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Shawn Caza, Associate Editor
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μηδὲ πολυξείνου δαιτὸς δυσπέμφελος εἶναι
ἐκ κοινῷ πλείστη τε χάρις δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη.

Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 722-723

Sampler Introduction and Contents

Many thanks for downloading this Open Access Sampler for Volume III of *KOINON: The International Journal of Classical Numismatic Studies*. This sampler has been designed to act as an introduction and taster to the scope and style of the journal. Page numbers, where applicable, reflect those of the final volume for ease of citation.

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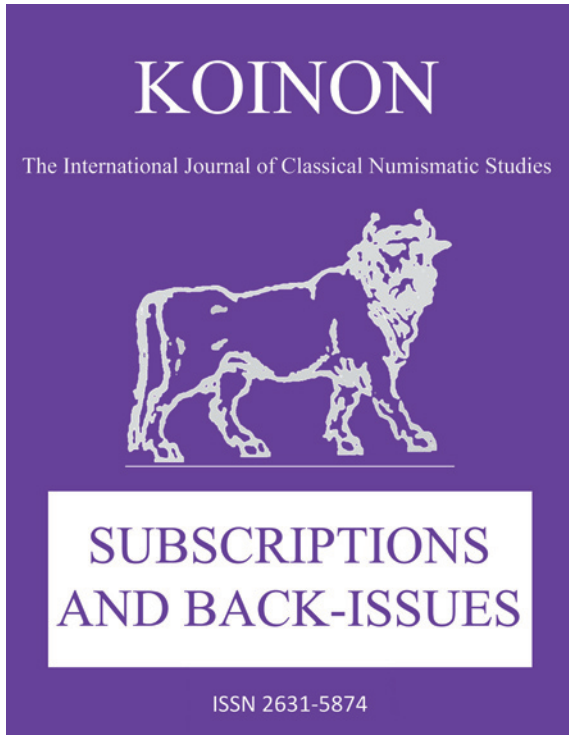
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The Unconquerable Sun: An introduction to Koinon III and brief note concerning the solace of numismatics



Gold aureus of Caracalla featuring Sol Invictus, AD 216. Image courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

If this year can be described in one word, it would be upheaval— for the first time in my life, it is more difficult than ever to imagine what the world might look like by the time our next volume sees print in late 2021, and I'd imagine folks living under the reign of Caracalla felt even greater uncertainty. He was, by all accounts, a vicious tyrant and downright terrible human being. As Dio Cassius describes him: «He never loved anyone, but he hated all who excelled in anything, most of all those whom he pretended to love most» (*Roman History* 11.6). He was said to have an unquenchable thirst for blood, be it animals or even humans, and allegedly killed innumerable people, including his fatherly tutor, Clio, and his own brother, Geta. After Geta's assassination, as all students of Roman coinage surely know, Caracalla issued a *damnatio memoriae*, thereby removing all vestiges of the sibling throughout the empire—though he couldn't get to all the coins. His message on the above aureus seems fairly simple, namely, that the emperor was as unconquerable as the sun, and this message would have undoubtedly struck fear into as many people as it gave hope (if there were any in the latter camp at this stage in his reign). And yet, despite how horrible things were during Caracalla's reign, the sun did rise again; it was Caracalla who did not.

Numismatists are certainly familiar with upheaval because we see it all the time in virtually every area of ancient coinage. Sometimes it is painfully obvious, like the case of the Eid Mar denarius. Other times, we have to look a bit closer, like the images of a bloated Justinian as he suffered from the cruel plague that decimated parts of his empire. We can even look at the very origin of coinage and imagine the upheavals it caused in the old way of life—surely, a new means of

reciprocity had emerged that would radically change the world forever. But the lens of upheaval and social discord is one sided, and fortunately, as every numismatist also knows, there are two sides to every coin. When I pick up a follis of Anastasius, I can literally feel the comfort a heavy bronze coin provided to its ancient carrier after years of miniscule bronzes. When I see a local deity on even the tiniest Greek fraction, I can recognize the consolation an ordinary person must have felt—especially during times of upheaval—knowing that he was under the protection of the local gods. So, while ancient coins demonstrate that societal upheaval is as inevitable as the sun setting, they also provide a reassurance that everything is going to be alright once again.

We certainly are not out of the woods yet, but in the meantime, the essays contained in this volume will hopefully bring you some relief as we move forth into the new year, together. We start off with a contribution from a scholar virtually every ancient coin enthusiast knows and admires: David MacDonald. It concerns overstruck sigloi of Azbaal and Baalmelek II of Kition, and is an important addition to the literature that incorporates the most recent evidence emerging in the past few years. Next, we have another contribution from John Voukelatos, who discovered a forgery that has seemingly gone unnoticed for many years, and made its way into important sales and collections. The next three essays are by our own Associate Editor Lloyd Taylor—the first is an overview of the mint at Susa from 311-301 BC, and the second and third exhibit important, newly discovered die and mint control links. If anyone found solace through numismatics during this pandemic, it was Lloyd—I could fill an entire journal with his brilliant papers, which I'm forced to spread out among issues to make room for other scholars. Following Dr. Taylor's contributions, we have my own essay, which I am truly delighted to share—it reconsiders the strange and unprecedented iconographic shift we see in Akarnanian coinage in the late 3rd and early 2nd century and offers an appealing explanation for this phenomenon. I've always found solace studying Achelios, and that's been particularly true as I navigate the landscape of the pandemic.

In the section on Roman numismatics we have only one essay this year, but it is an excellent contribution. The paper is by Andrei Bontas, who has become a steady contributor to *Koinon*, and concerns a follis issued by Constantine in its historical context. In the Medieval and Early Modern section, we have our first essay concerning Medieval Russian coinage, written by Dzmityr Huletski—it is a fascinating read about the emergence of fur money, something I did not know existed until I read Dr. Huletski's essay. The second is by Csaba Tóth and József Géza Kiss. These authors reconsider the appearance of Hebrew letters on Hungarian coins, and provide a thoroughly enjoyable approach to this interesting bit of numismatic history. And, just as with all our previous writers, these gentlemen likewise used coins not as an escape from reality, but as a way of maintaining a commitment to the beauty of the world despite all of its bumps and curves. The final section, Oriental Numismatics, contains our first-ever essay on ancient Chinese coinage by Thomas Walker. It is both thorough and fascinating, and a worthwhile read even for those (like myself) who have never ventured into the waters of ancient Chinese numismatics. Here too we can celebrate his work and take refuge in the fact that, just as the Chinese went through various upheavals, so we all do—and they all pass.

Whatever the future holds, I find solace in the fact that the spirit of *Koinon* is a spirit of mutual cooperation toward a unified goal—the shared appreciation of ancient coins as a virtuous activity. As Hesiod reminded us in the journal's opening quote, 'And do not be storm-tossed in

your mood at a dinner party with many guests: when things are shared in common (κοινοῦ), the pleasure is the most and the expense is the least.' (Trans. G.W. Most, Loeb). So, as we face difficult times, let's all together behold the mosaic of the ancient coins and recognize that, in their beauty, we can find solace. In short, let's look not to Caracalla but to Sol Invictvs, and know that the sun will indeed rise again.

Vivat Achelous!

Dr Nicholas J. Molinari, General Editor
Societas De Tauro Cum Facie Humana

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Sidon to Tyre: the Macedonian administration and relative chronology

LLOYD W. H. TAYLOR

This essay summarizes the chronology of the dated Alexander tetradrachms of Sidon and Tyre (Ake of Newell and Price), including the implications of recent analysis of the Achaemenid dating era applicable to Tyre. It details a newly identified die link between the first issue of each mint, one that sheds light on the approach of the Macedonians to the establishment of a mint at Tyre following the successful siege of the city.

In recent years there has been a growing acceptance of the reattribution to Tyre¹ of Alexander the Great's coinage attributed to Ake by Newell and Price,² and the reattribution from Sidon to Tarsos of a group of gold staters (Price 3456-3466) that were formerly placed ahead of the dated tetradrachm sequence at Sidon.³ These reattributions have implications for our understanding of the operation of the mints and Sidon and Tyre, and the relative chronology of the two dated series from these mints. The early Alexander coinage of Sidon and Tyre is dated according to an era that is specific to each city. That of Sidon is dated initially with Phoenician and then Greek letters. It commenced with year 1 in 333/2 BC,⁴ the date of transfer of the city to Macedonian rule⁵ after which Alexander the Great appointed Abdalonymos the king of Sidon.⁶ After a few undated issues, that of Tyre was dated in Phoenician numerals according to an Achaemenid regnal era that commenced in 349 BC, associated with the reign of the vassal king Ozmilk (Azemilkos in Greek).⁷ The Phoenician lunar calendar underpinning this dating era is incompletely understood. It is not known whether the regnal year began in Spring (March/April), or in Autumn (September/October),⁸ nor is it known whether the era of Ozmilk was defined on the accession-year system, or dated from the first full year of the reign. These unknowns in the dating system of Tyre give rise to

¹ Lemaire (1976); Le Rider (2007):130-140.

² Newell (1916): 39-68; Price (1991): 405-414. Price (1991): 405-406 for a discussion of the Lemaire's proposal which Price rejected in favour of Newell's reasoning and attribution. Additional evidence has since accrued in favour of Lemaire's proposal. Regardless of opinion on the reattribution from Ake to Tyre, the die link described below and its relative chronological consequences remain.

³ Le Rider (2007):134-139.

⁴ Where applicable, dates are referenced to the Macedonian lunar calendar year, which commenced in the Autumn (September/October) of the Gregorian solar calendar year.

⁵ Le Rider (2007): 116. It is debatable whether this dating system is based on the regnal years of Abdalonymos, or an era based on the defeat of Darius III by Alexander the Great at Issos in November 333 BC. Either inference is plausible, but the chronological consequence is the same.

⁶ Curtius IV, I, 16-26; Justin XI, 10; Mørkholm (1991): 47 'In Phoenicia and Cyprus the cities were governed by local kings who were permitted to continue their reigns if they embraced the cause of Alexander, as most did. At Sidon a new king was appointed to replace a ruler with Persian sympathies. The cities were apparently exempted from the direct control of a provincial governor and left with a certain amount of autonomy in their internal affairs.' The local king was a vassal king with authority and responsibility similar to those of a satrap, or governor. In this capacity the local king was accountable to Alexander the Great, a small part of the latter's administrative apparatus.

⁷ Elayi (2006): table 2, Elayi and Elayi (2009): 373-389 and 395 and Elayi (2018): 280-282 refined the understanding of the history and chronology of the kings of Tyre, strengthening the argument in favour of Lemaire's proposed reattribution of the dated Ake Alexanders to Tyre. They dated the start of the era of Ozmilk (Azemilkos) to 349 BC, with the 17th year of his reign coincident with 333 BC.

⁸ Elayi and Elayi (2009): 373.

an irreducible uncertainty of at least \pm six months in any attempt to calibrate it to the Gregorian solar calendar, a point that must be borne in mind when seeking to reconcile the dated issues of Tyre with those of Sidon. Additionally, within this uncertainty and dependent on the variable timing of mintage of any issue within a single era year at Tyre, the dated issues of the latter could fall across different Macedonian years, although within a single Tyrian era year. This has been acknowledged incompletely by previous scholars who have sought a precise calibration between the dated eras of Tyre and Sidon, something which is impossible to achieve with the current state of knowledge. In contrast, we know that the Macedonian lunar year, on which the coinage of Sidon was dated, commenced in the Autumn (September/October) based on the accession-year system.⁹ As a result, the dated Sidonian coinage provides the most certain chronological reference in the coinage of Alexander the Great.

Table 1 summarizes the chronology of the dated Alexander issues of Tyre and Sidon. It incorporates developments in understanding of the history and coinage of Tyre in the three decades since the publication of Price's compendium. The chronology of the dated Sidon coinage remains unaltered from that detailed by Price, while that of Tyre is updated by three years relative to Price's chronology based on his Ake attribution,¹⁰ or two years relative to the chronology proposed by Merker, based on the assumed chronological correlation of the latest issues of each of the two dated series when found in various hoards.¹¹ With the up-dating of the Tyre series, some key events in the numismatic history of Sidon and Tyre now align more closely. The transition to the depiction of Zeus with crossed legs at each mint falls in consecutive years. Similarly, the last of the dated issues from each mint. The Ptolemaic intrusion into southern Phoenicia of 312/1 BC followed by the Antigonid recapture of the two cities the following year is closely accompanied by the adoption of a new dating era at Tyre. This is now reconciled to the adoption of the Antigonid era¹² in its eighth and later years during the final four years of Ozmiak's tenure, following the recapture and occupation of the city by Antigonos. Finally, the relationship between the dated Alexanders and the preceding shekels of Tyre marked with Ozmiak's initial (*ayin*) and dated regnal years 3-17¹³ is readily explained. The latter are the Achaemenid era precursors to the dated Alexanders that commenced in era year 20 (330/29 BC).¹⁴ It is inferred that the intervening two years that saw no dated coinage are associated with an interregnum in the incumbency of Ozmiak as the king of Tyre.

A newly identified obverse die link between the first of the Alexander issues of each mint further substantiates the relative chronology of the two coinages and improves our understanding of the earliest operation of the two mints under Macedonian control. The die link is illustrated on Figure 1. It extends and clarifies Newell's understanding that Sidon had to 'furnish both workmen and dies for a new mint. Die II of Ake [Tyre] was first cut and used at Sidon (here also die II) and then

⁹ Le Rider (2007): 114-116.

¹⁰ Price (1991): 406, table F, considered the first dated issue, year 20 issue of Ake [Tyre] to be equivalent to Macedonian year 327/6 BC.

¹¹ Merker (1964): 17, dated the year 20 emission of Ake [Tyre] to 328/7 BC based on the assumed contemporaneity of the latest dated issue of each of Sidon and Ake in each of four hoards (Saida, Demanhur, Byblos and Aleppo).

¹² Boiy (2000) has accurately defined the chronology of the dating eras of the various Macedonian kings and associated historical events in the period 330-301 BC based on the Babylonian cuneiform sources.

¹³ Elayi and Elayi (2009): 373-389 and 395, Groups 11.2.1.14-11.2.1.28, catalogue numbers 887-1522 and Le Rider (2007): 130-134.

¹⁴ Elayi (2018): 280-282.

transferred, in slightly worn condition, to Ake [Tyre]. The artist himself, who cut this die, came and worked for a while in his new home, cutting dies III, IV and V [and VI].¹⁵ In consequence we find no more of his work at Sidon after one die (II) cut for the first issue of that city. Besides this die and its cutter, a second die, by another hand, was furnished by the Sidonian mint. Die I of Ake [Tyre] seems certainly to have been cut by the same hand as die I of Sidon. But in this case the artist simply furnished the die without coming to Ake [Tyre], for he continues to work at Sidon for several more years, while the die (I) furnished to Ake [Tyre] remains the sole representative of his handy-work in the coinage of this city.¹⁶




































The newly identified die link arises from the recognition of a previously unknown obverse die in the Sidon series (Figure 1a), one cut by the same engraver of Newell's Sidon die I, and a perfect match to Newell's *Dated Ake* [Tyre] die I (Figure 1b-f). Thus, the first die put into service at Tyre to strike the tetradrachm issue bearing a thunderbolt (*fulmen*) symbol on the reverse (Price 3238) was one that had been used previously to strike the first issue from Sidon (Price 3467). The Sidon issue carries the Phoenician letter 𐤑 (*sade*), the mint mark of Sidon, accompanied by the letter 𐤀 (*aleph*) denoting year 1 (333/2 BC) of the Sidon era under Alexander the Great. After light use at Sidon, the die was transferred, along with Newell's Sidon die II (Figure 2) to Tyre to strike the thunderbolt symbol issue.¹⁷ The transfer of these dies marks the start of Macedonian mint operations in Tyre after the fall of the city to Alexander the Great in July 332 BC. The progression of wear on both dies demonstrates unequivocally that the Sidon issue preceded the Tyre issue. A general increase in die wear is evident across the transfer from one mint to the other, notably in the loss of detail of the trailing tufts of the mane of the lion skin. On the first of the two transferred dies (Newell's *Dated Ake* die I) the relative chronology of die use is readily established by the development of a linear die break extending from the base of the mane on the lion skin towards the folds in the lion skin behind the neck of Herakles on the coins struck at Tyre (Figure 1). The initiation point for this die break is a deeply engraved detail at the base of the mane, evident in its initial state on the strike at Sidon.

¹⁵ Newell overlooked die VI in his text discussion of the matter, a point he rectified two years later in Newell (1918): 80-81, in his discussion of the Sidonian engraver's work at Tarsos.

¹⁶ Newell (1916): 53.

¹⁷ Newell (1916): 39.

Table 1. Chronology: dated Alexander issues of Tyre and Sidon.

BC	Tyre		Sidon	
	Year / Mark	Event	Year / Mark	Event
333/2	Thunderbolt	Two Sidon obv. dies used to initiate mintage at Tyre.	1  	First dated Alexander.
332/1	M or ΣΩ	Sidonian engraver at Tyre.	2  	
331/0	o or 	Sidonian engraver at Tarsos.	- Σ	Undated. Σ then ΣΙ displace  as the Sidon mint mark.
330/29	20 	Dated to the era of Ozmilk.	- ΣΙ	Undated.
329/8	21 	Sidonian engraver at Arados.	- Ivy leaf, ΣΙ	Undated.
328/7	22 		- Galley, ΣΙ	Undated.
327/6	23 		7  ΣΙ	
326/5	24 		8  ΣΙ	
325/4	25 		9  ΣΙ	Zeus with crossed legs.
324/3	26 	Zeus with crossed legs.	10  ΣΙ	Transition from Phoenician to Greek letter dating.
323/2	27 		K ΣΙ	Λ (= year 11) unknown.
322/1	28 		11 -	
321/0	29 	Attalos seizes and removes royal treasury at Tyre.	12 M ΣΙ	Philip III legend initiated.
320/19	30 		13 N ΣΙ	Philip III legend.
319/8	31 		14  ΣΙ	Philip III legend.
318/7	32 		15 O ΣΙ	Last Philip III legend.
317/6	33 		16 Π ΣΙ	
316/5	34 		17 P ΣΙ	
315/4	35 		18 Σ ΣΙ	
314/3	36 		19 T ΣΙ	
313/2	37 		20 Y ΣΙ	
312/1	38 		21 Φ ΣΙ	
311/0	39 		22 X ΣΙ	Sidon emission of Ptolemy I's coinage dated year 22; Merker (1964):13-14.
310/9	8 	Dated to the era of Antigonos; Boiy (2000).	23 Ψ ΣΙ	
309/8	9 		24 Ω ΣΙ	
308/7	10 		1 A M ΣΙ	New Sidon era; Le Rider (2007): 116.
307/6	11 	Last dated issue.	2 B M ΣΙ	
306/5			3 Γ M ΣΙ	
			4 Δ M ΣΙ	Last dated issue.

Sidon

a.



Price 3467
Newell *Dated Sidon* 8.-, dies -/-
Same obv. die as Newell *Dated Ake* 1, die I.
LWHT 131; Münzen Sänn, inventory no.
4708.

Tyre

b.



Price 3238
Newell *Dated Ake* 1, dies I/α.
Stack's Coin Galleries (18 Aug. 2009), lot
4068; Coin Galleries (Feb. 1987), lot 74.

c.



Price 3238 *fulmen* struck off-flan; rev. die
match to coins b and d. Newell *Dated Ake*
1, dies I/α.
CNG eAuction 276 (21 Mar. 2012), lot 92.

d.



Price 3238
Newell *Dated Ake* 1, dies I/α.
ANS 1944.100.35278.

e.



Price 3238
Newell *Dated Ake* 1, dies I/β.
ANS 1944.100.35279.
Softly struck.

f.



Price 3238
Newell *Dated Ake* 1, dies I/γ; pl. V, 9.
ANS 1944.100.35280.
Softly struck.

Figure 1. The newly recognized obverse die link between Sidon and Tyre.

A similar pattern of increasing die wear is observed on the obverse die that Newell recognized was transferred from Sidon to Tyre (Newell *Dated Sidon* and *Ake* obverse die II; Figure 2). During its use it was paired to many of the same reverse dies as Newell's *Dated Ake* die I, indicating that both obverse dies were used in parallel. The evidence of progressively increasing wear on both of these dies

during their use at Tyre conclusively establishes the direction of transfer of the dies. It is impossible for the first issue of Tyre, bearing a thunderbolt (Price 3238), to have preceded the *aleph* (year 1) issue of Sidon (Price 3467) as was proposed recently in a proposal to amend the chronology of the dated Sidon Alexanders.¹⁸

Sidon



Price 3467
Newell *Dated Sidon* 8, dies II/g, pl.I,12.
ANS 1944.100.35151.

Tyre



Price 3238
Newell *Dated Ake* 1, dies II/a, pl. V, 10.
ANS 1944.100.35281.



Price 3238
Newell *Dated Ake* 1, dies II/-.
CNG webshop inventory no. 828124.

Figure 2. Newell's Sidon die II and Tyre die II.

The identification of die transfers and subsequently an engraver transfer from Sidon to Tyre in 333/2 BC have number of interpretive ramifications. The two tetradrachm dies transferred from Sidon were used to commission an Alexander mint at Tyre¹⁹ where they were used in parallel to strike the first Alexander issue of the city.²⁰ Closely accompanying these dies was the engraver from Sidon who had cut the second transferred die. At Tyre he cut a further four obverse dies (Newell's *Dated Ake* dies III, IV, V and VI) in his uniquely distinctive style (Figure 3). These were paired to reverse dies bearing Greek mint marks M or ΣΩ (Price 3239-3241; Figure 2a-c),²¹ identifying a

¹⁸ A. S. DeShazo pers. comm. (Oct. 2018) and draft papers *The Alexander Type Coinage of Sidon and Two Chronological Coin Sequences at Sidon* and *The Satrapal and Alexander Coinage of Tyre*, Revised published

at <https://independent.academia.edu/AlanDeShazo> (accessed 23 Nov. 2018). Also referred to by Classical Numismatic Group Inc, in commentaries on Sidon and Tyre Alexander auction lots from August 2018 through 2019 e.g. CNG eAuction 440 (20 Mar. 2019), lot 47, <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=377787> and CNG eAuction 454, lot 67, <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=391190> (accessed 30 Oct. 2019).

¹⁹ Tyre possessed an Achaemenid mint prior to the Macedonian siege. It had a long history, so the transfer of dies and mint workers from Sidon suggests that the resources and facilities of the Achaemenid mint did not survive the siege. Given the historical record of destruction, death and enslavement suffered by the majority of the Tyrian population, it is hardly surprising that resources from Sidon were required to commission a new mint.

²⁰ Newell (1916): 39 for the reverse die links between the two transferred dies during their use at Tyre.

²¹ Newell's *Dated Ake* dies III and IV were used in parallel, as evidenced by a number of reverse die links between them:

period when the mint was under direct Macedonian administration,²² pending the appointment of a satrap, or a local king. During this period Alexander the Great campaigned through Palestine, into Egypt, returning to Tyre in June 331 BC, before deploying with his army to confront Darius at Gaugamela on 1st October 331 BC; the latter date precisely constrained by a lunar eclipse that preceded the battle.²³



Figure 3. Tyre obverse dies III-VI by the Sidonian engraver.

At this point, after an absence of two years from prior use on the Achaemenid coinage of the city, the Phoenician letter mint mark of Ozmilk \circ (*ayin*), and subsequently $\text{⋈}\circ$ (*ayin-kaph*) appear for the first time on the Alexander coinage of Tyre (Price 3244 and 3248). It appears that the potential confusion of the Phoenician letter *ayin* with the Greek letter *omicron* may have prompted the addition of the Phoenician letter *kaph* to the mark of Ozmilk, thus removing any ambiguity in the identification on the coinage of the king of Tyre.²⁴ Based on the chronology of the deployment of the Macedonian army from Egypt to Gaugamela, this coinage bearing the mark of Ozmilk must

Newell (1916): 39.

²² Direct administration in the sense it did not occur via an appointed intermediary in the form of a satrap, or local king.

²³ Arrian *Alexander* 3.7.6-7 in Romm (2009):111; Polcaro et al (2008). Astronomical calculations when combined with the historical record set the precise date of the battle as 11 days after the lunar eclipse of 20 September 331 BC, i.e. 1 October 331 BC.

²⁴ Similarly, at Sidon where a second letter (I) was added to the Greek letter S, which initially replaced the Phoenician letter *sade* as the mark of the mint at Sidon. Thus, SI served to unambiguously identify the Sidon mint, avoiding any confusion with the later use of the letter S as either a mint control, or a date (year18 at Sidon).

be dated to no earlier than the last months of 332/1 BC, or the following year 331/2 BC. It was struck from Newell's *Dated Ake* obverse dies IV and V, their use carried over from the previous issues bearing Greek letter mint marks (Figure 3d),²⁵ plus five new obverse dies²⁶ from a new engraver. This coincides with the transfer of mint authority from an interim Macedonian administration to the administration of Ozmilk on his reappointment by Alexander the Great. On the immediately following issue (Price 3250), the $\text{⋈} \circ$ mint mark is accompanied by a regnal era date in Phoenician numerals (era year 20 = 330/29 BC). This was struck exclusively from obverse dies of a completely different style to those cut by the Sidonian engraver, whose work is no longer found in the mint's output.²⁷ This issue marks the resumption of the prior Achaemenid practice of the city to date its coinage according to the regnal era of the local king, in this case back dated to the start of Ozmilk's Achaemenid incumbency that commenced in c. 349/8 BC.²⁸

The process of displacement of the Greek mint marks by Phoenician letters on the Alexander coinage of Tyre, notably the mark of Ozmilk, then followed by his regnal era date indicates that Ozmilk resumed his kingship of Tyre during Alexander the Great's transit in the city, on route to Gaugamela. Thus, the numismatic evidence clarifies events at Tyre immediately following the Macedonian capture of the city. It indicates that Ozmilk's reappointment to the role of king of Tyre was not made immediately upon the conclusion of the siege of the city. Rather, it appears to have been a matter that Alexander the Great pondered for the following twelve months, during his campaign to take Palestine and Egypt. This is hardly surprising. Ozmilk was the king of Tyre, absent from the city at the time the populace refused access to Alexander the Great. After its capture in July 332 BC, Tyre remained the most significant fortified port on the southern Phoenician coast. At the same time Darius remained on the throne of Persia raising a massive army, while the loyalty to Alexander of the Phoenician component the former Persian navy that had come over to him remained uncertain in the event of a resurgent Darius. Taking time to consider and test the loyalty of Ozmilk would have been an essential precursor to his reappointment to the role of king of Tyre. Certainly, during the interim Macedonian administration of the city, prior to his reappointment, he would have been kept on a 'short leash,' particularly in respect of finances and the establishment and operation of a new Alexander mint.

The mobilization of Sidonian mint resources to Tyre in order to strike coinage in the aftermath of the fall of city indicates a degree of urgency to establish an Alexander mint at Tyre. With at least two months remaining in the Macedonian lunar year of 333/2 BC, the thunderbolt symbol issue of Tyre (Price 3238), struck from the two dies transferred from Sidon, was most probably minted toward the end of that year. The thunderbolt symbol on the first issue of Tyre was manifestly appropriate to the start of the coinage from that city. Alexander the Great envisioned himself as the son of Zeus and it was the denial of his request to worship and sacrifice at the temple of Tyrian Herakles (Melqart) that precipitated the protracted and bloody Macedonian siege of the city.²⁹ Considered in this context, the thunderbolt of Zeus, his traditional weapon, may have

²⁵ Only one of the Sidonian engraver's dies, Newell *Dated Ake* die V, saw use in the striking of the tetradrachms marked with the letters *ayin-kaph* (Price 3248).

²⁶ Newell (1916): 40-42.

²⁷ Newell (1916): 42-43, and pl. VI, 9 and 11.

²⁸ Ozmilk's era date year 20 issue coincides with c. 330/29 BC based on the analysis of Elayi (2006): table 2 and Elayi and Elayi (2009): 373-389 and 395. These studies established the start of his reign in the Achaemenid period in c. 349 BC.

²⁹ Arrian, *Alexander* 2.16.1-2.18.4 in Romm (2010): 82-86.

symbolized Alexander's Herculean triumph over the Tyrians as a divine outcome, an early step in the apotheosis of Alexander.

The transfer of two dies from Sidon early in their productive life indicates that the first Sidon emission dated year 1 (*aleph*) most likely commenced late in the year of 333/2 BC, following the appointment of Abdalonymos as king of Sidon. This was a small emission, indicated by the fact that only one obverse die (Newell's *Dated Sidon* die I) saw out its life in this mintage, while the two other dies from which it was struck were transferred to Tyre after very little use. Therefore, it is unlikely that the mintage at Sidon was initiated to support the siege of Tyre, for the mint's output was little more than that from one obverse die, and thus of very modest quantity during 333/2 BC. The reattribution of a large series of gold staters (Price 3456-3466) from Sidon to Tarsos strengthens the argument,³⁰ for this removes the major coinage previously attributed to the mint of Sidon during its first year of operation. The proposed start date for the mintage at Sidon in late 333/2 BC, coincident with the conclusion of the siege of Tyre, is consistent with the period of time, possibly up to six months in parallel with the prosecution of the siege at nearby Tyre, that was required to find and formally appoint Abdalonymos, a suitable candidate of royal blood, to become the king of Sidon. It would be a mistake to take literally the entertaining narrative of the appointment of Abdalonymos presented in the ancient sources.³¹ It is represented as an almost frivolous decision made promptly on surrender of the city, one to which Alexander the Great gave cursory thought, with moralistic overtones. Though entertaining, this hardly accords with the significance of such an appointment that was to be made during the ongoing hostilities at nearby Tyre, while Darius still remained on the Persian throne and thus a threat to Alexander's enterprise.

The die and engraver transfers from Sidon to Tyre indicate that at the time both mints operated under an overarching Macedonian administrative control, a situation that was to remain unchanged until after the death of Alexander the Great. This is emphasised by the further movement of the Sidonian engraver. He cut four dies in his distinctive style at Tyre, after which his work appears in the coinage of Tarsos (Price 2995-2998; Figure 4) no later than 329 BC.³² The Sidonian engraver then moved to Arados where he engraved two tetradrachm obverse dies for Price 3304 (Figure 5); Duyrat's *Arados* Group III, Series 2, dies D11-D12³³ dated to c. 328 BC. Duyrat's *Arados* Group III, Series 2 (Price 3304-07) emission has a number of distinctive characteristics that suggest it may be the first Alexander emission from Arados.³⁴ Plausibly, the Sidonian engraver was called upon to assist in the commissioning of an Alexander mint at Arados, just as occurred at Tyre.

³⁰ Le Rider (2007):134-139.

³¹ Curtius IV, I, 16-26; Justin XI, 10; Diodorus XVII, 46, the latter placing Abdalonymos (Ballonimus) in Tyre, rather than Sidon.

³² Newell (1918): 72-81, fig. 3 and pl. III, 2-8. At Tarsos the Sidonian engraver cut five obverse dies illustrated on Newell's pl. III, 2-8. Newell dated the Tarsos series based on die counts and an average annual issuance. Based on the evidence of parallel striking, it is conceivable that Price 2995-96 struck from the Sidonian engraver's dies were minted as early 331/0 BC.

³³ Duyrat (2005): 14-15, pl. 1, 33-47. The Sidonian engraver's work at Arados is characterized by a more refined depiction than his earlier efforts, although the uniquely distinctive style and detail remains. After Arados, the work of the Sidonian engraver is no longer found in the corpus of any other Alexander mint in the east.

³⁴ Price 3304, 3305 and 3307, were struck from the only adjusted dies in the Arados sequence, while Price 3304 and 3307 bear obverse mint controls, M and D respectively. These are the sole examples of the obverse placement of a mint mark in the Arados sequence. Combined with the distinctive styles of the dies, not seen in the subsequent coinage, this suggests that these are the earliest Alexander issues of the mint struck before the operating standards (non-adjusted dies and reverse placement of all mint controls) were established.



Price 2995
Newell *Tarsos* 6, obv. die XXII, pl. III, 2.
ANS 1944.100.33518

Figure 4. A die by the Sidonian engraver at Tarsos.



Price 3304
Duyrat, *Arados* Group III, Series 2, dies
D11-R14.
ANS 1944.100.34571.

Figure 5. A die by the Sidonian engraver at Arados.

The transfer of mint workers across mints under the oversight of different satraps, or local kings, of which Sidonian engraver is but one example,³⁵ must have been in response to fluctuating demand for coinage in different regions. These transfers between mints imply a central administrative coordination of dispersed mint resources to meet a fluctuating demand for coinage. During Alexander the Great's lifetime, this coordination and allocation of resources must have occurred at a higher administrative level than that of local satrapal administration, only to breakdown in the decade following the settlement at Triparadeisos (321/0 BC) as the Macedonian empire fragmented under the rivalry of his competing successors. Otto Mørkholm astutely observed that under Alexander the Great 'the Phoenician and Cypriot city-states under their local kings retained the management of their mints, although they naturally had to operate within the general regulations laid down by the central [Macedonian] administration.'³⁶ In the detail of the earliest Alexander coinage from Sidon and Tyre we find some of the first direct evidence in support of this proposition for the existence of an overarching central administration of Alexander's mints during his lifetime.³⁷

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Images of coins from the collections of the American Numismatic Society and the British Museum are reproduced from the PELLA online database³⁸ under the provisions of the Open Data Commons (ODC) Open Database License (ODbL) v1.0³⁹ Other coin images are reproduced courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group Inc., www.cngcoins.com.

³⁵ Taylor 2020 (in press) for further examples of engraver and die transfers between widely distributed mints during the reign of Alexander the Great.

³⁶ Mørkholm (1991): 47.

³⁷ Taylor 2020: die and engraver transfers from Arados to regional mints and other mints as far afield as Asia Minor and Macedonia in the period 327-320 BC strengthen the argument in support of an overarching Macedonian administration of the mints; one standing above the local satrapal administration

³⁸ <http://numismatics.org/pella/> accessed 18 November 2019.

³⁹ <https://opendatacommons.org/licenses/odbl/1.0/> accessed 18 November 2019.

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διὸ δεῖ ἔπεσθαι τῷ (ξυνῶ, τουτέστι τῷ) κοινῷ·
ξυνὸς γὰρ ὁ κοινός. τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἐόντος ξυνοῦ
ζώουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς ἰδίαν ἔχοντες φρόνησιν

Heraclitus, via Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, VII 133

Why a New Journal in Classical Numismatics?: The Rationale for *KOINON* and Some Introductory Comments

“But why is it prohibited?” asked the Savage. In the excitement of meeting a man who had read Shakespeare he had momentarily forgotten everything else.

The Controller shrugged his shoulders. “Because it’s old; that’s the chief reason. We haven’t any use for old things here.”

“Even when they’re beautiful?”

“Particularly when they’re beautiful. Beauty’s attractive, and we don’t want people to be attracted by old things. We want them to like the new ones.”

From Aldous Huxley’s *Brave New World*

I had the great benefit of reading some dystopian novels during my summer graduate work, specifically Aldous Huxley’s *Brave New World* and George Orwell’s *1984*. Initially, when I sat down to write this brief introduction and welcome message to *KOINON*, I laid out a grand philosophical justification for its existence based on the lessons from these two works. In the final analysis, it was just ok (it was actually a bit much, if I’m being honest). We all know that totalitarianism is a danger even now and that many attempts have been made throughout history at erasing the past, so there is really no need for me to go on and on about it. And, likewise, we all also know that rampant consumerism à la *Brave New World* will ultimately destroy us, so we need to take time and appreciate things instead of always moving on to the next thing, coins included. *KOINON* was, in my initial speculations, a noble attempt at keeping historic scholarship alive and well in the face of unprecedented social progress, all through the study of numismatics. Moreover, by participating in the journal, we would all make the world a better place. While there is not anything particularly wrong with that sort of justification, it ignores the real reason for *KOINON*, namely, the fact that I love studying and writing about ancient coins, and so do many of you. Ultimately, then, the real purpose of *KOINON* is to offer a venue for taking a closer look at the past, because so much knowledge about antiquity can be regained through the study of numismatics. This journal is here to help people do precisely that.

In terms of the content of this inaugural volume you will find a wide variety of material that should be of interest to just about everyone, and I hope that by reading these essays some of you will get new ideas about articles you might consider writing for the journal. We begin with my own essay. I was hesitant to start with my own work so as not to appear too egotistical, but I decided that I need to take the lead as the editor and put myself out there, flaws and all. That essay purports to shine a new light on a very old play using ancient coins to justify a new interpretation, and I hope readers find it enjoyable. Dr. Voukelatos’ essay appears next, and shows that provenance research can be thrilling and informative, and the characters that collect and study ancient coins are an integral part of numismatic research, often times as interesting as the coins themselves. The Greek section also greatly benefits from the inclusion of an interesting die study by Lloyd Taylor concerning the coinage of Philip III and the ritual reuse of dies in antiquity. It is an essay that reminds us not to assume the

ancients conceived of the world as we do, and were heavily influenced by the prevailing superstitious beliefs of the time period. Finally, we round out that section with a detailed analysis of a charming coin from Arados by Martin Rowe, whose passion for Phoenician coinage is sure to fill pages of *KOINON* for years to come.

The Roman section is just as interesting. It begins with a fascinating study by Luigi Pedroni concerning the Aegis of Minerva, written in Italian, and featuring some truly breathtaking coins. That essay is followed by a persuasive argument in favor of the legitimacy of a particular Republican denarius by Jordan Montgomery and Richard Schaefer—an important argument to say the least. Next we have Shawn Caza's detailed study of Nepotian's usurpation and the coinage of Magnentius, which validates a dating scheme originally put forth by Curtis Clay and gives the reader a more comprehensive understanding of that tumultuous time period. The Roman section ends with a newly discovered coin type of Constantine I—a truly rare occurrence these days—from the Roman mint of Arles.

I was pleasantly surprised to have three outstanding essays to include in the Oriental section. First is a detailed analysis from a long-time professional numismatist, Wilhelm Müseler, which offers a compelling new account of some enigmatic Persid coins. That essay is followed by N.J.C. Smith's explanation of some Kilwa coins, an essay which demonstrates the incredible depth of history surrounding what appear at first glance as some modest bronze coins nearly lost to time. Finally, we have Robert Langas' important overview of Parthian fractionals, a small area of numismatics that has gone almost completely ignored until now. The final section of essays concerns Medieval and Early Modern coinage, and here I am delighted to include Andrei Bontas' account of a *denaro tornese*, an area of numismatics I personally had no experience with, but an essay I nonetheless really enjoyed.

The final part of the journal is dedicated to new varieties of coinage. I was excited to have so many contributions and I am hopeful that this section will greatly expand in the future. As I see it, it is the perfect gateway into numismatic publishing. I say this because it requires a detailed study of all the literature that might list a coin variety as well as an analysis of where it would belong in the standard references, and this skill-set is essential to developing further, more comprehensive numismatic studies. If you know of an unpublished variety, no matter how small a variant, I encourage you to contribute in the future.

Before closing, there are many people to thank. I was very lucky when assembling the advisory board to have many notable figures in numismatics volunteer to help out. That says a lot, I think, about the type of people that really love ancient coins. They are some of the most generous people I have ever met, and I am greatly indebted to them for offering their expertise. I am also particularly grateful to Lloyd Taylor and Shawn Caza, who agreed to serve as Associate Editors when I realized I was in over my head. Moreover, when I originally embarked on this project, I'd planned to publish this journal independently, but I quickly realized I am not skilled enough to do so. I am therefore also very grateful to Archaeopress for offering to take the reins and provide me with much-needed assistance. More and more research in numismatics is appearing in their stock and the reader would be very wise to browse their offerings. They have become an indispensable source for quality material about antiquity and I am thrilled that *KOINON* can be a small part of that enterprise.

Finally, I'd like to close with an insight from a scholar I am happy to call my friend, David MacDonald. Sometimes we ask ourselves, when starting or finishing such a long, arduous process

like publishing a journal, what is the point of it all? This is the question I initially sat down to answer and, indeed, the same question I asked myself after finishing *IOTAMIKON*. It is also a question David reflected on when I congratulated him on his excellent new book on colonial French Illinois. His profound response was this: “It keeps me off the streets and for that the neighbors are grateful!” That is probably true, and not just for David, but for everyone. If we are not engaged in good and meaningful activities such as *KOINON*, we are bound to get ourselves in trouble, and that simple lesson is the same one at the heart of the dystopian novels I decided not to write about.

Vivat Achelous!

Nicholas J. Molinari, General Editor
Societatis De Tauro Cum Facie Humana

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Σωκράτης: ὦ φίλε Πάν τε καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῆδε θεοί, δοίητέ μοι καλῶ γενέσθαι τ'ἀνδοθεν: ἕξωθεν δὲ ὅσα ἔχω, τοῖς ἐντὸς εἶνάι μοι φίλια. πλούσιον δὲ νομίζοιμι τὸν σοφόν: τὸ δὲ χρυσοῦ πλῆθος εἴη μοι ὅσον μήτε φέρειν μήτε ἄγειν δύναιτο ἄλλος ἢ ὁ σώφρων.

ἔτ' ἄλλου του δεόμεθα, ὦ Φαῖδρε; ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ μετρίως ἠῦκται.

Φαῖδρος: καὶ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα συνεύχου: κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν φίλων.

-Plato, *Phaedrus* (closing prayer), 279b-c

An Introductory Note from the General Editor, with Recourse to Plato and Eukleidas



Eukleidas' Facing-Head Athena Tetradrachm, 405 BC¹

When Plato wrote the final prayer in the *Phaedrus* quoted on the previous page, he had recently returned from a tumultuous stay in Sicily. He went there to convince Dionysius I (the Elder) to reject his lifestyle of debauchery and turn to the philosophical life, essentially to become the first philosopher king. Dionysius did not heed Plato's advice, and neither did his son, Dionysius the Younger. In fact, there were times during Plato's several trips to the island that the philosopher was risking his own life to promote his idea of the just society. Plato's name was slandered, and members of the court tried to convince Dionysius that Plato was there to help overthrow the tyrant. At one point, Plato actually had to leave Syracuse and lodge with mercenaries, some of the most ruthless characters known in antiquity. Despite the mishaps, Plato's stay was not all bad, and evidently quite inspiring: For those of you unfamiliar with the *Phaedrus*, it is a dialogue that concerns Beauty in relation to the soul, and the role of love and wonder in the process of self-appropriation and acquisition of knowledge of ultimate reality, which for Plato go hand-in-hand. Throughout its pages, we are told a story of how Beauty is the only transcendental form we can glimpse here on earth, and it is through beatific vision that we are led, following Zeus and a procession of gods, to an even greater vision of the 'colorless, formless, and truly intangible οὐσία ὄντως οὐσία.' (247c) I find it interesting that, if we look at the numismatic context of Sicily when Plato visited, in the first quarter of the fourth century BC, we find that he was exposed to arguably the greatest numismatic masterpieces ever struck, ancient or modern. Is it any surprise, after viewing the work of artists like Kimon, Eukleidas, and Eumenes, featuring spectacular levels of craftsmanship, that Plato composed a dialogue concerning the very nature of Beauty in its relation to what he saw as the fundamental principle of human existence?

¹ Image courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster, PA, Inventory no. 896171.

While I do not expect the readers of *KOINON II* to immediately transcend to the world of forms when they read this volume, they are in for a real treat. I'm happy to write that the section on Greek coinage is the largest, with seven different essays. Leading us off is Rosanagh Mack, who presents a compelling case concerning the iconic influence for certain issues from Larisa, a fascinating area whose lovely coinage, like so many other areas, is not appreciated as much as it should be. Next, I was excited to have a submission from David MacDonald, who shares a brief but important essay about a family lineage in Apollonia, an area of special interest to him. The following essay by Phoenician specialist Martin Rowe presents his findings concerning an interesting iconic representation of Ba'al Arward. The next two essays are important, comprehensive studies by Lloyd Taylor, our Associate Editor: the first providing a comprehensive account of the Macedonian mint at Susa, and the second concerning the emergence of a dynastic emblem. Finally, we close the Greek section with an essay concerning the hunt for early provenances by John Voukelatos, nicely complementing his article in the last volume and hopefully inspiring other provenance hounds to participate with their own contributions. It is difficult to read any of these essays and not immediately recognize the inspired writing emerging from an authentic love of ancient coins.

The Roman section contains equally exciting contributions. Our first essay is by Tyler Holman and concerns a detailed study of the iconography of Veiovis and asks whether or not we find him on Republican denarii. Next, Phillip Davis, our resident expert in Republican coinage, offers an important note concerning the 'official' status of a denarius not catalogued in *RRC*. We end the Roman section with two essays by Shawn Caza, our other Associate Editor: the first is brief but important—it challenges some theories put forth concerning Constantinian bronzes from the Antioch excavations. The second is a substantial contribution that offers a comprehensive, erudite analysis of the FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman varieties, and I'm thrilled to include it in this volume.

The final two sections present three interesting papers. In the Byzantine and related coinage section we have a new overview of the so-called Sirmium group by Dirk Faltin—an impressive and detailed study that is sure to become a standard overview for the types. In the Medieval section, we start with a new and interesting forensic approach to letterforms and a provisional classification system, developed by David Spenciner and his daughter, Marina Spenciner. This is a promising approach to numismatics and I'm delighted that *KOINON* is instrumental in its debut. Finally, we feature another excellent contribution from Andrei Bontas, who discusses the possibility of a *deniers tournois* issued by Louis X. Altogether, I was thrilled with the submissions for Volume II, which turned out to be even more than the inaugural issue. I think this reflects the need for a broad-based, international journal that encourages submissions from a wide-variety of perspectives, and bodes well for our future success.

There are various people to thank for helping make *KOINON II* a reality. First and foremost are Lloyd Taylor and Shawn Caza. Lloyd and Shawn's precision in numismatic studies, evident from their essays in this volume, also make them excellent editors, and without their close attention to detail this volume would not deliver on its high standard for excellence—especially with someone like me overseeing the operation. In all seriousness, *KOINON II* looks as nice as it does because of their efforts, and any errors that slipped through are the result of my own editorial shortcomings. Second, to all the members of the editorial advisory board: Thank you! Without your dedication to

the process and careful analysis of papers, the journal simply could not exist. On many occasions writers express sincere thanks to the anonymous readers, who have contributed to making their works significantly better. I would also like to thank David MacDonald, whom I constantly rely upon for guidance and a dose of common sense, and Tjaart de Beer, for his generous donation to the cause, which alleviated some of the financial burden of producing the journal (and made my wife particularly happy). Finally, our publisher, Archaeopress, for consistently delivering exceptional service and technical expertise, enabling this journal to reach a far greater audience than I could have ever imagined.

Before closing, I'd like to return to the *Phaedrus* and hopefully inspire more submission for *KOINON* III. One of the greatest things about ancient coins—and I think most readers will agree—is that they promote wonder (θάμβους in the *Phaedrus*). Wonder, it seems to me, is that basic element of human cognition that helps us transcend our little individual bubbles and experience the greater world and the other people who share it with us, collectively comprising the κοινόν. That is precisely how it operates in Plato's dialogue. For Plato, wonder is a natural response to beauty (as ἐκφανέστατον), and it is partly through wonder that the soul orients itself back toward the οὐσία ὄντως οὐσία. So, in closing, I hope you will all embrace the experience of wonder that naturally stems from the beatific vision involved in the study of ancient coins. It need not be a masterpiece of Sicilian art, but a humble bronze that deserves the special attention which only you can provide. And, if in wondering about your coins you feel inspired to write something, *KOINON* and its editors are here to help, for κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν φίλων.

Vivat Achelous!

Nicholas J. Molinari, General Editor
Societas De Tauro Cum Facie Humana

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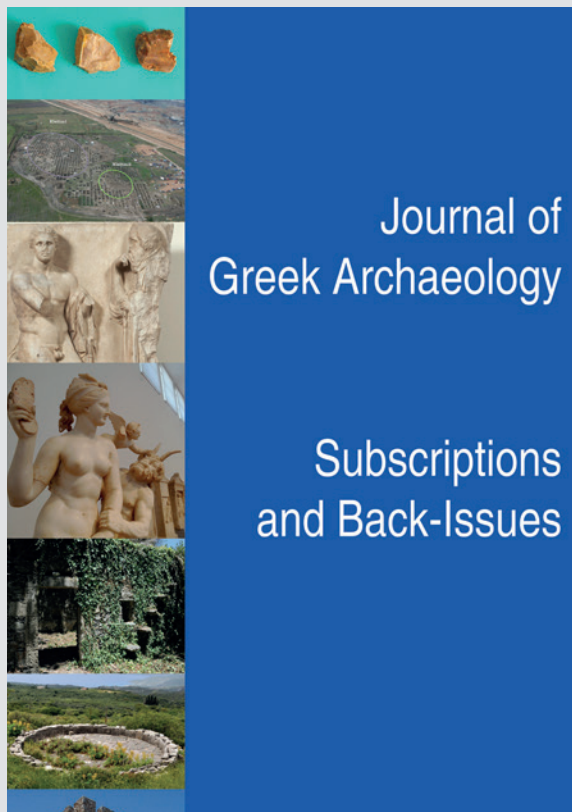
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