the even continuity of types from the lion and stag of Series I and II, to the lion and bull of Series III and V inclusive, to the lion and bull over the walls of the city in Series VI and the immediately succeeding reissues under Alexander. The same conclusion can be arrived at by a careful

study of the style, technique, magistrate's initials, symbols, etc. This, however, would only belabor a point which was apparently so self-evident to M. Babelon that he did not even feel it necessary to support his attributions by giving his reasons for departing from the usual assignment of these coins to Tarsos. Finally, and this is perhaps the most striking point of divergence between the lion staters and the true issues of Tarsos, it should be especially noted that on not one of the former do the ear of wheat and the bunch of grapes appear. These symbols have played a conspicuous role in all the various types of Baaltars as depicted on the staters of Tarsos from the time of the Satrap Datames. In only one instance are they wanting, namely on the small group A of Series III where the eagle-bearing Baaltars is first introduced. The wheat ear and the bunch of grapes, however, immediately reappear again on Group B of the same Series and continue thence, without interruption, to the time of Alexander. The ear of wheat appears alone on the first reissue of staters under Alexander, and together with the bunch of grapes occurs once more on his second reissue. Thus from the first issues under Datames to the last ones under Alexander these two symbols, so indicative of the marvellous and far famed fertility of the Tarsian Plain and the special attributes of the chief Cilician divinity, constantly recur. On the other hand *they are never known to occur* on the lion staters, thus making most probable the disassociation of these coins from the Tarsian issues, in spite of the appearance of the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on all. It is evident that to the die engravers of the lion staters the most important side of Baaltars' nature was not his presidency over fruitful fields and fertile plains, a fact that argues most strongly against the assignment of these coins to Tarsos.

Enough has now been adduced from the evidence afforded by contrasting the lion staters and the true issues of Tarsos to warrant our setting the former aside, and assuming, at least for the sake of argument, that they were struck at some other mint. Hand in hand with the elimination of Tarsos as a possible mint for them, goes also the probability that they were struck in Cilicia at all. This is probable from the fact that the mints of Western Cilicia apparently never struck coins for the satraps. Of those of Eastern Cilicia, both Mallos and Issos had ceased to function by about the middle of the Fourth Century B. C. Only Soloi, producing purely autonomous issues, remained active down to the coming of Alexander. It is highly improbable that it struck money at the same time for Mazaios. In fact, since the days of

Pharnabazos, Tarsos appears to have been the sole Cilician mint which acted for the satrapal coffers.¹⁷

It is generally admitted that the lion staters of the Second Series are late — that is, they were struck by Mazaïos just before the fall of the Achaemenid Empire. For some ten years or more, possibly ever since 350 B. C., Mazaïos had been satrap of both Cilicia and Syria, as his Tarsian issues of Series VI take especial pains to mention. Now these particular coins appear to be the contemporaries of the lion staters, as is suggested by the fact that they were the last of Mazaïos' issues in Tarsos.¹⁸ Also the Baal figures on the two coinages are more or less identical in both attitude and appearance, and in this regard constitute a sudden innovation in Mazaïos' coinages. If then Mazaïos, being governor of both Cilicia and Syria, struck at Tarsos for use in the Cilician district a coinage which is easily recognizable as such, is it not immediately apparent that the corresponding and contemporary lion staters might have been struck by him in his other province, namely Syria? Moreover do not the very types of these two issues suggest exactly such an arrangement? Just as the lion attacking a bull over the city walls points directly to Tarsos, whose emblem this was, does not the prowling lion point as distinctly to Syria? As far as coin types prove, the prowling lion is no whit less distinctive of Syria than the lion and bull type is of Tarsos. It never occurs, so far as the writer is aware, among the coin types of Cilicia in ancient times. The nearest approach to it is found on a late bronze coin of the emperor Maximinus struck at Anemurium (B. M. Cat. *Cilicia*, Pl. VII, 6). But here the lion is running, his head turned back to face a star, a type that merely represents the zodiacal symbol of Sol in Leo. A similar type is also found on rare coin struck by the Roman Emperor Caracalla at Tarsos. When, however, we turn to the coinages of northern Syria we find the prowling lion appearing again and again. It is one of the common types of Bambyce and the later Hierapolis where the lion is sometimes depicted alone or accompanied by the goddess Ateh whose constant associate he appears to have been. The same prowling lion appears on the early coinages of the kings of Commagene, on the coins of Samosata, and on the issues of Palmyra. There is in fact no one type more indicative of northern Syria than the lion. We thus find

¹⁷ Satrapal coins, later than Pharnabazos' period have been assigned to Mallos (Brit. Mus. Cat. Plate XVII, nos. 4-5), but these pieces bear no inscription to prove that they were really satrapal in character.

¹⁸ *Tarsos under Alexander*, Amer. Jour. of Numis., Vol. LII, p. 72.

every reason to accept the lion staters of Mazaios as Syrian in origin. This once admitted, much becomes clear. For instance, it is now easy to explain the real reason for the great vogue enjoyed by the Baaltars and prowling lion type in the last quarter of the Fourth Century B. C. Following the old attribution we might well wonder why these particular types should have been chosen not only by the priestly dynast of Bambyce, but by Mazaios on his later Attic tetradrachms struck in Babylon, and by several other mints in the Mesopotamian and Babylonian districts.¹⁹

But the Syrian origin once admitted, all this is easily explained by the active commerce which flowed back and forth from northern Syria, across Mesopotamia, to the Tigris, or down the Euphrates to Babylon and the Persian Gulf. For it must have been by this route that the lion staters of Mazaios travelled inland, becoming known to the dynast of Bambyce (who copied them), and to the peoples of Mesopotamia and Babylonia. Mazaios was still striking his lion staters when Alexander and his army invaded the land, and he continued to issue them — but now of Attic weight — when by Alexander's wise choice he finally became satrap of Babylon. The types of Baaltars and the lion may have been revived by Mazaios for purely personal reasons, in continuation of his Syrian mintage, but far more probably because these types had become familiar to the Babylonian people through their close commercial connections with the north.

If our lion staters are really of Syrian origin, then at what mint could they have been struck? Perhaps Bambyce would seem to have been the most important city in all northern Syria at the time of which we are speaking — but is this not largely due to its great significance as a religious centre which has caused its more frequent mention by ancient authors? At any rate it could not have been the mint of the lion staters, because Six (*Num. Chron. N. S. Vol. xviii, pp. 103-131*) has already established, beyond question of a doubt, the attribution to this city of a fairly numerous series of coins, thus precluding any possibility of its mint having worked for Mazaios. Aleppo, the ancient Chalybon, was no doubt a fairly important centre of population and even of commerce in the Persian period, but in classic sources we hear little of it beyond the fact that its territory was famous for the wine it produced and which it supplied to the royal table. Xenophon does not even mention the place, for in his day the main highroad from the sea to Mesopotamia passed north of it, a clear indication of its minor impor-

¹⁹ See Babelon, *Les Perses achéménides*, Pl. VII, 1-12.

tance. In the Fourth Century B. C., assuredly by far the most important north Syrian city, both from a commercial as from a military standpoint, was Myriandros. Xenophon, confirmed by Scylax (Periplus, p. 40), describes it as being inhabited by Phoenicians, a great emporium, and its harbor filled with merchant ships. In fact it constituted *the* emporium for the vastly important Mesopotamian trade and we may be sure that the astute and intensely commercial Phoenicians would never have settled in such numbers in a commercially insignificant place. Myriandros, at the time we are speaking of, was the largest and most convenient port,²⁰ with the finest harbor for all the great hinterland of northern Syria. Beyond and above this, however, it marked the terminus of the great and vitally important trade route from Babylon to the sea.²¹ The shorter road, via the desert to the Phoenician coast, was infinitely more difficult and hazardous. Indeed this latter, in uncertain times, appears to have ceased to function altogether, so beset was it by robber Bedouin tribes and so lacking in sufficiently dependable wells. The other road to Myriandros from Babylon passed through, for the greater part, fertile and populous regions and that portion over the plains of northern Syria was both easy and much frequented. Altogether, this route has been in constant use from the earliest times. It is possible that after the merchandise from the Persian Gulf or Babylon had arrived at the eastern confines of Syria, portions of it were deflected southwards to the great inland metropolis of Damaskos or to the wharfs of Arados, Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre. while other portions passed northwards by the land route through Commagene and over the Taurus Mountains into Asia Minor. Myriandros, however, still remained the nearest port and through it must have passed all the merchandise destined for the coasts of Asia Minor as far as the Black Sea, for the Greek islands of the Aegaeon, and for Greece itself. The city must have been of an importance and size of which the comparative silence of our sources would hardly give a fair idea. This silence is probably largely due to the rise of Antioch after 300 B. C. Throughout Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine times that city continued to be the great commercial centre for the eastern trade, thus completely eclipsing Myriandros (now called Alexandria ad Issum). As it is from exactly this period that the majority of our geographical works date, it is but natural

²⁰ Möyvers (*Die Phoenikier*, II², p. 167) calls it "Die bedeutendste See = und Handelstadt am ıssischen Meerbusen."

²¹ Since this was written, a most interesting article dealing with the same subject and entitled: *The Ancient Piedmont Route of Northern Mesopotamia*, by Ellen Churchill Semple, has appeared in *The Geographical Review* for September, 1919.

that to them the almost forgotten Alexandria ad Issum should be of little importance or interest as compared with gorgeous Antioch. But with the silting up of the mouth of the Orontes river dates the decline of Antioch, and so, throughout the Middle Ages and in modern times the northern port, now called Alexandretta (native, Iskanderun), comes once more into her own, and is again of paramount importance as a seaport for the interior. But to return to the Fourth Century B. C.; the mere fact that Alexander chose Myriandros near which to found a new city to be named after himself is sufficient proof of the great importance of the district to his empire. In fact, as historical geography shows, the Great Macedonian never wasted his magic name on an insignificant locality—there was ever a fundamental reason for his choice, amply vindicated by the later history of his foundations.

Turning to the lion staters themselves, we may note many details which point to Myriandros as their mint. In the first place Myriandros, as we have already taken occasion to point out, was the only Syrian city of any importance at this time which was situated on the Mediterranean. Immediately behind it rose the great mountain over which to this day winds the main road to the famous pass of Beilan, thence descending again to the fertile plains of northern Syria. Now on our coins it is especially to be noted that the lion at times proudly stalks over the waves of the sea (Figs. 22, 23), at other times he prowls over what appears to be a rocky landscape (Plate I, 2). Now Myriandros is the only city in all Syria to which these peculiarities of type would have been of equal appropriateness. They certainly are not appropriate to Tarsos, a city situated in the very centre of a wide alluvial plain and in those days some twelve miles from the sea. The waves, as depicted on our stater no. 6, can only refer to the sea²² and not perchance to some smoothly flowing river, as is the Cydnus in its course past the Cilician capital, or the Chalus where Aleppo borders its stream. Now if we change our viewpoint slightly so as to conceive of the lion as a purely astral type — as it undoubtedly often was and

²² There are two doubtful cases known to the writer in greek numismatics where similarly depicted waves might possibly refer to a river or spring instead of to some larger body of water. In each one of these cases, however, there is legitimate doubt. One instance is represented by a stater of Thurium, now in the writer's possession (ex Hirsch Sale, xix, no. 65), where the waves probably represent, not the spring Thuria, but the Ionian Sea into which the waters of the spring — sufficiently typified by the rushing bull — eventually empty. The presence of a *dolphin* swimming among the waves further supports this interpretation. The other instance is on a didrachm of Camarina and here, too, the conventionalized waves may be symbolical not only of the Camarinaean Lake but the Mediterranean as well, near the shores of which the city was situated.

especially so to the Syrians — we recognize in him the sun, either rising over the mountain tops to the east of Myriandros, or about to sink majestically into the waters of the Western Sea. The stater no. 14 (Plate I, 3) proves the eminently astral significance of the lion type by placing above that animal the blazing sun and below, the curved disk of the moon. These emblems cannot by any chance here represent magistrate's symbols, firstly because they are too large and form a too integral portion of the type, and secondly because on the lion staters of Persic weight the purely magistratal symbols are found only on the obverse.

The fact that Myriandros, as against any inland city of Syria, was the mint of these staters is further emphasized by the very evident influence both the style of the Tarsian issues and the types of certain Cypriote coins exerted upon the Syrian artists. The style and general appearance of our coins is so close to those of Tarsos that the majority of writers have been induced to attribute them to that city. On the other hand the form of the solar disk on nos. 12-15 is highly reminiscent of certain gold staters struck by Evagoras II (361-351 B. C.) of Salamis, while others of his coins²³ have for type a prowling lion or a lion devouring its prey. The presence of the sun disk and the eagle on one of these pieces proves the lion type here too must have an astral significance. That the merchants of Cyprus enjoyed close commercial relations not only with the Phoenician coast but also with their semitic relatives in Myriandros, the great port for the Mesopotamian and Babylonian trade, is only natural to suppose. Incidentally we shall soon have occasion to remark that the die-cutters of the Alexandrine tetradrachms struck at Kition copied the contemporaneous tetradrachms struck at Myriandros.

It seems to the writer that the following points have now been gained: first, that the lion staters of Persic weight were issued in one mint; second, that this mint must have been in Syria and not in Cilicia; third, that the mint could only have been located in the busy seaport of Myriandros. Such a conclusion makes also very probable the assign-



Fig. 27.

ment to Myriandros of a certain unique stater (Fig. 27) whose attribu-

²³ Compare Brit. Mus. Cat. *Cyprus*, Pl. xxiv, 10, 11, 13, 15.

tion has hitherto been a matter of considerable difficulty and dispute. I refer to the interesting stater in the Paris collection which has been variously assigned to Coreyra, Itanos, Ashdod (Six in Num. Chron. N. S. vol. XVIII, 1878), and Ascalon. M. Babelon, both in his catalogue of the Paris collection and in his *Traité*, assigns the coin to either Ascalon or Ashdod. The arguments of Six and M. Babelon rest principally on the assumption that the divinity represented on the obverse is a copy of the famous statue of Dagon at Ascalon described by Xanthus the Lydian and that the letters α on the reverse are probably the initials of Ashdod (greek, Ἀζώτος). Unfortunately for this theory the old view that Dagon had the form of a fish is now very commonly doubted,²⁴ and it is impossible to prove that Ashdod (accepted form אשדוד) was ever spelled with a α instead of a ϑ . The style of the piece is certainly not Palestinian and has but little in common with the coinages of the Phoenician states. Finally, and this to the writer appears particularly fatal to the Ashdod-Ascalon attribution, the weight of the coin is Persian whereas this system was never employed either at Byblos, Sidon, Tyre, or Gaza. Mr. Hill (Brit. Mus. Cat. Palestine, p. li) has already recognized these objections and says of the coin "The weight and type indicate the neighborhood of Aradus rather than southern Phoenicia" He also adds in a footnote the various serious objections against assigning this coin to Aradus. I cannot do better than to quote his own words "If the coin is of Aradus, it must belong to the end of the fourth century, since from its style it is impossible to fit it into the ordinary series, which seems to end with the invasion of Alexander. It is, however, also difficult, for many reasons, such as weight, to place it in the period when Aradus was issuing Alexandrine coins." We thus have covered all the fourth century mints in activity along the Phoenician and Palestinian coasts and have found that not one of them can present any valid reasons to claim the stater in question. There only remains, as a possibility, the Syrian coast. Now the moment we associate this coin with the lion staters and, following their attribution, assign it to Myriandros, all our difficulties immediately vanish. The lion prowling over the rocky mountain top — a type peculiarly inappropriate to the plains about Ashdod and Ascalon — is closely duplicated by a similar scene on one (no. 11) of the lion staters. The marine deity with his trident, his wreath, and his fish tail, while reminiscent of a somewhat similar figure found on certain early coins of Aradus, is far more Greek in style and therefore more appropriate to a city situ-

²⁴ R. Dussaud, *Rev. Arch.*, 1904, iii, pp. 210 f. and *Notes de Mythologie Syrienne*, pp. 77 f.

ated to the north of Arados near the flourishing Greek settlements in Cilicia. The wreath held by the deity would find no parallel in Palestine but is one of the chief attributes of the great Cilician (and Hittite) god (see, on coins, B. M. Cat. *Cilicia*, Plate xv, 3; Plate xxvi, 2; Plate xxix, 1; Plate xxxiv, 2, 6, 9). The Persic weight is perfectly at home in the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, so much so that it would have been surprising to have found any other for our coin. Finally, its style is far more similar to that found on fourth century coins of Cilicia than those of Phoenicia and certainly those of Palestine. As the letters \varkappa will not fit the name of any coastal city from Cilicia to Egypt it is evident that they must represent a magistrate's or some ruler's name, similar to the isolated letters found on the lion staters.

II — UNDER ALEXANDER

Cilicia subdued, and his title to the entire western portion of the Achaemenid Empire definitely confirmed by the great victory of Issos (October 333 B. C.), Alexander proceeded to secure Syria, Phoenicia, and Egypt. Parmenio was sent to seize Damaskos, the great inland metropolis of these regions and the capital of Coele-Syria. Alexander himself advanced southwards and in a year and a half had pacified the lands from the Taurus Mountains to the First Cataract and was ready to advance eastwards against Darius who, in the interim, had collected an army in Mesopotamia to defend the remaining portion of his empire.

In the meanwhile, life had been going on as usual in the newly conquered provinces, thanks to the wise policy adopted by Alexander of interfering as little as possible with the native life and the government institutions established by the Persians. In Cilicia we have learned²⁵ that he closely followed the Persian precedent in retaining Tarsos as the central and royal mint for this province. He evidently continued to employ the die-cutters and other personnel of the old establishment. To be sure, he necessarily changed the system of weights to conform with the coinage of his empire. For the same reason he substituted his own name and types for those of Mazaios, and he constrained the officials of the mint henceforth to sign their issues in Greek instead of in Aramaic. The style and technique, however, of the new issues remained unchanged. A few years later even a reissue of staters of the old Persic weight and bearing types similar

²⁵ *Tarsos under Alexander*, Amer. Jour. Num., vol. LII, *passim*.

to former issues was found advisable. In Phoenicia and Cyprus the same thing happened, except that here the local princes still retained their ancient coining rights and therefore were allowed to place upon the new coinage of Alexandrine types certain symbols, monograms, or letters to indicate the issuing authority. Tarsos, however, being a royal mint and operating under royal, not local, authority only placed the initials or symbols of such minor officials as chanced to be in direct charge of the coinage. We know that immediately after the Greek conquest large quantities of the new money were struck in Tarsos, in the principal cities of Cyprus and Phoenicia, in Damaskos, and, later, in Egyptian Alexandria, thus furnishing these provinces with an ample currency. By analogy it is therefore to be expected that the activity of the old Persian mint situated in Myriandros should have been continued under Alexander. Otherwise the populous and commercially important province of northern Syria would, strangely enough, have been left entirely without a mint. There is certainly no apparent reason why the existing mint of Myriandros should have been closed by Alexander when those of Tarsos, Salamis, Kition, Paphos, Arados, Byblos, and Sidon continued in active operation under the new masters. Furthermore, to Alexander as he advanced eastwards, the harbor and city of Myriandros became of particularly vital importance as it commanded the quickest and easiest route to his home base in Macedonia. As we have already stated, the most practicable route from Babylon ran northwards along the Tigris river to Bezabde, thence westwards through Mesopotamia probably via Nisibis and Ossroene (the later Edessa) across the Euphrates to Hierapolis (Bambyce) and thence through northern Syria straight over the Beilan Pass to Myriandros. An alternative route followed the Euphrates, instead of the Tigris, and joined the former again in Syria. The most practicable way of reaching the Mediterranean from Babylon was via one or the other of these two branches. From northern Syria, to be sure, there existed several roads leading to the Royal Highway of the Persian kings, which passed through the heart of Asia Minor westwards to Europe. But the sea route, after the distintegration of the Persian fleets (accomplished in 332-331 B. C.), remained both the quickest and the safest for anything short of an army as the highways through Asia Minor were peculiarly liable to be cut, if only temporarily, by some one of the many wild and turbulent mountain tribes that lived in their immediate neighborhood. Just as we know a strong force was maintained in Cilicia to protect the great highway through the Cilician Gates into

inner Asia Minor, and just as we have found²⁶ that a very active mint was established at Tarsos both to supply the demands of an active trade and to furnish the pay for the protecting troops, so might we most certainly expect a continuation of the mint at Myriandros to supply the pay for the troops garrisoning this strategically the most vital spot in Syria and to meet the demands both of a busy seaport and of the populous hinterland dependent upon it.

Now it chances that we actually possess a large series of Alexander tetradrachms of the so-called Cilician style which, however, it is impossible to assign to any town in Cilicia. In the first place our study of the Tarsian Alexandrine issues shows clearly enough that they form an entity by themselves into which the present group cannot possibly be inserted. In the second place it is unlikely, and such coins as have come down to us do not suggest, that Alexander allowed the earlier autonomous mints of western Cilicia — such as Kelenderis, Nagidos, Holmi — to continue in operation after his conquest of Cilicia. Finally, the only three remaining mints of Cilicia — Mallos, Soloi, Issos — could not have functioned under Alexander, as is proved by the fact that their municipal issues had all to be struck for them in the government mint of Tarsos. In other words, on the acquisition of Cilicia, the autonomous coinages of that province were suppressed, and the minting of all necessary money, whether for local or for military purposes, was centralized in the enlarged establishment at Tarsos the provincial capital.

We have seen, however, that previous to Alexander's arrival, a series of Persic staters, secondary in character to the large group struck by Mazaios in Tarsos but very similar to it in style and general appearance, was struck by the same satrap at Myriandros. This fact immediately suggests that the following group of Alexander's coins, very similar in style and character to his Tarsian issues, was really struck at Myriandros in immediate succession to the Persic issues of Mazaios emanating from the same important Syrian mint.

²⁶ *Loc cit.*, p. 70-ff.

ALEXANDRINE ISSUES

SERIES I, circa 333-330 B. C.

TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Herakles to r. in lion's skin head-dress. Circle of dots. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. in a straight line on dies 1, 3, and 4, in curved line on the remainder. Zeus seated to l. on diphros, holds eagle in outstretched r., and rests l. on lotos-tipped sceptre. Footstool beneath feet. The whole in circle of dots.

- 17 SCORPION in field; Σ beneath throne.
 I 1 Coll. of R. Storrs, Esq. Plate I, 5.
 2 Berlin.
 II 3 E. T. N.
- 18 (Müller, no. 1337). SCORPION in field; Σ beneath throne.
 II 4 E. T. N. (two specimens).
 III 5 E. T. N.
 IV 6 E. T. N.
 V 7 E. T. N. Plate I, 6.
 8 E. T. N.
 VI 9 E. T. N.
 VII 9 E. T. N. Plate I, 7.
 10 E. T. N.
 11 E. T. N. (two specimens).
 12 Amer. Num. Soc.
 13 E. T. N.
 VIII 13 Met. Mus. New York.

SERIES II, circa 329 B. C.

TETRADRACHM.

Similar to preceding.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ (*sic!*)
 in exergue. Zeus as above except that
 feet no longer rest on footstool.

- 19 (Müller, no. 1316). α in field; M beneath throne.
 IX 14 E. T. N. Plate I, 8.
- 20 (Müller, no. 1301). α in field; \mathcal{M} beneath throne.
 IX 15 E. T. N. (two specimens)
 16 Toronto: E. T. N. (two specimens).
 17 E. T. N.
 18 In the trade.
 19 E. T. N. (three specimens). Plate I, 9.
 20 Coll. Dattari.
 21 Cambridge (McClellan Coll.).

- X 21 E. T. N. (two specimens).
 22 E. T. N. **Plate I, 10**
 23 E. T. N.

SERIES III, circa 328–326 B. C.

Group A.

TETRADRACHM.

Similar to preceding.

BAΣΙΛΕΥΞ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. in a continuous curved line. Zeus as on preceding coins, his feet again resting on foot-stool.

- 21 (Müller, var. no. 1301). ☩ in field; M beneath throne.
 X 24 E. T. N. (two specimens). **Plate I, 11.**
 25 E. T. N.

TETRADRACHM.

Similar to preceding, dies showing increased wear.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ only, in straight line on right.

DRACHM.

Similar to preceding.

Similar to preceding.

HEMIDRACHM (TRIOBOL).

Similar to preceding.

Similar to preceding.

- 22 (Müller, no. 1300). ☩ in field; M beneath throne.
 IX 26 E. T. N.
 27 E. T. N.
 28 E. T. N.; Oxford (Ashmolean, two specimens).
 29 E. T. N.
 30 E. T. N.; London.
 31 E. T. N.
 32 E. T. N.
 33 E. T. N.
 34 E. T. N. **Plate I, 12.**
 35 E. T. N.
 36 E. T. N.
 X 29 E. T. N.
 36 E. T. N.
 37 E. T. N. **Plate I, 13.**
 38 E. T. N.
 39 E. T. N.
 40 Hirsch Sale xxxiii, Nov., 1913, no. 657b.
 41 E. T. N.

- 23 (The Drachm). ☩ in field; M beneath throne.
 E. T. N. **Plate I, 14.**

- 27 (Müller, no. 1298). ☩ and ☪ in field; Μ beneath throne.
 XV 61 E. T. N.
 62 E. T. N. **Plate II, 1.**
 63 E. T. N. (two specimens).
 64 Elder, no. 216.
 65 E. T. N.
 66 E. T. N.
 67 Belfast (Univ. Coll.).
 XVI 68 E. T. N.
 69 E. T. N.; Amer. Num. Soc.
 70 Cambridge (Leake Coll.). **Plate II, 2.**
 71 E. T. N.
 72 E. T. N.
 73 Egger Sale, May, 1912, no. 670.
 74 E. T. N.
 XVII 75 E. T. N.
 76 E. T. N.
 77 E. T. N. **Plate II, 3.**
- 28 ☩ and ☪ in field; Μ beneath throne.
 XV 78 E. T. N.
 XVI 79 E. T. N. (Oertel Sale, 115). **Plate II, 4.**
 80 E. T. N.
 81 E. T. N.; New York Met. Mus.
 82 E. T. N.; Cambridge (Leake Coll.).
- 29 ☩ and ☪ in field; Μ beneath throne.
 XVI 83 E. T. N.
 XVII 83 E. T. N. (two specimens).
 84 Amer. Num. Soc.
 XVIII 85 E. T. N. **Plate II, 5.**
 XIX 86 E. T. N.
 87 E. T. N. **Plate II, 6.**
 88 E. T. N.



Fig. 28.

- 30 (Müller, no. 1299). BRONZE. ☪ in field.
 Paris, Fig. 28.

SERIES V, circa 323–320 B. C.

TETRADRACHM.

Similar to preceding and of low relief. $\text{BA}\xi\text{IA}\epsilon\text{Q}\xi\text{A}\Lambda\epsilon\text{I}\text{AN}\Delta\text{POY}$ on r. in a continuous curved line. Type similar to no. 26, but the style is similar to nos. 28 to 30.

31		BA in field; M beneath throne.
XIX	89	E. T. N.; another in the trade.
	90	E. T. N. Plate II , 7.
XX	89	Elder, no. 270.
	90	E. T. N.
	91	E. T. N.
	92	E. T. N. Plate II , 8.
	93	E. T. N.
	94	E. T. N.
XXI	95	E. T. N.
XXII	94	In the trade.
	96	E. T. N. Plate II , 9.
	97	E. T. N.; Cambridge (Leake Coll.).
	98	Metr. Museum, New York; another in the trade.
	99	E. T. N.
XXIII	100	E. T. N. Plate II , 10.
32		BA in field; M beneath throne.
XXII	101	E. T. N.
	102	E. T. N. Plate II , 11.
33		M in field; $\overset{\circ}{\text{M}}$ beneath throne.
XXIII	103	E. T. N.
	104	Berlin. Plate II , 12.
34 (Müller, no. 1308).		M in field; M beneath throne.
XXII	105	Munich. Plate II , 13.
XXIV	106	Berlin. Plate II , 14.

SERIES VI, circa 320–319 B. C.






STATER.

Head of Athene in crested Corinthian helmet adorned with serpent. $\text{BA}\xi\text{IA}\epsilon\text{Q}\xi$ on l., ΦIAIPΓOY on r. Winged Nike standing facing, holds wreath in outstretched r. and stylis in l.

TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Herakles to r. as before but no longer of "Cilician" style. Border of dots. $\text{ΦIAIPΓOY BA}\xi\text{IA}\epsilon\text{Q}\xi$ in continuous line on r. Zeus enthroned to l. as before but now no longer of "Cilician" style.

35		M in field; H beneath throne.
XXV	107	E. T. N.; London. Plate II , 15.

XXV 108	Oxford (Ashmolean).
36	 beneath throne.
XXV 109	E. T. N., Plate II , 16; Vienna (no. 10736).
110	Hague (no. 29).
111	E. T. N.
37 (Müller, no. 118).	STAT ^{ER} .  on l.,  on r. London. Plate II , 17.
38	 beneath throne.
XXV 112	London.
39	 beneath throne.
XXV 113	Vienna (no. 29681), Plate II , 18; Dattari Coll.

SERIES I.

This series, which by its style evidently commences the Alexander issues of our mint, is distinguished by the scorpion appearing as a magistrate's symbol in the field. Because of this symbol, Müller attributed these tetradrachms to Commagene (mint, Samosata) in Syria. However, it has recently been shown²⁷ that Samosata was not in existence as early as the time of Alexander the Great. So far as we know there was no active mint in Commagene in Persian times, and it is not at all likely that Alexander opened one here. The scorpion does not appear on coins struck in Commagene until the reign of Antiochus IV, who flourished 38-72 A. D., from which it is rather too far fetched to argue that the same symbol used some four hundred years earlier must denote a coinage in that district. Furthermore, there is no question but that in the present case the symbol is that of a magistrate and is replaced in the succeeding issue by a monogram which certainly can have nothing to do with Commagene. At Tarsos the system of control had, for the years immediately preceding Alexander's arrival, been a series of letters (ⲛⲁ ⲛⲓ ⲛⲏ ⲛⲓ ⲛⲏ, etc.) and the earliest local Alexandrine issues had also borne letters (A, B) as magistratal marks; at Myriandros, on the other hand, the system of control under Mazaïos had been principally by symbol (Thymiaterion, Double Ax, Shield, Shell) and the same system was evidently at first carried over on to the succeeding Alexander coins.

Series I of this mint must have been of somewhat larger proportions than the actual coins that have come down to us would seem to

²⁷ Among others, Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie, et de Commagène*, pp. ccviii-ccix.

suggest. The specimens, namely, show eight obverse dies but only thirteen reverse ones, thus giving us too small a proportion between obverse and reverse dies as compared with the remaining issues of our mint. It is certain that as soon as it is again possible to study the public and private collections abroad more reverse, and possibly also obverse, dies will be found.

In details of style, type, and technique our coins are the immediate successors of the Persic lion staters, as can be seen by comparing no. 3 with the following numbers on Plate I.

SERIES II.

This group is distinguished by the introduction of the title *βασιλεύς* and the omission of the *v* in the word *Ἀλεξάνδρου*, this being probably due to some local dialectical variation or the confusion so prevalent at this period between pure and impure vowel sounds. It is interesting to note that these coins must have been the ones taken as models by the die cutters of Kition in Cyprus when that mint first commenced to strike coins of the Alexander type (see Numismatic Chronicle for 1915, Pl. XII, 3). The style, the use of the title *βασιλεύς* — so unusual for the Alexander series at this early date, — the arrangement of the inscription, and the curious spelling *Ἀλεξάνδρο* — all are closely followed on the Kitian coins, suggesting indeed close commercial relations between that city and Myriandros.

Series II is the direct continuation of Series I, as can be seen by comparing the style and technique of nos. 8, 9, and 10 with nos. 6 and 7 on Plate I. For this issue two new obverse dies were cut and at least eleven reverse dies. The sign ☩ is probably to be construed as a monogram rather than the Phoenician Baal-sign ⚡ placed upon its side. Μ (= ΜΙ ?) is probably the chief magistrate responsible for the coinage, as his monogram appears without exception on all silver coins struck at Myriandros during the next ten years.

SERIES III.

For this series two subordinate magistrates ☩ and ΒΑΝ (= ΒΑΝ ?) functioned, in addition to their superior ΜΙ. The former would each seem to have been at the head of a separate "officina" of the mint, as so far no instance has occurred of an interchange of dies between them. Throughout Series III ☩ makes use of the old obverse dies IX and X, ΒΑΝ uses the new obverse dies XI, XII, XIII, and XIV. ΒΑΝ's tetradrachm issues appear to have been larger than those of his brother

official, but the latter, in compensation, struck divisional pieces, the drachm and the hemidrachm. Judging by the style, only one die cutter was employed in the manufacture of all the obverse dies in the two officinas, but different die cutters produced the reverse dies nos. 26 to 41 and the contemporary nos. 55 to 60. One of the most evident marks of distinction between these two groups consists in the fact that on the former, Zeus is depicted with long locks, on the latter the nape of his neck is free from curls. It is however probable that in Series III the die cutter working for $\overline{\text{BAN}}$ also produced the only two known dies (24 and 25) of ☩ for this series bearing the *βασιλεύς* title (compare no. 11 with nos. 16 and 17 on Plate I). It is possible to note the increasing signs of wear on the obverse dies IX and X whose span of life and usefulness would seem to have been of considerable length. Plate I no. 8 shows die IX in all its pristine freshness, while no. 12 on the same plate clearly shows its damaged condition after a couple of years of use.

Throughout Series III, the coins of Group A, being the issues supervised by ☩ , are the contemporaries of the coins of Group B, the issues supervised by $\overline{\text{BAN}}$.

SERIES IV.

Series IV is again the continuation of Series III, but the magistrate $\overline{\text{BAN}}$ is no longer active. The series is distinguished by the presence of a symbol which, because of its small size, is somewhat difficult to describe, but probably is intended to represent a club within a wreath. This symbol has been connected by Müller (p. 279-280) with later coin-types of Tarsos and Elaeusa. In the present case we have certainly to do with the personal symbol of some magistrate, either of ☩ himself or one of his subordinates. This issue must have been a fairly large one, employing five new obverse dies and at least twenty-eight reverse dies. The flans tend to become larger, the technique grows broader and thinner, the relief lower.

SERIES V.

Here ☩ disappears completely and finally, while his former fellow magistrate $\overline{\text{BAN}}$ once more occupies the field of the coinage. He reintroduces the title *βασιλεύς*, making it at first difficult to distinguish between his earlier issues (the tetradrachm no. 26) and the present one. A comparison of the two issues soon reveals striking differences. The coins of the second all possess broader flans, their relief is much lower, the drawing thinner and more delicate while the figure of Zeus is far

less well modelled; the style indeed is much more "finicky" and with only a superficial attractiveness. Towards the end of the series the magistrate $\overline{\text{B}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}}$ is replaced by $\overline{\text{M}}$ (= MA?). One old reverse die (XIX) of the preceding issue is continued in use and five new ones are cut, the last one of these (XXIV, reproduced Plate II, 14) abandoning the so-called "Cilician" style for one that is more in accordance with Greek ideals. The reverse die (no. 106) that accompanies XXIV is a transition between the "Cilician" style of its predecessors and the Hellenized style of the later issues of our mint.

SERIES VI.

With Series VI comes the complete abandonment of the "Cilician" style. The issue is also distinguished by the substitution of Philip III's name for that of the now deceased Alexander. We also, for the first time in this mint, find a gold stater accompanying the silver tetradrachms. On the majority of the issues the magistrate $\overline{\text{M}}$ still places his accustomed monogram, thus helping us to definitely identify these new coins as the successors of our older pieces. So far only one obverse die is known for this entire issue and it is quite possible that it was the only one cut, because clear evidence of the hard use it was put to may be seen in no. 18, Plate II.

In calculating the dates to be assigned to the preceding series of the Alexander coins we possess two more or less fixed points from which to work. The one is represented by October of 333 B. C., a few days previous to the battle of Issos, when Alexander and his army first entered the town of Myriandros, it being obvious that this date represents the earliest possible moment at which that mint could have operated for its new master. The second date is 318 B. C., the probable year²⁸ in which the great hoard of tetradrachms found at Demanhur, Egypt, was buried. This hoard contained examples of all the tetradrachms described above with the exception of the last two, nos. 38 and 39. Thus the issues of Series I to VI inclusive evidently cover the fourteen odd years lying between the two given dates.

It may be possible to fix the date of appearance of the various series a little more closely. It is to be noticed that at least twenty-five obverse dies were employed in the production of the tetradrachms listed above. Giving ourselves the more than ample allowance of three possible obverse dies not yet come to light, we possess an average of two obverse dies per year. In the author's work on the Alexandrine coin-

²⁸ The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake, p. 58.

age of Sidon and of Ake are listed 33 tetradrachm dies of the former and 44 tetradrachm dies of the latter city to cover the twenty-seven odd years of their minting activity. The total coinages of the three cities, judging by the specimens that have come down to us, could not have been very far apart in point of size, and therefore the allowance of two obverse dies per year for Myriandros cannot be far wrong. The infinitely more important mint of Tarsos furnishes us with nearly five obverse dies (67 dies to cover 14 years) per year. We thus possess a rough means of calculating the probable dates of the individual issues of the mint at Myriandros. Eight obverse dies are recorded in Series I, but for the first issue, with no previous ones from which to borrow, probably more dies were provided than would otherwise have been the case. At any rate, we may well assign Series I to the years 332, 331, and 330.

Series II may then be assigned to the year 329 B. C., giving us a possible clue to the sudden and unusually early adoption of the title *βασιλεύς*. In October of 331 had occurred the battle of Arbela which finally decided the fate of the Achaemenid empire. There followed the fall of Babylon, Alexander's advance into Persia, the pursuit and death (July, 330 B. C.) of Darius, the conquest of Bactria and the capture of Bessos (early in 329 B. C.) who had declared himself the successor to Darius and the Persian Empire. With these last two events that great empire officially ceased to exist and Alexander might correctly be considered to have taken the place of the Achaemenid kings, and could rightly claim their titles. It is from this date forward that we find mint after mint of his realms adding the title *βασιλεύς* to the name of Alexander. Myriandros, Kition, and Arados, among others, adopted the title in and around 329 B. C., Babylon about 325 B. C. or possibly even slightly earlier, Tarsos adopted it about 324 B. C., the Macedonian mints a little later.

Series III, with its two old obverse dies carried over from the preceding issue, and its four new ones perhaps covered the years 328 to 326 B. C. For some unexplained reason the title is again omitted towards the close of this issue. At Kition, Arados, Tarsos, and Babylon the title, once adopted, remains to the end.

Series IV, boasting of five new obverse dies, may have covered the years 326 to 323 B. C.

Series V, with its one old die carried over from the preceding issue, and with its five new obverse dies—no one of which, however, shows any sign of long continued wear—may have lasted from 323 to 320 B. C.

Here *βασιλεύς* once more returns in conformity with the custom generally prevailing at this period throughout the eastern mints.

Series VI could not have been of long duration as only one obverse die is known to us. It may therefore very well have covered the short period 320-319 B. C., the final space of time remaining at our disposal. If we accept the dating here suggested for Series VI we find the substitution of the name of Philip for that of Alexander to have taken place in the very same year as in the mint of Sidon, whose dated series of coins proves this event to have occurred not long previous to October of 320 B. C.

The activities of our mint did not cease with the coins of Series VI but continued for some time longer. But as this article is intended to be a complement to the previous one on the mint at Tarsos,²⁹ it is better to stop here (with the issues of the year 319 B. C.) thus conforming with that paper. This is all the more logical as at this very period there took place a definite break in the issues of our two mints. From this point forward their several coinages are, if such a thing were possible, even more closely parallel to each other than heretofore, until finally — shortly after the death of Philip III — a single chief magistrate or government official appears to have supervised the issues of the two cities. Thus again, as in the days of the satrap Mazaïos, the coinages of Tarsos and of Myriandros become so alike that they have always been confounded. It is the writer's hope, at a future date, to have the opportunity of discussing and contrasting the later issues of the two cities.

²⁹ American Journal of Numismatics, vol. LII.



Issues of Mazaios, 1-4; Issues of Alexander, Series I, 5-7; Series II, 8-10; Series III, Group A, 11-15; Series III, Group B, 16-19.



Series IV, 1-6; Series V, 7-14; Series VI, 15-18.



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