

BİRİNCİ ULUSLARARASI
ANADOLU PARA TARİHİ VE
NUMİSMATİK KONGRESİ
25-28 ŞUBAT 2013

FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE ANATOLIAN MONETARY
HISTORY AND NUMISMATICS
25-28 FEBRUARY 2013

ANTALYA

BİLDİRİLER PROCEEDINGS

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Editörler / *Editors*

Kayhan DÖRTLÜK
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Remziye BOYRAZ SEYHAN



Suna – İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü
Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations



SUNA – İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ
SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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*First International Congress
of the Anatolian Monetary History and Numismatics - Proceedings*

Editörler / Editors
Kayhan DÖRTLÜK
Oğuz TEKİN
Remziye BOYRAZ SEYHAN

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İçindekiler / Contents

Sunuş / Preface

Bildiriler (Alfabetik isim sırasına göre) / Proceedings (<i>Names in alphabetical order</i>)	
ALTINOLUK Sencan	1 A Miracle Told by Pausanias and a Unique Coin of Hypaipa
AMANDRY Michel	7 Monnayages civiques de Cilicie frappés sous Hadrien
ARSLAN Melih	13 Iuliopolis Nekropolü Kharon Sikkeleri
ASHTON Richard H. J.	25 The Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Bronze Coinage of Kyme in Aiolis: A Sketch
BARBARA Sébastien	49 An Anepigraphic Bronze Close to the Pergamene Issue with Types Athena/Coiled Snake
BODZEK Jarosław	59 Achaemenid Asia Minor: Coins of the Satraps and of the Great King
BULUT Süleyman ŞENGÜL Mehmet	79 2009-2012 Yılları Andriake Kazı Sikkeleri ve Yerleşim Tarihine Katkıları
BUTCHER Kevin	111 Lycian Drachms and the Monetary System of the Roman Empire
CALLATAÏ François de	117 Revisiting a Numismatic Corpus: The Case of Eupator, Last King of Pontus
CACCAMO CALTABIANO Maria CARROCCIO Benedetto PUGLISI Mariangela	139 The Coins and the Relational Network of Kyme: Evidence from the Italian Excavations
CHAMEROY Jérémie	157 Frappes et trouvailles de monnaies civiques sous l'Empire romain : une confrontation
ÇİZMELİ ÖĞÜN Zeynep	171 “Smintheion Definesi” ve Alexandria Troas Sikkelerinin Akdeniz Havzasındaki Dolaşımı
DELRIEUX Fabrice	197 Les alexandres municipaux tardifs de Carie (fin IIIe-début IIe siècle av. J.-C.) Notes sur les ateliers d'Eurômos et Mylasa d'après le trésor de “Démétrios Ier”
DEVECİOĞLU Ülkü	219 Roma İmparatorluğu Dönemi'nde Iuliopolis Sikkeleri
DÖNMEZ-ÖZTÜRK Filiz	231 İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri'nde Bulunan Bir Grup Termessos Sikkesi

EROL-ÖZDİZBAY Aliye	245	Edirne (Hadrianopolis) Kalesi Zindanaltı Kazılarında Bulunan Sikkeler
GÜNEY Hâle	281	Nikomedeia Kent Sikkelerinin Dolaşımı
HEUCHERT Volker	297	A Tooled Coin and a Forgery of the “Koinon of the Thirteen Cities”
HOWGEGO Christopher	307	Questions of Coin Circulation in the Roman Period
KARWIESE Stefan	319	Some New Evidence on Early Electron Coinage
KELEŞ Vedat	333	Parion Sikkelerinin Sirkülasyonu Işığında Parion’un Bölgesel Konumu
KÖKER Hüseyin	345	Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Komama Sikkeleri
KUCUR Sadi S.	361	Türkiye Selçukluları Sikkelerinde Unvan, Lâkab ve Künyeler
LESCHHORN Wolfgang	369	Die hellenistischen Drachmen der Stadt Side in Pamphylien
MARINESCU Constantin A.	383	Byzantium’s Early Coinage in the Name of King Lysimachus: Problems and New Attributions
MARKOU Evangeline	397	Symbols on the Archaic and Classical Cypriot Coinage: Influences, Duration and Diffusion
MEADOWS Andrew	409	Imitative Coinage in First-Century Pamphylia
NOLLÉ Johannes	423	Greek Imperials and Mythical Tales
ÖZBİL Canan	429	Nysa Kazısı Sikke Buluntuları (1992-2012)
ÖZTOPBAŞ Sedat	437	İstanbul Marmaray Yenikapı Kazılarında Toplu Sikke Buluntusu ve I. Anastasius’un Düğün Solidusu
PAKSOY İsmail Günay	443	Osman Gazi’nin Şimdiye Kadar Yayımlanmış Tek Gümüş Sikkesi Üzerine Düşünceler
PAUNOV Evgeni I.	457	The Coinage of the Thracian King Mostis: Recent Finds, Chronology, Distribution and Localisation
PETER Ulrike	481	The Numismatic Web Portal for Ancient Coins of Thrace: http://www.corpus-nummorum.eu
PFEIFFER-TAŞ Şule	489	New Remarks Regarding Ottoman Monetary History in Light of the Akçe-Coins of Murad III.
POLOSA Annalisa	509	Coin Production and Coin Circulation in Elaiussa Sebaste (Cilicia)
SANCAKTAR Hacer	515	Antiokheia (Pisidia) Kazısı Sikkeleri: 2008-2012
SCHACHINGER Ursula	525	The Coin Finds from the Theatre in Ephesus and Some Remarks on Coin Circulation in Ephesus
STROOBANTS Fran	541	The Production of Civic Coins in Third-century Pisidia and Pamphylia: Mapping Regional Trends and Urban Deviations
TEKİN Oğuz	559	More Coins of Agathocles, Son of Lysimachus: A Reattribution

TEOMAN Gültekin	575	Batı Anadolu Beylik Mangırları
TÜRKOĞLU İnci	589	The Civic Coinage of Calchedon
ÜNAL Ceren	607	“Tralles Definesi”: Bizans İmparatoru III. Leon (717-741) Dönemine Ait Altın Sikkeler
ÜNAL Erdal	619	Hellenistik Dönem Eumeneia Sikkeleri
VAN ALFEN Peter	631	<i>Metoikêsis</i> and Archaic Monetary Coordination: Teos-Abdera and Phokaia-Velia
WEISSER Bernhard	653	Die Fundmünzen aus dem Felsheiligtum Ost in Priene
YAĞIZ Oya	669	Les monnaies de bronze de Lysimachie de la collection des monnaies grecques du Musée Archéologique de Tekirdağ
YALÇIN D. Özlem	685	<i>Limes Euphraticus</i> 'un Numismatik Değerlendirmesi: Defineler
YOUNIS Mohammad	703	The Seljuqs of Rum and the Ayyubids; Political Relations and Intermarriage, through Coinage
ZAVAGNO Luca	715	Coinage and Economy in Cyprus in the Age of Transition (c. 600-850 A.D.)

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SUNUŞ

Taşınır kùltür mirasıyla ilgili resmi istatistik rakamları, Türkiye müzelerindeki en geniş koleksiyonların giderek artış gösteren büyük bir farkla sikkelerden oluştuğunu göstermektedir. Oysa, sikkeyi icat etme onurunu da taşıyan bu ayrıcalıklı topraklar üzerinde numismatik bilimi, her birinin adını saygıyla, şükranla andığımız bireysel sınırlı çabaların ötesinde akademik anlamda arzu edilen düzeyde gelişmemiş ve kurumsallaşamamıştır. Buna bağlı olarak, müzelerde çoğu kez basit bir tasnif ya da envanter bilgisi ile saklanan bu zenginlikler, tarihe ışık tutma görevlerini yeterince yerine getiremeyerek salt “obje” gibi algılanmanın mahsunluğu ve mahcupluğu içindedirler.

Artık bu bakış açısında son yıllarda olumlu değişimler olmaktadır. Bazı üniversitelerin ilgili bölümlerinde antik numismatik eğitimi verilmekte, araştıran, yazan, meraklı genç bilimciler yetiştirilmektedir.

Suna - İnan Kıracı Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü, görev ve amaçları doğrultusunda eskiçağ bilimlerine yönelik kütüphanesini oluştururken numismatiğe farklı bir öncelik tanımıştır. Temel hedef, yerli-yabancı araştırmacıların ilk tercihleri olabilecek nitelikte bir kütüphane üzerine programlıdır.

Donanımlı numismatların yetişmesine katkı sağlamak bir diğer misyonumuzdur. Düzenlenen Uluslararası Birinci Anadolu Para Tarihi ve Numismatik Kongresi dünyada bu alanın otoritesi olan seçkin bilginler ile gençleri bir araya getirmeye muvaffak olmuş, sunulan birbirinden ilginç ve düzeyli 55 bildiri bizleri numismatik adına yeni ufuklara, yeni dostluklara, yeni umutlara taşımıştır.

2. Anadolu Para Tarihi ve Numismatik Kongresi’nde çok daha kalabalık bir bilim grubuyla birlikte olmak dileğiyle, tek tek tüm katılımcılara, Düzenleme, Bilim, Koordinasyon kurullarının üyelerine bir kez daha teşekkür ediyoruz. Bize bu imkanı sağlayan Kongre Şeref başkanları Suna ve İnan Kıracı’na şükranlarımızı sunuyoruz.

Kayhan Dörtük

Antalya, 2014

PREFACE

Official statistics regarding portable cultural assets at Turkish museums indicate that the largest collections are of coins, and that they are constantly growing, thus increasing the gap with the other materials. However, the science of numismatics has not developed enough academically nor is it institutionalised, beyond individual efforts each one of which is remembered with deference and gratitude. This is unfortunate, especially in the land that has the honour of being the place where coinage was invented. Accordingly, this wealth is usually kept at the museums with simple classification or inventory information, diffident and languishing with limited perception as mere “objects” instead of casting stronger light on numismatic history.

Nevertheless, recent years have witnessed positive changes regarding this perspective. Some universities now provide numismatic training in related departments, thereby raising up an inquisitive generation of young scholars that is investigating and writing on the subject.

In the course of building a library on antiquity in conformity with the scope of its foundation, the Suna & İnan Kır  Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations has given special priority to numismatics. The main goal is to create a collection that will be preferred as the first choice by both local and foreign scholars.

Contributing to the training of well-equipped numismatists is another one of our missions. The First International Congress on Anatolian Monetary History and Numismatics that AKMED organised succeeded in bringing together select leading scholars in the field as well as young numismatists. A total of 55 papers of high academic level and interest were presented that conveyed new horizons, fostered new friendships, and created new hopes on behalf of numismatics.

We would like to express our gratitude once again to all the delegates as well as the members of the Organizing, Academic and Coordinating Boards with the wish that at the Second International Congress on Anatolian Monetary History and Numismatics an even larger group of academics can gather. Additional thanks are certainly due to Suna and İnan Kır  for providing us with this opportunity.

Kayhan D rtl k

Antalya, 2014

Symbols on the Archaic and Classical Cypriot Coinage: Influences, Duration and Diffusion

Evangelina MARKOU*

The attribution of coins to the coin production of individual kings of Cyprus is usually secure, since the early issues have a common script on them, the Cypriot syllabic script, used to transcribe the Greek language that is proper to the island¹. Although the Cypriot syllabic script is the most common², several coinages of the archaic and classical periods bear either Phoenician legends³ or a combination of Cypriot syllabic and Phoenician legends⁴, and from the end of the fifth century, Greek⁵ or a combination of Greek legends and Cypriot syllabic signs⁶. Apart from the linguistic variations, the coinages minted by the kings in Cyprus display an iconography that varies astonishingly, frequently from king to king and always from kingdom to kingdom. Aspects of this rich iconography will be developed in the present study, where particular attention will be paid to the symbols that surround the principal types – symbols that are mostly related to the cultures and cults of the Near East, such as the ankh, the sign of Tanit and the flying winged disc, amongst others.

In this investigation the following questions arise: how often do we find such symbols on the coinages of Cyprus? Are they linked to the iconography of a specific king or kingdom, or are they observed in different kingdoms? In which ones? Are they auxiliary, or do they form at any point the principal types of the local coinages? And for how long? The purpose of the present research is to trace the diffusion of the symbols that were “preferred” by the Cypriots and to discuss the dating and the meaning of those iconographical choices.

I. Ankh

The Egyptian symbol of life, the ankh, formed by a circle and a cross attached to its lower part, is a favourite symbol in Cypriot numismatic iconography, mostly of the archaic but also of the classical period. In Cyprus it is observed as a main type on the reverse of the coinages of kings

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¹ Masson 1983; Egetmeyer 2010.

² See for example the coins of king Stasandros of Paphos in BMC Cyprus, 38 Nr. 17, Pl. VII, 13.

³ See for example the coinages of the kings of Kition in BMC Cyprus, 8 Nr. 2 Pl. II, 8 ff.

⁴ See for example the coin of king Timo (-) of Paphos in Masson – Amandry 1988, 31-32.

⁵ See for example the coins of king Evagoras II of Salamis in BMC Cyprus, 59, Nr. 64 Pl. XII, 1 ff.

⁶ See for example the coins of Stasioikos II of Marion in BMC Cyprus, 34 Nr. 5 Pl. VI, 13; Destrooper 2004, 84-86.



Fig. 1 Uncertain Kingdom (Kourion ?), Unknown king, silver 1/3d of a siglos (3.55 g.). Paris (Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale). Babelon 1907, 617-618 Nr. 971 Pl. XXVII, 19.



Fig. 2 Salamis, King Euelthon's Successors, silver 1/6th of a siglos (1.64 g.). Nicosia (Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation), Nr. 1984-01-06. Zapiti – Michaelidou 2008, 37 Nr. 11.



Fig. 3 Salamis, King Euelthon's Successors, silver 1/3d of a siglos (3.24 g.). New York (American Numismatic Society), Nr. 1951.116.202.

of at least three kingdoms: 1) on those of an unknown king of the early fifth century who ruled an unidentified Cypriot kingdom, 2) on the silver *sigloi* of the first half of the fifth century issued by the kings of Salamis (successors to Euelthon), 3) on the coins of the last king of Marion, Stasioikos II, and 4) on those of an uncertain king, maybe of Soloi, who issued bronze coins during the fourth century.

On the early fifth century coins of the unidentified Cypriot kingdom, probably Kourion and not Golgoi as has been suggested in the past⁷, the ankh is represented on the reverse of the larger as well as the smaller denominations as the principal reverse type. The ankh appears in a simple form, as on the silver *sigloi* with a crouching lion on the obverse⁸, or in a more elaborate way, as on the smaller silver fraction series with a lion's head on the obverse and an ankh on the reverse, decorated at the top with a double circular loop composed of an inner ring of dots and an outer linear ring with a pellet in the center⁹ (Fig. 1).

On the coinage of Salamis, and especially on that of Euelthon's successors (as they are traditionally described since the names of those successors given by Herodotus¹⁰ and the Cypriot syllabic signs present on their coins do not correspond)¹¹, the ankh is omnipresent as a reverse type. The variations of this iconographical choice are interesting, as one can observe the ankh in a simple¹² or in more elaborate forms. On some coins the inner circle of the ankh is decorated either with the Cypriot syllabic sign *ku*, that could correspond to the ethnic *Κυπρίων* (of the Cypriots)¹³ (Fig. 2), or with the Cypriot syllabic sign "ni" that could correspond to the initial of the name of king Nikodamos¹⁴, who is known to us exclusively through his numismatic production. Other coins represent in the inner circle of the ankh on the reverse the Cypriot syllabic sign *pa*, the initial of the Greek word *pa-si-le-wo-se* (of the king)¹⁵. This sign is present on most Cypriot royal coinages, as it usually precedes the initial of the king's name, attesting the royal title and the issuing authority. At Salamis an iconographical pattern is created by the combination of two parallel lines, instead of one, on the stem of the ankh, creating the Cypriot syllabic sign *pa* on the symbol itself¹⁶ (Fig. 3).

⁷ Kagan 1999, 33-44.

⁸ Babelon 1907, 617-618 Nr. 972 Pl. XXVII, 18.

⁹ Babelon 1907, 617-618 Nr. 971 Pl. XXVII, 19.

¹⁰ Herodotus, 5.104.1.

¹¹ Masson 1983, 319-320 Nrs. 320-322; Picard 1994, 9-12.

¹² Babelon 1907, 579-580 Nr. 933 bis Pl. XXVI, 10.

¹³ Babelon 1907, 583-584 Nr. 937 Pl. XXVI, 14; Zapiti – Michaelidou 2008, 37 Nr. 11.

¹⁴ Babelon 1907, 593-596 Nr. 948; Zapiti – Michaelidou 2008, 38 Nr. 15.

¹⁵ Babelon 1907, 589-592 Nrs. 940-942 bis Pl. XXVI, 15-16; 19.

¹⁶ Babelon 1907, 593-594 Nr. 945 Pl. XXVI, 22.



Fig. 4 Marion, King Stasioikos II, silver 1/12th of a siglos (0,60 g.). Paris (Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale) Coll. de Vogüé, Nr. 16.



Fig. 5 Soloi, Uncertain king, bronze coin (3.35 g.). New York (American Numismatic Society), Nr. 1944.100.58008.



Fig. 6 Kition, King Baalmilk II, silver siglos (10.81 g.). Numismatic Lanz Munchen, Auction 155, 10/XII/2012, Nr. 299. <http://www.sixbid.com/browse.html?auction=553&category=12426&lot=573485>

This practice is also observed on other royal issues of the fourth century such as the coinage of the king of Marion, Stasioikos II. On his silver coinage Stasioikos II follows the iconography first observed on the coins of the kings of Salamis, with the ankh as a principal reverse type, the double parallel lines forming the royal title's initial on the stem and the initial of his name, *sa*, placed inside the circle of the *ankh*¹⁷ (Fig. 4). Finally the *ankh* as a main iconographic type appears on the reverse of the bronze coinage of one of the kings of Soloi of the fourth century, an attribution based on the discovery of a hoard including such coins near the theater of Soloi¹⁸. The *ankh* is the central element placed inside a laurel wreath, without legends or other surrounding symbols¹⁹ (Fig. 5).

The ankh also appears on the coinages of various kings who ruled in different kingdoms in Cyprus, not as main iconographical type but as a secondary symbol, placed either on the obverse or on the reverse of the coins, accompanying the main iconographic types. That is the case for the coinage produced by the last king of Salamis from Euelthon's dynasty, Euanthes. He is known exclusively from his numismatic production that makes the reverse type a ram's head, and includes the ankh simply as a symbol in the field below²⁰. Other examples can be found in the coin production of the kings of Kition in the fifth century: king Baalmilk I's fractions of sigloi represent the ankh on the reverse, in front of the seated lion²¹, and the sigloi of his successor and grandson, Baalmilk II, represent the ankh on the obverse, in front of Herakles-Milquart advancing with his weapons²² (Fig. 6).

On some silver sigloi of the kings of Paphos in the fifth century, the ankh is depicted often on the obverse, in front of the bull, as for example on the silver sigloi of king Onasioikos, or on the reverse, next to the standing eagle, as on the silver sigloi of king Stasandros²³ (Fig. 7). On the early fifth century silver coins of king Stasikypros of Idalion, the ankh appears on the

¹⁷ BMC Cyprus, lxi, Pl. XX, 17; Babelon 1910, 813-814 Nr. 1344, Pl. CXXXV, 24; Babelon 1930, Nr. 773, Pl. XX, 17.

¹⁸ Destrooper-Georgiades 1992, 365-376.

¹⁹ Babelon 1910, 813-814 Nr. 1346, Pl. CXXXV, 26; Destrooper-Georgiades 2012, 386 Nr. 54.

²⁰ Babelon 1910, 701-702, Nr. 1140, Pl. CXXXVII, 12; SNG Cop. Cyprus, I, 38; Classical Numismatic Group, auction 85, 15/IX/2010, Nr. 479.

²¹ Babelon 1910, 739-740 Nrs. 1199-1201 Pl. CXXX, 7-14; Babelon 1930, 114 Nr. 2957 ff.

²² BMC Cyprus, 14, Nr. 35, Pl. III, 12.

²³ Coins of Onasioikos in: BMC Cyprus, 41 Nr. 41 Pl. VIII, 3; Babelon 1910, 789-790 Nr. 1304 Pl. CXXXIV, 17. Coins of Stasandros in: BMC Cyprus, 38 Nr. 17 Pl. VII, 13 ff.; Babelon 1910, 783-784 Nr. 1285 Pl. CXXXIII, 24; Destrooper-Georgiades 2000a, 195 Fig. 14. Recent studies of the coinage of Paphos in Destrooper-Georgiades 2000a; idem 2000b; idem 2005; Markou 2012.



Fig. 7 Paphos, King Stasandros, silver siglos (10.62 g.). Paris (Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale). Babelon 1910, 783-784, Nr. 1285 Pl. CXXXIII, 24.



Fig. 8 Amathous, King Rhoicos, silver tetrobol (2.20 g.). Paris (Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale). Babelon 1910, 777-778, Nr. 1273 Pl. CXXXIII, 13.



Fig. 9 Uncertain Kingdom, King Ari(-), silver siglos (10.81 g.). Paris (Cabinet des médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale), Nr. L2512. Babelon 1910, 827-828, Nr. 1368 Pl. CXXXVI, 19.



Fig. 10 Uncertain Kingdom (Cyriot ?), Uncertain King, silver siglos (10.60 g.). Paris (Cabinet des médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale), Nr. 1989.385. Amandry 1992, 20, Nr. 5.

reverse, in the right field next to the lotus flower²⁴, while on the silver issues of an uncertain king of Lapethos of the same period, representing Herakles on the obverse and Athena on the reverse, the ankh is placed on the reverse, in the right-hand corner above Athena's head²⁵. The ankh can be also observed on the coinage of king Rhoicos of Amathous, in front of the forepart of the lion on the reverse²⁶ (Fig. 8), on the mid-fourth century silver issues of the king of Kourion or Soloi, Ari (-) whose complete name and kingdom remain uncertain, placed in front of the seated Athena²⁷ (Fig. 9) and on the obverse of fourth century gold staters of king Pumayaton, next to Herakles-Milqart²⁸.

The presence of the ankh both on the obverse and on the reverse of the coins is not as common. It can be detected on some coin issues of the kings of Paphos, such as the silver sigloi and fractions of king Stasandros, mentioned above, and on a very rare series of uninscribed sigloi of the middle of the fifth century, maybe Cyriot, that represent on the obverse a calf suckling a cow standing right, an eagle flying above and an ankh in the right field; on the reverse a bull standing right, a plough above and an ankh below²⁹. On a variation of this type the upper part of the ankh on the obverse and on the reverse is replaced by a facing owl's head³⁰ (Fig. 10).

II. Sign of Tanit

Rarer on the Cypriot coinages is the use of the sign of Tanit, a symbol that refers to one of the principal and complex deities of Carthage, often associated with Baal Hammon³¹. Cyprus must have played an important role in the creation of the Punic repertoire. The discovery of objects bearing dedications to Tanit-Astarte attest a close association of those deities in Carthage and

²⁴ BMC Cyprus, xlix (1), Pl. XIX, 14; Babelon 1910, 765-766 Nr. 1251, Pl. CXXXII, 8.

²⁵ BMC Cyprus, 30 Nr. 6, Pl. VI, 5; Grose 1929, 307 Nr. 9151 Pl. 331, 9; Destrooper 2011, 413.

²⁶ Babelon 1910, 777-778 Nr. 1273 Pl. CXXXIII, 13; Amandry 1984, 73 Nr. 133a; Zapiti – Michaelidou 2008, 80 Nr. 18.

²⁷ Babelon 1910, 827-828 Nrs. 1368-1369 Pl. CXXXVI, 19-20; Zapiti – Michaelidou 2008, 91 Nr. 2.

²⁸ Markou 2011, 103 Nr. 43 ff. and 151 Fig. 28.

²⁹ Amandry 1992, 20-21, I.38.

³⁰ Amandry 1992, 20-21; Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XVI, 8/I/2013, Nr. 534. This type has been also classified amongst the uncertain Cilician coinages in SNG France Cilicia, Pl. 17, 440.

³¹ Lipiński 1992, 438-439, s.v. "Tanit" (E. Lipiński).



Fig. 11 Kition, King Pumayaton, gold half stater (4.13 g.). Paris (Cabinet des médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale), Nr. FG 715. Babelon 1910, 757-758 Nr. 1236 Pl. CXXXI, 28.



Fig. 12 Kition, King Pumayaton, bronze coin (3.02 g.). Nicosia (Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation), Nr. 1944-03-05. Zapiti - Michaelidou 2008, 61 Nr. 27.



Fig. 13 Lapethos, King Demonikos II or III, silver 1/6th of a siglos (1.58 g.). New York (American Numismatic Society), Nr. 1944.100.58002.

the Punic West during the fifth century³² while the presence of Astarte, assimilated to Aphrodite, is frequently attested in Cyprus, at Lapethos and at Kition, where, amongst other discoveries, a temple was dedicated to the goddess as excavation finds attest³³.

The sign of Tanit is represented in the same way as the ankh, but with a triangular instead of a cross-type lower part. It should be noted that on poorly preserved coins the ankh and the sign of Tanit can easily be confused, but there are times when certain kings chose to alternate those two symbols on their coinages. This is the case of Pumayaton of Kition, who deliberately alters on his coinage the ankh and the sign of Tanit on the obverse, while he indicates his regnal year in Phoenician numerals on the reverse, following the Phoenician tradition³⁴. Although the combination of epigraphic and numismatic sources permits us to correlate the regnal years to the actual years of his reign, there is no visible pattern and no explanation so far as to why Pumayaton uses in one year the ankh and in another year the sign of Tanit. Nevertheless, the concentration of the use of the sign of Tanit in the second decade of his reign (regnal years 20-29), that is, between the years 343/2 and 334/3, is distinguishable though not exclusive³⁵ (Fig. 11).

The sign of Tanit is also present on the bronze coinage probably of the same king, although initially attributed to the bronze issues of the king of Salamis, Evagoras II, which represent on the obverse, a lion walking left or right with a ram's head in the field above; on the reverse a horse is walking left on a dotted exergual line with a star of eight rays above and the sign of Tanit in the left field³⁶ (Fig. 12). The attribution of these coins depends exclusively on the iconography and on the observation that they were discovered in the area of Kition. Therefore, as bronze coins of a rather low value, they did not circulate far from their place of issue and must have been produced in the area.

Finally, the sign of Tanit is placed on the reverse of the silver coins of the king of Lapethos, Demonikos II or III, in front of Heracles-Milqart walking right, while on the obverse a standing Athena is represented³⁷ (Fig. 13).

³² Markoe 2000, 118.

³³ For Lapethos cf. Watkin 1988, 290. For Kition cf. Masson – Szynger 1972, 21 ff.; Karageorghis 2005, 113-156.

³⁴ Betyon 1982.

³⁵ Markou 2011, 103-111 Nrs. 143-187; 145-152 Fig. 128; 281-285 Fig. 138. For the coin die study of the coins of Pumayaton see also Destrooper-Georgiades 1993a, 249-259 and idem 2006, 95-111.

³⁶ Babelon 1910, 719-720 Nrs. 1180-1180 bis, Pl. CXXVIII, 17-28. The reattribution of those coins to Kition has been made by Callot 1992, 298. See also Markou 2009, 16; Zapiti – Michaelidou 2008, 60-61 Nrs. 26-28.

³⁷ Robinson 1948, 45 Nr. 2 Pl. V, 2; Masson – Szynger 1972, 100.

III. Winged Solar Disc

The winged solar disc, an Egyptian symbol that combines the solar disc of Re and the wings of Horus, is very common in Phoenician and Punic monumental art and also in the minor arts (scarabs, ivories, stelae, coins)³⁸. The presence of winged solar discs in Cyprus is observed in various areas of the island and in various objects³⁹. These symbols do not seem to be inspired by Egyptian monumental art but rather by oriental art –Phoenician or North Syrian– incorporated into the Phoenician tradition during the seventh century and either simplified or enriched through local additions⁴⁰.

The most common representations of winged solar discs in Cypriot numismatics can be observed on the coinage of many of the kings of Paphos, placed on the obverse above the standing bull. In most cases the image is completed with the presence of the ankh in front of the animal⁴¹ (Fig. 14). The winged solar disc can be noticed also on the silver coinage of the kings of Kition and specifically on the early fifth century sigloi representing on the obverse a fighting Herakles and on the reverse a seated lion, with a winged solar disc above⁴². Finally the same symbol can be found on a group of coins that has been part of one of the most interesting recent archaeological discoveries in Cyprus, a hoard discovered in situ during excavations in Nicosia and composed of 36 coins. Almost 90% of these coins (32 out of 36) represent various obverse types, such as the forepart of a boar –unique iconography in Cypriot numismatics– or the forepart of a lion and a boar superimposed; on the reverse a winged solar disc, either with rays above and below (Fig. 15) or a winged solar disc with a female head above⁴³. The coins can be attributed with the help of Cypriot Syllabic signs to an otherwise unknown king Pi (-) or Phi (-), while the facing female head, with Hathor curls falling from each side, could depict the “Lady Sun” emerging from a solar disc, present in West Syrian or Canaanite mythology and related, in Cyprus, to Astarte⁴⁴.



Fig. 14 Paphos, king Onasioikos, silver siglos (11.02 g.). Paris (Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale) Nr. 753. Babelon 1910, 789-790, Nr. 1304 Pl. CXXXIV, 17.



Fig. 15 Uncertain Kingdom, King Pi (-) or Phi (-), silver siglos (9.86 g.). Nicosia (Department of Antiquities), Nr. 2006/143.28. Pilides – Destrooper-Georgiades 2008, 315-316, Nr. 8.

IV. Other Symbols

On other Cypriot coinages symbols additional to the ones already discussed can be observed, such as the solar disc and crescent and the astragalos, but they are used less frequently compared with the ankh, the sign of Tanit or the winged solar disk.

³⁸ Lipiński 1992, 131, s.v. “disque ailé” (E. Gubel).

³⁹ Hermary 1985, 657-699, mainly 685; Destrooper-Georgiades 1993b, 19-24; idem 2013, 98-101.

⁴⁰ Parayre 1990, 217; 220; 229; 235.

⁴¹ BMC Cyprus, 37-42 Nr. 14 Pl. VII, 10 ff.; Babelon 1910, 783 ff., Nrs. 1285-1299; 1301; 1304-1314; Zapiti – Michaelidou 2008, 69 Nr. 9.

⁴² BMC Cyprus, 8, Nr. 2 ff.; Babelon 1910, 737-738 Nr. 1196 ff.

⁴³ Pilides – Destrooper-Georgiades 2008, 315-317 Nrs. 5-7 and 13-16 (winged solar disk); and 315-316 Nrs. 8-12 (winged solar disc with female head).

⁴⁴ Pilides – Destrooper-Georgiades 2008, 321; Destrooper-Georgiades 2013, 96-105.



Fig. 16 Salamis, King Euelthon's Successors, silver siglos (10.87 g.).

Classical Numismatic Group,
Auction 93, 22/V/2013, Nr. 483.

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=579190&AucID=1040&Lot=483&Val=c8c46d6aa75caf9f4298979e825d6a93>.



Fig. 17 Paphos (?), King Siromos, silver siglos (10.55 g.).
New York (American Numismatic Society),
Nr. 1951.143.3.



Fig. 18 Idalion, King Gra (-), silver siglos (10.34 g.).

Nicosia (Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation), 2003-04-01.

Zapiti – Michaelidou 2008, 100 Nr. 5.

The solar disc and crescent symbol is often linked to the winged solar disk, both deriving from the Phoenician and Punic world, indicating the deified Sun and Moon and referring to Baal Hammon and Tanit⁴⁵. On Cypriot coinages its presence is rather limited and can be observed only on the coinages of the kings of Paphos⁴⁶ and on those of the kings of Salamis of the early fifth century⁴⁷ (Fig. 16).

The astragalos, or knucklebone, is also rare on Cypriot coins. Used as a symbol of luck, it could be referring to dice oracles found in various neighboring areas of the Greek east (Phrygia, Pisidia, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia) attested in inscriptions⁴⁸. The astragalos appears in Cyprus as a main iconographic type on the early fifth century coins of king Siromos of Paphos (?) that represent on the obverse a kneeling human-faced bull with obscure legends and an ankh in the field; on the reverse is an *astragalos* flanked by the Cypriot syllabic legends *pa* (on the right) and *si* (on the left), initials of the royal title⁴⁹ (Fig. 17).

The astragalos is mostly present as a symbol on the reverse of the coinages of the kings of Paphos of the fifth century, such as this silver *siglos* of the king Onasioikos⁵⁰ but also on some fourth century coins of kings who ruled in that same kingdom, depicting an astragalos above a dove on the reverse, traditionally attributed to Nikokles, but recently reattributed to king Timarchos⁵¹. The same symbol is also observed on the coins of the kings of Idalion of the first half of the fifth century, that represent a sphinx on the obverse and a lotus flower on the reverse; the symbol can be seen in the right field⁵² (Fig. 18).

⁴⁵ Stieglitz 1985, 275.

⁴⁶ BMC Cyprus, 37 Nr. 14 ff.; Babelon 1910, 783-784 Nr. 1285 ff.

⁴⁷ BMC Cyprus, 50 Nrs. 23-25 Pl. X, 1-3; Babelon 1907, 581-582 Nr. 936.

⁴⁸ For the dice oracles cf. Graf 2005, 51-97; Nollé 2007. The *astragalos* is a rather common symbol on the coinages of Pamphylia, cf. Babelon 1910, 955-958 Nr. 1584, Pl. CXLIV, 13; op. cit., 957-962 Nr. 1591 ff., Pl. CXLIV, 18 ff.

⁴⁹ Babelon 1907, 603-606 Nrs. 956-958 bis Pl. XXVII, 6-7; Troxell – Spengler 1969, 6-7 Nr. 18; Troxell – Waggoner 1978, 31-33 Nr. 41; Masson 1983, 116-117; Masson – Amandry 1988, 27-32; Destrooper-Georgiades 2012, 386 Nr. 57.

⁵⁰ Grose 1929, 308 Nr. 9157 Pl. 331, 15; Zapiti – Michaelidou 2008, 68 Nr. 6.

⁵¹ BMC Cyprus, lxxvii and 44 Nr. 47 Pl. VIII, 9; Babelon 1910, 799-800 Nr. 1319 Pl. CXXXV, 4. Recent attribution in Destrooper-Georgiades 2005, 245-246; idem 2012, 378-379 Nr. 6.

⁵² Grose 1929, 307 Nr. 9150 Pl. 331, 8; Zapiti – Michaelidou 2008, 100 Nrs. 5-6.

Discussion

The geographical position of the island of Cyprus and its proximity to Phoenicia, Egypt, Syria, Cilicia and Greece made the island a meeting point of people (such as travellers, merchants and warriors) and cults as well as various religious practices⁵³. The symbols discussed in this paper are testimonies of this circulation of people, ideas and beliefs and of their adaptation to a local reality.

The most common symbol by far, present on the coinage of all the Cypriot kings of various kingdoms, is the ankh. The ankh, a loan from Egyptian iconography⁵⁴, has been associated in the past with the Egyptian conquest of the island⁵⁵ or with the Persian rule⁵⁶, but its significance in Cyprus remains unclear⁵⁷.

Although the ankh is also observed on other coinages of neighboring areas of the same period, in Caria, Cilicia (Mallos)⁵⁸, Phoenicia (Arados and Byblos)⁵⁹, and Pamphylia⁶⁰, its frequency, diffusion and duration cannot be compared with that observed on the coinage of the kings of Cyprus. This is because the ankh is present on all the known mints of the fifth and fourth centuries, although mostly as a symbol than as a main iconographical type.

On some Cypriot coinages, especially of the kings of Salamis or of the kings of Paphos of the early fifth century, there could be the impression of the representation of a symbol very similar to the ankh but with a shorter cross stem ending at a horizontal line at the bottom that represents the Achaemenid royal scepter, in some cases appearing with the ankh on the same coin as on coinage of Caria and Lycia⁶¹. But the entire cross at the bottom of all the Cypriot coins studied is visible, and this specific symbol does not seem to be adopted by the kings of Cyprus⁶².

The presence of the ankh on the coinages of all the kingdoms –and also on the unidentified ones– as well as the continuity of its use during the fourth century in gold, silver and bronze coinage, attest that the symbol was referring to royal power and for that reason was adopted by many kings in all the kingdoms at some point. This explains the graphical alteration of this symbol in Salamis and Marion later on, where the royal title's initial becomes part of the image itself through a clever addition of a parallel line on the cross of the ankh. The royal power is also attested by the winged solar disc, very present in Paphos where it could be combined with epigraphical testimonies that attest that the kings of Paphos were also high priests of Wanassa⁶³, the female goddess *par excellence* of the island, assimilated to Aphrodite and Astarte.

Unlike the *ankh* and the winged solar disc, the sign of Tanit is for the most part present on Cypriot coinages of the fourth century. Although close to the ankh in terms of iconography, its

⁵³ Masson 1960, 129-142.

⁵⁴ Chaumont 1972, 183.

⁵⁵ Babelon 1907, 585-586.

⁵⁶ Kraay 1976, 301.

⁵⁷ Destrooper-Georgiades 1995, 158-159.

⁵⁸ SNG France Cilicia, Pl. 5 Nrs. 135-137 (Soloï) and Pl. 14 Nr. 378 ff. (Mallos).

⁵⁹ Babelon 1910, 541-542 Nrs. 874-875 Pl. CXVII, 25-26.

⁶⁰ Price - Waggoner 1975, 103 Nr. 775.

⁶¹ Konuk 2000, 171-183, especially 172 and Pl. XXIX, 16.

⁶² The preservation of some coins could give the wrong impression. See for example the silver *siglos* of the king of Paphos Stasandros, depicted here (Fig. 7), where the vertical part of the cross is not clearly visible on the real size image, although it is there.

⁶³ Maier 1989, 377.

use is far more limited as it is exclusively observed on the coins of the kings whose Phoenician legends suggest strong links with the Phoenician culture. We can notice the presence of the sign of Tanit exclusively on the coinage of the kings of Kition as well as on the coins of king Demonikos II or III of Lapethos. Although the use of the sign of Tanit in iconography⁶⁴ is often considered to be a schematisation of the frontal female figure with raised hands –a very popular model in the east linked to life and fertility– or to be derived from the ankh suggesting an “Egypto-Phoenician” ankh sign⁶⁵, in the numismatic production of the kings of Cyprus it is most certainly attached to the Phoenician cult dedicated to Aphrodite-Astarte. This justifies the limitation of its use to kings insisting on Phoenician legends and ruling in kingdoms with an important Phoenician element.

The symbols of the solar disc and crescent and of the astragalos are occasionally represented on the coinage of some Cypriot kings, most often as symbols than main iconographic types, limited to some early fifth century coinage of uncertain mints with no duration or diffusion. As it is the case with other symbols discussed, they seem to be adopted by the kings of Cyprus, but they do not seem to form a direct or indirect reference to the Persians as has been proposed in the past⁶⁶.

Although it has been suggested that the symbols discussed above fade with time and change from being symbolic icons to decorative components⁶⁷, in Cyprus their use, either as principal or secondary iconographic types, is most of the time thoroughly linked to the royal iconography with reference to local cults and seems to be preserved in the local repertoire through time during the existence of the local kingdoms and kingship.

⁶⁴ Lipiński 1992, 416-418, s.v. “signe de Tanit” (F. Bertrandy).

⁶⁵ Bisi 1979, 17 and n. 6; Stieglitz 1985, 274.

⁶⁶ Casabonne 1996, 124; 127-128; Destrooper 2000c, 235.

⁶⁷ Parayre 1990, 240.

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