

CILICIANS AND NEIGHBORS IN MINIATURE

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(Plates LXIII-LXIV)

Several groups of minute silver coins acquired by various private collectors in 1984 and 1985 contain many new or excessively rare issues, and appear to derive at least in part from a single hoard. Uncertainty about many of the coins' hoard provenance, the poor condition of some specimens, and space limitations discourage a full description of all 81 coins, and only a selection of issues is catalogued here ⁽¹⁾.

Five groups of coins were involved. The first two, A (11 coins) and B (9 coins), came from sources which appear to preclude adulteration with extraneous coins. These two groups seem to derive entirely from the hoard. Lot C (8 coins) reportedly was from a dealer's stock, but may be all from the hoard: many of its issues were the same as the new ones in A and B ⁽²⁾. Lot D (24 coins) came directly from abroad and is very likely also all from the hoard ⁽³⁾. Lot E (29 coins), however, while it contained a number of the new issues, had in addition a high proportion of known small fractions, which makes its integrity suspect ⁽⁴⁾. Coins from E are listed only when their issues appeared in one or more of lots A-D. A number of bronzes were also said to have been associated with the silver, but this may be doubted ⁽⁵⁾.

(1) Our thanks go to the private collectors who have generously volunteered their coins for study and publication. Without their friendly cooperation, these intriguing little coins could not have been recorded.

(2) In lot C, but not catalogued here, were 1) 0.22, as H. A. TROXELL, *Carians in Miniature*, in *Festschrift für Leo Mildenberg*, ed. A. Houghton, S. Hurter, P. E. Mottahedeh, and J. A. Scott, Wetteren, 1984, p. 249-57, issue 7 (Euromus); 2) 0.43, *obv.* as *SNG vAulock* 2338-39 (Uncertain Caria), and *rev.* crescent and pellet in incuse square; 3) 0.58, as *SNG Berry* 1047 (Uncertain Asia Minor); and 4) 0.08, *obv.* uncertain and *rev.* quadripartite incuse square. Nos. 2 and 3 were very worn and dark, unlike the fairly certain hoard coins.

(3) In lot D, but not catalogued here, were 1) and 2) 0.46 and 0.44, as *BMC Troas, etc.*, Cebren 14 (*obv.* and *rev.* transposed in text and on plate), which is the same issue as *BMC Cyprus*, Salamis 42-44. This issue has been reattributed to Caria: *Festschrift Mildenberg* (see n. 2), issue 9. A third unlisted lot D coin weighed 0.08, and was quite illegible on both sides.

(4) Lot E contained 24 coins not catalogued here. These included 5 of Cyzicus as *BMC* 108-23; 2 of Colophon as *Traité* II.2, 1903, pl. CLIII, 10 and 1 as *ibid.*, 1911, pl. CLIII, 14; 1 of Clazomenae (1.03 g.) as *BMC* 11-14; 1 with *obv.* perhaps a griffin's head and *rev.* quadripartite incuse square (Teos?); 1 with *obv.* horse's head and *rev.* quadripartite incuse square (Erythrae?); and other uncertain or illegible coins.

(5) Of the 29 bronzes, 19 were from mints in the Troad, and all 19 might (but do not necessarily) date from the first half of the fourth century: 1 Antandrus as *SNG vAulock* 7582; 2 Assus as *BMC* 8-9; 1 Cebren as *BMC* 16-17 and 1 as *BMC* 18-22; 8 Gargara as *BMC* 5-14 and 1 as *Kl. Münz.*, p. 39, 4; 2 Gergis as *BMC* 2-4; 1 Scamandria as *BMC* 4-5; and 2 Sigeum as *BMC* 21-24. These 19 coins form a wholly compatible group and may well represent a hoard.

It will be argued below that our little silver coins were struck in Cilicia and nearby areas, notably Caria, in the fourth century, and probably in the first half of that century. These minute silver coins will have had the same practical use,

Published here are all the issues included in lots A and B, and a to some extent subjective selection of others from lots C-E. Selection criteria for the issues not in A or B included not only the interest of the coins, but condition: some are on one side or another quite illegible. The last two coins (issues 26 and 27) are coins acquired by the ANS in 1986. There are no grounds for assigning them to the hoard, but they seem compatible with issues 1-25.

Numbers indicate issues, and small letters (a, b, c) individual specimens. Capital letters in parentheses show the lot from which the specimens derived: e.g., under issue 2, *b* indicates the second coin listed of the issue, and (*B*) indicates that it came from lot B. Die identities are noted when ascertainable. Specimens marked with an asterisk are illustrated, both 1:1 and 1:3.

1. *Obv.* Two opposed bull foreparts, the horns crossed to form a X.

Rev. Crude head and neck of bull l., in rough incuse square.

*a (A) ↓ 0.15.

Traité II.1, 458, pl. XI, 25 ("Samos"); and II.2, 2492, pl. CLXIX, 22 ("Pergamum"). A Carian diobol with the same types can be dated to before c. 440 B.C. by its presence in the Jordan 1967 Hoard (*IGCH* 1482). Small fractions similar to issue 1 were considered Carian in *Carians in Miniature*, issue 11⁽⁶⁾.

2. *Obv.* King of Persia running r., with dagger in r. hand and bow in l. hand.

Rev. Facing head, either Apollo or a female, in incuse circle.

*a (A) ↑ 0.16; *b (B) ↖ 0.14.

BMC Lycaonia, etc., p. 239, 4 ("Uncertain. . . probably of Cilicia"). The usual description of the obverse figure on Persian darics and sigloi as the Great King is repeated here, although Henri Seyrig long ago questioned this identification, pointing out that the king is never known elsewhere wearing the spiked or denticulated crown of the Persian coins⁽⁷⁾. Issue 2's obverse type is employed also on our issues 3 and 12; see also issues 4 and 16-17.

If the bar below the reverse head represents the fastened ends of a chlamys, as on Hecatomnid coins, then the head is probably Apollo's. See also issues 18 and 20.

3. *Obv.* as issues 2 and 12.

Rev. Bearded male head r., in incuse circle.

*a (A) ↓ 0.14; *b (E) ↑ 0.31.

See commentary on issue 2. The varying weights of issue 3 show that the types were evidently used for two denominations, although the coins are from the same reverse die.

4. *Obv.* Bearded (and crowned?) male head l., hair apparently in sakkos.

Rev. King of Persia running r., with spear in l. hand and bow in r. hand; to l., uncertain letter or symbol; all in incuse circle.

*a (A) ↗ 0.34.

On the identification of the reverse type, see commentary on issue 2.

in small transactions, as the carefully-made contemporary bronzes from the Troad. It is not inconceivable, given the movements of mercenaries, and in particular the involvement of the satraps Pharnabazus and Datames with both the south and north coasts of Anatolia, that the silver and the bronzes from the Troad derived from a single deposit. But the presence of the other 10 bronzes, from widely scattered mints, and many from the very late fourth and the third centuries, throws doubt on all alleged interconnections.

(6) See n. 3, above.

(7) *Antiquités Syriennes* 70. *Divinités de Sidon*, in *Syria*, 36, 1959, p. 54-55, n. 5, 7. But see also D. SCHLUMBERGER, *La Coiffure du Grand-Roi*, in *Syria*, 1971, p. 375 ff.

5. *Obv.* Two addorsed lion protomes; between them, flower on stem?
Rev. Laureate? head of Baal? l.; below, fulmen or club; to r., apparent Aramaic letters which seem to be $\text{C}^{\circ}\text{Y}(\text{B}^{\circ}\text{L})$, *Baal*; all in incuse circle.
 *a (A) \nwarrow 0.37; *b (B) \leftarrow 0.35; *c (D) \nearrow 0.46.
 All coins are from the same obverse die, and a and c also from the same reverse die. The reverse inscription occurs also on issue 26.
6. *Obv.* Kneeling female figure r., apparently playing with astragali; to lower r., extending from her l. shin, a line whose meaning is unclear.
Rev. Kneeling archer (female?) r., drawing bow; to r., uncertain symbol (amphora? eagle's head downwards?); all in incuse circle.
 *a (A) \nwarrow 0.32; *b (C) \downarrow 0.40; *c (D) \nearrow 0.37.
 All coins are from the same obverse die, and a and c also from the same reverse die. A similar archer is shown on the obverse of our issue 13.
7. *Obv.* Beardless? head of Hermes? l., wearing petasus.
Rev. Crude lion's head l., tongue extended, in incuse circle.
 *a (A) \leftarrow 0.19; b (E) \downarrow 0.16.
 The coins are from the same dies. Hermes? (clearly beardless) is shown also on issues 19 and 26; a profile lion's head appears also on issue 15.
8. *Obv.* Lion's head facing.
Rev. Bearded head of Pan? r., with horns and long ears, in incuse circle.
 *a (A) weight unknown; *b (A) \nearrow 0.18; c (A) \rightarrow 0.20; d (D) \rightarrow 0.16.
 All coins are from the same dies.
9. *Obv.* Spearhead.
Rev. Bearded? head r., in dotted circle.
 *a (A) \rightarrow 0.19.
10. *Obv.* Ram's head r.
Rev. Facing head, either Apollo or a female, in incuse circle.
 *a (B) \swarrow 0.20; *b (D) \downarrow 0.21.
 The coins are from the same reverse die. Probably Carian: see *Carians in Miniature*, ⁽⁸⁾ issues 8–10 (same obverse type) and issue 2 (same reverse type).
11. *Obv.* Head of Athena r., wearing crested Attic helmet; all in dotted circle.
Rev. Forepart of Pegasus l., in incuse square.
 *a (B) \swarrow 0.31.
 As *SNG vAulock* 5614 (0.31 g.); another example in the ANS trays weighs 0.33 g. The coins are the half-denomination of the obol *BMC Lycaonia, etc.*, Celenderis 15; and *Traité* II.2, 1461, pl. CXXXIX, 23.
12. *Obv.* as issues 2–3.
Rev. Head of Athena l., wearing crested Attic helmet; all in incuse circle.
 *a (B) \nwarrow 0.19; b (C) \uparrow 0.19.
 See commentary on issue 2.

(8) See n. 3, above.

13. *Obv.* Archer (female?) kneeling l., drawing bow; to l., probably uncertain symbol.
Rev. Winged animal, probably a lion, l., in incuse circle.

*a (B) \angle 0.43; b (E) \angle 0.17.

13a may be overstruck; on its obverse, to the r., are traces of a possible undertype. An archer similar to 13's obverse occurs on the reverse of our issue 6. Issue 13's differing weights indicate that its types were used for two denominations, although our coins appear to be die duplicates.

14. *Obv.* Forepart of boar l.

Rev. Female head (Aphrodite?), hair pulled back in bun, r. (a-b) or l. (c-d), in incuse circle.

*a (B) \angle 0.20; *b (D) \angle 0.19; *c (D) \angle 0.17; d (D) \angle 0.21.

14 b-d are from the same obverse die; and c-d also from the same reverse die.

15. *Obv.* Bearded head of Ares? l., wearing crested Attic helmet, and with cloak fastened at his neck.
Rev. Crude lion's head r., in incuse circle.

*a (B) \downarrow 0.18; b (C) \uparrow 0.22; *c (D) \rightarrow 0.17; d (D) \downarrow 0.18; e (D) \angle 0.21.

All coins are from the same dies. A lion's head is shown in profile also on issue 7.

16. *Obv.* Bearded head l., wearing spiked or denticulated crown.

Rev. Rough incuse square.

*a (B) 0.16.

The head may be that of the figure on our issues 2-4 and 12: see commentary on issue 2. See the similar issue 17.

17. *Obv.* similar to issue 16, but to r.

Rev. Pellet in center of incuse circle.

*a (C) 0.16.

See the similar issue 16, and its commentary.

18. *Obv.* Facing head of Apollo, in dotted circle.

Rev. Beardless, and laureate?, head r., in incuse circle.

*a (D) \nearrow 0.17; b (D) \searrow 0.18.

The coins are die duplicates. Under the obverse head appear the edges of a chlamys fastened with a clasp, as on the Hecatomnid Apollo heads. This feature probably identifies our obverse as Apollo. Our coins may possibly be quarter-obols as the obol *BMC Lycaonia, etc.*, p. 239, 3 ("Uncertain...probably of Cilicia"), but the types do not seem to be quite the same. See also issues 2 and 20.

19. *Obv.* Beardless head of Hermes? r., wearing petasus.

Rev. Bearded head of Heracles r., wearing lion's skin headdress, in incuse circle.

*a (D) \uparrow 0.39.

Issues 7 and 26 also show Hermes (?).

20. *Obv.* Facing head.

Rev. Sphinx sitting l., with curled wing, and with right foreleg held up; all in incuse circle.

*a (C) \nearrow 0.13; b (D) \downarrow 0.19.

The two coins are from the same reverse die. Somewhat similar obols are known, attributed to Cilician Aphrodisias: see *BMC Lycaonia, etc.*, Nagidus 16; the attribution to Aphrodisias is that of Imhoof-Blumer⁽⁹⁾. Our coin, however, shows a seemingly human head on obverse instead of

(9) *Kl. Münz.*, p. 435.

the obols' gorgoneion; and our sphinx's raised foreleg differentiates it from that of the obols, where both forelegs rest on the ground. This last is a significant detail, as the obols' sphinxes are the throne-supports of the corresponding staters (see *BMC Lycaonia, etc.*, pl. XIX, 14).

21. *Obv.* Facing veiled female bust, in border of dots which is not a circle, but which follows the contours of the veil.

Rev. Bearded male head (Ares or Heracles?) l., cloak fastened at neck.

*a (D) \downarrow 0.37; *b (D) \uparrow 0.39.

The coins are apparently the issue of *BMC Lycaonia, etc.*, p. 239, 2, which is of lower weight than the similar one illustrated p. 239, 1 (both "Uncertain . . . probably of Cilicia"). The coins are ascribed to Pharnabazus at Nagidus in the *Traité* II.2, 601, pl. CVIII, 17.

22. *Obv.* Forepart of bull l., head three quarters facing, and both forelegs bent.

Rev. Beardless young male head r., in incuse circle.

*a (D) \downarrow 0.19; b (D) \downarrow 0.21.

23. *Obv.* Facing bearded head, wearing helmet; projections behind seem to represent five crests.

Rev. Facing bearded head, in incuse circle.

*a (D) \nearrow 0.40.

24. *Obv.* Beardless head r., hair rolled up behind.

Rev. T above uncertain object: Ω .

*a (D) \leftarrow 0.15.

The T may indicate the denomination, a tetartemorion. The uncertain object may conceivably be a noose, or snare.

25. *Obv.* Gorgoneion.

Rev. Siren standing l., hair pulled up at back; to l., possible traces of undecipherable inscription; all in incuse square with dotted border.

*a (D) \downarrow 0.15; *b (E) \nearrow 0.14; c (E) \nearrow 0.20.

The coins appear to be all from the same reverse die; their condition makes identification of the obverse dies impossible.

26. *Obv.* Beardless head of Hermes? l., wearing petasus.

Rev. Lion walking l., above, Aramaic letters ܠܒܠ (B'L), *Baal*; all in incuse circle.

*a \nearrow 0.34.

A head of Hermes appears also on our issues 7 and 19; the reverse inscription occurs also on issue 5.

27. *Obv.* Janiform female head, wearing taenia and circular earring.

Rev. Bearded man-headed bird deity with two wings and tail, but no torso, facing, head turned left; to l., T; all in incuse circle.

*a \searrow 0.31.

The left-hand obverse head is partially off flan, but *seems* to be beardless and thus female. The type, with its prominent circular earring, would seem to be copied from the abundant coinage of Lampsacus bearing similar janiform female heads with circular earring⁽¹⁰⁾.

(10) E.g., *Traité* II.2, 2568 and 2570-74, pl. CLXXII, 11 and 13-17.

All our little coins are hemiobols or tetartemoria, most of them probably on the Persic standard, although with such very small weights it is impossible to be certain.

Very little can be said with certainty, either, about the date and attribution of our issues. Four (1, 11, 16, and 25) bear incuse squares on the reverse, which suggest a fifth-century date. Two of their series are known: issue 1 (Caria) repeats the types of a larger coin dated by hoard evidence to before c. 440 B.C.; and issue 11 (Celenderis) is assigned a date of c. 450–400 by the *BMC* and c. 465–400 by the *Traité*. Issue 25 is new, but somewhat similar gorgoneions (with emphasis on the cheeks and not the hair) are assigned to, among other places, Celenderis in the same period ⁽¹¹⁾.

The bulk of our coins, with their circular reverse incuses, can be rather safely dated to the fourth century. Two or three of these issues are known; 21, of Nagidus under Pharnabazus, 379–374 B.C.; and 2 and possibly 18, considered uncertain Cilician, again of fourth-century date. To these may be added the Carian coins listed in notes 2 and 3, of late fifth to early fourth-century date.

Many of our types are too banal and widespread to be of any help in attribution: the unidentified heads, the heads of Athena and Heracles, and the animal heads and foreparts. Others are so singular as to be of no help, either: the addorsed lion foreparts (issue 5), the spearhead (9), the rather wild facing heads (23), the uncertain object (24), and the siren (25).

Others of our coins, however, have types which are moderately rare, or at least unusual. For these some parallels, and possible prototypes, may be suggested. The following list of issues with similar types is limited and very far from all-inclusive, but it is notable how many are Cilician, from the satrapal times of the first half of the fourth century.

Persian King (2–3, 12, and perhaps 16 and 17 *obv.*; 4 *rev.*). Persian darics and sigloi of the late fifth and the fourth centuries B.C., many perhaps from a mint in southern or south-western Asia Minor ⁽¹²⁾. The type of king with dagger and spear (4 *rev.*) is found on rare striking of Pharnabazus, from somewhere in southwest Asia Minor, in 395–394 B.C. ⁽¹³⁾; and also at Mallus in Cilicia, c. 370–360 B.C. ⁽¹⁴⁾.

Baal head (5 *rev.*). Common satrapal coins struck at Tarsus under Pharnabazus (379–374 B.C.), Datames (378–372 B.C.), and Mazaeus (361–333 B.C.) ⁽¹⁵⁾. These larger coins show the seated Baal, identified as Baaltars in Aramaic script.

Player at astragali (6 *obv.*). Tarsus, c. 380–370 B.C. ⁽¹⁶⁾.

Kneeling archer pulling bow: (6 *rev.*; 13 *obv.*). Tarsus, c. 425–420 B.C. ⁽¹⁷⁾. Our coins' uncertain symbol may even repeat the eagle's head symbol of the Tarsian coins.

Hermes? head (7, 19, 26 *obv.*). Aphrodisias in Cilicia, c. 380 B.C. ⁽¹⁸⁾.

(11) E.g., *BMC* 13–16.

(12) C. M. KRAAY, *ACGC*, p. 32–33, nos. 82–83.

(13) *Traité* II.2, 51–54, pl. LXXXVIII, 10–13; the attribution and dating are those of E.S.G. ROBINSON, *Greek Coins Acquired by the British Museum 1938–1948*. I, in *NC*, s. 6, 8, 1948, p. 53.

(14) *BMC Lycaonia, etc.*, Mallus 23–25; the date is that of KRAAY, *ACGC*, p. 285, no. 1026.

(15) *BMC Lycaonia, etc.*, Tarsus 20–21, 32–34, and 37–89.

(16) *Traité* II.2, 1374–75 and 1377, pl. CXXXVII, 3–5; the date is that of KRAAY, *ACGC*, p. 283, no. 1042.

(17) *BMC Lycaonia, etc.*, Tarsus 10; the date is that of KRAAY, *ACGC*, p. 280, no. 1032.

(18) *Traité* II.2, 1520 *bis* (figure in text): the attribution is that of F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Zür Griechischen und Römischen Münzkunde*, Geneva, 1908, p. 204, no. 1; and the date is that of KRAAY, *ACGC*, no. 1015 (the corresponding stater).

Pan ? head (8 rev.). Nagidus, c. 400–380 B.C. ⁽¹⁹⁾. It must be said that the resemblance is not strong.

Ares ? head (15 obv.). Common satrapal coins struck at Tarsus under Pharnabazus (379–374 B.C.) and Datames (378–372 B.C.) ⁽²⁰⁾.

Lion and ԸԳ (26 rev.). The lion is an unexceptional type in Greek coinage, but the inscription ԸԳ (Β'Λ), *Baal*, suggests Tarsus ⁽²¹⁾.

Janiform female head (27 obv.). Obols attributed to Tarsus, in satrapal times after 387 B.C. ⁽²²⁾.

Man-headed bird deity (27 rev.). The figure is reminiscent of the Janus-headed, four-winged, legless god shown on staters of Mallus c. 400 B.C. ⁽²³⁾, and even more so of the two-winged, bird-tailed god (Ahura-Mazda) which Tiribazus used as a type on staters struck c. 386–380 at Issus, Soli, Mallus, Tarsus, and perhaps other Cilician mints ⁽²⁴⁾. Just as on our coin, a simple T to left marks these staters of Tarsus. Our coin's figure is also similar, particularly in the position of its wings, to the depiction of Ahura-Mazda on obols, struck under Mazaeus, from the Nablus 1968 Hoard (*IGCH* 1504) ⁽²⁵⁾. There are significant differences here too, however, and the fact that the ANS possesses an unpublished Nablus hemiobol (uninscribed) with a reverse type precisely the same in all its details as the Nablus obols (which bear Aramaic inscriptions) makes the association of our hemiobol with the Nablus Hoard pieces rather unlikely.

Many of our issues thus echo Cilician coins of the first half of the fourth century, and may themselves come from that area. Some, however, have been seen to be Carian, and others (e.g., 10, 14, 22, and perhaps 18) surely would be more at home there or in some other area of western Asia Minor than in Cilicia.

More interesting is the question of under whose authority these minute coins were produced. With one exception (issue 27), they bear no inscriptions indicating what cities or individuals issued them. They could hardly have sufficed for mercenary pay; they must have been intended instead for small transactions, a role which bronze was playing elsewhere and would eventually play throughout the ancient world. One may therefore see in at least some of them not the official issues of the Persian overlords of the fourth century, but permitted local, or perhaps in some cases even unofficial, strikings intended for the daily transactions of the populace. In any case they provide an intriguing addition to the known issues of southern Asia Minor before the arrival of Alexander.

(19) *Traité* II.2, 1509–10 bis, pl. CXLI, 10–11.

(20) *BMC Lycaonia, etc.*, Tarsus 13–31.

(21) See n. 15, above. A lion occurs on Tarsus 59–64, but these issues have been reattributed to Myriandrus in Syria by E. T. NEWELL, *Myriandros—Alexandria Kat'Isson*, New York, 1920, p. 16–29.

(22) *Traité* II.2, 1382, pl. CXXXVII, 10.

(23) *Traité* II.2, 1390, pl. CXXXVII, 16–17; the date is that of KRAAY, *ACGC*, no. 1021.

(24) *Traité* II.2, 575 and 579–82, pl. CVII, 12–13 and 17–20.

(25) *ANS Annual Report*, 1969, p. 10, pl. I, 4. See now also Bank Leu 38, 13 May 1986, 158, which attributes the obols to an uncertain mint in Samaria.



