

Between Mesopotamia and Greece: Cultural influences in Cilician coin-iconography from the late 5th to the early 4th century BC

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In 2004, within the frame of a revised and considerably enlarged version of his doctoral dissertation of 1998, Olivier Casabonne has presented a general survey of the Sub Achaemenid coinages from Cilicia known up to that point¹. Though still of fundamental importance nowadays, the “half-life period” for studies of the kind is but short; still far too many unrecorded variants or completely new coin-types are published or surface in trade every year, which have the capacity to alter and sometimes even entirely change our perspective of the underlying historical events. In particular the emerging links between series from different mints may occasionally have a considerable impact on the reconstruction of the political geography of Cilicia under Achaemenid rule. For this reason also results and assumptions of earlier studies by the present author had to be altered and revised more than once in the light of material discovered only a short while after their publication². At the current stage an updated catalogue of the issues in question, in particular of those marking the first phase of Cilician coinage after its late introduction during the second half of the 5th century BC, which are much rarer and less known than the series attributable to the minting activities on behalf of the Persian naval command after ca. 400 BC, is decidedly called for.

The study of Cilician history during the earlier period of Achaemenid rule is heavily aggravated by the almost complete absence of direct references in the literary tradition at our disposal. Our remaining historical accounts regarding events of the 5th century BC are mainly concerned with European affairs and hardly contain any mention of internal conditions in an area considered as not much more than a remote province of the Persian realm by their authors. Apart from the famous remarks in the *Cyrupedia* of Xenophon³, that the Cilicians after their annexation by the Achaemenid Empire were not placed under the command of a satrap appointed from outside but were allowed to keep their own local rulers, who became tributary to the Great King but were apparently granted a certain internal autonomy, next to nothing is reported about Cilician affairs before the revolt of the younger Cyrus by our Greek sources. The turn from the 5th to the 4th century BC according to our era, however, was in fact a period of transformation for Achaemenid rule in Anatolia bringing about changes with a considerable impact on Cilicia and on the monetary production within that region: The semi-autonomy initially granted to the various communities and small fiefdoms in the coastal plain and the adjacent highlands by the Great King became more and more obsolete with the Persian Empires enhanced interest in the area as a home-base

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¹ Casabonne 2004.

² This is in particular concerning the placement of the Tarsian horseman-series in Müseler 2015 and of the coins of the so-called Ba’ana-Group in Müseler 2018 p. 57 sqq in the early 4th century BC; but the respective dating of the Lycian Tissaphernes-stater remains unaffected.

³ Xen. Kyr VII,4,2 and VIII,6,8.

for its new battle-fleet and as a hub for various military operations in the Eastern Mediterranean, namely directed against Cyprus and Egypt, which required a firmer control by the central power⁴. At the same time the former position of trust held by the dynasts of Tarsos for more than a century was shattered by the rather questionable loyalty of the *Syennesis* in the conflict between Artaxerxes II and his brother Cyrus regarding the succession to the Achaemenid throne⁵. Between 400 and 390 BC the coin-production in Cilicia got increasingly centralized and the variety of local issues got gradually replaced by more and more uniform series commissioned by the high command of the Persian navy in Cilicia. During the next century the main purpose of the different local mints became the production of huge quantities of multifaceted small-change to be used by the own citizens as well as by the many mercenary-sailors and -soldiers enlisted for service in the fleet at the various market-places in Cilicia and beyond⁶. Therefore the purpose of the present study is to reassemble the coin-issues on record up to now, which can be demonstrated to have preceded this turning point of Cilician history, and to pursue the question, what can possibly be learned about the political conditions and relations within the region before and immediately after 400 BC from the evidence provided by this source-type.

Apart from its plentiful own resources of grain, fruit, livestock and timber Cilicia had been predestined by its geographical position as a “Brückenland”, a hub for overland-traffic and -trade between the Anatolian highlands and Mesopotamia, while its ports had become important supply stations and transfer sites for the sea-trade between Phoenicia, Cyprus and the Aegean since late bronze age. Because of these many advantages the various small Luwian principalities of the region, which had flourished at the height as well as after the decline of the Hittite Empire, had soon become objects of desire for their more powerful neighbours from Mesopotamia, namely the Kings of Assyria and of Babylon. The Assyrians had conquered Cilicia in the course of the 9th century BC and made it the Western outpost of their realm. Under their rule several urban settlements such as Tarsos or Ançhiale, which would dominate the region throughout the following centuries, were founded (or at least reconstructed)⁷. As a result of this there was a substantial immigration of Aramean people from Syria and the Levant into Cilicia, whose ideas and beliefs would blend with native concepts while their language and script would overlay and eventually replace the original Luwian⁸.

⁴ The events between 397 und 360 BC in Cilicia and the Levant have been treated in detail by Ruzicka 2012 and Müseler 2018.

⁵ Possibly the defeat and death of the younger Cyrus in Mesopotamia did not lead immediately to the downfall of the Tarsian *Syenneseis*. A part of their coins (9.10.7-8) may still have been struck soon after 400 BC. However, after the installation of the Persian naval-command they can hardly have been the lords of Tarsos anymore.

⁶ The vast majority of the enormous quantities of small coins (i.e. of Obols and their fractions) in the name of various Cilician communities or anonymous but attributable to the same area dates from the 4th century BC. See for example Göktürk 2000. For the huge number of local and mercenary issues struck in Palestine, which had been inspired by this coinage, see Meshorer – Qedar 1991 and 1999.

⁷ Notwithstanding several more recent studies regarding a number of new discoveries and additional details Erzen 1940 still provides a good and comprehensive survey to the early history of Cilicia.

⁸ See Lipinski 2000, Novák 2002 and Lemaire 2014.

From the 7th century BC onwards some larger harbour coves east of Cape Anemorion at the foot of the coastal range of the Taurus mountains, the *Kilikia Tracheia* of Strabo, and the most western tip of the adjacent alluvial plains, the *Kilikia Pedias*, were partly colonized by Greek settlers. However, this process had rather been a gradual seeping into pre-existing agglomerations originally populated with a mixture of Luwian, Hittite and Syrian-Aramean elements than a seizure of land and the formal foundation of a new community dominated by ethnic Greeks⁹. In consequence the languages, the beliefs and the cultic activities of the various groups inhabiting places like the coastal town of Soloi mingled to an extent that the different cultural origins became hard to discern. Over the years these mixed communities developed their own and rather self-contained cultural habits. As an example may serve a phenomenon already well known in Antiquity: The proverbial *σολοικισμός* was actually named after the strange and for every outsider almost incomprehensible argot spoken by the ethnic Greek citizens of Soloi¹⁰. It was nothing else than a creole type language mixed together of the different native tongues of all the members of the community.

With the addition of Cilicia to the Achaemenid sphere of influence after the Persian conquest of Babylon in 539 BC Cyrus II had not only acquired a prosperous and densely populated province in an excellent strategic position, but also a veritable melting pot of all kinds of Asian and European cultural traditions. This was probably the main motive behind his sensible decision to leave the local structures of administration mainly intact and grant a certain amount of internal autonomy to the multi-layered and not always docile population of this province¹¹. There is, however, no reason to believe that Cilicia during this period, i.e. the second half of the 6th and the first half of the 5th century BC, was a single and in any respect centrally organized state, - neither as some kind of vice-kingdom under the rule of the *Syenneseis* from Tarsos nor in any other form¹². The numismatic record, even though beginning considerably later, is clearly pointing in the opposite direction. Almost certainly a number of separate and occasionally competing political units, more

⁹ See Jasink 1991. Seduced by the “foundation-myths” spread by various Cilician communities from the late 4th century BC onwards and reported by Strabo and other later authors the size and importance of early Greek colonization in Cilicia has been highly overrated. See Scheer 1997, p. 222 sqq, and further below p. 83.

¹⁰ See Lochner v. Hüttenbach 1976.

¹¹ The fragmentary Greek tradition (cfr. Berossos 12, FHG II, 504 and Abydenos 7, FHG IV, 282) reports at least one huge revolt of Cilician cities against Assyrian rule at the time of Sanherib (704-680 BC), who conducted a military campaign against the rebels in 696 BC. In the course of this expedition Tarsos and Anchiale were destroyed and later on refounded by the Assyrian king. This report is also confirmed by cuneiform documents, which have been found at Tarsos (See Dalley 1999). Another major revolt took place during the reign of the Neobabylonian king Neriglissar (560-556 BC) as attested by the so-called ABC 6 Chronicle, a clay tablet with a cuneiform inscription describing events of the third year of the reign of Neriglissar, i.e. 557 BC. (See Glassner 2004, 230-232). This was followed by a punitive campaign of the Babylonian king against Ura and Kirši (today’s Meydancikkale: see Davesne – Lemaire – Lozachmeur 1987) in *Kilikia Tracheia*. See also below p. 79 sq.

¹² There is hardly sufficient evidence for the assumption of a unified kingdom or any other form of homogeneous political organization of the various territories belonging to the perimeter of Cilicia between the end of Assyrian rule and the late 5th century BC as proposed by Erzen 1940, p. 75 sqq. See also Lemaire – Lozachmeur 1990, in particular p. 152 sqq. and Casabonne 2004, p. 101 sqq. For the however distinguished role of the principality of Tarsos and its local dynasty see below p. 104 sq.

or less in succession to the former Sub-Hittite and Sub-Assyrian fiefdoms, continued to exist in the lands of Cilicia tributary to the Achaemenids until the reigns of Dareios II Ochos and Artaxerxes II Mnemon.

This must be kept in mind, when studying early Cilician coinages: In fact the comparatively late introduction of a monetary economy for various purposes of trade was originally inspired by the influx of Greek and Phoenician coins into the area. But although the language used for the legends on many of the early coins made in Cilicia itself is Greek, this circumstance should not be seen as an expression of predominantly Greek traditions. Hardly any of the settlements on Cilician soil having coins struck in their own name can be compared to a Greek *polis* in the classical sense of the word. The coin productions of the different communities rather reflect a large variety of cultural and ideological backgrounds and of rivalling claims to religious and political supremacy. Therefore we must be very careful before applying Greek models of interpretation to the reading of the images on Cilician coins and any resulting deductions regarding their significance. An understanding of the semiotics of Cilician monetary (and not just monetary) iconography requires a far more complex approach, which takes into account all the various roots, which have created this multifaceted and unique blend of symbolic representations.

The main problem connected with cataloguing early coin-issues from Cilicia, however, is not the fixing of the start but the definition of a comprehensible terminus: The turn between the 5th and the 4th century BC according to the Christian era happened to coincide with a definite turning-point in the history of Sub-Achaemenid Cilicia, the revolt of the younger Cyrus against his half-brother Artaxerxes II. But this event was not immediately expressed within the various civic coinages. There a tangible incision is formed by the presumably first series commissioned by the Persian naval command in the name of numerous places, which were struck sometime between 393 and 386 BC. These series either interrupted or definitely stopped previous local issues. Often enough (though not always) the new coinages were characterized by a formal change of the ethnic noted on the coins either from Aramaic to Greek (ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ instead of *TRZ*) or from the substantial to the adjective form (ΝΑΓΙΔΙΚΟΝ instead of ΝΑΓΙΔΕΩΝ, ΣΟΛΙΚΟΝ instead of ΣΟΛΕΩΝ, ΜΑΡΛΟΤΑΝ instead of *MRLU* or *ΜΑΡΛΟ* etc.). But in all cases the iconography of the coins was altered fundamentally: Traditional local motifs got gradually replaced by images rather deriving from Greek models. Therefore those issues have been chosen as terminal point for the catalogue presented here and the timespan covered is roughly the period between 440 and 386 BC.

The city of Ura and its neighbours in *Kilikia Tracheia*

In all probability the strikings from the city of Ura belong to the earliest coinages issued in Cilicia. But apparently the entire coin production at this place has not been more than a short-lived episode. After just a handful of issues, which are all very rare, the monetary output in the name of Ura ran dry and was replaced by the huge and long-lasting coinage from the mint at Kelenderis. Also a small group belonging to the town of Holmoi seems to be closely related to the coinages of Ura and of Kelenderis. Only the large series from the port of Nagidos next to Cape Anemorion further to the West, which apparently began somewhat later, form a separate phenomenon.

Ura

- 1.1.1*** Stater, Ibex running to r., above Aramaic legend 'RH / City wall with two towers in square incuse, above Aramean legend 'RH. (10,70 g.) Nomos 20, 2020, 245
- 1.1.2*** Stater, Ibex running to r., head reverted, in the field branch with flowers and globe / City wall with two towers in square incuse, above Aramaic legend 'RH. (10,65 g.) Obolos 16, 2020, 889
- 1.2.1*** Stater, Ibex running to l., head reverted, above Aramaic legend 'RH / Owl with open wings standing front (in square incuse?), in the field uncertain symbols. (10,60 g.) BMC Cilicia p. 54, 17 (BM TC, p243.12.Pop)*; (11,14 g.) SNG Hunterian 924
- 1.2.2*** Stater, Winged ibex running to l., head reverted, on its back small winged quadriped (Pegasos?) to l. / Owl with open wings standing front in square incuse, in the field 2 key-symbols. (10,73 g.) BMC Cilicia, p. 54, 18 (BM 1890,0703.1)*; (10,92 g.) SNG Hunterian 925
- 1.2.3*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Ibex running to r, head reverted, above Aramaic legend 'RH (retrograde) / Owl with open wings standing front in square incuse, in the field uncertain symbols. (3,39 g.) Berlin 18278119 (1856/18272)
- 1.2.4** Twelfth stater (Obol), Astragalos / Owl with open wings standing front in circular incuse. (1.05 g.) CNG MB 73, 2006, 421
- 1.2.5** Twelfth stater (Obol), Astragalos in pearled circle, in the field club / Owl with open wings standing front in pearled circle. (1,05 g.) CNG MB 64, 2003, 304
- 1.2.6*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Astragalos in pearled circle, in field two stars / Owl with open wings standing front in pearled circle. (1.15 g.) CNG 85, 2010, 465
- 1.3.1*** Stater, Winged ibex running to l., head reverted / Winged lion standing to r., head reverted, in square incuse, in the field globe, above Aramaic legend 'RH. (10,81 g.) Nomos 18, 2019, 197
- 1.3.2*** Stater, Winged bull walking to r. on ground-line, in the field sprig of ivy, above Aramaic legend 'RH (retrograde) / Pegasus flying to r. in square incuse, behind Aramaic legend 'RH. (10,74 g.) Roma XIX, 2019, 571
- 1.4.1** Stater, City wall with three towers / Forepart of bull to r. in square incuse. (10,80 g.) Triton XXIII, 2020, 453
- 1.4.2*** Stater, City wall with three towers / Forepart of bull to r. in square incuse, in the field key-symbol. (10,87 g.) Nomos 18, 2019, 202

Kelenderis

- 2.1.1** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l. / Forepart of he-goat to l. in circular incuse, above legend KEAE. (10,85 g.) SNG BN 43
- 2.1.2*** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l., below legend KEAEN / Forepart of he-goat to l. in circular incuse. (10,82 g.) Nomos 21, 2020, 221

- 2.2.1*** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l. / He-goat kneeling running to l. head reverted, in circular incuse, in exergue legend KEA. (10,68 g.) GM 190, 2010, 313
- 2.2.2 *** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l., below legend KEA / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, in the field Astragalos. (10,77 g.) SNG BN 44
- 2.2.3*** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l., in the field letter A / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, above sprig of ivy and legend KEA. (10,46 g.) SNG BN 46; (10,76 g.) Naumann 71, 2018, 239*
- 2.2.4** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l., in the field letter A / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, above sprig of ivy and legend KEAEN, in exergue Astragalos. (10,69 g.) CNG E 302, 2013, 158
- 2.2.5*** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l., in the field letter Π / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, above legend KEA. (10,69 g.) SNG BN 52; (10, 86 g.) Hess-Divo 317, 2010, 265*
- 2.2.6** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l., in the field letter Π / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, above sprig of ivy and legend KEA. (10,62 g.) SNG BN 48
- 2.2.7*** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l., in the field letter Π / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, above sprig of ivy and legend KEAEN, in exergue Astragalos (die of **2.2.3**). (10,69 g.) SNG BN 56; (10,68 g.) Hess -Divo 321, 2012, 180*
- 2.2.8*** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l., in the field letter Π / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow2 circular incuse, in exergue letter A, no legend. (10,58 g.) GM 265, 2019, 442
- 2.2.9** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l. / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, in exergue letter A, no legend. (10,82 g.) M&M (DE) 49, 2020, 223
- 2.2.10 *** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l., in the field letters Π and A / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, above legend KEAEN. (10,84 g.) PN 425, 2019, 300
- 2.2. 11** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l., in the field letters Π and A / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, above sprig of ivy and legend KEAEN. (10,86 g.) PN 426, 2020, 124
- 2.2.12** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l. / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, no symbols and no legend. (10,62 g.) SNG BN 63

- 2.2.13** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l. / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, in field sprig of ivy, no legend (10,82 g.) Lanz 149, 2010, 236
- 2.2.14** Third stater (Tetrobol), Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l, in the field letter Π / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, above legend KEAEN. (3,41 g.) SNG BN 57
- 2.2.15** Third stater (Tetrobol), Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l, in the field letter Π / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, above legend KEA. (3,62 g.) SNG BN 58
- 2.2.16*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l. / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in the field Astragalos, no legend. (3,56 g.) SNG BN 59; (3,61 g.) GM 229, 2015, 1391*
- 2.2.17** Third stater (Tetrobol), Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l, in the field shield / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in the field rectangular symbol, no legend. (3,49 g.) SNG BN 60
- 2.2.18*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l. / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in the field sprig of ivy, no legend. (3,47 g.) SNG BN 61
- 2.2.19** Third stater (Tetrobol), Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l., in the field letter Π / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in the field sprig of ivy, no legend (3,56 g.) Hirsch 267, 2010, 339
- 2.2.20** Third stater (Tetrobol), Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l., in exergue legend KEA / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted. (3,56 g.) Hirsch 267, 2010, 338
- 2.3.1*** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l. (die of **2.2.12**) / He-goat kneeling-running to r., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, above legend KEAEN, in exergue ivy-leaf. 10,63 g. SNG BN 64; (10,69 g.) SNG v. Aulock 5628 = CNG MB 66, 2004, 541
- 2.3.2** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l. / He-goat kneeling-running to r., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, above legend KEAEN (retrograde). (10,85 g.) SNG BN 65
- 2.3.3*** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to r. / He-goat kneeling-running to r., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, no symbols and legends. SNG BN 66
- 2.3.4** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to r. / He-goat kneeling-running to r., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, in the field sprig of ivy and legend KEAEN. (10,39 g.) SNG Levante 24
- 2.3.5*** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to r. / He-goat kneeling-running to r., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, above legend

KEΛEN, in exergue dolphin to r. (10,64 g.) SNG Levante 23; (10,72 g.) GM 190, 2010, 314*

- 2.4.1** Twelfth stater (Obol), Horses head with bridle to r., in the field globe / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow square incuse. (1,04 g.) SNG BN 78
- 2.4.2** Twentyfourth stater (Hemiobol), Gorgoneion facing / Astragalos, in the field legend KEA. (0,60 g.) SNG BN 79
- 2.5.*** Stater, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to r. / He-goat kneeling-running to r., head reverted, in square incuse, legend KEΛENΔ-EPI-TIKON. (10,52 g.) SNG BN 77; (10, 79 g.) GM 186, 2010,1440*

Holmoi

- 3.1.1*** Stater of Kelenderitan type, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l. / He-goat kneeling-running to l., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, in the field long tendril with flower and legend OI, in exergue club (10,59 g.) Roma E 9, 2014, 216
- 3.2.1*** Stater of Kelenderitan type, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to r. / Stern of galley to l. in circular incuse, above legend OAMI (10,66 g.) Roma XIX, 2020, 563
- 3.2.2*** Stater of Kelenderitan type, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to r. / Stern of galley to l. in circular incuse, no legend. (10,45 g.) Nomos 19, 2019, 175
- 3.2.3*** Third stater (Tetrobol) of Kelenderitan type, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l. / Stern of galley, decorated with round shield, to l. in rhombic incuse, in the field small dolphin to l. and legend OAMI. (2,96 g.) Naumann 39, 2016, 415
- 3.3.1 *** Stater, Athena with Attic helmet and in armour holding large round shield and small Nike-Statue with wreath standing to l., in left field dolphin, in right field long spear / Youthful male figure (Apollon?) draped with long chiton holding with right hand phiale over burning altar and leaning with left on olive-tree standing l.in shallow circular incuse, in right field tree, legend OAMITIKON. (10,11 g.) SNG BN 32; (10,22 g.) Gemini III, 2007, 214*.
- 3.3.2a*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Head of Athena with Attic helmet to r. / Youthful male head (Apollon?) with laurel-wreath to r., legend OAMITIKON. (0,65 g.) SNG Levante 34; (0,59 g.) Triton XVIII, 2015, 48*
- 3.3.2b*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Head of Athena with Attic helmet to r. / Youthful male head (Apollon?) with laurel-wreath to r., legend OAMITAN. (0,66 g.) CNG MB 70, 2005, 318
- 3.3.3*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Head of Athena with Attic helmet to r. / Bearded male head with laural-wreath to l., legend OAMITIKON. (0,64 g.) SNG Levante 36; (0,65 g.) PN 392, 2007, 4375*

Nagidos

- 4.1.1** Stater, Male figure with short sceptre in raised left hand seated to r. on vine-trunk with grapes / Male figure in Persian garb and long stick in left hand behind plough pulled by yoke of oxen to r., in the field winged solar-disk and grain. (10,54 g.) SNG Levante Suppl. 23
- 4.1.2*** Stater, Male figure with short sceptre in raised right hand seated to l. on vine-trunk with grapes / Male figure in Persian garb with long rod (bulls pizzle) behind plough pulled by yoke of oxen to l., in the field winged solar-disk and grain. (10,09 g.) BMC Cilicia, p.98,19 (BM 1869,0709.8)
- 4.1.3*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Male figure with grapes in hands seated to r. on vine-trunk, in the field triskeles / Cowering child tor. suckling from cow standing to l. (0,86 g.) SNG Levante 212 = CNG MB 66, 2004, 629 *
- 4.2.*** Stater, Female deity with bird in right hand seated to l. on footstool, behind nude boy, in left field indistinct letter or symbol / Nude Herakles (?), head and back draped with lion-skin, advancing to r., swinging club in right hand and holding in left hand small lion upside down by its tail (10,51 g.) SNG BN 439
- 4.3.1*** Stater, Female deity with phiale in right hand seated to l. on throne, behind nude winged boy, in right field Σ ¹³ / Nude male deity with chlamys draped over shoulders standing to l., holding kantharos in right and thyrsus in left hand, in left field Λ ¹⁴, legend ΝΑΓΙΔΕΩΝ. Lederer 1; (10,15 g.) SNG BN 1; (10,63 g.) Hess-Divo 309, 2008, 74*
- 4.3.2*** Stater, Female deity with phiale in right hand seated to l. on throne, behind nude winged boy, in right field Σ / Nude male deity with chlamys draped over shoulders standing to l., holding kantharos in right and thyrsus in left hand, in left field Aramaic letter *B*¹⁵, legend ΝΑΓΙΔΕΩΝ. (10,50 g.) Lederer 2; Naumann 86, 2020, 240*
- 4.3.3** Stater, Female deity with phiale in right hand seated to l. on throne, behind nude winged boy, in right field Σ (die of 4.3.2) / Nude male deity with chlamys draped over shoulders standing to l., holding kantharos in right and thyrsus in left hand, in right field indistinct monogram, legend ΝΑΓΙΔΕΩΝ. (10,25 g.) Lederer 3
- 4.3.4** Stater, Female deity with phiale in right hand seated to l. on throne, behind nude winged boy, in right field Σ (die of 4.3.2) / Male deity clad in long chiton standing to l., holding vine-branch with two grapes in right and thyrsus in left hand, in right field Δ , legend ΝΑΓΙΔΕΩΝ. (10,58 g.) Lederer 4; SNG Fitzwilliam 5268
- 4.3.5** Stater, Female deity with phiale in right hand seated to l. on throne, behind nude winged boy, no monogram / Male deity clad in long chiton standing to l.,

¹³ The monogram is rather well visible on the specimen Hess-Divo 309, 2008, 74. It is possibly created from Aramaic script and contains the letter *mim*.

¹⁴ The interpretation of the monogram as a composition of N and A or N and Γ is, however, hardly convincing.

¹⁵ See 8.1.2. Like on that coin the letter *beth* may actually be seen as part of a monogram.

holding vine-branch with single grape in right and thyrsus in left hand, in right field ΛH , legend $\text{N}\Gamma\text{I}\Delta\text{E}\Omega\text{N}$. (10,74 g.) Lederer -; SNG Levante Suppl. 1

- 4.4.1** Stater, Female deity with phiale in right hand seated to l. on folding chair, in right field nude winged boy with wreath in hands flying to r., in left field $\text{V}\Lambda$ / Nude male deity with chlamys draped over shoulders standing to l., holding kantharos in right and thyrsus in left hand, in right field indistinct monogram, legend $\text{N}\Gamma\text{I}\Delta\text{E}\Omega\text{N}$ (die of **4.3.3**). (10,48 g.) Lederer 11; CNG E 437, 2019, 151
- 4.4.2*** Stater, Female deity with phiale in right hand seated to l. on folding chair, in right field nude winged boy with wreath in hands flying to r., in left field $\text{V}\Lambda$ (die of **4.4.1**) / Male deity clad in long chiton standing to l., holding vine-branch with two grapes in right and thyrsus in left hand, legend $\text{N}\Gamma\text{I}\Delta\text{E}\Omega\text{N}$. (10,63 g.) Lederer 12; SNG BN 4*
- 4.4.3** Stater, Female deity with phiale in right hand seated to l. on folding chair, in right field nude winged boy with wreath in hands flying to r., in left field $\text{V}\Lambda$ / Male deity clad in long chiton standing to l., holding vine-branch with two grapes in right and thyrsus in left hand, legend $\text{N}\Gamma\text{I}\Delta\text{-IKON}$. (10,24 g.) Lederer 10; BMC Cilicia, p. 110, 2 (BM 1868,0320.11)
- 4.4.4*** Stater, Female deity with phiale in right hand seated to l. on folding chair, in right field nude winged boy with wreath in hands flying to r., no monogram / Male deity clad in long chiton standing to l., holding vine-branch with two grapes in right and thyrsus in left hand, legend $\text{N}\Gamma\text{I}\Delta$ (downwards retrograde). (10,45 g.) Lederer 5; SNG BN 2*
- 4.4.5*** Stater, Female deity with phiale in right hand seated to l. on folding chair, in right field nude winged boy with wreath in hands flying to r., no monogram / Male deity clad in long chiton standing to l., holding vine-branch with two grapes in right and thyrsus in left hand, legend $\text{N}\Gamma\text{I}\Delta\text{-IKON}$. (10,68 g.) Lederer 9; Roma E 35, 2017, 320*
- 4.5.*** Stater, Athena with Attic helmet, spear and round shield seated to l. on rock, in right field barren tree / Male deity clad in long chiton standing to l., holding vine-branch with two grapes in right and thyrsus in left hand, in field letter Z, legend $[\text{N}\Lambda]\Gamma\text{I}\Delta\text{E}\Omega\text{N}$ and Aramaic letters NRG (?). (9,86 g.) Lederer -; SNG BN -; BN (btv1b8532858q)*
- 4.6.*** Stater, Female semi-nude deity wearing a *stephane* on the head and a long skirt draped around the hips holding lotus-flower and seated to l. on throne decorated with two sphinxes / Athena with triple-crested Attic helmet standing front holding large round shield and Nike-Statue with wreath, in left field tree, no legend. (9,94 g.) Lederer -; SNG BN 22*
- 4.7.1*** Stater, Bearded male head wearing ivy-wreath to r. / Female head wearing *sphendone* and *sakkos* to r., in upper right field letters EII , legend $\text{N}\Gamma\text{I}\Delta\text{E}\Omega\text{N}$. Lederer 14; (10,58 g.) SNG Levante 2; (10,37 g.) GM 249, 2017, 328*

- 4.7.2* Stater, Bearded male head wearing ivy-wreath to r. / Female head wearing *sphendone* and *sakkos* to r, legend ΝΑΠΙΔΙΚΟΝ. Lederer 16; (9,95 g.) SNG BN 5; (9,86 g.) GM 237, 2016, 1487*
- 4.7.3* Twelfth stater (Obol), Female head wearing *sphendone* and *sakkos* to r. / Bearded male head wearing ivy-wreath to r., legend ΝΑΠΙΔΕΩ[N]. (0,75 g.) Lanz 159, 2014, 254

The exact geographical location of Ura has been much disputed in the past. Since the 2nd millennium BC it had been a trade-partner of the Phoenician city of Ugarit and an important transfer site for the exchange of goods between the Hittites and the peoples from Mesopotamia and Egypt¹⁶. After the disintegration of the Hittite Empire it had become the royal capital of a minor independent kingdom called *Pirindu*, which enfolded much of the coast and the highlands of Southwestern-Cilicia, as attested by the Babylonian “Neriglissar-Chronicle”¹⁷. Apparently this area was never controlled by the Assyrians, who had subdued the former Hittite vassal-state of *Kizzuwatna* in the alluvial plain to the East and incorporated most of it as the province of *Que* in their realm, while *Pirindu* had remained a separate political unit until the Neo-Babylonian period and possibly even well into the time of Achaemenid rule over Cilicia¹⁸. Sometime around 440 BC the city of Ura started to issue quite a number of distinctive coin-series in its own name¹⁹, which – as several recent discoveries have demonstrated – were larger and far more varied than previously supposed. But for reasons yet unknown to us this coinage ended still during the second half of the 5th century BC and was never resumed.

The iconography of the coins from Ura is related to a canon of manifest oriental character, showing images of winged bulls or winged lions and castellated walls and towers. Only the frontal owls with the open wings may originally derive from Western models, – that is from the spectacular decadrachms struck in Athens at about 460 BC, which apparently have circulated to a considerable extent in Southern Anatolia²⁰. A rather local element, however, are the images of the bezoar-ibex, an animal native to the mountainous zones of *Kilikia Tracheia*, on several of the coins. Though often (and somewhat unscrutinised) compared to the representations of a likewise kneeling-running he-goat from the later coin-series of Kelenderis, the presumed similarity is in fact quite vague. It does by no means justify the presently rather popular hypothesis that the coinage of Kelenderis should be seen as nothing else than an immediate continuation of the earlier issues in the name of Ura. This has led furthermore to the certainly erroneous conclusion that Ura and Kelenderis were just different names for one and the same place²¹. Upon comparative inspection it becomes clear that the various series in the name of Ura do not necessarily precede the earliest coins from Kelenderis (2.1.1-2), in fact the issues from Kelenderis can hardly be seen

¹⁶ Lemaire 1993; Bryce 2005, p. 331; Bryce 2011, p. 746.

¹⁷ See above note 11.

¹⁸; Casabonne 2004, p. 142 sqq.

¹⁹ For the dating of Urean coinage see Lemaire 1989, p. 150 sqq.

²⁰ See the presumed dating of the famous “Decadrachm-Hoard”: Kagan 1987; Konuk 2016.

²¹ This has unfortunately been accepted in most of the sales-catalogues offering coins from Ura in recent years.

as directly derived from the ones of Ura, not alone because of the constant use of different languages, Greek versus Aramaic, for the legends.

The underlying misconception for the identification of Ura with Kelenderis was the idea that Ura would have to be situated at the shore due to its long trade-relationship with Ugarit. In fact Ura only needed unlimited access to a dependent sea-port not too far away and did not necessarily have to possess a harbour of its own. But based on this assumption Richard H. Beal composed a topographical analysis of the respective data reported in the so-called *Neriglissar-Chronicle*²². Based upon the lively description of the difficult mountainous terrain the Babylonian army had to pass through in pursuit of the retreating king *Appuašu* of *Pirindu* towards his stronghold at Ura together with the various distances mentioned in the same text Beal calculated that the final destination of the whole march could only have been the city of Kelenderis at the southern shore of Cilicia. However, the weak point in this elaborate construction is the fact that Beal cannot be entirely certain regarding the location of the first encounter of the two armies, which must have formed the vantage-point for all his relative measurements. Though tempting at first glance the hypothetical equation of Ura and Kelenderis rather appears to be quite dubitable.

Other attempts to localize Ura like as for instance at Olba or at Soloi have even fewer convincing arguments in their favour. Up to the present the most plausible solution appears to be the approach proposed by Andre Lemaire and Helene Lozachmeur, which has been adapted and somewhat amplified by Olivier Casabonne²³, placing Ura at or near the site, where Seleukos I Nikator would later refound a settlement called at the time Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos (today's Silifke) near the lower end of the largest river-system in *Kilikia Tracheia*.

This is leaving us, however, with the open question, why the varied and considerably sized coinage of Ura has ended so abruptly at such an early stage, while Kelenderis subsequently acquired the role of the most productive mint-place in all southwestern Cilicia for almost the next one hundred years. Something had definitely happened here during the last quarter of the 5th century BC, which had brought this change about. And as we are going to see further below something strikingly similar had happened at roughly the same time to Ançhiale, another ancient city situated a little further to the north²⁴.

But the vast coinage of Kelenderis, which began almost parallel with the initial issues of Ura, i.e. between 440 and 420 BC., continued from that point onwards without any visible interruption until the invasion of Anatolia by Alexander of Macedon. Apart from a certain stylistic development of the images it kept a basically uniform aspect during the entire period and remained seemingly unaffected by the various political changes in the surrounding area, what makes it unique among the Cilician coinages of the time. There is one single issue, which may potentially be connected with the series commissioned by the Persian naval command residing in *Kilikia Pedias* after the beginning of the 4th century BC, but this has remained an isolated phenomenon (2.5.)²⁵. It is therefore extremely difficult to apply an absolute chronology upon the apparent inner sequence of the coin-series from Kelenderis. The solution chosen here, assigning the issues with the

²² Beal 1992.

²³ Lemaire – Lozachmeur 1990, p. 15 2 sqq; Lemaire 1993; Casabonne 1999, p. 74 sqq; Casabonne 2005.

²⁴ See below p. 88 and 103 sqq.

²⁵ See also Müseler 2018, p. 77, V/8.

horseman turned to the left mainly to the 5th and early 4th century BC, is in fact rather deliberate: Apart from the single issue mentioned there is no obvious rift in Kelenderitan coinage that may coincide with any event around the turn of the century like the revolt of the younger Cyrus or the installation of the new Persian war fleet.

Like several of the port towns in Western-Cilicia Kelenderis has certainly contained a substantial Greek community involved in various commercial activities. But the oversea-trade, whose exigencies had stimulated the (comparatively late) introduction of an own coinage in these cities in the first place, linked their harbours not only to the Levantine coast and Cyprus but also to Western Anatolia and the Aegean. Therefore Greek, apart from and possibly even more than Aramaic, would appear as the language of choice for an instrument mainly used for the specific demands of an interregional traffic and the exchange of goods. It does not necessarily point to the dominance of an ethnic Greek element within the local populations²⁶. This is also true for Nagidos and – *mutatis mutandis* – for Soloi.

A most remarkable feature, however, is the influence that the coinage of Kelenderis exerted on the issues of some other ports along the Cilician coast, in particular on the just recently discovered early series from Holmoi (3.1.1 – 3.2.3), possibly the former seaport of Ura, and even on coins from a place as far away as Issos at the eastern end of *Kilikia Pedias* (11.3.). In all the cases the distinctive obverse-image of an Ephebe gliding sideways from the back of a galloping horse is adopted, though somewhat coarser executed. On the earlier (?) issue from Holmoi even the reverse-type of the coins from Kelenderis, the kneeling-running he-goat, is copied as well and just branded with an altered legend. Subsequently the reverse-image gets changed to a maritime motif with the clear intent to emphasize the role of the town as a trade-port, – a ships stern. On the other hand the series, which can probably be attributed to Issos, combines the Kelenderitan obverse-motif with a local representation of an advancing Herakles-Melqart, also known from a number of later issues by the town guarding the access to and from the Syrian plateau²⁷. This can hardly be seen as an expression of political influence or control exerted by Kelenderis at the other places, especially since certain parallels between later series issued in the name of Issos and of Holmoi without an apparent participation of Kelenderis continued to exist²⁸. It may rather point to a particular commercial relationship between the three ports as hubs for oversea-trade with the important *emporía* on Cyprus²⁹.

As noted at the very beginning of the present chapter the series from Nagidos play a particular part among the coinages of *Kilikia Tracheia*: Judging by fabric and style of its presumably earliest issues the coin production of Nagidos commenced considerably later than the one at Ura and at Kelenderis. Already from the start the rendering of the coins images is rather classical than archaic

²⁶ Actually bilingual coin-legends indicating the place of origin are mostly known from Tarsos and Mallos: See below 9.13.1-2 and 10.9.1. The Aramaic inscription appearing on a stater with the Greek ethnic of Issos (11.4.2) defies comprehension and the one on a stater from Nagidos (4.5.) is too blundered to be read with any certainty.

²⁷ For a discussion of the coinage from Issos see below p. 112 sq.

²⁸ See the iconographical parallel between issues 3.3.1 and 11.5.1.

²⁹ This would, however, also be true for the harbour of Soloi a little further up the coast at the border between *Kilikia Tracheia* and *Kilikia Pedias*, from where no such coinage of Kelenderitan type is known.

Moreover the impact of western iconographic traditions seems much more prominent here, probably due to the influence of the Greek settlements in adjacent Pamphylia. The design of the male deity with the thyrsus and the grapes on the reverse of most coins is identical with conventional Greek representations of Dionysos, the god of wine, of inebriety and various other ecstatic states of the mind to the point of actual madness. Due to its manifold properties it was easily adaptable to a large variety of religious concepts and local traditions all over the Mediterranean and may have actually replaced any indigenous cult dedicated to rural fertility and to viticulture in particular. In Cilicia it may very well have been a deity of Luwian or Hurrian origin with similar functions eventually adapted to the Greek prospect of a divine being with the same properties by immigrants from regions with a rather Hellenised cultural background³⁰.

Not as easy is the attribution of the enthroned female figure with the phiale accompanied by the winged nude boy on the obverses, often interpreted as an image of Aphrodite with Eros. However, a rendering of the same deity without the winged companion on a special series, which had apparently been commissioned by the Persian naval command (4.6.), shows rather oriental than classical Greek traits: Here the goddess is bare-breasted and wearing a *stephane*. She is holding a lotus-flower in her hand and is seated on a throne adorned by two sphinxes, both symbols of superior power in an oriental and particular Syro-Phoenician context³¹. Similar features are displayed by the female figure on a later coin struck at Nagidos in the name of Pharnabazos after 379 BC³². Thereby it becomes clear that also the female figure on the coins of Nagidos is rather to be seen as a “translation” of an oriental deity than as a representation of a classical Greek goddess.

Also at Nagidos there is no way to tell exactly, which of the many regular series may still be assigned to the 5th century BC and which are probably later. The respective division adopted here mainly follows the order proposed by the catalogue of Philipp Lederer, which is, despite a number of gaps, still the most comprehensive survey to this coinage³³. However, a number of issues not accounted for in Lederer’s listing link coins attributable to Nagidos by their motifs (4.1-2.) and in one case even by the the legend (4.3.2) to series belonging to the so-called “Ba’ana-Group” or to the coinage of Tarsos struck from the last two decades of the 5th century BC onwards³⁴. Thus a significant Phoenician influence on Cilicia and its coinages between ca. 415 and 395 BC becomes manifest not only in the central and eastern lowlands but also at Nagidos. And later on, under the control of the Persian naval command, parallel coin issues have been struck for Tarsos, for Mallos and for Nagidos on more than one occasion until the end of Pharnabazos’ tenure of office³⁵. For this reason it looks as if Nagidos had rather been a distant outpost of the principality of Tarsos than attached to the nearby kingdom of *Pirindu*.

³⁰ In Nagidos this may originally have been the Luwian weather-god Tarhunt “of the vineyard”: See Haas 1994, p. 328. At Tarsos his specific agricultural properties became eventually absorbed by the syncretistic deity Ba’al Tars of the later 4th century BC. See Müseler 2018, p. 103 sqq.

³¹ See Metzger 1985, p. 259-279 + Pl. 113-118; Gubel 1987; Kamlah 2008.

³² Müseler 2018, VIII/3.

³³ Lederer 1931.

³⁴ For the Ba’ana Group see below p. 100 sqq.

³⁵ Müseler 2018, V,3,7-8, V.5.1-3, VI,4 und VIII,2-3.

The western extension of the alluvial plain: Ançhiale and Soloi

The town of Ingira, which was called Ançhiale (with a nasalized Γ) by the Greeks, was of ancient origin and apparently situated above the coast some 30 km southwest of Tarsos at the site of the modern city of Mersin³⁶. Together with Tarsos it had taken part in a revolt against Assyrian domination in 696 BC. As a consequence both towns got destroyed and later on rebuilt by Sanherib, who subsequently had a statue with a stele commemorating his victory and his reconstruction of the settlements erected at Ingira. This was still seen in place by Aristoboulos of Kassandreia, when he visited the remains of Ançhiale while in the company of Alexanders army during its advance in Anatolia³⁷. At the time of Sanherib or shortly thereafter Greek colonists from the island of Rhodes³⁸ and possibly also from the port of Soloi on Cyprus had begun to settle at the mouth of the small river Liparis a little further to the south, where there had already been the seaport of Ançhiale³⁹: The new settlement at the Cilician coast was likewise called Soloi by its Greek and Cypriote inhabitants. The Greek and Aramaic speaking population of Ançhiale and of Soloi soon got mixed and used a creole of the two languages, which was fully understood only by locals⁴⁰. Both cities apparently kept the closest links throughout their existence. When coinage started to be struck in Cilicia by the middle of the 5th century BC, the presumably earliest, still anonymous issue of all (5.1.1) came from one of these two places. Both used an almost identical iconographic type for their coinages; therefore it can even not be determined, to which of the two towns the earliest, still uninscribed series actually belong⁴¹.

Ançhiale or Soloi:

- 5.1.1* Siglos after Achaemenid model, Female (?) figure wearing pointed cap, long garment and *gorytos* testing a bow kneeling-running to l., in right field uncertain symbol / Rough irregular incuse. (5,61 g.) PN 328, 1990, 244 = Baldwins 34, 2003, 363

³⁶ Casabonne – Forlanini – Lemaire 2001; Casabonne 2002, p. 190 sq; Casabonne 2004, p. 122 sq. For an alternative spelling of the Aramaic legend on the respective coins see Müseler 2019, p. 103.

³⁷ Strabo XIV,5,9; Arrian Anab. II,5,2-5. Aristoboulos was certainly not able to read an inscription in cuneiform nor did he understand the symbolic content of the statue; like any other tourist he must have been relying on the help of a local guide. This has led to a number of curious misunderstandings: The statue should rather have been dedicated to the memory of Sanherib, the re-founder of Ançhiale, than to the one of his successor Sardanapal, better known as Assurbanipal (see above note 11). The remarkable gesture of the supposed snipping fingers was certainly nothing else than the well-known oriental gesture of adoration by means of the bent forefinger (see Choksy 1990). And the apparently rather drastic wording of the inscription, which is reported by Aristoboulos as a rather decent “ἔσθιε καὶ πῖνε καὶ παῖζε” but was – as he himself has hinted at by the end of the respective passage – apparently more in the line of “gorge, booze and fuck”, would have been quite unusual for an official Assyrian monument and was probably just a little joke, which the humorous guide pulled on the gullible tourist. However, Burkert 2009 has underlined, that similar epigrams can occasionally be found on private Greek funeral stelae in Anatolia and elsewhere.

³⁸ Strabo XIV, 5, 8.

³⁹ Casabonne 2004, p. 119 and 123.

⁴⁰ See above note 10.

⁴¹ Brindley 1994 did not know (or accept) the identification of the Aramaic inscription as the name of a separate place. He has therefore attributed all the respective coins to Soloi.

- 5.1.2 Double-Siglos (Stater), Female (?) figure wearing pointed cap, long garment and *gorytos* testing a bow kneeling-running to l., in right field uncertain symbol / Grape in square incuse. (10,13 g.) Schulman List 204, 1973, 67

Anchiale:

- 6.1.1* Stater, Female figure wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos*⁴², carrying bow over right shoulder and double-axe in left hand⁴³ kneeling-running to l., in left field astragalos or frog, in right field key-symbol / Grape in square incuse, Aramaic legend 'GKH. (10,74 g.) BM 1947,0706.2^{44*}; (10,76 g.) CNG E 435,2019,121; (10,73 g.) Savoca 79, 2020, 333
- 6.1.2* Third stater (Tetrobol), Female figure wearing pointed cap and *gorytos*, carrying bow over left shoulder and double-axe (?) in right hand kneeling-running l. / Grape and ear of corn, in between *ankh*, in square incuse, Aramaic legend 'GKH. (3,74 g.) ANS 1970,67.2⁴⁵
- 6.2.* Stater, Female figure wearing Korinthian helmet, short skirt and *gorytos*, bow hanging over left arm, testing arrow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. / Grape in square incuse, in field uncertain object (bow?), Aramaic legend 'GKH. (10,62 g.) Künker 257, 2014, 8248
- 6.3.* Stater, Female figure wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l., in field frog / Grape in square incuse, in field small head of Silenus, legend ΑΓΧΙΑΑΑ. (10,19 g.) GM 208, 2012, 1608 = Solidus 27, 2018, 294

Soloi:

- [7.1.]* Stater, Nude Silenus with long beard and hair holding object (disk?) before abdomen kneeling-running to l., legend ΣΟ[...?]⁴⁶ / Female figure wearing flat skullcap and long garment kneeling to l. and drawing bow in square incuse, in right field undistinct symbol. (11,22 g.) CNG 115, 2020, 266

⁴² Whether the skirt is just the lower part of a long *chiton* or whether the figure is actually bare-breasted is not discernible on the few remaining specimen of the coinage from Anchiale.

⁴³ Casabonne and his colleagues could just make use of a rather poor photograph of the specimen in the British museum (cfr. Casabonne – Forlanini – Lemaire 2001, p. 57, Fig. 1), which was the only known example at the time. There the double-axe in the hand of the figure is not visible.

⁴⁴ First publ. by E.S.G. Robinson in NC 1948, p.56-57.

⁴⁵ First publ. by H. A. Troxell & W. Spengler in ANS MN 15, 1969, p. 8 sq.

⁴⁶ Only two letters of the apparently longer legend are legible to a sufficient degree. The attribution of the coin is therefore not completely certain. The compilers of the auction-catalogue have considered a Cypriote origin for this coin.

- 7.2.1* Stater, Nude Silenus, head reverted, with long beard and hair holding object (disc?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r., legend ΣΟ (retrograde) / Grape in square incuse. (7,93 g. – flan heavily cut) CNG E 400, 2017, 298
- 7.2.2 Third stater (Tetrobol), Nude Silenus, head reverted, with long beard and hair kneeling-running to r. / Grape in square incuse. (3,13 g.) Aufhäuser 21, 2009, 197
- 7.3.* Third stater (Tetrobol), Facing head of Silenus / Grape in rhombic incuse (3,70 g.) Gemini 5, 2009, 650
- 7.4.1* Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* with bow testing arrow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. / Grape in square incuse, legend ΣΟ. (10,66 g.) SNG BN 123; (10,81 g.) SNG Hunterian 948; (10,39 g.) Hirsch 275, 2011, 3967*
- 7.4.2* Third stater (Tetrobol), Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* with bow testing arrow with both hands and kneeling- running to l. / Grape in rhombic incuse, legend ΣΟ. (3,33 g.) SNG BN 126; (3,56 g.) Obolos 15, 2020, 447*
- 7.5.1* Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l., in right field Korinthian helmet to l. / Grape in square incuse, in right field ear of grain, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,71 g.) SNG BN 124*; (10,97 g.) SNG Hunterian 950
- 7.5.2a Third stater (Tetrobol), Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos*, testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l., in right field Korinthian helmet to r. / Grape in rhombic incuse, in right field ear of grain, legend ΣΟΛ. (3,50 g.) SNG BN 125
- 7.5.2b* Third stater (Tetrobol), Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos*, testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l., in right field Korinthian helmet to l. / Grape in rhombic incuse, in right field ear of grain, legend ΣΟΛΕ. (3,47 g.) GM 160, 2007, 1608
- 7.6.* Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l., in right field Korinthian helmet to l., in left field two ivy leafs / Grape in square incuse, in right field laurel branch, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,69 g.) Naumann 72, 2018, 224
- 7.7.* Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. / Grape in square incuse, in left field star, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,61 g.) SNG BN 127; (10,80 g.) SNG Hunterian 949; (10,69 g.) Roma E 13, 2014, 167*
- 7.8.^{47*} Hybrid issue Soloi / Mallos: Naked figure of bearded man with four wings carrying disk before abdomen kneeling running to l. (die of 10.3.4) / Grape in square incuse,

⁴⁷ Identical with No. 10.4. in the section on Mallos below.

- in right field laurel-branch, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ (die of 7.6.) (10,77 g.) Roma XVIII, 2019, 647
- 7.9.1*** Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l., in right field small head of Silenus facing / Grape in square incuse, in right field fly, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,96 g.) SNG v. Aulock 5858 = SNG Levante 40 = Slg. Wellhöfer = v. Wagner Museum Würzburg KA 1324 = H 6691
- 7.9.2** Third stater (Tetrobol) Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l., in right field small head of Silenus facing / Grape in square incuse, in right field fly, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (3,40 g.) SNG BN 129; (3,41 g.) Hirsch 264, 2009, 329
- 7.9.3*** Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l., in right field small head of Silenus facing, in exergue Ⓐ / Grape in square incuse, in right field fly, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,62 g.) SNG BN 128; (10,74 g.) Roma XV, 2018, 271; Nomos 12, 2016, 109*
- 7.9.4*** Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l., in right field small head of Silenus facing / Grape with long tendril in square incuse, above letters EY, in right field fly, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,52 g.) CNG E 304, 2013, 140
- 7.9.5*** Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. / Grape with long tendril in square incuse, in left field Ⓛ, in right field fly, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,64 g.) SNG BN 131
- 7.9.6** Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. / Grape with long tendril in square incuse, above letters A-K, in right field fly, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,39 g.) SNG BN 130; (10,49 g.) Leu Winterthur E 5, 2018, 314
- 7.9.7*** Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. (die of 7.9.5) / Grape with long tendril in square incuse, above letters A-Θ, in right field fly, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,60 g.) SNG BN 132 (10,69 g.) Leu Winterthur E 5, 2018, 312*
- 7.9.8** Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. / Grape with long tendril in shallow circular incuse, above letters A-Θ, in right field *ankh*, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,72 g.) SNG BN 135; (10,33 g.) CNG E 330, 2014,106
- 7.9.9** Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. (die of 7.9.5) / Grape with long tendril in shallow circular incuse, above letters ΓΑ, in right field fly, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,56 g.) SNG BN 133

- 7.9.10** Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. / Grape with long tendril in shallow circular incuse, above letter Θ, in right field *ankh*, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,72 g.) Leu Winterthur E 6, 2018, 307
- 7.9.11*** Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. / Grape with long tendril in shallow circular incuse, above letters Δ-A, in right field *ankh*, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,39 g.) SNG BN 136; (10,56 g.) PN 406, 2012, 150*
- 7.9.12** Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. / Grape with long tendril in shallow circular incuse, above letters NI, in right field *ankh*, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,63 g.) SNG BN 137; (10,68 g.) Leu Winterthur 2, 2018, 119
- 7.9.13*** Stater, Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. / Grape with long tendril in shallow circular incuse, in right field fly, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,59 g.) Leu Winterthur E 6, 2018, 308
- 7.9.14*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Female figure with bare breasts wearing pointed cap, short skirt and *gorytos* testing bow with both hands and kneeling-running to l. / Grape with long tendril in shallow circular incuse, in right field *ankh*, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ (3,28 g.) Roma E 38, 2017, 267
- 7.10.1*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Female head with pointed cap to l. / Grape in square incuse. (0,83 g.) SNG BN 138; (0,75 g.) PN 428, 2021, 343*
- 7.10.2** Twelfth stater (Obol), Female head with pointed cap to l. / Grape in square incuse, legend ΣΟ. (0,91 g.) SNG BN 140; (0,82 g.) Aufhäuser 18, 2004, 344
- 7.10.3** Twelfth stater (Obol), Female head with pointed cap to l. / Grape with tendril in shallow circular incuse. (0,82 g.) SNG BN 144; (0,85 g.) PN 371, 2002, 208
- 7.10.4** Twentyfourth stater (Hemiobol), Female head with pointed cap to l. / Grape in square incuse. (0,24 g.) Hirsch E 1, 2020, 73
- 7.10.5** Twentyfourth stater (Hemiobol), Female head with pointed cap to l. / Grape with tendril in shallow circular incuse. (0,27 g.) SNG BN 154; (0,23 g.) Naumann 73, 2019, 225
- 7.11.1*** Stater, Head of Athena with Attic helmet decorated with griffin to r. / Grape with tendril in rhombic incuse placed within shallow circular incuse, in outer field vine-leaf and legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,64 g.) Jameson Coll. 1607 = NAC 100, 2017, 162
- 7.11.2*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Head of Athena with Attic helmet decorated with griffin to r. / Grape with tendril, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (0,59 g.) SNG BN 185; (0,68 g.) Rauch Sept. 2010, 212*
- 7.12.1*** Stater, Head of Athena with Attic helmet decorated with griffin to r. / Grape with tendril in rhombic incuse placed within shallow circular incuse, in inner field legend ΣΟΛΙΚΟΝ. (10,11 g.) SNG BN 167*

- 7.12.2** Twelfth stater (Obol), Head of Athena with Attic helmet decorated with griffin to r. / Grape with tendril, legend ΣΟΛΙΚΟΝ. (0,58 g.) SNG BN 186; (0,66 g.) Roma E 21, 2015, 398
- 7.13.*** Stater, Head of Athena with Attic helmet decorated with griffin to r., in right field legend ΑΠΙΘΟΠΙΩΣ ΕΓΛΥΨΕΝ / Grape with tendril in rhombic incuse placed within shallow circular incuse, in inner field legend ΑΙΡ, in outer field legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. (10,80 g.) SNG BN 175; (10,61 g.) Leu Winterthur E 14, 2020, 484*

Although there are but a few examples of An̄chiale's coinage left today, they seem to cover a period of some length. Therefore it remains disputable, whether the coinage of An̄chiale can have preceded the one of Soloi entirely, as this has been suggested by Casabonne on a number of occasions. Its production must rather have lasted for some time and therefore been parallel to the earlier issues of Soloi. The presumably latest known coin from An̄chiale, the one with the Greek legend (6.3.), corresponds unequivocally to the Solian issues with the symbol of a Korinthian helmet in the obverse-field (7.5.-7.6.), which can by no means be placed at the beginning of coin-production in that city.

But while the sequence of issues from Soloi was continued without any visible interruption almost to the end of the 390s BC, when the civic coin-production underwent a fundamental and enduring change, the coinage of An̄chiale just like the one of Ura stopped in the last quarter of the 5th century BC and was apparently never resumed. The events, which had caused this rupture, were probably the same, that had led to the destruction and subsequent abandonment of An̄chiale: Aristoboulos of Kassandreia found only (though still impressive) remains of the former settlement when visiting the place on the way to Soloi only a few decades later⁴⁸. But some series from the coinage of Tarsos discussed in the next chapter below may provide us with some hints as to what had actually happened at An̄chiale and probably also at Ura towards the end of the 5th century BC.

Within the abundant coinage of Soloi, however, a problem becomes particularly apparent, which applies in one way or the other to all Cilician coinages of this period: The difficulty to reach a proper understanding of the metaphorical language of the coins through an interpretation of the images employed and in particular the identification of the various divine or profane figures and their meanings. As explained above this cannot be done by simple comparison of the respective representations with common Greek iconography alone. The kneeling-running figure of a Silenos on the obverse of some of the earliest issues in the name of Soloi (7.1.-7.2.) clearly belongs to a Dionysian cult, corresponding to the emblematic bunch of grapes on the reverse of all coins from this community. Like at Nagidos the image obviously reflects the importance of viticulture for the prosperity of the city and its territory expressed with a motif from a typical Greek canon, which had possibly been brought along by Greek immigrants⁴⁹. However, to the figure of the composite being with human and animal parts known from comparable Greek images is added a further element here, which seems to be of a completely different origin: The solar or stellar disk held in front of the abdomen as it is likewise carried by the winged and sometimes double-faced but otherwise purely human male and female figures depicted on the coins from Mallos at the opposite

⁴⁸ See above note 37.

⁴⁹ For the importance of viticulture in Western Cilicia see for example Blumenthal 1963, p. 104 sqq.

end of the Cilician plain⁵⁰. This detail can hardly be explained by reference to the known iconography connected with the cultus of the Greek god of wine. Like in so many other examples from the earlier coinages of Cilicia we are obviously dealing with the representation of a syncretistic divine or mythical being here, composed of attributes deriving from a huge variety of religious ideas and mythological concepts present in the area. From the late 2nd and the early 1st millennium onwards the population of Cilicia had become a multifaceted mixture of Luwian, Hurrian, Hittite, Aramaic and Greek elements. By the contact and exchange between the different traditions a cultural sediment of a specific blend was created, which constituted a perceivable link between the various settlements⁵¹. At the time of the Achaemenids Cilicia was a veritable melting-pot, - not only of tribes and ethnic groups but also of beliefs and ideas. Therefore many of the humanoid figures depicted on the coins are the result of syncretistic constructions, - of (occasionally even multiple) “translations” of certain divine entities into a variety of cultural contexts⁵².

A case of particular interest is the figure represented on most of the coins from Ançhiale and from Soloi, the semi-nude woman with *gorytos* and bow, which cannot be assigned to a predominant Greek tradition without reserve. It has generally been interpreted as the image of an Amazon, member of a legendary matriarchal tribe of fierce warrior-women, who are repeatedly mentioned in Greek mythology as living beyond the borders of the Greek world, in particular in the Scythian steppe north-east of the Black Sea and in the wider Caucasus area. The appearance of the bare-breasted female archer on Cilician coins was therefore connected with the memory of some assaults on this region, by then belonging to the Assyrian realm as the north-western province of *Que*, by Cimmerian raiders at the time of Assurbanipal as reported by Assyrian sources⁵³. This seems, however, more than just a little far-fetched. A different interpretation, closer adapted to local traditions and customs should rather be preferred: When not accompanied by or actually wearing a helmet of Corinthian type (6.2. and 7.5.-7.6.) the woman with her *gorytos* and her bow is not necessarily to be seen as a warrior; she may just as well be a huntress. In fact a female tutelary deity protecting the hunt, who was at the same time a *πότνια θηρῶν*, a protectress of wildlife and of untamed nature in general, is attested as part of the native Luwian pantheon, the goddess Aala, who was associated with the male stag god Runtiya and often branded with epithets like “of the quiver” or “of the bow” or “of the animal world”⁵⁴. And although the towns of Ingira / Ançhiale and of Soloi were situated in the fertile and cultivated lowlands, the immediate neighbourhood to

⁵⁰ See below p. 106 sqq.

⁵¹ Still this is no adequate explanation for the highly unusual hybrid issue 7.8., which combines original dies from two different cities. It is further discussed below under Mallos p. 114 sq.

⁵² The amalgamation of cults by the blending of different religious concepts from a variety of sources would remain a particular feature of Cilician culture throughout the Hellenistic period and even later on: See for example Meyer 2003, Ehling – Pohl – Sayar 2004, p. 35-126 and Rutherford 2017. It becomes particularly apparent with the revived representation of specific religious traditions of Cilicia on Seleucid coins from the reigns of Demetrios I and of Alexander Balas onwards (cfr. Houghton – Lorber – Hoover 2008, 1618-1619 and 1778-1779). For the use of the term “translation” in this context see Smith 2008.

⁵³ See Ivantchik 1993 quoted by Casabonne 2004, p. 121 and note 500. But after all the Cimmerian raiding-parties are not known for having counted half-naked female warriors to their ranks!

⁵⁴ MacMahon 1991, p. 11-14 and 39-46; Haas 1994, p. 449-465; for pictorial representations of tutelary deities protecting nature and wildlife in early Anatolian art see for example Collins 2010.

the forests and the steeply rising slopes of the Taurus range made them both to highly appropriate locations for a cult venerating wildlife and nature.

However, as typical for Cilicia supplementary elements from another religious context have been added to the representation of the divine entity on the coin: The sexual accentuation of the image together with the martial allusions expressed by the occasional presence of a helmet may also point in the direction of the Babylonian goddess Ishtar or rather of her Hurrian counterpart Shawushka, whose cult played a major role in Cilicia and in particular in the Post-Hittite kingdom of *Kizzuwatna* in the alluvial plain⁵⁵: Since the 2nd millennium BC the cultus of the Babylonian goddess had spread all over the Middle East and thereby developed a huge number of locally differing forms of appearance and of rituals. The divine entity was androgynous, i.e. it could appear in male as well as in female guise⁵⁶, and it incorporated a number of rather paradoxical properties: Ishtar/Shawushka was a deity of love and of war, of sexual attraction and at the same time of ultimate aggression. Between Mesopotamia and Phoenicia she was the only female deity of the prehellenistic period, that could occasionally even be shown completely naked; and in her quality as a war-goddess she was always armed with a bow and a *gorytos*⁵⁷. The island of Cyprus was an important centre of her cult and a hub for the diffusion of this religious concept in the Eastern Mediterranean⁵⁸. Since the city of Soloi on its northern shore had probably been involved in the foundation and development of the homonymous settlement on the opposite Anatolian coast, a particular influence of the cult of Ishtar on the population of Cilician Soloi appears quite likely.

In any case the constant use of the image of a bare-breasted female archer as obverse-motif for almost all the coin-issues from Ançhiale and from Soloi down to the early 4th century BC lends a high credibility to the assumption that this choice was of a specific religious significance. Although nowhere explicitly attested there was probably a cult-centre connected with the depicted entity in the area of the two settlements. The function as an important site of religious veneration would certainly have been vital for the self-perception of the inhabitants of the whole region. Ingrira had been part of the old kingdom of *Kizzuwatna* and subsequently of the Assyrian province of *Que* installed by Sanherib after 696 BC; also at the time of the Achaemenids it can hardly have been an independent political unit but was together with the adjacent Soloi more or less under the jurisdiction of the *συνένησεις* from Tarsos. But a strong sense of a proper cultural identity granted to the population of civic sub-centres by the presence of influential religious sanctuaries within their walls can be a powerful obstacle to the exercise of control by any central authority.

Aspirations for local autonomy, however, were not in line with the interests of the Great King in this important province of his realm: The Persians had been determined from the very beginning to promote any kind of traditional hierarchical order and distribution of power in Cilicia in order

⁵⁵ Wegener 1981; Gestoso-Singer 2016.

⁵⁶ Groneberg 1986; Harris 1991.

⁵⁷ See the famous image of the naked goddess on the so-called Burney-Relief from the early 2nd millennium BC in the British Museum (BM ME 2003-7-18.1). Nearer to the period discussed here is a representation of Ishtar as a warrior-goddess with star-pointed headdress, a bow and two quivers on a Neo-Assyrian cylinder-seal from the reign of Sargon II (722-705 BC) in the same Museum (BM 89769 = Collon 1993, Fig. 773).

⁵⁸ For the relationship between Ishtar and the Cypriote cult of Aphrodite see Serwint 2002 and Budin 2004.

to keep the region calm and under an indirect but firm control. As becomes apparent with the analysis of Tarsian coinage from the later 5th century BC they have apparently backed the dynasts of Tarsos in subduing rivalling neighbours like Ura or Ingira / Ançhiale, thereby ending the respective coin-production at these places once and for all, and bringing others like Soloi to heel for the time being⁵⁹. But when this policy – as a result of the events around the revolt of the younger Cyrus – had failed or proven insufficient the Achaemenid overlords began to interfere in a more explicit way by erecting their naval bases at the Cilician shore and installing there the high command of the Persian war-fleet⁶⁰.

From that moment onwards the coinages issued in the name of various Cilician cities and in particular the ones struck at the mints in *Kilikia Pedias* acquired a completely new function and gradually changed their previous character. The presence of the fleet resulted in a rapidly increasing demand for coined money, to be used for the maintenance and the supply of the ships but even more than this for the hire and regular payment of mercenary sailors and soldiers. Normally the Great King provided for the needs of the fleet by contributions from the royal treasury, but these payments were made in the form of precious metal, which needed to be struck into coins by local mints commissioned by the authority responsible for military logistics.

The money produced by this procedure needed to fulfil a number of particular requirements: The basic equivalence of value and the capacity to be used in equal measure at various markets within the region and beyond had to be emphasized and made clearly visible; moreover the images on the coins needed to be acceptable and easy to identify by corresponding to the visual habits of the different users of those coins from abroad. Therefore complex allusions to local traditions and religious concepts made no longer sense. The coins had to be much more uniform and their symbolism needed to be clearly intelligible not only for locals but for various foreigners as well. For this reason the entire coin-production of the three major mints in *Kilikia Pedias* – Soloi, Tarsos and Mallos – was not only interrupted by occasional issues of a different character like in money-issuing cities of Western Cilicia (2.5. or 4.5.-4.7.) but was stopped completely around ca. 393 BC and got permanently altered for the remaining time of Achaemenid rule in Cilicia.

The type chosen for the coins made for the city of Soloi was a helmeted head of the universally known Greek goddess Athena on the obverses, while the conventional bunch of grapes was kept for the reverses (7.11-7.13). Apart from minor additions and stylistic variations during later decades those images would remain unaltered and become emblematic for all civic coin issues from Soloi until the arrival of Alexander the Great in Cilicia. Among the initial series of this type there was a remarkable connection to certain contemporary issues from Issos: For a short period a helmeted head of Athena had been adopted for the obverse-type of coins struck for this important harbour-town at the opposite end of the Cilician plain. Moreover the important die-cutter Apatorios, who like his famous colleagues from Sicily had his own name set on the dies designed by him or by his workshop, had temporarily been active for both cities (7.13. and 11.5.). But the duration and significance of this cooperation is not entirely clear.

However, a much more regular and enduring collaboration becomes visible within the coin-series struck for Mallos, Tarsos and occasionally also for Nagidos. Apparently initiated by the coinage

⁵⁹ See below p. 103 sq.

⁶⁰ For the date and the background of this step see Müseler 2018.

of Mallos a number of intentionally parallelized series were issued in the name of the different cities between ca. 393 and 386 BC (for Mallos and Tarsos see 9.16. and 10.13.; for Mallos, Nagidos and Issos see 4.7., 10.15.1-2 and 11.4.1; for Mallos, Tarsos and Nagidos see 4.5., 9.15. and 10.14.). The types of the different series varied to a certain extent but they were all chosen from an iconographical canon of explicitly Greek origin in a distinct assimilation to most other coinages from the West and the South of Anatolia⁶¹.

Obviously all this accounts for a fundamental change in the political system of Sub-Achaemenid Cilicia: For an aligned financial administration of the entire region effectively controlling the kind and the amount of money in circulation the installation of a central regulatory body was required, which had – at least in the long run – to be provided with more executive competence than held by the native lords of Tarsos. This agency was the new Persian naval command. The *στρατηγὸι* of the Achaemenid war-fleet had *de facto* become the central administrative institution of Cilicia in the name of the Great King until the final integration of the region in the Transeuphratenian satrapy by the end of the 360s BC.

The Ba'ana-Series and the principality of Tarsos

The group of coins carrying the Aramaic legend *B'N'* or only *B'* is represented by just a very few specimens still extant. Its attribution to Cilicia has long been disputed, since the legends are to be read as *Ba'ana* equivalent to the name of a king of Sidon in Phoenicia⁶². However, the motifs link these issues to Tarsos as well as to Nagidos and thereby constitute a direct link between the two respective coinages. The part of the Ba'ana-Group listed below may actually have been struck at Tarsos⁶³. Tarsos (Tarsha) at the banks of the river Kydnos in the middle of the Cilician plain had been one of the most important cities of *Kizzuwatna*⁶⁴. Apparently since the time of the Hittite Empire it had been the seat of a local dynasty, whose members bore the hereditary name or the title *Shunashshura*, later on spelled as *Syennesis* by the Greeks⁶⁵. Destroyed and subsequently reconstructed by the Assyrian king Sanherib in 696 BC it had supported the Persian Great king Cyrus II in his conquest of Babylon in 538 BC. In return it became, still governed by its own native princes, a central pillar of Achaemenid rule in Cilicia.

Ba'ana:

- 8.1.1*** Stater, Cow standing to r., head reverted, over suckling calf to l. / Nude Herakles advancing to r., swinging club over the head and holding with left hand small lion upside down by its tail, in square incuse, no legend. (10,62 g.) SNG BN 437*; (10,64g.) Hunterian Coll. III, pl. 77, 15; (10,54 g.) Leu Zürich 38, 1986, 155
- 8.1.2**** Stater, Nude Herakles advancing to r., carrying *gorytos*, swinging club over the head and holding with left hand small lion upside down by its tail / Cow standing to l. over

⁶¹ See below p. 104 and 115.

⁶² See Mildenberg 1987.

⁶³ For related coins belonging to Nagidos see above 4.1.1-4.3.2.

⁶⁴ On Kizzuwatna see Desideri – Jasink 1990 and Novák 2010.

⁶⁵ For the various Tarsian dynasts of the 6th and 5th century BC named *Syennesis* see Wiesehöfer 2001 and Casabonne 2004, p. 165 sqq.

suckling calf to r. in square incuse, above 𐤁 or Aramaic letter B^{66} . (11,06 g.) SNG BN 436*; (10,72 g.) Hunterian Coll. III, pl. 77, 16

- 8.1.3** Third stater (Tetrobol), Nude Herakles advancing to r., carrying *gorytos*, swinging club over the head and holding with left hand small lion upside down by its tail / Cow standing to l. over suckling calf to r. in square incuse. (3,46 g.) BM 1952,1009.8 (Ex Coll. de Nanteuil 506)
- 8.2.1*** Stater, King-hero wearing *kidaris* and *kandys* standing to r. with dagger in right hand and grabbing with left arm upright lion to l. / Cow standing to l. over suckling calf to r. in square incuse, Aramaic legend $B'N'$. (10,65 g.) SNG BN 438; (10,72 g.) Hunterian Coll. III, pl. 77, 17*; (10,77 g.) Roma E 77, 2020, 591
- 8.2.2** Third stater (Tetrobol), King-hero wearing *kidaris* and *kandys* standing to r. with dagger in right hand and grabbing with left arm upright lion to l. / Cow standing to l. over suckling calf to r. in square incuse, Aramaic legend B' . (3,49 g.) BM 1910,0613.3 (Ex Slg. Philipsen 3060)

Tarsos:

- 9.1.1** Stater, Lion to r. bringing down bull to l. / Ear of grain in rhombic incuse, Aramaic legend TRZ . (10,62 g.) SNG Levante 54
- 9.1.2a** Stater, Lion to r. bringing down bull to l. / Ear of grain in rhombic incuse, in left field crab, Aramaic legend TRZ . (10,32 g.) SNG BN 201
- 9.1.2b*** Stater, Lion to l. bringing down bull to r. / Ear of grain in rhombic incuse, in left field crab, Aramaic legend TRZ . (10,27 g.) SNG Ashmolean 1827
- 9.1.3*** Stater, Lion to r. bringing down bull to l. / Ear of grain in rhombic incuse, in left field tree, Aramaic legend TRZ . (10,84 g.) SNG BN 200; (10,64 g.) Roma E 13, 2014, 168*
- 9.1.4*** Stater, Lion to r. bringing down bull to l. / Ear of grain in rhombic incuse, in left field tree and tortoise, Aramaic legend TRZ . (10,57 g.) SNG Ashmolean 1828*; (10,64 g.) Roma E 13, 2014, 169
- 9.1.5** Third stater (Tetrobol), Lion to l. bringing down bull to r. / Ear of grain in rhombic incuse, in left field crab, Aramaic legend TRZ [off flan]. (3,47 g.) SNG BN 203
- 9.1.6** Third stater (Tetrobol), Lion to l. bringing down bull to r. / Ear of grain in rhombic incuse, in left field tree, Aramaic legend TRZ . (3,19 g.) SNG Levante 55
- 9.1.7*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Lion to r. bringing down bull to l. / Ear of grain in rhombic incuse, in left field tree and tortoise, Aramaic legend TRZ . (3,61 g.) SNG Ashmolean 1829

⁶⁶ Edoardo Levante has seen this rather as a monogram containing the Aramaic letter B as main component. However, Aramaic monograms on coins are otherwise unknown in Cilicia.

- 9.1.8** Twelfth stater (Obol), forepart of lion to l. / Ear of grain in rhombic incuse. (0,40 g.) SNG Ashmolean 1830
- 9.2.1*** Stater, Lion to r. bringing down bull to l. / Bearded male figure, wearing *kidaris*, clad in jacket and long trouser-skirt, carrying bow in *gorytos* over shoulder and long spear advancing to r. in square incuse, in left field *ankh*, in right field large ear of grain, no legend. (10,40 g.) SNG Ashmolean 1826
- 9.2.2*** Stater, Sea-deity with bow and arrows riding on hippokamp to r. over waved lines / Bearded male figure, wearing *kidaris*, clad in jacket and long trouser-skirt, carrying bow in *gorytos* over shoulder and long spear advancing to r. in square incuse, in right field large ear of grain, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (9,65 g.) SNG BN 199; (11,17 g.) Roma E 16, 2015, 181*
- 9.2.3*** Stater, Sea-deity with bow and arrows riding on hippokamp to r. over waved lines / Naked bearded male figure with trident advancing to l. in square incuse, in left field large ear of grain, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (10,64 g.) BM 1959,1102.2
- 9.3.1a*** Stater, Naked Ephebe (Bellerophon?) with cap and trident riding on Pegasus to r., below *ankh* / Naked Ephebe (Bellerophon?) with cap and trident riding on Pegasus to l. in square incuse, below key-symbol. (10,81 g.) Roma XVI, 2018, 331
- 9.3.1b** Stater, Naked Ephebe (Bellerophon?) with cap and trident riding on Pegasus to r., below *ankh* / Naked Ephebe (Bellerophon?) with cap and trident riding on Pegasus to l. in square incuse, below *ankh*. (10,78 g.) Roma 12, 2016, 344
- 9.3.2*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Stater, Naked Ephebe (Bellerophon?) with cap and trident riding on Pegasus to r., below *ankh* / Naked Ephebe (Bellerophon?) with cap and trident riding on Pegasus to r. in square incuse, below key-symbol. (2,93 g.) Baldwins 37, 2004, 725; (3,43 g.) BM 1922,0302.1*
- 9.3.3*** Stater, Naked Ephebe (Bellerophon?) with cap and long spear riding on Pegasus to l. over Chimaera / God Nergal wearing *kyrbasia* and clad in long *himation* carrying bow in *gorytos* over left shoulder and double-axe in left hand advancing to l. in square incuse, in left field ear of grain, Aramaic legend *NRGL TRZ*. (10,30 g.) NAC 25, 2003, 201*; (10,55 g.) Triton XXI, 2018, 513; (10,70 g.) Roma XV, 2018, 273
- 9.4.*** Stater, Male figure with skullcap and loincloth carrying bow in *gorytos* in right hand and holding with left hand indistinct long object (double-axe?) on left shoulder kneeling-running to r. / Lion to r. bringing down bull to l. in square incuse, Aramaic legend *NRGL*. (10,76 g.) CNG 103, 2016, 344; (10,70 g.) Roma XIII, 2017, 371*
- 9.5.1*** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., below key-symbol / God Nergal wearing *kidaris* and clad in jacket and long trouser-skirt, carrying bow in *gorytos* decorated with garlands or lion-skin over shoulder and holding lotus-flower and long spear

- advancing to l.⁶⁷ in square incuse, in left field tree, Aramaic legend *L NRGL*. (10,66 g.) Roma XVI, 2018, 330
- 9.5.2*** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to r., below key-symbol / God Nergal wearing *kidaris* and clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt holding bow and long spear standing to r. on the back of small lion in square incuse, in left field tree, Aramaic legend *NRGL TRZ*. (10,49 g.) BM 1970,0707.1; (10,55 g.) CNG E 430, 2018, 176*
- 9.5.3*** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., below key-symbol / God Nergal wearing skull-cap and clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt holding bow and long spear advancing to r. in square incuse, in left field tree, Aramaic legend *[N]RGL TRZ*. (10,54 g.) Roma XVIII, 2019, 659
- 9.5.4*** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to r., no symbol / God Nergal, bareheaded, clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt holding bow and long spear advancing to r. in square incuse, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (10,54 g.) SNG Ashmolean 1832*; (10,59 g.) CNG E 430, 2018, 175
- 9.5.5*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Forepart of griffin to l. / God Nergal wearing skull-cap and clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt holding bow and long spear advancing to r. in square incuse, Aramaic legend *L NRGL*. (3,36 g.) BM 1896,0902.1
- 9.5.6** Third stater (Tetrobol), Forepart of hippokamp to r. / God Nergal wearing skull-cap and clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt holding bow and long spear advancing to r. in square incuse, Aramaic legend *NRGL*. (3,20 g.) SNG BN 204
- 9.6.1*** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., no symbol / God Nergal, bareheaded, clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in shooting position to r. in square incuse, in field key-symbol. (10,91 g.) SNG Hunterian 965; (10,59 g.) PN 396, 2008, 404*
- 9.6.2*** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., below key-symbol / God Nergal, bareheaded, clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt with *gorytos* decorated with garlands or lionskin, bow and arrow kneeling in shooting position to r. in square incuse, in field key-symbol, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (10,79 g.) Obolos 16, 2020, 895
- 9.6.3*** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., no symbol / God Nergal, bareheaded, clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in

⁶⁷ See the identical figure on **9,2,1-2**; the attachments dangling from the *gorytos* are rather garlands than parts of a lion-skin.

- shooting position to r. in square incuse, in field tree and key-symbol. (10,71 g) Naumann 71, 2018, 254
- 9.6.4*** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., below head of eagle / God Nergal, bare-headed, clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in shooting position to r. in square incuse, in field key-symbol and head of eagle. (10,73 g.) SNG BN 213
- 9.6.5a*** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., in field sitting eagle, below key-symbol / God Nergal, bareheaded, clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in shooting position to r. in square incuse, in field key-symbol, Aramaic legend TRZ. (10,95 g.) Naumann 71, 2018, 253
- 9.6.5b** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., in field sitting eagle, below key-symbol / God Nergal, bareheaded, clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in shooting position to r. in square incuse, in field key-symbol, Aramaic legend TRZ. (10,71 g.) Roma E 61, 2019, 312
- 9.6.5c** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., in field sitting eagle, below key-symbol / God Nergal, bareheaded, clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in shooting position to r. in square incuse, in field key-symbol, no legend. (9,80 g.) Roma E 69, 2020, 517; (9,36 g.) Naumann 71, 2018, 252⁶⁸
- 9.6.6*** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., in field flying eagle / God Nergal wearing *kidaris* and clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in shooting position to r. in square incuse, Aramaic legend TRZ. (10,74 g.) CNG 97, 2014, 267 = Slg. Schmidt
- 9.6.7*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., in exergue two crossed palm-branches / God Nergal, bareheaded, clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in shooting position to r. in square incuse, in field key-symbol, Aramaic legend TRZ. (3,61 g.) Naumann 73, 2019, 227
- 9.6.8** Third stater (Tetrobol), Forepart of hippokamp to l. / God Nergal, bareheaded, clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in shooting position to r. in square incuse, in field key-symbol. (2,44 g.) SNG BN 205
- 9.6.9*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Forepart of hippokamp to l. / God Nergal, bareheaded, clad in sleeveless shirt and long trouser-skirt with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in

⁶⁸ Most specimen of this issue are rather below the normal weight-range.

- shooting position to r. in square incuse, in field key-symbol and head of eagle. (3,25 g.) SNG BN 206
- 9.6.10** Twelfth stater (Obol), Forepart of hippokamp to l. / Key-symbol in rhombic incuse. (0,72 g.) SNG BN 207
- 9.7.1a*** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., below key-symbol / Two male figures clad in jackets and long trouser-skirts carrying *gorytoi* with bows and long spears standing facing each other in square incuse, Aramaic legend *LR(?) TRZ*. (10,66 g.) SNG Hunterian 964; (10,72 g.) Roma XVI, 2018, 325*
- 9.7.1b** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., below key-symbol / Two male figures clad in jackets and long trouser-skirts carrying *gorytoi* with bows and long spears standing facing each other in square incuse, no legend. (10,80 g.) Obolos 17, 2018, 338
- 9.7.2*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Forepart of griffin to l. / Two male figures clad in jackets and long trouser-skirts carrying *gorytoi* with bows and long spears standing facing each other in square incuse, no legend. (3,56 g.) SN BN 208; (3,53, g.) Naumann 62, 2018, 347*
- 9.8.*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Royal figure (Great King?) with *kidaris* and sceptre on throne and standing figure clad in long *himation* holding a sceptre or an ensign facing each other above wall with three towers, in upper field *ankh* / Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l. in square incuse, in left field vine-trunk with grapes. (3,37 g.) BM 1892,0608.1
- 9.9.*** Stater, Figure in Persian garb with bow in *gorytos* holding lotus-flower and riding on parading horse with ornate tack to l., below key-symbol / Bareheaded male figure clad in jacket and long trouser-skirt and carrying *gorytos* over shoulder advancing r. while holding dagger (?) in right hand and grabbing with left hand the helmet of collapsed enemy, on the ground bow and *gorytos*, all in square incuse. (10,70 g.) Roma XIX, 2020, 568
- 9.10.1*** Stater, Male figure in Persian garb holding whip and riding on galloping horse to r. / Naked Hoplite armed with Korinthian helmet, round shield and lance kneeling to r. in rhombic incuse, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (10,45 g.) SNG BN 215
- 9.10.2** Third stater (Tetrobol), Male figure in Persian garb holding whip and riding on galloping horse to r. / Naked Hoplite armed with Korinthian helmet, round shield to r. in rhombic incuse, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (3,13 g.) SNG BN 218
- 9.10.3*** Stater, Male figure in Persian garb riding on galloping horse to r., in field *ankh* / Hoplite wearing short skirt and armed with Korinthian helmet, round shield and lance kneeling to r. in square incuse, in field key symbol, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (10,52 g.) SNG BN 219
- 9.10.4*** Stater, Male figure in Persian garb riding on galloping horse to r., in field fly / Hoplite wearing short skirt and armed with Korinthian helmet, round shield and lance

- kneeling to r. in square incuse, in field ear of grain, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (10,49 g.) SNG BN 221
- 9.10.5** Third stater (Tetrobol), Male figure in Persian garb riding on galloping horse to r., in field fly / Hoplite wearing short skirt and armed with Korinthian helmet, round shield and lance kneeling to r. in square incuse, in field ear of grain, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (3,45 g.) SNG BN 224
- 9.10.6*** Stater, Male figure in Persian garb riding on galloping horse to r., in field fly / Naked Hoplite armed with Korinthian helmet, round shield and lance kneeling to r. in square incuse, in field ear of grain, fly and astragalos. Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (10,36 g.) SNG BN 223
- 9.10.7*** Stater, Male figure in Persian garb holding whip and riding on galloping horse to r. / Naked Hoplite armed with Korinthian helmet, round shield decorated with Gorgoneion and lance kneeling to l. in shallow circular incuse, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (10,46 g.) SNG Levante 61 = Triton VII, 2004, 312
- 9.10.8*** Stater, Male figure in Persian garb holding whip and riding on galloping horse to r. / Naked Hoplite armed with Korinthian helmet, round shield decorated with flying eagle and lance kneeling to l. in shallow circular incuse, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (10,41 g.) BM 1892,0606.4
- 9.11.1** Stater, Male figure in Persian garb carrying two lances and riding on galloping horse to l., in field fly / Naked Hoplite armed with Korinthian helmet, round shield and lance kneeling to r. in rhombic incuse, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (10,04 g.) SNG BN 211
- 9.11.2*** Stater, Male figure in Persian garb carrying two lances and riding on galloping horse to l., in field fly / Hoplite wearing short skirt and armed with Korinthian helmet, round shield and lance kneeling to r. in rhombic incuse, in field astragalos, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (10,19 g.) SNG BN 212; (10,82 g.) Roma E 41, 2017, 314*
- 9.11.3*** Stater, Male figure in Persian garb carrying two lances and riding on galloping horse to l., in field fly / Naked archer wearing *kidaris* with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in shooting position to r. in square incuse, in the field ear of grain and astragalos, Aramaic legend *TRZ* ? (blundered). (10,15 g.) SNG BN 214; (10,68 g.) Rauch 96, 2014, 108 = Slg. Schmidt*
- 9.11,4** Third stater (Tetrobol), Male figure in Persian garb carrying two lances and riding on galloping horse to l., in field fly / Naked archer wearing *kidaris* with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in shooting position to r. in square incuse, in the field ear of grain and astragalos, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (2,63 g.) Hirsch 281, 2012, 436
- 9.11.5*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Male figure in Persian garb riding on galloping horse to l. / Naked archer wearing *kidaris* with *gorytos*, bow and arrow kneeling in shooting position to r. in square incuse, in the field ear of grain and astragalos, Aramaic legend *TRZ*. (2,87 g.) SNG Ashmolean 1835
- 9.12.*** Stater, Male figure in Persian garb with long rod (bulls pizzle) behind plough drawn by a yoke of oxen to l., Aramaic legend *TRZ* / Standing Cow to l., head reverted,

- over standing calf to r., head reverted, in shallow circular incuse, in field winged solar-disk. (10,64 g.) SNG v. Aulock 5914 = BM 1982, 0511.1*; (10,63 g.) Leu Zürich 45, 1987, 250
- 9.13.1*** Stater⁶⁹, Nude male figure advancing to r, swinging with right hand double-axe above the head and grabbing with left hand trunk of fir-tree / Bull standing to r. under laurel-branch in square incuse. (10,77 g.) SNG BN 441; (11,10 g.) Roma XIX, 2020, 575*
- 9.13.2*** Stater, Bull butting to r. under horizontal fir-tree / Nude male figure advancing to r, swinging with right hand double-axe above the head and grabbing with left hand trunk of fir-tree., behind small fir-tree, all in square incuse (10,44 g.) BM 1947, 0706.1; (10,72 g.) Roma XVII, 2019, 542*
- 9.13.3*** Stater, Nude male figure advancing to r., swinging with right hand club (or double-axe?) above the head and grabbing with left hand helmet of collapsed bare-breasted female enemy wearing short skirt and holding on to arrow, the related bow already dangling from left arm of attacker / Bull, tail decorated with ribbon, standing to r. in square incuse. (10,73 g.) Nomos 20, 2020, 248*
- 9.14.1*** Stater, King-hero wearing *kidaris* and clad in jacket and long trouser-skirt standing to r. with dagger in right hand and grabbing with left arm upright lion to l. / King-hero (or Nergal) wearing *kidaris* and clad in jacket and long trouser-skirt carrying bow in *gorytos* over shoulder, spear in right hand and key-symbol in left advancing to r., bilingual legend Aramaic TRZ and Greek ΤΕΡΣΙ. (10,34 g.) SNG BN 209; (10,56 g.) SNG Hunterian 964; (10,68 g.) Slg. Wellhöfer = von Wagner Museum Würzburg Ka 1331 = H 6698*
- 9.14.2** Third stater (Tetrobol), King-hero wearing *kidaris* and clad in jacket and long trouser-skirt standing to r. with dagger in right hand and grabbing with left arm upright lion to l. / King-hero (or Nergal) wearing *kidaris* and clad in jacket and long trouser-skirt carrying bow in *gorytos* over shoulder, spear in right hand and key-symbol in left advancing to r., bilingual legend Aramaic TRZ and Greek ΤΕΡΣΙ. (3,39 g.) SNG BN 210
- 9.15.1*** Stater, Athena with Attic helmet, spear and round shield seated to l. on rock in right field barren tree / Oracle-scene: Bare-breasted young woman with hair in bun, hips draped with long garment, kneeling to l. and throwing *astragaloi* in shallow circular incuse, in right field lotus-flower, legend ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ (10, 65 g.) SNG Levante 64; (10,68 g.) Slg. Wellhöfer = von Wagner Museum Würzburg Ka 1326 = H 6693*
- 9.15.2*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Youthful male head to l. / Oracle-scene: Bare-breasted young woman with hair in bun, hips draped with long garment, kneeling to l. and throwing *astragaloi*. (0,43 g.) SNG BN 239; (0,56 g.) Rauch 90, 2012, 203*

⁶⁹ The third stater of this issue reproduced by Hill in BMC Cyprus, Pl. XXV, 10 (though not in the British Museum) is no longer to be found anywhere and can therefore not be verified.

- 9.16.1*** Stater, Female head wearing stephane to l., legend ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ / Nude Herakles kneeling to l. and wrestling with lion, in exergue club. (10,49 g.) SNG BN 235; (10,47 g.) Sternberg 35, 2000, 477*
- 9.16.2*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Female head wearing stephane to l. / Female head facing. (0,82 g.) SNG BN 236; (0,68 g.); PN 428, 2021, 349*

The motif of the feeding cow, the central feature of all the coins of the Ba'ana-Group, is repeated in varying forms by series of Tarsos as well as of Nagidos (9.12. and 4.1.3)⁷⁰. Also the image of the nude Herakles swinging the club has apparently inspired the representation of a divine hero, Herakles or Nergal, on issues belonging to both places (9.13.1-3 and 4.2.). The respective series from both mints display a distinctive detail, that is familiar from various oriental seals but never found on other coins: The hero holding a small animal upside down by its tail⁷¹. On a second series of the Ba'ana-Group, which was presumably issued at Tarsos (8.2.1-2), there appears yet another motif of oriental origin: The king-hero in hand-to-paw combat with an upright standing lion is mainly known from seals as well as from coins of Sidon in Phoenicia⁷²; this image became later on adopted for a bilingual issue struck in the name of Tarsos probably around the beginning of the 4th century BC (9.14.1-2).

Moreover the related series from Tarsos and from Nagidos share an additional motif though not with the coins from the Ba'ana-Group but with each other: A man wearing a *kyrbasia* and a long jacket over trousers guiding a plough drawn by a pair of oxen. This is clearly not the image of an ordinary ploughman. As demonstrated by the costume, similar to the one of the riding figures on the main series from Tarsos discussed further below, this is the representation of a person of power, which is visibly to be connected with the Persian overlordship, exercising control over the land under the plough, – a symbolic scene of territorial dominion well known from Graeco-Persian seals⁷³.

By these parallels a temporarily limited but undeniable link is constituted between the respective groups, whether these have been struck at Tarsos, at Nagidos or at another place⁷⁴. Their appearance is certainly posterior to the initial issues in the name of Tarsos but can be more or less contemporary with the beginning of the civic coinage of Nagidos. For an absolute dating the word Ba'ana or the Aramaic letters *beth* and *aj*n on the coins may in fact contain the decisive hint: A Sidonian prince or viceroy of the same name is epigraphically attested for the time around 400

⁷⁰ With respect to the stylistic variations to be found within the Ba'ana-Group (for example in the representation of the cow with the suckling calf) a longer timespan must probably be allowed for these issues. In the light of this circumstance the previous dating to the short period between 397 and 395 BC only as proposed by the present author (cfr. Müseler 2018, p. 57 sqq) appears a little too narrow.

⁷¹ See for example various seals on the fortification-tablets from Persepolis: Garrison – Root 2001, p. 256-282, Cat.no. 171-187; for a comprehensive treatment of this iconography see Garrison 2010.

⁷² See Elayi – Elayi 2014, Pl. LXXVi, C 13-14.

⁷³ Vollenweider 1967, 88; Collon 1993, Fig. 619.

⁷⁴ Mildenberg 1987, p. 37 rather suggested a yet unidentified mint in the Transeuphratenian area outside Cilicia, mainly for metrological reasons; his respective argument is, however, not correct (cfr. Müseler 2018, p. 59).

BC⁷⁵. If the Cilician coins bearing this legend are in fact to be connected with the same ruler (or at least with a person from his clan), these series together with the entire complex of related issues would have to be dated to sometime between ca. 405 and 395 BC.

For Tarsos, however, there had been a huge number of different issues preceding this group, partly going back as far as the middle of the 5th century BC. The earliest series was certainly formed by the coins showing the lion bringing down a bull, which would a century later, under the satrap Mazday of Transeuphratene, become once again the main motif of Tarsian coinage⁷⁶, combined with the ear of grain, the most important produce of the Cilician plain (9.1.1-8). By the end of the twenties (or sometime soon thereafter)⁷⁷ this issue was supplemented and eventually replaced by the series showing the Phoenician sea-deity copied from contemporary coins of Tyre or a youthful hero riding the Pegasus and spearing the Chimaera on the obverses (9.2.2 - 9.3.3). The latter image refers to the Bellerophon-Saga, a tale of ancient oriental origin about a conflict between celestial and chthonic forces, which had been adopted and gradually Hellenised by the Homeric tradition. But even the Greek adaptations of the myth, which are the only versions fully conveyed to us, still preserve numerous elements of the original story and locate the related events unanimously in Southern Anatolia, either in Lycia or in Cilicia⁷⁸. With the introduction of the new types the former Babylonian god Nergal makes his first appearance on Tarsian coins.

The cult of Nergal, originally a god of summer-heat, of draught, pestilence, war and other calamities in the Babylonian pantheon, had spread from its Mesopotamian home over Syria and Phoenicia until it had reached the Cilician plain. In the course of this journey it got mixed with different local beliefs and the original character of the god gradually merged with the one of other divine entities like the Syro-Phoenician god Reshef-Melqart or the deified Greek hero Herakles. In Tarsos he had apparently acquired the position of a special protector of the native dynasty. His original attribute had been a double-headed club or a *bipennis*, a battle-axe with two blades, and he was occasionally shown accompanied by a lion as his familiar or his animal incarnation. However, with the expansion of the cult to the West and especially after its arrival in Sub-Achaemenid Cilicia the representation of Nergal had undergone multiple changes⁷⁹: First it adopted traits of the Persian royal hero like the *kidaris*, the dress of Iranian style, the spear, the bow and the *gorytos*; later on the image of the divine protector got altered once again and assimilated to the appearance and posture of the nude and club-swinging Herakles of Greek art. The gradual switch in the conception of the deity at Tarsos is perfectly illustrated by the changing imagery of the many Tarsian

⁷⁵ According to Elayi 2006, p. 19 the king Ba'ana of Sidon was succeeded by his son Ba'alshallim II in ca. 401 BC. If the Cilician coins of the Ba'ana-Group are to be connected in any way with the Sidonian ruler of this name they would have to be dated to the last decade of the 5th century BC and/or shortly thereafter.

⁷⁶ See Müseler 2018, p. 105 sqq.

⁷⁷ The series from Tyre, which has served as a model for the Tarsian issue with the sea-deity on the hippocamp, commenced by the middle of the twenties of the 5th century BC (cfr. Elayi – Elayi 2014, Pl. LXXIX, C 55-58). The Tarsian coins of this type must be at least a couple of years later.

⁷⁸ Casabonne 2004, p. 129 suggests that the Bellerophon figure on the Tarsian coins might be just another Greek “translation” of an original Luwian deity, the storm-god Pihashshashshi (see also Hutter 1995 and Hutter 2003).

⁷⁹ See Mildenberg 1973; however, the known representations of Nergal on coins from Tarsos have been more than doubled since then.

coin-issues connected with Nergal, which are even comprising curious mixtures like the *kidaris*-wearing but otherwise naked archer from the series with the armed rider on the obverse (9.11.3-5)⁸⁰.

The other main feature of Tarsian coinage of the 5th century BC is the figure wearing a Persian-style *kyrbasia* with neck-protection (in a few cases replaced by a pointed hat) and a long jacket or coat over a trouser-skirt riding either on a horse in slow stride with flamboyant tack or on a galloping horse with plain bridle. The rider on the slowly advancing horse is holding a lotus-flower in his hand, a symbol of superior political power, while the rider on the galloping horse is occasionally holding a whip or two lances. Notwithstanding these differences the riders were apparently meant to show one and the same character; they have generally been taken as images of the Syennesis, the local dynast. These are of course no portraits of a certain individual but a general representation of the office with its various holders just like the symbolic figures of the Great King on Persian imperial coins⁸¹. As recent discoveries have demonstrated the overall volume of the various issues with this kind of image must have been considerable. Contrary to the views previously expressed by a number of scholars (the present author included) the different series cannot be connected with a particular historical event, especially not to one as late as the revolt of the younger Cyrus⁸²; their production must have stretched over a period of at least twenty years. This is particularly well illustrated by the issues with the kneeling hoplite on the reverse: In style and fabric the presumably earliest series with this type of image (9.10.1-2) corresponds immediately to the issues with the lion bringing down the bull (9.1.1-8). But on the other hand a similar type though of different style (9.10.6) was still struck as late as the end of the century. This is attested by the presence of a rather fresh specimen from the latter issue in the Lycian “Tissaphernes-Fund”⁸³, and two other series (9.10.7-8) with the same motif may even have been minted still later than this. A similar development can be observed within the group with the parading horse on the obverse: The early representation of the god Nergal in the guise of an Achaemenid royal hero on the reverse (9.5.1) is still very close to the preceding series with the Tyrian sea-deity riding on a hippocamp (9.2.2), while the image of the figure in Persian garb killing a warrior wearing a

⁸⁰ For the transfer of the cult of Nergal from Mesopotamia to Cilicia between the middle of the second and the middle of the first millennium BC and the changes in the function and the pictorial conception of this divine entity which occurred in the course of this “migration” and afterwards, see Müseler 2019.

⁸¹ For the images of the Great King in early Achaemenid coinage see Carradice 1987 and Casabonne 1996, p. 122 sq.; for the interpretation of the various riders in Persian garb on Tarsian coins as symbolic representations of the *syennesis* (i.e. of the office, not of any individual person) see Casabonne 1995, p. 157 sqq, Casabonne 1996, p. 131 sqq and Casabonne 2004, p. 168 sqq; on the general development of symbolic portraiture on Graeco-Persian coins see Müseler 2020.

⁸² The stater struck by the Lycian dynast Ddeneweles at Xanthos in the name of Tissaphernes shows, though clearly imitating series of the *Syenneseis* from Tarsos, the satrap himself on horseback (cfr. Hurter 1979, p. 100, 6 and Müseler 2017, p. 20, IX 1). This coin can only be dated to Tissaphernes’ second term of office, – that is to the period between 400 and 395 BC. It, therefore, coincides only with the very last issues of the Tarsian rider-coinage, which has obviously covered a longer period. Bodzek 2019 has pondered a somewhat earlier date for the Xanthian stater in the name of Tissaphernes as well, i.e. around 407 or even 413 BC. This is, however, hardly in accordance with the assumable timespan of Ddeneweles’ rule at Xanthos.

⁸³ Hurter 1979, p. 107, A.

Greek helmet (9.9.) is at least thematically connected with the clearly later series showing a nude Nergal attacking a helmeted female adversary (9.13.3). It appears, therefore, that both main variants of the “rider-coinage” from Tarsos have been issued more or less beside each other and perhaps even in an alternating sequence down to the first issues with a Greek legend commissioned by the Persian naval command in the late nineties of the 4th century BC (9.14.1-2).

But what deserves particular attention and a detailed explanation is the decidedly narrative quality of some of the Tarsian coin-types listed above. The imagery of those coins contains encrypted information regarding political conditions and possibly even concrete events in Cilicia during the period in question. By far the clearest message is conveyed by one of the issues discovered only recently (9.14.3): The scene of the nude male swinging the club and subduing a bare-breasted female wearing a helmet of Korinthian type, apparently having strapped her from her bow before, has been up to now unanimously interpreted as a relation of the well-known mythical encounter of Herakles and Hippolyte, the queen of the Amazons, by the various cataloguers⁸⁴. This was based upon a comparison with conventional representations of this story in Greek art⁸⁵. However, the adoption of that scene in monetary iconography is extremely rare⁸⁶, and nobody has posed the question so far, why of all possible items this would have been chosen for a Tarsian issue of the late 5th century BC. The answer is quite simple: The figures were not meant to be Herakles and Hippolyte at all; they are nothing else than an iconographical “translation” of a local event into a mythological context by making use of formal elements derived from a Greek tradition. The nude male figure is rather Herakles-Nergal, the protector of the Tarsian dynasty, than the classical hero of Greek myth, as it is demonstrated by a number of related coin-issues from Tarsos (9.14.1-2). And the bare-breasted helmeted female cowering at the ground is nobody else than the city-goddess of Anĉhiale in war-attire as rendered on an earlier coin from that place (6.2.). What is depicted here is the conflict between Tarsos and Anĉhiale, certainly caused by rivalling aspirations for hegemony, which eventually led to the destruction of the latter.

This rivalry is possibly also reflected by another recently discovered series from Tarsos (9.4.): The man wearing a skullcap and a short skirt, who is equipped with a long club or double-axe as well as with a *gorytos* containing a bow and shown in the same kneeling-running stance as the goddess of Anĉhiale and of Soloi is possibly an allusion to the very same antagonism. By their legend these coins are dedicated to Nergal, but posture and attributes of the figure, which seem to be an allusion to the monetary iconography of Soloi, make for a highly unusual representation of this deity.

Rather spectacular though not readily understandable is the fighting- or better the killing-scene on one of the coins with the parading rider on the obverse (9.9.): Weaponry and garb of the attacking figure correspond more or less to the habitual representation of Nergal on other coins of the same group, but due to some wear of the die the gender of the helmeted victim cannot be defined with sufficient certainty. Still there are numerous similarities with the fighting-scene on

⁸⁴ Apparently there is just one die known for this scene up to now. It has been damaged at a rather early stage and subsequently repaired, whereby an Aramaic letter (*zajn?*) was added to the left field (see for example Roma XVI, 2018, 334).

⁸⁵ See for example two black-figured Attic craters from the late 6th or early 5th century BC: Metropolitan Museum of Art 61.11.16 and Tampa Museum of Art 82.11.10.

⁸⁶ While this particular motif is hardly to be found in other Greek coinages, it became quite popular on Roman imperial and provincial coins depicting the labours of Herakles from the 2nd century AD onwards.

the coins discussed above like for instance the attacking figures grip to the head of the vanquished opponent or like the bow and the *gorytos* as weapons of the collapsed figure. Therefore it seems safe enough to assume that the background for the choice of those images was in some way related: The common theme is the military supremacy of Nergal and his followers, – that is the achievement of a Tarsian victory over resisting but ultimately defeated forces, to be presumably located in the neighbourhood.

Not so obvious is the narrative character of a different issue, which has already been known since quite some time (9.8.): The image of the enthroned king with a figure standing opposite and holding a standard or another ensign of power is an investiture-scene well known from Achaemenid courtly art⁸⁷. The standing figure in the long *himation* may be in some respect empowered by a superior, and the subject of this empowerment is expressed not only by the standard but perhaps also by the turreted city-wall below the scene. On the reverse is the rider on a slowly parading horse holding a flower in his hand accompanied by a vine-trunk with grapes. While the rider clearly indicates the attribution of the coin to Tarsos both the city-wall and the vine-trunk are elements known from coins of Ura and of Nagidos respectively. The image on the obverse apparently symbolizes the backing of the Persian Great King for the exercise of power over the former kingdom of *Pirindu* and adjacent areas in *Kilikia Tracheia* by the Syennesis of Tarsos.

The coinage of Tarsos from the late 5th century BC therefore reflects historical events otherwise unattested. Apparently the Syennesis, the lord of the old metropolis Tarsos in the centre of *Kilikia Pedias*, had subjugated step by step large parts of Western Cilicia after ca. 420 BC. with licence and support from the Great King, who had thereby granted the dynasty of the old allies of the Achaemenid house almost viceregal powers. When the army of the younger Cyrus marched towards Cilicia in the early summer of 401 BC the only important political agent and potential partner for the concurrent negotiations left in the whole area was the Syennesis of Tarsos; other local power-centres seem to have been no longer existent or of no major influence anymore. This is the way, how the remark of Xenophon in the *Cyrupedia* about the internal autonomy of Cilicia under Achaemenid rule mentioned above must be understood.

The fundamental reversal in the distribution of power brought about in the aftermath of the Cyrus-affair is first of all marked by the abrupt and enduring disappearance of the images connected to the local dynasty from the Tarsian coins⁸⁸. The figures of the Syennesis on horseback as a symbol of political authority got replaced by representations of the Great King himself and a little later by images showing his new local deputy, the appointed commander of the Persian war-fleet stationed in the harbours of Cilicia⁸⁹. At the same time attempts to a certain coordination and

⁸⁷ See for example the various reliefs showing royal audiences from Persepolis (cfr. Boardman 2000, Pl. 4.13 and 4.14 b), which have repeatedly been copied in local Anatolian and Levantine art (cfr. Brosius 2010). Investiture by a divine being, the Cappadocian god Ana, is depicted on a stater of the renegade *στρατηγός* Datames from Tarsos, struck after 368 BC during his revolt against the Great King: SNG BN 290-300 and Müseler 2018, p. 103 sqq.

⁸⁸ Although there is no indication that the rule of the Syenneseis came to an end immediately after the battle of Kunaxa it can hardly have outlasted the return of Pharnabazos with the victorious fleet to Cilicia in 393 BC.

⁸⁹ The first commander to have set his own – though symbolic – portrait on coins struck by Cilician mints was actually Tiribazos during the war against Euagoras I of Salamis: See Müseler 2018, p. 88 sqq.

phasing of the coin-series for various Cilician cities become visible, mainly between the coinages for Tarsos and for Mallos but occasionally also including issues for Nagidos, for Issos and even for Holmoi (9.15., 10.14. and 4.5.; 9.16. and 10.13.; 4.7., 10.15. and 11.4.; 3.3. and 11.5.), evidently commissioned by a central administrative agency. Greek language and script got finally also adopted for the legends on Tarsian coins. And on all the coins from *Kilikia Pedias* traditional iconographical patterns of a local bearing were abandoned in favour of images derived from a canon of a genuine Greek brand, which was doubtlessly easier to comprehend by users from abroad: The goddess Athena made her appearance everywhere, in Tarsos, Mallos and Nagidos even in an exactly identical form, and in the place of various divine or mythical entities of oriental origin the image of Herakles wrestling with the Nemean lion widely known all over the Greek world was introduced. As remarked above the background of these changes consisted in the newly acquired function of the coinages produced in Cilicia as payments for the various mercenary-groups hired by the Persian naval command from many different countries for service in the Great Kings new battle-fleet.

An allusion to particular local conditions, however, may be seen in the choice of the oracle-scene, the kneeling young woman throwing astragaloï⁹⁰, as the reverse-image of the Tarsian coins from the cross-regional series with the goddess Athena seated next to a barren tree on the obverse: Oracles and divination had a long tradition and played a major role in *Kilikia Pedias*. Since the early 1st millennium BC Mallos had actually been the seat of a famous centre of *oneiromancy*, prophecies made by the interpretation of dreams, which was widely known for the reliability and accuracy of its predictions⁹¹. The throw of *astragaloï*, on the other hand, was a less complex and much cheaper method to foretell the future, the oracle of the man in the street for all intents. It was very popular all over the Greek world and the ancient Near East and practiced in many larger and smaller oracle-places⁹². With the massive immigration into the cities on the Cilician plain caused by the exigencies of the Persian fleet- bases the demand for easier accessible and more affordable ritual services of the kind, which the various petitioners already knew well from their respective home-countries, had certainly been growing.

The eastern end of the alluvial plain and the gateways to the Syrian highlands: Mallos and Issos

The cities of Mallos and Issos in the eastern part of *Kilikia Pedias* were of particular strategical importance: Mallos lay inland on the banks of the navigable river Pyramos, which connected the city with its dependent seaport Magarsa at the coast, where larger ships could be moored as well. A little further to the East the harbour of Issos was situated on the narrow strip of flat terrain between the shore-line of the huge homonymous gulf and the steep slopes of the Amanos mountains with their rich deposits of iron-ore, which divided the Cilician plain from the Cyrrhastica, the highlands of Northern Syria. Both settlements were in direct control of the overland connection to and from Syria and Mesopotamia and at the same time highly frequented stopovers and

⁹⁰ Ashton 2019, p. 115 has interpreted the female figure as an image of Aphrodite because of the lotus-flower in the right field; this is possible though not certain.

⁹¹ Pausanias I,34,3; Plutarch de def. orac. 45. See also below p. 114.

⁹² For the wide diffusion of divination by the throw of *astragaloï* in Anatolia and the Near East see Gilmour 1997; the particular social dimension of this form of oracle is underlined by Talloen 2018, p. 121 sqq.

supply-stations for the sea-trade between Anatolia and the Levantine coast. It is hardly surprising that oriental influences became even more manifest there than anywhere else in Cilicia.

Mallos

- 10.1.*** Stater, Youthful male figure (Hermes?) holding *kerykeion* and riding on ram to l., in left field *baithylos* / Bare-breasted winged female deity holding disk with eight-pointed star before abdomen. head reverted, kneeling-running to l., legend MAP. (10,65 g.) SNG v. Aulock 5705 = SNG Ashmolean 1728
- 10.2.1a*** Stater, Frontal half-figure of bearded male with janiform head and four large wings holding disk with bulls-head (?) before abdomen over forepart of man-headed bull to r. / Swan with flapping wings standing to l. in circular incuse, legend MAQA (11,41 g.) SNG BN 372; (11,19 g.) SNG Hunterian 932; (10,98 g.) Roma E 75, 2020, 328*
- 10.2.1b*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Frontal half-figure of bearded male with janiform head and four large wings holding disk with bulls-head (?) before abdomen over forepart of man-headed bull to r. / Swan standing to r. and drinking from narrow long amphora in square incuse. (3,58 g.) SNG BN 373*; (3,68 g.) Aufhäuser 18, 2004, 335
- 10.2.2a** Stater, Frontal half-figure of bearded male with janiform head and four large wings holding disk with bulls-head (?) before abdomen over forepart of man-headed bull to r. / Swan with flapping wings standing to r. in square incuse. (11,25 g.) SNG Hunterian 931
- 10.2.2b** Third stater (Tetrobol), Frontal half-figure of bearded male with janiform head and four large wings holding disk with bulls-head (?) before abdomen over forepart of man-headed bull to r. / Swan with flapping wings standing to r in square incuse. (3,02 g.) Lanz 144, 2008, 226
- 10.2.3*** Stater, Bearded male figure with janiform head, two large wings and winged heels holding disk with star or sun before abdomen kneeling-running to r., in right field *ankh* / Swan with flapping wings standing to r. on meander-band in circular incuse, in left field *ankh*, in right field lotus-flower, legend MAQ. (10,63 g.) BM 1961,0301.5; (11,12 g.) Roma XIX, 2020, 564*; (10,97 g.) Naumann 71, 2018, 244
- 10.2.4*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Janiform head of bearded man / Swan standing to l. (0,72 g.) SNG Levante 133; (0,73 g.) Rauch, Sept. 2013, 301*
- 10.2.5** Twelfth stater (Obol), Janiform head of bearded man / Swan with flapping wings standing to l., in field lotus-flower and *ankh*. (0,74 g.) SNG Levante 134
- 10.2.6** Twenty-fourth stater (Hemiobol), Janiform head of bearded man / Swan with flapping wings standing to l., in field lotus-flower. (0,32 g.) SNG Levante 136
- 10.2.7*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Janiform head of bearded man / Forepart of man-headed bull to r. (0,77 g.) SNG Levante 137; (0,64 g.) Naumann 63, 2018, 40*
- 10.2.8** Twenty-fourth stater (Hemiobol), Janiform head of bearded man / Forepart of man-headed bull to l. (0,36 g.) SNG Levante 13

- 10.3.1*** Stater, Naked figure of bearded man with four wings carrying disk before abdomen kneeling-running to l. / Swan with flapping wings standing to l. in circular incuse, legend MAP. (10,63 g.) Obolos 16, 2020, 891
- 10.3.2*** Stater, Naked figure of bearded man with four wings carrying disk before abdomen kneeling-running to l. / Swan standing to r. in circular incuse, legend MAP. (11,00 g.) SNG BN 376; (11,16 g.) Roma E 76, 2020, 381*
- 10.3.3** Stater, Naked figure of bearded with four wings man carrying disk before abdomen kneeling-running to l. / Swan standing to l. with eagle hacking on its back in circular incuse, legend MAP. (10,91 g.) GM 273, 2020, 237
- 10.3.4*** Stater, Naked figure of bearded man with four wings carrying disk before abdomen kneeling-running to l. / Swan standing to r. with eagle hacking on its back in circular incuse, legend MAPAO. (11,06 g.) SNG Hunterian 933; (10,98 g.) Obolos 16, 2020, 890*
- 10.4.**^{93*} Hybrid issue Soloi / Mallos: Naked figure of bearded man with four wings carrying disk before abdomen kneeling-running to l. (die of **10.3.4**) / Grape in square incuse, in right field laurel-branch, legend ΣΟΛΕΩΝ (die of **7.6.**) (10,77 g.) Roma XVIII, 2019, 647
- 10.5.*** Stater, Naked figure of bearded man⁹⁴ with two wings carrying disk before abdomen kneeling-running to r. / Swan flying to r. in circular incuse, in right field letter A, legend MAQ. (10,76 g.) SNG v. Aulock 5706 = SNG Levante 126; (10, 82 g.) Roma XXI, 2021, 256*
- 10.6.1*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Naked figure of beardless man with four wings carrying disk before abdomen kneeling-running to r., in left field *ankh* / Lion or panther creeping to l. in square incuse, legend MAP. (3,20 g.) SNG Levante 127 = Triton VII, 2004, 294 = Slg. Wellhöfer = von Wagner Museum Würzburg KA 1423 = H 6790
- 10.6.2** Twelfth stater (Obol), Half-figure of beardless man with four wings carrying disk before abdomen to r. / Swan with flapping wings standing to l. in square incuse, legend MAP. (0,73 g.) SNG Levante 129
- 10.6.3*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Half-figure of beardless man with four wings carrying disk before abdomen to r. / Swan with flapping wings standing to r. in square incuse, field *ankh*. (0,76 g.) SNG Levante 130; (0,92 g.) Naumann 39, 2016, 416*
- 10.6.4** Twelfth stater (Obol), Half-figure of beardless man with four wings carrying disk before abdomen to r. / Swan standing to l. in square incuse, legend MAP. (0,85 g.) SNG Levante 131; (0,80 g.) Aufhäuser 19, 2006, 190

⁹³ See above No. 7.8 under Soloi.

⁹⁴ The figure has been described as beardless based upon the v. Aulock / Levante specimen; the better centred example from the recent Roma-sale demonstrates this as erroneous.

- 10.7.1*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Ephebe with petasos (Bellerophon?) riding on Pegasus to r. / Swan with flapping wings standing to l. in square incuse, in right field turtle, legend MAP. (3,29 g.) BM 1956,0506.2; (3,21 g.) NAC 82, 2015, 212*
- 10.7.2*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Sphinx seated to l. / Swan with flapping wings standing to l. in incuse square, in right field turtle, legend MAP- (3,41 g.) Obolos 5, 2016, 406
- 10.8.*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Naked male figure advancing to r. and grabbing horns of bull, head reverted, kneeling running to r. / Swan advancing to r. in square incuse, in right field *aryballos*, in left field dolphin or fish, legend MAPA. (3,23 g.) PN 407, 2012, 871
- 10.9.1*** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, hair in bun and clad in long garment, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r., Aramaic legend *MRLU* / Swan with flapping wings standing to l. in shallow circular incuse, in left field cricket, legend MAAP. (10,51 g.) BM BNK, G.706; (10,20 g.) CNG E 481, 2020, 137*
- 10.9.2a*** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, hair in bun and clad in long garment, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r., legend AMAP / Swan standing to r. in shallow circular incuse, in right field altar and ear of grain, legend MAP. (9,95 g.) CNG E 481, 2020, 138
- 10.9.2b*** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, hair in bun and clad in long garment, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r., legend MAAP / Swan standing to r. in shallow circular incuse, in left field *ankh*, in right field altar and ear of grain, legend MAP. (9,95 g.) SNG BN 382; (10,65 g.) Leu Winterthur E 13, 2020, 441*
- 10.9.2c** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, hair in bun and clad in long garment, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r, in right field ensign / Swan standing to r. in shallow circular incuse, in left field *ankh*, in right field altar and ear of grain, legend MAP. (10,53 g.) SNG v. Aulock 5710 = SNG Levante 125
- 10.9.3a** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, hair in bun and clad in long garment, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r., legend MAAP / Swan advancing to l. in shallow circular incuse, in left field fish, in right field *ankh*, legend MAP. (10,45 g.) SNG Levante 124; (10,35 g.) PN 376, 2003, 487
- 10.9.3b*** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, hair in bun and clad in long garment, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r. / Swan advancing to l. in shallow circular incuse, in left field fish, in right field *ankh*, legend MAP. (10,47 g.) SNG BN 379; (10,44g.) PN 407, 2012, 873*
- 10.9.4a*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, hair in bun and clad in long garment, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r. / Swan with flapping wings standing to l., in left field fish, legend MA (retrograde). (0,73 g.) PN 428,2021, 338
- 10.9.4.b** Twelfth stater (Obol), Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, hair in bun and clad in long garment, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r. /

- Swan with flapping wings standing to l., legend MA (retrograde). 0,84 g. PN 407, 2012, 874
- 10.9.5*** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, clad in short skirt, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r. / Swan advancing to l. in square incuse, in left field fish, legend MAP. (11,18 g.) Roma XI, 2016, 467
- 10.9.6*** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, clad in short skirt, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r. / Swan advancing to r. in square incuse, in left field *ankh*, in right field corn, legend MAP (10,43 g.) BM 1899,0103.28, (10,51 g.) Nomos 21, 2020, 222*
- 10.9.7*** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, clad in short skirt, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r., in field crescent and star / Swan standing l. in square incuse, in left field *ankh*, legend MAP. 11,01 g. Roma XX, 2020, 264
- 10.9.8*** Third stater (Tetrobol), Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, clad in short skirt, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r., in field crescent and star / Swan advancing to r. in square incuse, in right field corn, legend MAP. (3,14 g.) PN 407, 2012, 872*
- 10.9.9a*** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, clad in short skirt, holding disk with star(?) before abdomen kneeling-running to l. / Swan with flapping wings standing to l. in circular incuse, in right field fly, legend MAPA. (10,97 g.) CNG E 235, 2010, 219
- 10.9.9.b** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, clad in short skirt, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to r. / Swan standing r. in circular incuse, in right field fly, legend MAPA. (11,15 g.) SNG Hunterian 934
- 10.9.10a*** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings (and winged heels!), hair in bun and clad in long garment, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to l. / Swan with flapping wings standing to r. in circular incuse, in right field lotus-flower, legend MAP. (11,08 g.) Roma XVIII, 2019, 646
- 10.9.10b*** Stater, Androgyne figure (?) with two wings, hair in bun and clad in long garment, holding disk with star (?) before abdomen kneeling-running to l. / Swan with flapping wings standing to r. in circular incuse, in right field lotus-flower, legend MAPAOTAN. (10,89 g.) SNG BN 377*; (10,35 g.) SNG Levante 149
- 10.10.1*** Stater, Great King wearing *kidaris* and clad in long pleated garment carrying bow and long lance decorated with apple kneeling-running to r., in left field grain / Nude Herakles standing r. on round base and wrestling with lion, in left field club, legend MAA. (10,30 g.) SNG BN 398; (10,39 g.) SNG Hunterian 937; (10,32 g.) Slg. Wellhöfer = v. Wagner Museum Würzburg KA 1317 = H 6684*
- 10.10.2** Twelfth stater (Obol), Great King wearing *kidaris* and clad in long pleated garment carrying bow and long lance decorated with apple kneeling-running to r., in left field grain / Nude Herakles standing r. on round base and wrestling with lion, in left field club, no legend (0,60 g.) PN 371, 2002, 206

- 10.10.3** Twelfth stater (Obol), Great King wearing *kidaris* and clad in long pleated garment carrying bow and long lance decorated with apple kneeling-running to r., in left field grain / Nude Herakles kneeling to r. and wrestling with lion, no legend. (0,70 g.) Leu Winterthur 5, 2019, 168
- 10.11.1*** Stater, Great King wearing *kidaris* and clad in long pleated garment carrying bow and long lance decorated with apple kneeling-running to r. / Great King wearing *kidaris* and clad in long pleated garment holding bow and drawing arrow from quiver kneeling-running to r., no legend. (10,47 g.) SNG BN 399*; (9,56 g.) SNG Hunterian 936
- 10.11.2*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Great King wearing *kidaris* and clad in long pleated garment carrying and long lance decorated with apple kneeling-running to r. / Great King wearing *kidaris* and clad in long pleated garment carrying bow and long lance decorated with apple kneeling-running to r., no legend (0,78g.) SNG BN 401
- 10.12.1*** Stater, Bearded male head wearing laurel-wreath to r., legend MAA/ Nude Herakles kneeling to l. and wrestling with lion, below club. (10,13 g.) SNG BN 402; (10,32 g.) Slg. Wellhöfer = von Wagner Museum Würzburg_KA 1320 = H6687*
- 10.12.2** Stater, Bearded male head wearing laurel-wreath to l., legend MAA/ Nude Herakles kneeling to l. and wrestling with lion, below club. (10,51 g.) SNG Levante 154; (10,57 g.) PN 338, 1994, 477
- 10.13.1*** Stater, Athena with Attic helmet, spear and round shield seated to l. on rock in right field barren tree / Nude Hermes wearing chlamys draped around the shoulders and holding *kerykeion* in right hand standing facing beside bare-breasted Aphrodite draped around hips with long garment standing to l., placing right arm around the shoulders of her companion and leaning with left arm on column, legend MAA. (10,56 g) SNG BN 403; (10,34 g.) PN 396, 2008, 419 = Slg.Schmidt
- 10.13.2*** Stater, Athena with Attic helmet, spear and round shield seated to l. on rock in right field barren tree / Bare-breasted Nike draped around hips with long garment kneeling to l. and writing with stylos her name in the field, legend MAA. (9,29 g.) SNG BN 405; (9,91 g.) PN 369, 2001, 225 = Slg. Schneider
- 10.13.3*** Stater, Athena with Attic helmet, spear and round shield seated to l. on rock in right field barren tree / Bearded male head wearing *taenia* to r., no legend (?) (9,94 g.) CNG E 304, 2013, 130
- 10.13.4** Twelfth stater (Obol), Athena with Attic helmet, spear and round shield seated to l. on rock / Bearded male head wearing *taenia* to l.⁹⁵, no legend. (0,62 g.) SNG Levante 236
- 10.14.1*** Stater, Bearded male head wearing *taenia* to r., in left field fish / Demeter clad in long garment holding burning torch in right hand and bunch of grain-ears in left

⁹⁵ The author was unable to see the bulls horns, which should adorn the head according to Levante and Vecchi.

- advancing to r., in left field grain, legend MAA. (10,75 g.) SNG Levante 156; (10,59 g.) GM 141, 2005, 157*
- 10.14.2*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Bearded male head wearing *taenia* to r., in left field fish / Demeter clad in long garment holding burning torch in left hand and bunch of grains in right advancing to l. (0,71 g.) SNG Levante 158; (0,57 g.) CNG E 277, 2012, 76*
- 10.14.3*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Veiled head of Demeter to r. / Demeter clad in long garment holding burning torch in left hand and bunch of grain-ears in right advancing to l. (0,60 g.) SNG Levante 159; (0,66 g.) Rauch 94, 2014, 421*
- 10.14.4*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Veiled head of Demeter to r. / Bearded male head wearing *taenia* to r. (0,66 g.) Rauch 98, 2015, 148*
- 10.15.*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Janiform head with male and female features / Triple faced bearded male head wearing *kidaris*. (0,78 g.) Göktürk 2000, p. 147, 37; (0,67 g.) PN 428, 2021, 350*

Issos:

- 11.1.1*** Stater, Bearded male figure with fish-tail holding wreath and trident swimming to l. / Lion running to r. over rocky ground, Aramaic legend 'Z. (10,53 g.) SNG BN 421; (10,46 g.) CNG E 331, 2014, 67; (10,43 g.) Leu Winterthur 5, 2019, 167*
- 11.1.2*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Stater, Bearded male figure with fish-tail holding wreath and trident swimming to l. / Lion running to r., Aramaic legend 'Z. (0,75 g.) SNG Levante 181 = CNG MB 66, 2004, 563
- 11.2.*⁹⁶** Stater, Nude Herakles or Melqart with lions-skin draped over shoulders swinging club with right hand and holding bow in outstretched left advancing to r. / Lion, head turned front, advancing to r., above and Aramaic legend 'Z. (10,29 g.) BM 1953,1010.3; (10,35 g.) NAC 114, 2019, 276*
- 11.3.*⁹⁷** Stater of Kelenderitan type, Ephebe with whip jumping sideways from galloping horse to l. / Nude Herakles or Melqart with lions-skin draped over shoulders, swinging club with the right hand and holding bow in the outstretched left, advancing to r. (10,44 g.) Hess/Leu 11, 1959, 285; (10,29 g.) Berlin 18217654 (1912/1091)*

⁹⁶An obol belonging to this issue mentioned by Brindley 1993 can no longer be exactly located and could therefore not be verified.

⁹⁷The image of Herakles on this and on the previous issue has repeatedly been compared with a similar motif on dynastic coins from Kition on Cyprus resulting in the assumption of a Cypriot origin for the series presented here. But although the coinage of Kition may have served to a certain extent as model for the present issues the rendering of the details is rather different and the legend here does not appear to be Cypriot. Moreover the adoption of the Kelenderitan acrobat-rider on Cypriot coins seems highly improbable.

- 11.4.1*** Stater, Head of Athena with Attic helmet to r., legend ΙΣ / Bearded male head wearing taenia to r. (10,66 g.) Hess 251, 1981, 99⁹⁸
- 11.4.2*** Stater, Head of Athena with Attic helmet to r., legend ΙΣ (die of **11.4.1**) / Bearded male figure draped with *himation* holding lotus-sceptre in left hand and *phiale* in right standing to l., in field Aramaic legend ŠTHP (?)⁹⁹. (10,61 g.) SNG BN 415; (10,71 g.) CNG E 485, 2021, 16*
- 11.4.3*** Stater, Head of Athena with triple-crested Attic helmet ¾-facing / Youthful male head to r., legend ΙΣ (10,53 g.) SNG BN 414; (10,56 g.) CNG 93, 2013, 445*
- 11.4.4** Stater, Head of Athena with triple-crested Attic helmet ¾-facing / Youthful male head to l., no legend. (10,28 g.) CNG 93, 2013, 446
- 11.4.5*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Head of Athena with triple-crested Attic helmet ¾-facing / Great King wearing *kidaris*, long-sleeved jacket and trouser-skirt, carrying bow in *gorytos* over right shoulder, holding sceptre in right hand and bunch of arrows in left, advancing to r. (0,52 g.) PN 380, 2004, 581
- 11.5.1*** Stater, Youthful male figure (Apollon)?) draped with long garment, holding *phiale* in right hand and leaning with left on olive-tree, standing to l. legend ΑΠΑΘΟΠΙΟΥ and ΙΣΣΙ / Youthful nude Herakles with club in right hand and bow in left, lion-skin hanging over left arm, standing to r., in left field laurel wreath, in right field ☉. (10,68 g.) SNG Cop. 155; (10,67 g.) Roma XIV, 2017, 267*
- 11.5.2** Stater, Youthful male figure (Apollon)?) draped with long garment, holding *phiale* in right hand and leaning with left on olive-tree, standing to l. legend ΙΣ / Youthful nude Herakles with club in right hand and bow in left, lion-skin hanging over left arm, standing to r., in left field laurel wreath, in right field ☉. (10,44 g.) SNG Levante 173 = CNG MB 66, 2004, 537
- 11.5.3*** Twelfth stater (Obol), Athena with Attic helmet (?) holding *phiale* in right hand and carrying large round shield on left arm advancing to l. / Youthful nude Herakles with club in right hand and bow in left, lion-skin hanging over left arm, standing to r. (0,56 g.) Naumann 23, 2014, 451

The most remarkable feature of Eastern Cilician coinage from the 5th century BC is the relative scarcity of earlier series attributable to the town of Issos, which does not seem to match the description of the town by Xenophon as large, rich and populous nor its factual importance for the interregional trade at the crossroads between Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Phoenicia¹⁰⁰. In contrast to this deficit the share of the mint of Issos in the production of money for the Persian fleet during first two decades of the subsequent century was actually not so marginal. The comparatively small part in the previous coinages of Cilician communities may be due to the fact that Issos, because

⁹⁸ The original attribution of the coin in the catalogue is somewhat erratic. The correct allocation to Issos was made by Callatay 2000, p. 111 and Pl. XIV, 16.

⁹⁹ The compilers of the respective CNG catalogue read the legend as ŠTDM. An interpretation is still lacking for both suggestions.

¹⁰⁰ Xen. An. I,4.1.

of its location at the upper end of the Levantine coast, rather belonged to the Phoenician than to the Cilician economic sphere. It lay within the closer circulation-range of various coinages issued by large trading ports just a short distance further to the South like Arados or Byblos, and its monetary needs may well have been fulfilled by coins imported from its Phoenician neighbours for some time. When Issos finally started to issue its own proper coinage, what apparently happened somewhat later than in other cities of the neighbourhood, it adopted the weight standard based on a double of the Persian *siglos* and the denominational sequence in use everywhere else in Cilicia, but the motifs chosen for its coins had clearly been influenced by Phoenician models¹⁰¹. The civic coinage of the later 4th century BC, however, followed in the same way as in Soloi more or less the general type designed by Apathorios, although the image of the young man beside the olive-tree linking this type to a contemporary issue of Holmoi (3.3.1.) got gradually replaced by the omnipresent figure of Baal Tars with sceptre and eagle introduced at Issos mainly with the second coinage in the name of Tiribazos¹⁰².

On the other hand the size and typological variety of the coinage of Mallos datable to the period in question first matches and later on even exceeds the huge coin-production in the name of Tarsos. Also in Mallotan coinage strong oriental influences become visible, but these influences were rooted in a cultural context of Syrian and Mesopotamian rather than of Phoenician origin. In the absence of any coinages from these regions, which could have been used as models, in Mallos just like in other cities of *Kilikia Pedias* the religious ideas and symbolic concepts imported from the East were to be translated in a metaphorical language of Greek type before being applied as pictorial representations on the respective coins. This fact has rendered a proper understanding of the iconography utilized in the case of the early coins from Mallos even more complicated than in the one of the issues from Anchiale and Soloi. The winged humanoid figures of male, female or undetermined gender holding solar (or rather stellar) disks before the abdomen defy a simple interpretation by comparison with a familiar Hellenic canon. Previous definitions of these images as representing either the titan Kronos or the mythical haruspex Mopsos from Kolophon have usually failed to consider the more enigmatic features of the pictorial representations and are therefore not really convincing¹⁰³. The different shapes are definitely linked by their wings and their astronomic attributes, which underline their quality as representations of celestial beings, but not necessarily by a clearly defined gender. This fact has remained widely ignored by the various attempts to place the figures within the frame of Greek mythology. Another, not less important aspect requiring an explanation is the janiform head occasionally adorning the male version of what was apparently meant to be a divine entity of some sort.

A somewhat amplified approach reveals that the figures display a number of contingencies with divine personages from Mesopotamian myths. The hermaphrodite deity Inanna / Ishtar already referred to further above in the section on Anchiale and Soloi had among a broad variety of

¹⁰¹ See the early coinage of Arados Elayi – Elayi 2014, Pl. LXXXIV, C. 103-113.

¹⁰² See Müseler 2018, p. 92 sq and Shannahan 2018, p. 17 sq.

¹⁰³ So for example Metzler 1990, who has made use of the rather fragile construction of the winged man on Mallotan coins as an image of the mythical founder Mopsos to substantiate the claim of a strong Greek influence in Cilicia during the Mycenaean period. This dubitable identification is further weakened by the appearance of such a male figure with multiple wings on coins of Byblos from the time of Antiochos IV (cfr. Houghton – Lorber – Hoover 2008, 1443-1444).

gradually acquired properties and differing functions a distinct astronomical dimension: In male form Ishtar was the incarnation of the evening- and in female shape the one of the morning-star¹⁰⁴, practically changing gender overnight on a daily rate¹⁰⁵. The respective interpretation could well account for the ambisexual character of the bearers of the stellar disk on the coins from Mallos. Moreover the double-faced and winged male personage shares characteristic traits with yet another Mesopotamian deity from the ambit of the Inanna-Myth: This is the double-faced and winged Isimud, the servant and messenger of the creator-god Enki, who was sent in pursuit after Inanna in order to convince her to give back the “*me*”, the essentials of human civilization, which she had stolen from Enki. Isimud is thereby defined as an intermediary, who is transmitting messages between different spheres. The male figure on the Mallotan coins is occasionally shown with winged heels (10.2.3) or with a *kerykeion* (10.1.), both attributes of Hermes, Isimud’s counterpart from the Greek pantheon. This clearly confirms the identification of the winged bearded man with a divine messenger¹⁰⁶.

Both concepts, the transition between day and night and the transport of messages from a supernatural level, were of particular importance at Mallos. Here was the location of an ancient and famous oracle, where counsel and orders from the gods could be received in sleep and by the subsequent interpretation of the respective dreams¹⁰⁷. An entity guarding the borders of the night, the period of the messages received during sleep, and a deliverer of divine commands were therefore most appropriate motifs for the coins issued in the name of such a place. The ubiquitous swan, on the other hand, is not necessarily to be connected with any divine being: The situation of the town on the banks of a navigable river and not very far inland had certainly made large waterfowl a common sight in the area and this may well have been responsible for the choice of such an animal (occasionally alternating with the forepart of a man-headed bull, the common symbol of a river-god) as reverse motif of Mallotan coins.

But a detail of the highest importance for the present study has been passed down to us as a result of a mere accident: This is the most curious hybrid issue struck from an obverse-die of Mallos combined with a reverse-die of Soloi (7.8. or 10.4.). This is more than a simple copy of a given motif by one workshop from the other as in the case of the entire early coinage of Holmoi and one contemporary series of Issos ((3.1.1 – 3.2.3 and 11.3.)). Here the original dies assigned to communities more than 100 km distant from each other¹⁰⁸ have been employed and paired

¹⁰⁴ See above p. 90. For the astronomical dimension of Inanna / Ishtar see Heimpel 1982, p. 10 sqq., Groneberg 2004, p. 150 sqq. and in particular Jakubiak – Soltysiak 2008. For the traditional iconography of this aspect see for example the Neo-Assyrian Nisana’a-Seal in Berlin (VA 00508 = Collon 1993, Fig. 883); for Ishtar in the double guise as male and female deity impersonating evening- and morning-star see a Neo-Assyrian cylinder-seal in the Musée d’Art et d’Histoire Genève (Inv. 1874/0.1. = Vollenweider 1967, 75).

¹⁰⁵ The Babylonian astronomers were of course aware, that this was one and the same star, the planet Venus: See Heimpel 1982, p. 14-15 and Jakubiak – Soltysiak 2008, p. 46.

¹⁰⁶ See Groneberg 2004, p. 148 sq. For early pictorial representations of this divine entity (double-faced though not winged) compare for example the Sargonid Adda-Seal in the British Museum (BM 89115 = Collon 1993, Fig. 761) or a cylinder-seal of about the same period in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library (Porada 198 = Collon 1993, Fig. 847).

¹⁰⁷ See above note 90 and Scheer 1997, p. 230 sqq.

¹⁰⁸ According to Strabo XIV,5.16 the distance was around 500 stadia as the crow flies.

together, probably by an oversight of the mint-workers. This can only mean that the dies in question were physically kept together at a certain time. It appears as if various civic coinages from *Kilikia Pedias* have not only been organized by a central agency but even been struck at one and the same place on some occasions. This would appear particularly plausible for the series in the name of various cities struck upon commission of the Persian naval command after ca. 393 BC. But the dies used for the production of this hybrid coin belong to issues clearly preceding that period. Possibly sporadic attempts to a broader control of the monetary production and circulation within the entire region, which could in fact be a highly efficient instrument for the exercise of economic as well as of political authority, had already been made under the leadership of the Tarsian *Syenneseis* and under participation of the mint at their principal residence.

Anyway, under the administration of the high command of the Persian war-fleet the series in the name of Mallos became the most substantial and versatile coinage in all *Kilikia Pedias*, which accounts for a considerable increment of importance of its proper mint. Beside the strong import of purely Greek motifs from abroad like the Herakles wrestling with the Nemean lion or the highly inventive image of Nike writing her own name on the coins flan (10.10., 10.12. and 10.13.2)¹⁰⁹ the traditional local iconography got “translated” into a Hellenised symbolical context: The stellar deity Ishtar became Aphrodite and the divine messenger Isimud was depicted as Hermes (10.13.1). Other innovations like the figure of Athena enthroned beside a barren tree or the bearded male head with the *taenia*, perhaps an image of Poseidon (10.13. and 10.14.), spread presumably from Mallos to Tarsos, Nagidos and Issos. Under the command of Tiribazos during the entire Cypriote war Mallos apparently maintained a predominant position among the mint-places of Cilicia. Only since the second term of Pharnabazos in the office of supreme naval commander the coinage on behalf of the *στρατηγῶν* of the Persian fleet and the later satrapal coinages got once again concentrated at Tarsos.

Conclusion: Cultural Traditions and the delegation of power in Cilicia under Achaemenid rule

The late introduction of coinage in Cilicia was a concession to influences from Western Anatolia. It was first of all a requirement for the successful participation in a world of trade mainly dominated by Greek merchants. But this adoption of civil accomplishments or commercial habits from the perimeter of the Aegean did not make Cilicia part of the Greek *oikumene* in any respect. By its customs and traditions the whole area still belonged completely to the sphere of the ancient Orient throughout the entire 5th century BC, notwithstanding the attested presence of (possibly imported) pottery of Greek style dating back as far as the beginning of the first millennium in a number of Cilician settlements¹¹⁰. The images on the coins rather reflect stories and ideas of an oriental brand eventually coated with a layer of “modern” Greek varnish. The various foundation-myths reported by the literary tradition of later centuries, which attribute Cilician cities to

¹⁰⁹ The most unusual motif of the goddess Nike writing on the flan of the coin itself is an extremely close copy of a contemporaneous stater of Samian standard from Herakleia Pontika in the satrapy of Daskyleion (cfr. SNG v. Aulock, Heft 1-3, 356). It may therefore even be assumed that Pharnabazos brought the actual die-cutter with him to Cilicia. See Müsseler 2018, p. 69.

¹¹⁰ Scheer 1997, p. 264 sqq has pointed out that most of the Mycenaean pottery found in Cilicia has either been produced *in situ* or at most imported from Cyprus. For the question of an alleged Mycenaean state called Hiyawa on Cilician soil see Jasink – Marino 2007, contra Gander 2012.

legendary Greek founders from Mycenaean age seem to be mainly products of the later 4th century BC: When Alexander had conquered the region it suddenly “paid” to be able to claim a however far-fetched Greek descent for the own community, since the Macedonian invaders treated settlements of an alleged Greek origin in a different, far more favourable way¹¹¹. There was of course a Greek element omnipresent within the population of Cilicia at the time of the Achaemenids, whose influence was in some places also more notable than in others, but in a general perspective it was just one ingredient of many in this veritable melting-pot of various ethnic groups and cultural traditions.

However, – since the Hittite, the Neo-Assyrian and the Neo-Babylonian period Cilicia had a distinct history of struggle for local autonomy and resistance against foreign rule of any kind. The original decision of Cyrus II to refrain from installing any satrapal or other administrative agency appointed from outside in that region was motivated by the intention to keep the population of this important alleyway between Mesopotamia and Anatolia on a long leash but in a calm mood. The Persians needed in the first place a pacified and docile Cilicia in order to facilitate the pursuit of their various commercial and strategic interests in the area. Like in the city-states of Phoenicia or on Cyprus the Great King rather relied on princes of native descent and local legitimacy to act more or less as his deputies. But internal rivalry, civil strife and turmoil of any kind as experienced in Lycia from ca. 440 BC onwards would have been counterproductive for Persian plans and ambitions and had to be avoided at all cost. Therefore the Achaemenids specifically strengthened the spine of a traditional hegemonial power, the ruling house of the former kingdom of *Kizzuwatna* residing at Tarsos, against any possible claim of competitors within Cilicia. This is attested by the numismatic record as it is known today.

Apparently this strategy worked quite well for a while. But in the fraternal war between Artaxerxes II Mnemon and his half-brother Cyrus it failed completely. Whether willingly or not the Syennesis took the side of the rebellious prince and supported him not only with supplies but admitted his army without any further resistance through the Cilician gates onto the alluvial plain and further on into Syria. The intention to let the Tarsian ruler play the role of a deputy for the Great King guarding the passes between the Anatolian and the Syrian highlands and thereby act as a sentinel at the entrance to the heart of the Achaemenid empire had ultimately proved to be an error with almost fatal consequences. In the aftermath of the battle at Kunaxa north of Babylon and the death of the younger Cyrus the *Syenneseis* of Tarsos gradually lost their former position of confidence and were replaced by governors personally chosen and appointed by the Great King, – first by the commanders of the new Persian battle-fleet stationed in Cilicia and later on by the satrap of *Abar-Nahara*, the regions west of the Euphrates¹¹².

The conspectus of the Cilician coin series from the 5th century BC with the various amendments to be made since 2004 has revealed quite a number of additional details regarding the history of this particular part of the Achaemenid Empire. However, a considerable number of problems as for example the exact origin and function of the Ba’ana-Group and the nature of the apparent relationship between Nagidos and Tarsos, or the unique role played by Kelenderis in the region

¹¹¹ Arrian Anab. II.5.5-9. See also Scheer p. 227 sq and p. 339 sqq.

¹¹² See Müseler 2018, p. 103 sqq.

of *Kilikia Tracheia* and beyond still remain unsolved. Hopefully additional material becomes known in future years, which may help to answer these questions¹¹³.

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¹¹³ “*Ceterum censeo*“: Putative “political correctness” has led some members of publicly financed archaeological institutions in Europe and elsewhere into a self-inflicted partial blindness: Instead of doing their duty and even-handedly conducting or forwarding research in their field, those misguided zealots support dubious titles of ownership claimed by mainly self-appointed “source-countries” and try to please some governments with rather questionable political intentions by falsely incriminating any collecting activity except (of course) their own, - even to the point of deliberately ignoring evidence provided by material from trade. Occasionally the threadbareness of the resulting studies is a sad document of this erroneous attitude. Defamations and highly scandalized though unfounded allegations are hardly sufficient to cover up the evident professional shortcomings of some of those scholars.

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**Mezopotamya ve Yunanistan Arasında:
İ.Ö. Geç 5. ve Erken 4. Yüzyıllar Arasında Kilikia Sikke İkonografisinde Kültürel Etkiler
Özet**

İ.Ö. geç 5. ve erken 4. yüzyıllar arasında Kilikia sikke basımı hakkındaki bilgilerimiz son yirmi yıl içerisinde dikkate değer bir şekilde artmıştır. Bu durum, ilgili tüm konuların güncellenmiş ve revize edilmiş bir envanterini kaçınılmaz bir gereklilik haline getirmiştir. *Kilikia Trakheia* ve *Kilikia Pedias* bölgelerindeki farklı darphanelere, yani Ura, Kelenderis, Holmoi, Nagidos, Ankhiale, Soloi, Tarsos, Mallos ve Issos kentlerine ait olup geniş çeşitlilik sunan aynı dönem serilerin karşılaştırmalı analizi bölgenin söz konusu dönemde Yunan meskûn alanından çok Eski Doğu'nun bir parçası olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu nedenle, Kilikia sikke ikonografisinin basitçe temel Yunan düzeni uygulayarak yorumlanması önerilmemektedir. Erken Kilikia sikkeleri üzerindeki betimlemelerin tam olarak anlaşılması çok daha kompleks bir yaklaşım gerektirmektedir: Bu yaklaşım, sembolik tasvirlerin bu çok yönlü ve ünik karışımını yaratmış olan çeşitli köklerin tümünü dikkate almalıdır. Böylesi bir kritik çalışma esasen, edebi geleneklerimizde yer almayan bölgesel olaylar hakkında bilgi sahibi olmamızı sağlayabilir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kilikia, sikke ikonografisi, Mezopotamya, Luvice, Aramca, Yunanca, Akhaemenid, Syennesis.

**Between Mesopotamia and Greece: Cultural influences
in Cilician coin-iconography from the late 5th to the early 4th century BC**

Abstract

Our knowledge regarding Cilician coinage between the late 5th and the early 4th century BC has increased considerably in the course of the last two decades. This has made an updated and revised inventory of all the respective issues an indispensable requirement. A comparative analysis of the huge variety of contemporary series from different mints in *Kilikia Tracheia* and *Kilikia Pedias*, namely from Ura, Kelenderis, Holmoi, Nagidos, Ankhiale, Soloi, Tarsos, Mallos and Issos, shows that the region had rather been a part of the Ancient Orient than of the Greek *oikumene* during the period in question. It is, therefore, not advisable to interpret Cilician coin-iconography by the simple application of a principally Greek canon. A complete understanding of the imagery on early Cilician coins requires a far more complex approach: This must take into account all the various roots, which have created this multifaceted and unique blend of symbolic representations. Such a critical endeavour may actually yield information about regional events, which are not reported by our literary tradition.

Keywords: Cilicia, Coin-Iconography, Mesopotamia, Luwian, Aramaean, Greek, Achaemenid, Syennesis.







7.5.1



7.5.2b



7.6



7.7



7.8



7.9.1



7.9.3



7.9.4



7.9.5



7.9.7



7.9.11



7.9.13



7.9.14



7.10.1



7.11.1



7.11.2



7.12.1



7.13.1



8.1.1



8.1.2



8.2.1



9.1.2b



9.1.3



9.1.4



9.1.7



9.2.1



9.2.2



9.2.3



9.3.1



9.3.2



9.3.3



9.4



9.5.1



9.5.2



9.5.3



9.5.4



9.5.5



9.6.1



9.6.2



9.6.3



9.6.4



9.6.5a



9.6.6



9.6.7



9.6.9



9.7.1a



9.7.2



9.8



9.9



9.10.1



9.10.3



9.10.4



9.10.6



9.10.7



9.10.8



9.11.2



9.11.3



9.11.5



9.12



9.13.1



9.13.2



9.13.3



9.14.1



9.15.1



9.15.2



9.16.1



9.16.2



10.1



10.2.1a



10.2.1b



10.2.3



10.2.4



10.2.7



10.3.1



10.3.2



10.3.4



10.4



10.5



10.6.1

10.6.3



10.7.1



10.7.2



10.8



10.9.1



10.9.2a



10.9.2b



10.9.3b



10.9.4a



10.9.5



10.9.6



10.9.7



10.9.8



10.9.9a



10.9.10a



10.9.10b



10.10.1



10.11.1



10.11.2



10.12.1



10.13.1



10.13.2



10.13.3



10.14.1



10.14.2



10.14.3



10.14.4



10.15



11.1.1



11.1.2



11.2



11.3



11.4.1



11.4.2



11.4.3



11.4.5



11.5.1



11.5.3