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Front cover: Scottish silver ryal of Mary and Henry, Regular issue (not to scale); from dies A19/55, weight 468.3 grains. (See article "The Silver Ryals coinage of Mary, Queen of Scots")

Contents

Contents	iii
President's Report	iv
Editor's Note	v
Paul M Holland Unusual 1945 Y. Australian Halfpenny: a Numismatic Rosetta Stone?	1
John McDonald A Newly Identified Antoninianus of Carausius in the Name of Diocletian	7
Kathryn Harris & Mark Nemtsas Valuable Coins in Change	19
Tyron Pigors Serendipitous Noodling	39
John Shannahan Satrapal Coins in the Collection of the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies: Tiribazus, Pharnabazus, and Mazaeus	41
Mick Vort-Ronald Australian Banknote Serial Numbering	58
David J Rampling The Silver Ryals Coinage of Mary, Queen of Scots	90
Sponsors	149
Guidelines for authors	152

Satrapal Coins in the Collection of the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies: Tiribazus, Pharnabazus, and Mazaeus

John Shannahan

Abstract

Coins minted by fourth century BCE Persian officials form a wonderful complement to the literary sources of the period. Three examples are discussed in this paper. The first, minted by Tiribazus, is from the only series which can unquestionably be attributed to the man known from literary evidence. Its unique reverse type is shown to reflect a powerful Achaemenid image often found on monuments in Iran. The second example was minted by Pharnabazus and draws on Greek artistic traditions. It was minted while Pharnabazus planned to invade Egypt in the 370s, and may have utilised a type familiar to mercenaries who also fought in Sicily. The third example returns to Achaemenid imagery on coins through the career and minting activity of one of the most remarkable officials of the Persian Empire: Mazaeus. Mazaeus's Cilician coins, like Tiribazus's, are argued to disperse messages of control and order for the Achaemenid administration.

Key words

[Tiribazus] [Pharnabazus] [Mazaeus] [Cilicia] [Achaemenid Empire] [satraps]

Article

Satrapal coins, issued by the governors of the Achaemenid Empire (ca. 550 – 330 BCE), are well known to scholarship. While the imperial coinage of the Empire remained *darics* and *sigloi*, in the late fifth and early fourth centuries generals and governors in the West experimented with types differing drastically from the traditional royal or 'heroic' archer. New issues displayed satraps' heads with Athenian owls,¹ ships' prows,² warriors' heads,³ and lions.⁴ Indeed, the relationship of these issues to the Persians' imperial coinage and other local issues is a vexed question.⁵ The broad definition of satrapal coinage adopted here includes coins minted in Persian domains attributable

1 E.g. BM 1947,0706.4.

2 E.g. BM 1892,0703.1.

3 E.g. below, section 2.

4 E.g. below, section 3.

5 E.g. Mildenberg (2000); cf. Gitler (2003): 4-5.

to Persian officials by their legends and/or iconography.⁶ This paper publishes three examples from the collection of ACANS. All originate from Cilicia in southern Turkey. The iconography of each coin will be discussed in relation to the historical context. In the fourth century BCE Cilicia was a base of operations for Persian navies and armies, a key region through which individuals would journey on their way to the Persian court, and an area where revolt against the Persians was incited. The coins under discussion are therefore valuable evidence for an important region of the western Achaemenid Empire and its history.



Figure 1 - ACANS 16A23. Baal/Figure in the winged disc stater minted by Tiribazus.

1. Soli, Cilicia. Minted by Tiribazus ca. 386-381 BCE

Obv. Baal standing, frontal, himation over his left shoulder and lower limbs; left arm resting on a sceptre capped with flower. Bird (eagle?) above extended right hand; border of dots. To left, ΣΟ; to right, Aramaic *TRBZW* = Tiribazus. *Rev.* Torso of bearded male, nude, facing right, set on winged disc; wings spreading horizontally from disc; tail fans out below; coiled tendrils extend symmetrically on either side; head capped with headdress and with spherical ornaments on top; left arm crooked, holding lotus flower; right hand raised to head height holds wreath; all surrounded by incuse circle.

Stater. AR 10.64g. CNG 377 (2016) 152. ACANS 16A23. (Figure 1).

The Cilician issues of Tiribazus are among the most famous satrapal coinages.⁷ He was, if one looks through the numismatic literature, one of the most prolific Persian minters. Among the types attributed to Tiribazus are figures of Heracles or Aphrodite (obverse), and a satrap's head (reverse).⁸ The attribution of these types to Tiribazus is, however, questionable, for it depends on two ambiguous examples.⁹ They each show Heracles on the obverse and a satrap's head on the reverse, with the legend *TEIPIBAZOY*. These are the only coins showing Tiribazus's name in Greek – all other examples use Aramaic –

6 Bodzek (2015): 64.

7 Harrison (1982): 304-15; Cahn (1989): 104; Le Rider (1997): 152-53, 156-57; Casabonne (2004): 188-93.

8 Casabonne (2004): Tiribaze Series 2.

9 Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Babelon 158A = SNG France 2-Cilicie 232; Winzer (2005): nos. 10.4-10.5.

and indeed are the only known Heracles/satrap's head coins with an individual's name. The example in the Bibliothèque nationale de France was regarded as of a "style barbare" by Levante,¹⁰ and "de fabrique barbare et d'époque postérieure" by Babelon.¹¹ Le Rider was unsure that this coin was in fact struck by Tiribazus.¹² Others have not found the legend problematic, and note that Babelon claimed to have seen "une pièce de bon style."¹³ If these coins are removed from consideration as a result of their questionable style and unusual legend, there seems no compelling reason to place the Aphrodite and Heracles head coins with Tiribazus. The only series which can certainly be attributed to Tiribazus is that under discussion here: the coins showing Baal and the figure in the winged disc.

Literary evidence allows us to create a thorough map of his career. Plutarch characterises Tiribazus as a man whose fortunes at court frequently rose and fell.¹⁴ His cavalier attitude, for example, led him to don the king's robes against the customs of the Persians – the king reportedly quipped at that point, "I permit you to wear the trinkets as a woman, and the robes as a madman."¹⁵ He first appears in the sources as *hyparchos* of Armenia.¹⁶ In the 390s, Tiribazus served as *strategos* in Asia Minor.¹⁷ In 387/6 he read the King's Peace to the assembled Greeks.¹⁸ In the 380s he was co-commander of the campaign against Evagoras on Cyprus, where he was accused of treasonously plotting with Evagoras.¹⁹ He was eventually exonerated. Afterwards (the date is uncertain), Tiribazus was instrumental in securing peace with the Cadusians.²⁰ In the end, Tiribazus turned against Artaxerxes, who allegedly did not fulfil his commitment to marry Tiribazus into the royal family. Tiribazus and Darius plotted against the king, but were foiled. Tiribazus finally died in the late 360s, fighting against the king's guards.²¹ Many of the details of Tiribazus's personality appear in Plutarch, and are therefore of dubious historical value. Nonetheless, the hints of character present in the literary sources provide a complement to the novelty of his Cilician coins.

While few of Tiribazus's Baal/figure in the winged disc coins have been found in hoards, hoard composition and findspots point to their production during his time as

10 SNG France 2-Cilicie 232.

11 Babelon (1910): 383.

12 Le Rider (1997): 152-53; Le Rider (2001): 209.

13 Babelon (1910): 383. Cahn (1989): 104; Weiser (1989): 290; Debord (1999): 336-37. See also Bodzek (2011): 92 n. 509 – did Babelon see the example published by Winzer (above, n. 9)?

14 Plut. *Art.* 27.5.

15 Plut. *Art.* 5. On the importance of the robes, see also Xen. *Cyrop.* 8.3.13.

16 Xen. *An.* 4.4.4.

17 Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.12.

18 Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.30-31.

19 Diod. Sic. 15.2.2, 15.8; Theopomp. (*FGrH* 115) F103.9.

20 Plut. *Art.* 24; Sekunda (1988): 38-39; Van der Spek (1998): 252-53; Binder (2008): 316-21.

21 Plut. *Art.* 27-29.

commander against Cyprus.²² Diodorus Siculus also supports this conclusion.²³ Cilicia is identified as a crucial area several times in Diodorus's account (therefore providing Tiribazus with ample opportunity to commission his series), and at one point Tiribazus returns from court with 2000 talents in order to fund the remainder of the war.²⁴ While the number itself is untrustworthy, it may reflect a substantial investment in the campaign which resulted in the production of these coins.

We know a number of details about this Cypriot war, primarily from Diodorus. Its roots were in the 390s, when Evagoras of Salamis ceased paying tribute and embarked on an opportunistic campaign against his Cypriot neighbours.²⁵ They eventually asked Artaxerxes II for help,²⁶ which culminated in a decade long effort to pacify the island.²⁷ Tiribazus and Orontes were appointed commanders of the campaign ca. 387/6. The Persian force initially suffered setbacks as a result of Evagoras's piracy on supply lines. The piracy, in turn, led to mutiny among the mercenaries serving the Persians. The situation was severe enough that the Persian fleet was repurposed in order to address the problem.²⁸ Even Acoris, the king of Egypt, was involved – he sent Evagoras ships.²⁹ The turning point in the campaign was the naval battle off Citium, where Evagoras's fleet was destroyed.³⁰ Several years were then spent sieging Salamis. Orontes began to suspect that Tiribazus was in fact working with Evagoras during the prolonged negotiations that took place. He accused his co-commander of treason, which resulted in Tiribazus's imprisonment.³¹ Orontes, left in sole charge, was equally ineffective. Evagoras eventually surrendered on the same terms as were originally negotiated with Tiribazus.³² The date of the final agreement between Evagoras and the Persians to end the war is fixed by a Babylonian astronomical diary to 381.³³

ACANS' stater was produced during this war. The coinage bears the ethnics of four mints: Issus (ΙΣΣΙΚΟΝ/ΙΣΣΕΩΝ), Mallus (ΜΑΛΛ/ΜΑΡ), Tarsus (ΤΕΡ/Τ), and Soli (ΣΟ). One group of coins has no mint designation.³⁴ Of the surviving 115 coins known

22 See Casabonne (2004): 188-89.

23 Harrison (2002): 306 has previously noted how complementary the literary and numismatic records are in this instance.

24 Diod. Sic. 15.3.3, 4.2.

25 Diod. Sic. 14.98; Ephorus (*FGrH* 70) F76; Yon and Sznycer (1991); Yon and Sznycer (1992); Yon and Childs (1997): 12-13; Kuhrt (2007): 384-85 n. 1.

26 Diod. Sic. 14.98.2.

27 Diod. Sic. 15.9; Isoc. 9.64.

28 Diod. Sic. 15.3.1-3.

29 Diod. Sic. 15.3.4.

30 Diod. Sic. 15.3.4-6.

31 Diod. Sic. 15.8.

32 Diod. Sic. 15.9.1-2.

33 Van der Spek (1998): 250-51.

34 No complete catalogue of these series has been attempted. Brindley (1993) studies examples from Issus. These coins are categorised in Casabonne (2004): 188, Tiribaze Series 1.

to me, most were minted in Mallus (41), followed by Issus (31), the unknown mint (21), Soli (13), and Tarsus (9). ACANS' example, therefore, is amongst the rarest of a small corpus of coins.

The obverse type showing Baal was consistent with other Cilician series of the late fifth/early fourth century. He was positioned in the same manner on coins showing Herakles with lion pelt and club on the reverse.³⁵ The iconography of Baal changed in the years which followed. Pharnabazus, also minting in Cilicia, showed Baal seated on a throne, with a warrior's head on the reverse.³⁶ Mazaeus likewise used the seated Baal on the obverse of his Cilician series with a variety of reverse types (see further below, section 3). The seated god is reminiscent of Alexander's tetradrachms featuring a seated Zeus with an outstretched hand and eagle. Baal and Zeus are both chief deities in their respective spheres of influence, and were often equated in antiquity.³⁷ Later Samarian issues, by way of comparison, depicted curious versions of the Persian king seated in a manner similar to Mazaeus's seated Baal, along with the Greek legend ΙΕΥΣ.³⁸ It comes as no surprise that the imagery of Baal and Zeus is shared. Indeed, the inspirations for Alexander's version of the seated god are complex and a question of some debate.³⁹ Baal's numismatic depictions could be readily associated with Zeus by any Greek encountering the coin, and was familiar to local Cilicians, Phoenicians, Syrians, and any other serviceman who might be paid with money issued from these series.

The reverse type of Tiribazus's series is, however, the most intriguing aspect. It is a Hellenised adaptation of the figure in the winged disc which frequently appears above royal figures in Achaemenid art.⁴⁰ No coins show a comparable depiction of the figure; the type on Tiribazus's coin is unique. The Samarian mint later produced coins which similarly drew inspiration from the Achaemenid figure in the winged disc, and they were also manipulated in strange ways. Samarian examples show four wings and one type removes the central disc in order to merge the figure's torso with a feathered tail.⁴¹ For its part, the Tiribazus series rendered the figure with a nude torso and included a wreath held in the hand on the left. The wreath may be a carry-over from a prototype Cilician die.⁴² Given the historical context of Tiribazus's coins (minted during a revolt on Cyprus), it adds overtones of victory to the type. The figure in the winged disc himself carried important connotations in Achaemenid contexts. Most commonly the figure is

35 Examples from Issus are catalogued in Brindley (1993): Group 3. See also Harrison (1982): Appendix II.

36 E.g. ANS 1944.100.54358. Casabonne (2004): 194, Pharnabaze Series 4.

37 *Brill's New Pauly* s.v. Baal.

38 Meshorer and Qedar (1999): 29 and no. 40.

39 Zervos (1982); Price (1982). See, more recently, Le Rider (2007): 12; Kremydi (2011): 168; Thonemann (2016): 13.

40 Consider, for example, Darius the Great's inscription at Behistun: Kuhrt (2007): 141-57; Schmidt (1957): pl. 3 (seal no. 2), pl. 6 (seal no. 14), pl. 7 (seal no. 22); BM 89132/1835,0630.1.

41 Shannahan (2015). E.g. Meshorer and Qedar (1999): nos. 84, 100, 124.

42 Harrison (1982): 208-09.

interpreted as Ahuramazda, the greatest god of the Achaemenid religion.⁴³ Darius, for example, attributes his authority and rule to Ahuramazda repeatedly in his inscription at Behistun.⁴⁴ Other interpretations see the figure as a kind of guardian angel.⁴⁵ Whichever way one looks at it, the symbol is closely related to the kingship.⁴⁶ The figure conveys a sense of investiture of power. If he is considered to be Ahuramazda, one cannot forget that the god was frequently invoked in inscriptions to combat forces of the Lie, and called upon to protect the land and the people from enemies.⁴⁷

ACANS' example, besides being one of only 115 known examples and therefore a rarity in itself, is an unprecedented message of imperial authority in the midst of revolt. The type was never used again – it was clearly created for this specific context. This coin, minted in an empire which usually avoided the suppression of local traditions, is a fascinatingly complex outlier. Not only does the type reflect outside influence on Cilician mints, but it is supplemented by an assortment of literary evidence which is extremely uncommon for Greek history, let alone Achaemenid studies.

2. Tarsus, Cilicia. Minted by Pharnabazus, ca. 378/7–374/3 BCE.

Obv. Female head facing, 3/4 left, wearing multi-pendant necklace and earring(s) (only left shows); border of dots. *Rev.* Aramaic legend, PRNZW = Pharnabazus, to left Head of warrior (Ares?) facing right in Attic helmet with three-part crest and pointed visor with hook protruding above; to right .

Stater. AR 10.30g. Noble Numismatics 98 (2011) 5128. ACANS 12A09. (Figure 2)



Figure 2 - ACANS 12A09. Arethusa/Warrior Head stater minted by Pharnabazus.

This coin belongs to issue 3 in Moysey's grouping of Pharnabazus's silver stater emissions in Cilicia (there the types are termed lady/Ares),⁴⁸ and series 3 in Casabonne (where the

43 See Root (1979): 169-71; Lecoq (1984).

44 Kuhrt (2007): 141-57, sections 5-9, 13-14, 18, *et cetera*.

45 See Shahbazi (1974); Shahbazi (1980).

46 Shahbazi (1980) II: *Farnah* 'God given fortune symbolized': 121-22; Jamzadeh (1982): 96-98; Maras (2009): 52-57; Garrison (2013): 574-76.

47 Skjærvø (2013): 554-55.

48 Moysey (1986).

types are labelled Arethusa/helmeted head).⁴⁹ Like the series of Tiribazus, these types of Pharnabazus are matched by a fascinating historical context. Furthermore, the die links between Pharnabazus's issues and those of Datames confirm literary evidence provided by Cornelius Nepos in his *Life of Datames*.

Pharnabazus is well attested by the Greek sources; he is first mentioned by Thucydides.⁵⁰ Pharnabazus was satrap of Dascylium.⁵¹ In Xenophon's *Hellenica* he first appears charging his horse into the surf to fight Alcibiades.⁵² In the 390s he and King Agesilaus are said to have engaged in philosophical dialogue while the Spartans raided his satrapy.⁵³ Pharnabazus then played a leading role in the Persian victory over the Spartan fleet in 394, which culminated in a victory tour of Greece; Persian funds were then dedicated to maintaining a mercenary force at Corinth, supplying a new Corinthian fleet, and rebuilding the walls at Athens.⁵⁴ Soon after Pharnabazus married a daughter of Artaxerxes II.⁵⁵ He was then a commander of the ill-fated invasion of Egypt launched in either 389 or 385.⁵⁶ Pharnabazus was placed in sole command of the next invasion of Egypt, which took several years to prepare, and was launched in 373.⁵⁷ Iphicrates the Athenian served as mercenary and advisor on the campaign, but it was also a failure.⁵⁸ It was probably during the preparations for this mission that the Samarian mint was activated; the first coins produced there bear Pharnabazus's name in Greek.⁵⁹ Pharnabazus disappears from the sources after the failure in Egypt. He was replaced by Datames.⁶⁰ Datames is another man well known to numismatists because of the debate surrounding a number of Cilician issues bearing the legend TRKMW;⁶¹ some have argued that this legend refers to the local Cilician name of Datames.⁶² It is, however, far from certain that Datames was the man producing those coins. TRKMW may in

49 Casabonne (2004): 194.

50 Thuc. 8.6.

51 Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10, 4.1.15.

52 Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.6.

53 Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.31-39.

54 Victory: Diod. Sic. 14.83.4-7; Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.11-13. Mercenaries: Harding (1985): doc. 22. Corinthian fleet: Diod. Sic. 14.84.5; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.10. Long walls: Diod. Sic. 14.85.2-3; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.9; Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328) F146.

55 Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.28.

56 Isoc. 4.140. Probably Pharnabazus was commander of the naval contingent: Cawkwell (2005): 163; Ruzicka (2012): 72-73. On the date of the expedition: Ruzicka (2012): 66-67 and n. 1.

57 Diod. Sic. 15.41.

58 Diod. Sic. 15.41-43.

59 Meshorer and Qedar (1999): nos. 1-2.

60 Nep. *Dat.* 3.

61 On the various readings of the legend, see Lemaire (1991): 203.

62 See Ruzicka (2012): 103-04. On the coins see Harrison (1982): 321-36; Moysey (1986); Moysey (1989): 109 n. 3; Lemaire (1989): section 2; Lemaire (1991): 203-05; Bing (1998): 59 n. 55; Casabonne (2001); Wiesehöfer (2003).

fact refer to a local dynast known as Tarkumuwa; there are clear phonetic differences between the names Datames and Tarkumuwa.⁶³



Figure 3 - ACANS 07A31. Obverse of coin minted by Pericles of Lycia between 380 and 360 BCE. It was probably modelled on an Arethusa prototype.

ACANS' coin then ties neatly into the historical record. The coin was minted in the 370s, while Pharnabazus was preparing for the 373 invasion of Egypt.⁶⁴ The obverse type, showing the nymph Arethusa, was based on Sicilian issues of Kimon.⁶⁵ Given the popularity of imitations of this type in the fourth century, it is unlikely that the Cilician mints had any especial connection to Arethusa herself.⁶⁶ The type was copied and adapted most curiously by Pericles of Lycia, who retained the positioning, hair, and dolphins of the original Arethusa, but changed the face to a masculine form and added a beard (Fig. 3).⁶⁷ Instead, the reason for the choice of Arethusa on the obverse was probably a result of the great number of mercenaries involved in Pharnabazus's invasion. Diodorus gives the figure of 20,000 mercenaries under the command of Iphicrates.⁶⁸ Moysey speculated that Dionysus I of Syracuse employed large numbers of mercenaries in his campaigns against Carthage and in support of Sparta.⁶⁹ It may then be that some of these mercenaries came to be in the employment of the Persians between ca. 378 and 369 when there was a lull in fighting in the West.⁷⁰ The Cilician mint officials may have selected the Arethusa type so that the pay issued by the Persians would be consistent with what the recipients knew from previous employment.

The reverse type, identified variously as a warrior's head or as Ares, conveys a martial tone complementary to the above interpretation of the obverse type. If these coins

63 Lemaire (1991): 204.

64 Casabonne (2004): 195-96.

65 Naster (1989): 197. On the Sicilian coins, see Jenkins (1976): 40-41; Hoover, Meadows and Wartenberg (2010): 340-41, no. 1344.

66 Moysey (1986): 13-14.

67 See, for example, SNG v. Aulock 4249-53.

68 Diod. Sic. 15.41.3.

69 Moysey (1986): 14.

70 Diod. Sic. 15.47.7, 70.1, 73.1-5. Moysey (1986): 14.

were issued in order to fund a mercenary army, a Greek-styled warrior would serve this purpose suitably. Unlike Tiribazus, Pharnabazus did not feel the need to introduce a Near Eastern image to the Cilician mints. Rather, the iconography of the reverse would meet the expectations of Greek mercenaries gathering in order to attack Egypt. Neither the obverse nor the reverse type, therefore, appears to contain the same layers of meaning as Tiribazus's Baal/figure in the winged disc series.

Once again we can appreciate the complementary nature of the numismatic and literary record. If subsequent series bearing the same Arethusa/warrior head types and the legend TRKMW can be attributed to Datames, the chronology of the numismatic evidence established by Moysey (1986) might confirm Cornelius Nepos's assertion that Datames succeeded Pharnabazus as commander of the next Egyptian campaign.⁷¹ Nepos, writing lives of eminent commanders in the first century BCE, is not usually seen as a reliable chronographer, especially in relation to the difficult period of fourth century Achaemenid history. To have independent archaeological evidence in support of his *Life of Datames* is useful and makes the series of Pharnabazus and Datames a valuable source. If, on the other hand, the TRKMW coins belong to a separate Cilician dynast, the series of Pharnabazus with Arethusa/a warrior's head would be of equally great value as a continuation of a previously established satrapal type. On either interpretation of the legend, this issue of Pharnabazus clearly had such an impact that it, unlike the majority of satrapal coinage, was continued by the succeeding minting authority.

Tarkumuwa/Datames would go on to change his types as the political situation changed. Datames revolted against Artaxerxes II in the 360s, doing so after he was told that members of the king's court were becoming jealous of his success.⁷² Tarkumuwa, as local dynast (if he was producing the TRKMW coins, and not Datames), would have been required to address the revolt. Datames is known to have moved through Cilicia to combat Thuys,⁷³ and later went past Cilicia into Cappadocia.⁷⁴ So Tarkumuwa would have been aware of Datames's activities in the preceding five years. As such, coins depicting the Mesopotamian god Anu and the anointment of a figure could have been a message that the regional deities were supporting Tarkumuwa.⁷⁵ Likewise, if Datames produced the TRKMW Anu coins, they would indicate the deity's support of him.⁷⁶ In any case, these coins of Pharnabazus shed light on his activities as commander of the 373 Egyptian expedition, in addition to providing precedent for the subsequent issues of Tarkumuwa/Datames.

71 Nep. *Dat.* 3.5.

72 Nep. *Dat.* 5.

73 Nep. *Dat.* 2.

74 Nep. *Dat.* 5.

75 Briant (2002): 667. An example of the types in question is BM 1979,0101.1004 = SNG v. Aulock 5950.

76 Moysey (1989): 109-10; Bing (1998): 56-73.



Figure 4 - ACANS 04A03. Baal/Lion attacking bull stater minted by Mazaeus.

3. Tarsus, Cilicia. Minted by Mazaeus, ca. 360-333 BCE.

Obv. Baaltars seated left, eagle in right hand, sceptre in left. To right, Aramaic B'LTRZ = Baaltars; to left, O; dotted border. *Rev.* Lion attacking bull kneeling left. Above, Aramaic MZDY = Mazaeus; below, Aramaic SM; linear border.

Stater. AR 10.89g. CNG Triton VII (2004) 322. ACANS 04A03. (Figure 4)

The third coin under discussion follows neatly from the historical information presented for the preceding two. The first coin was minted in the 380s under Tiribazus while he responded to a revolt; the second was minted in the 370s while Pharnabazus was planning to invade Egypt, before the same types were used by Datames/Tarkumuwa immediately before the satrapal revolts of the 360s;⁷⁷ the third coin was minted when Mazaeus was installed as satrap of Cilicia. This particular coin belongs to series 2, Group F in Casabonne.⁷⁸

Mazaeus's career spanned several decades and monarchs. Possibly he was appointed by Artaxerxes III Ochus when he first took the throne in 359/8.⁷⁹ The first literary reference to him, however, comes in the year 351 when Mazaeus, alongside Belesys (satrap of Syria), was tasked with making war upon the Phoenicians.⁸⁰ He is identified as archon of Cilicia. The numismatic evidence reveals that at some point afterwards Mazaeus received a promotion, for subsequent series bear the legend "Mazdai [governor] of Trans-Euphrates and Cilicia."⁸¹ He continued to be an important part of the Achaemenid administration until the conquest of Alexander the Great. He was one of the king's friends;⁸² Darius III appointed him to defend the Euphrates crossing;⁸³ he commanded

77 Weiskopf (1989); Moysey (1991); Hornblower (1990).

78 Casabonne (2004): 213.

79 Bing (1998): 66 n. 74.

80 Diod. Sic. 16.42.1.

81 E.g. SNG Levante-Cilicia 113-15. Briant (2002): 709; Weiskopf (1982): 498-500.

82 Diod. Sic. 17.55.1.

83 Arr. *Anab.* 3.8.

Persian cavalry at Gaugamela;⁸⁴ he was the man to gift Babylon to Alexander the Great;⁸⁵ he is said to have been the most powerful member of Darius's court.⁸⁶ Alexander rewarded Mazaeus by permitting him to retain his satrapy until his death in 328.⁸⁷

Mazaeus minted coins in his own name in Cilicia, the Levant, and Babylon. The Babylonian examples show Mazaeus's name in Aramaic on the reverse.⁸⁸ The types follow Cilician prototypes and depict Baal on a throne, with the reverse portraying a lion walking to left. In Samaria Mazaeus's name was abbreviated to MZ and displayed on a variety of types.⁸⁹ These coins often drew on Persian iconography. The Persian royal figure might be shown in his chariot,⁹⁰ fighting beasts,⁹¹ or seated on a throne.⁹² MZ is also found on Samaritan adaptations of the figure in the winged disc.⁹³ Especially in the latter example, the types Mazaeus employed drew on Near Eastern prototypes, and conveyed messages of imperial authority and power to the recipients. In his Cilician coinage Mazaeus utilised the longstanding obverse type showing Baal. On the reverse he showed several varieties of types showing lions.⁹⁴ On some, the lion attacked a stag, while on others the stag is replaced by a bull. In other examples, the lion and bull are shown above city walls. The remaining variation presents the lion alone, walking or crouched. ACANS' coin is an especially fine example with the reverse type showing the lion attacking a bull.

84 Arr. *Anab.* 3.11; Diod. Sic. 17.59.5.

85 Curt. 5.1.17-23. Briant (2002): 845-46.

86 Plut. *Alex.* 39.6. This summary follows that of Bing (1998): 66 n. 74. See also the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* s.v. Mazaeus.

87 Arr. *Anab.* 3.16. Briant (2002): 850.

88 E.g. ANS 1944.100.72060.

89 E.g. Meshorer and Qedar (1999): nos. 74, 84, 96, 100.

90 As on Meshorer and Qedar (1999): no. 74. Cf. coins with the same image from Sidon: e.g. BM 1906,0712.53.

91 As on Meshorer and Qedar (1999): no. 74. See Persian examples of the same motif in Schmidt (1953): pls. 114, 196; Garrison and Root (2001): pl. 274a.

92 As on Meshorer and Qedar (1999): no. 100. See Persian examples of the same motif in Schmidt (1953): pls. 77-78, 98-99, 103-07.

93 Shannahan (2015): 30.

94 On these coins and the following examples see Casabonne (2004): 211-15.



Figure 5 - Detail of ACANS 04A03 obverse, showing radiate crown of Baal.

The obverse type continued the depiction of Baal seated on a throne begun by Pharnabazus.⁹⁵ This type probably served as inspiration for Alexander the Great's own depiction of Zeus on his coins.⁹⁶ Of particular interest is the radiate crown visible on Baal's head (Fig. 5). Bing argued that the crown, in conjunction with the Achaemenid motif on the reverse (to which I will shortly turn), communicates "close associations of Tarsus with Persepolis and of Ba'al Tarz with Ahura Mazda."⁹⁷ Having noted older arguments regarding the radiate head as "evidence for his [Baaltars's] identification as a god of the sky, or an astral or celestial deity at the time of Mazaeus," Bing proposes that the historical context of these coins can provide greater clarity as an explanation for the manipulation of the type.⁹⁸ In summary, Bing accepts Newell's conjecture that the radiate head of Baaltars adds a "celestial character."⁹⁹ Given that Baaltars was traditionally linked with fertility and is identified with Tarhunzas, the Luwian storm god, the radiate Baaltars was probably a deliberate attempt to associate him with Ahuramazda.¹⁰⁰ In support of his proposition, Bing notes the celestial and solar imagery of Ahuramazda in the Classical sources. In Herodotus's *Histories*, Ahuramazda is the entire circle of heaven.¹⁰¹ According to Plutarch, after executing Darius, Artaxerxes performs *proskynesis* to Helios and proclaims that Ahuramazda has punished the unrighteous.¹⁰² The reverse type also appears in Bing's argument. The lion and bull motif appears twenty-eight times on the palace facades of Persepolis.¹⁰³ Most prominently it is displayed on the staircase of the *apadana*.¹⁰⁴ Its prominence has led several scholars to conclude that it is some kind of

95 See above, n. 36.

96 See above, n. 39.

97 Bing (1998): 66.

98 Bing (1998): 63-65.

99 Bing (1998): 69.

100 Bing (1998): 69.

101 Hdt. 1.131.

102 Plut. *Art.* 29.7.

103 Bing (1998): 68.

104 Schmidt (1953): pls. 19-20.

special emblem of the capital or perhaps represents royal power.¹⁰⁵ The lion and bull reverse type did, however, feature on earlier issues of Tarsus in the fifth century, so it did have a precedent in the region.¹⁰⁶

These observations, when coupled with the historical context in which Mazaeus' minted ACANS' coin, provide valuable historical insights. Above, I briefly described the politically-charged types employed by Datames/Tarkumuwa in Cilicia. Mazaeus, in Bing's view, came to Cilicia immediately after the satraps' revolt of the 360s. His mission was to restore order to the region. The display of powerful Achaemenid images on his coins therefore conveyed a message of restoration of Persian authority to the area and provided a link between the centre of the Empire – Persepolis – and the satrapal centre of the area, Tarsus.¹⁰⁷

ACANS' example therefore represents, alongside the coin of Tiribazus, a wonderful case study in the messages the Persians would circulate on their coinage. Both examples clearly reflect the ability of coins to propagate messages for the administration. Furthermore, the Mazaeus coin provides evidence where the literary record is silent. No mention is made in the Greek or Roman sources of Mazaeus's arrival in Cilicia, nor of his efforts to settle the area. If Bing's hypothesis is correct, however, the numismatic evidence reflects a clear means of sending a message of control. Given Mazaeus's use of Achaemenid motifs later in his career, also described above, it is difficult to believe that his Cilician types did not have meaning. From an historical perspective, this coin – in addition to the other numismatic evidence for this man – provides a glimpse into the methods of an individual who was close to one of the most famous men in history, Alexander the Great. The duplication of Mazaeus's Cilician types in Babylon, and the remarkable fact that Mazaeus was permitted to continue minting his types after the arrival of Alexander, support the literary record regarding his negotiations and retention as one of the highest ranked officials in the later Achaemenid Empire.

Combined, ACANS' coins are useful illustrations of the power of numismatics to inform our understanding of history. In each case, the coins can be employed not only for teaching purposes, but in themselves have allowed scholarship to expand its understanding of the Achaemenid Empire. With so few impartial sources for the Achaemenids, it is critical that the numismatic evidence for the satraps be exploited in order to further our understanding of their methods and behaviour. In the case of Tiribazus and Mazaeus, they concretely show the means by which Persians employed coins as tools to disperse messages. In the case of Pharnabazus, they underscore the essential pragmatism of generals fighting with Greek mercenaries. Pharnabazus was

105 Bing (1998): 68 n. 82; Root (1979): 236.

106 E.g. *BMC Lycaonia*, 164 no. 11.

107 Bing (1998): 66.

not so obsessed with employing Achaemenid propaganda or iconography that he lost sight of the desires of his soldiers. By relying on familiar types – a Sicilian obverse and a warrior in a Greek helmet on the reverse – he ensured that his mercenaries would be comfortable using Persian coins. Furthermore, he may have inadvertently revealed the origins of his mercenaries, if Moysey's conjecture that these men came from service in Sicily to Cilicia is correct.¹⁰⁸ Finally, these coins allow us to continue to explore the rich numismatic traditions of Cilicia and see how its mints were utilised by the Persians and how they adapted to Persian presence.

Author

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¹⁰⁸ See above, n. 69.

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