THE COINAGE OF SALAMIS, CYPRUS, FROM THE SIXTH TO THE FOURTH CENTURIES B.C.

by

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Institute of Archaeology
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The coinage of King Evagoras I, Group K, consists of gold and silver issues (distinguished by the abbreviations AV for gold and AR for silver). As in the previous chapter, certain series are divided into separate categories by type or by denomination.

The gold coinage (K.AV) is represented by four different denominations which bear four different reverse types:

I. Staters: *obv.* Herakles' head; *rev.* goat lying
II. Thirds: *obv.* Herakles' head; *rev.* forepart of goat lying
III. Sixths: *obv.* Herakles' head; *rev.* bust of goat
IV. Twelfth: *obv.* Herakles' head; *rev.* ba syllable

Series II is subdivided into two smaller categories (II.a and b) by the use of either a ground line (a) or a club used as a ground line (b).

The larger (staters and thirds) silver coins of Evagoras I (K.AR) are divided into two main categories which are differentiated by the obverse type:

I. *obv.* Herakles seated; *rev.* goat lying
II. *obv.* Herakles' head; *rev.* goat lying

These two series are then divided into smaller categories (a, b, c...) by the control mark on the reverse type.
The fractional silver coinage of Evagoras I (K.AR.III) is divided into three issues, again differentiated by the type combinations:

a. obv. male head; rev. smooth
b. obv. male head; rev. wheel
c. obv. Herakles' head; rev. wheel
K. King Evagoras I

(c. 415 - 374 BC)

GOLD (AV)

K.A.V.I. Full Goat Lying

Staters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Wt</th>
<th>Ax</th>
<th>Location/Provenance</th>
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<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>o1-r1</td>
<td>2.05</td>
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<td>BM 1866 10-2-51; H. White, H.M. Consul at Tangier, 1866</td>
<td>Six 1883, p. 282, no. 10; Head 1889, pl. 20, no. 41; BMC, p. 56, Salamis 51, pl. XI.13; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 710, no. 1150, pl. CXXVII, fig. 22; Spyridakis, no. 50</td>
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<tr>
<td>359</td>
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<td>Bank of Cyprus Collection 1985-02-01; Spink, Oct. 1985, no. 146</td>
<td>CCEMAB 1991, no. 22; 1994, no. 23, pl. II obv.: 1.: e or a rev.: exergue: se wo</td>
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K.A.V.II. Forepart of Goat Lying

Thirds

K.A.V.II.a. ground line

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<td>Pozzi Collection, Geneva 1921, no. 2891</td>
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lxi
<p>| | | | | | | | | | | | |</p>
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lxii
Classical Numismatic Group June 1993, no. 126; Birkler & Waddell, Dec. 1980, no. 195; NFA, March 1976, no. 276; Myers, Mar. 1974, no. 91

Naville, June 1923, BM Duplicate, no. 2774

Naville XV, 1930, no. 1048

Coin Galleries, July 1973, no. 4

Rosenberg, March, 1914, no. 132

Naville XVII, Oct. 1934, Burrage et al, no. 592

Harvard; Ars Classica 15, July 1930, no. 1048; Naville VII, 1924, no. 1651; Arthur S. Dewing Collection

Mildenberg & Hurter, p. 155, no. 2531, pl. 124

Galata, March 1986, no. 39

Sotheby's, Brand Collection, pt. 10, Oct. 1985, no. 43

Weber 1908, Hirsch 21, no. 3947

Ashmolean; Oman 1947

Sotheby's, Brand sale pt. 3, June 1983, no. 136; Pozzi Collection, Geneva 1921, no. 2893

Superior Galleries, June 1986, no.

BN

Spink, Oct. 1988, no. 148

Schlesinger 13, Hermitage 1935, no. 1405

BN

lxiii
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<td>Babelon 1893, p. 87, no. 584; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 710, no. 1152; Spyridakis, no. 54</td>
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<td>AAGB, Nov. 1990, no. 456</td>
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lxiv
No.  Dies  Wt  Ax  Location/Provenance  References and Notes

398  o21-r23  0.63  2  ANS 1951.116.272; Gunther Collection, no. 91, March 1949

a  0.62  12  Harvard; Arthur S. Dewing Collection  Mildenber & Hurter, p. 155, no. 2530, pl. 124

399  o22-r23  0.62  11  BM 1840 9-21-465; Milligen, 1840 (M40)

Six 1883, p. 280, no. 1.7; BMC, p. 56, Salamis 53, pl. XL15; Babelon Traité 2, p. 710, no. 1152; Spyridakis, no. 59

a  0.60  Pozzi Collection, Geneva 1921, no. 2892; Ratto Sale, Lugano, Apr. 1927, no. 2365
400 o22-r24 0.62 1 Bibliotheque Royale Albert I, Bruxelles; Rollin-Feuardent, 6 June 1879, 800F, Psychari sale; Hirsch Collection

a 0.63 Schlesinger 13, Hermitage 1935, no. 1404

401 o22-r25 0.62 6 Berlin; Lübbecke

402 o23-r26 0.64 12 Gulbenkian Collection; M. Gudenian 1920

a 0.60 12 Berlin 9937

403 o24-r27 0.61 Bank Leu, Apr. 1972, no. 269

404 NAS CM 1935

405 NAS CM Dikaios, 1961, p. 176, no. 12

K.A.V.III. Bust of Goat

Sixths

*obv.* Herakles' head r., bearded, wearing *rev.* Goat's bust r.; linear border

lion's skin with forelegs knotted under chin; linear border

<table>
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<td>ANS 1951.116.273; Gunther Collection, no. 90, March 1949</td>
<td>Payne Knight 1830, p. 197, B1; Six 1883, p. 281, no. 43; BMC, p. 56, Salamis 54, pl. XI.16; Babelon <em>Traité</em>, 2, p. 710, no. 1154; Spyridakis, no. 67</td>
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<td>C. R. Fox</td>
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<td>BM RPK B.1, p. 107; R. Payne Knight</td>
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ixvi
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<td>408</td>
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<td>Six 1883, p. 281, no. 4.1; Babelon 1893, p. 87, no. 587; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 710, no. 1154, pl. CXXVII, fig. 26; Spyridakis, no. 65</td>
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<td>de Luynes, p. 21, no. 3, pl. IV; Six 1883, p. 281, no. 4.2; Babelon 1893, p. 87, no. 588; Babelon 1930, p. 109, no. 2934; Spyridakis, no. 66</td>
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K.A.V.IV. Ba Reverse

12th of a Stater (?)

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<th>obv. as above</th>
<th>rev. ba; linear border</th>
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link to or 4 Collection; Spink Spyridakis, no. 70
**SILVER (AR)**

**K.A.R.I. Herakles Seated Obverse**

**K.A.R.I.a. no mark**

**Staters**

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<td>9</td>
<td>Münz. &amp; Med., 64/1984, no. 185; Leu 20, 1978, no. 150</td>
<td>Masson &amp; Amandry, p. 35, no. 1.a.1, pl. III</td>
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<td>note: wo in exurge</td>
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<td>n/a</td>
<td>in trade 1995; Cyprus 1987 Hoard (CH VIII, no. 65)</td>
<td>Hill 1925, p. 13, no. 44, pl. II; Spyridakis, no. 8; Masson &amp; Amandry, p. 35, no. 1.a.2, pl. III;</td>
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<td>Leiden; Six Collection; Hoffmann, Feb. 1869</td>
<td>Six 1883, p. 284, no. 14.1</td>
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**obv. as above**

**rev. as above, except - exergue: se E; circular incuse?**

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<td>Comstock &amp; Vermeule, p. 56, no. 254, pl. XXII; Masson &amp; Amandry, p. 36, no. 1.b.1</td>
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<td>Masson &amp; Amandry, p. 36, no. I.1, pl. III</td>
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<td>Newell, NC 1914, no. 84, pl. III.8; Masson &amp; Amandry, p. 36, l.</td>
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**Thirds**

**obv.** Herakles seated r. on rock covered by lion's skin; horn held in l. hand; club held in r. hand and rests on ground; l. foot rests on smaller rock to right; l.: bow; r.: e

u [upwards]; l.: wa ko ro [downwards]; dotted border

**rev.** Goat lying r. on dotted ground line; r.: ba; above: wo le si; exergue: se; linear border; above: grain of barley

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<td>Head 1873, p. 317, no. 117, pl. XI.9; Six 1883, p. 282, no. 9; BMC, p. 57, Salamis 56, pl. XI.18; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 710, no. 1157, pl. CXXVII, fig. 28; Spyridakis, no. 9; Masson &amp; Amandry, p. 38, no. I.A.1, pl. IV rev: no grain, se above goat</td>
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K.A.R.I.b. a

*obv. as above*  
*rev.* Goat lying r. on dotted ground line;  
*rev.:* linear ground line  
*r.:* ba a; above: o le si; exergue: se;  
linear border; circular incuse.
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**K.A.R.I.c. ni**

| obv. as above | rev. Goat lying r. on linear ground line; r.: ba ni; above: o le si; exergue: se; linear border |

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lxxii
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K.A.R.I.e. delta

**obv. as above**

**rev.** Goat lying r. on linear ground line; r.: ba Δ; above: o le si; exergue: se;
linear border

lxxiii
| 464 | o26-r34 | 3.05 | Kurpfälzishe, June 1996, no. 140 |  |
| 465 | o26-r36 | 3.07 | Berlin; Prokesch-Osten |  |
| 466 | o26-r41 | 3.22 | Munzauction Tkalec, March 1991, no. 179 |  |
|   | b | 3.139 | A.G. Pitsallides Collection |  |
| 467 | o26-r42 | 3.17 | Tradart, Nov. 1995, no. 104 |  |
|   | a | 3.01 | Münz. & Med., 313, June 1970, no. 5 |  |
| 468 | o26-r43 | 3.02 | Bankhaus Aufhäuser, Oct. 1989, no. 214 |  |
| 469 | o26-r44 | 3.17 | Kurpfälzische, June 1994, no. 125 |  |
| 470 | o26-r45 | 3.10 | 1 ANS 1977.158.598; Kelley Collection, April 1977 |  |
| 472 | o26-r47 | 3.05 | Poinsignon Numismatique, June 1997, no. 688; Drouot Richelieu, Sale 7, May 1995, no. 1555 |  |
|   | a | n/a | Superior Stamp & Coin, June 1996, no. 1656 |  |
| 473 | o27-r46 | 3.04 | Hirsch, Apr. 1974, no. 178 |  |
| 474 | o28-r38 | 3.12 | Credit Suisse, Printemps 1990, no. 94; Giessener Münz, Oct. 1989, no. 348 |  |
| 475 | o28-r48 | 3.01 | Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Bruxelles; Lambros, May 1884, 650f; Hirsch Collection | Naster, p. 270, no. 1615, pl. LXXXVI; Masson & Amandry, p. 39, no. I.B.c.8; Destrooper-Georgiades 1990, p. 15, no. 7 |

lxxiv
Weber Collection; Galata, Aug. 1986, no. 38

Masson & Amandry, p. 38, no. I.B.c.2

ANS 1954.185.35; Taro 8/14/54; sp. Purch Fd.

de Luynes Collection

de Luynes, p. 21, no. 6, pl. IV; Six 1883, p. 283, no. 13.1; Babelon 1893, p. 88, no. 598; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 710, no. 1158, pl. CXXVII, fig. 29; Babelon 1930, p. 110, no. 2938; Spyridakis, no. 31; Masson & Amandry, p. 38, no. I.B.c.1

Credit Suisse, Oct. 1987, no. 858; Empire Coins, Nov. 1985, no. 119; Lanz, Dec. 1983, no. 279

Hirsch, May 1988, no. 127; Lanz, May 1987, no. 376

ANS 1944.100.58067; Newell Collection

Masson & Amandry, 1988, p. 39, no. I.B.c.10


Müller, Sept. 1984, no. 120

BM 1899 4-2-82; W.T. Ready

BMC, p. 57, Salamis 57, pl. XI.19; Spyridakis, no. 28; Masson & Amandry, p. 38, no. I.B.c.6

Hirsch, May 1988, no. 126; Hirsch, June 1972, no. 136

ANS 1944.100.58068; Newell Collection

Peus, Oct. 1975, no. 286; Hess & Leu, 16 April 1957, no. 291; Jameson Collection; Pozzi Collection, no. 2895; Lambros, May 1884, no. 650f; Warren Collection, no. 1282

Jameson III, no. 2336; Regling 1906, no. 1282, pl. XXIX; Masson & Amandry, 1988, p. 39, no. I.B.c.9

Hirsch 25, 1909, Philipsen, no. 1406

Berlin; Imhoof-Blumer

Ixxv
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lxxviii
**K.A.R.II. Herakles' head**

**K.A.R.II.a. no mark**

**Staters**

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lxxix
K.AR.II.b. a

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K.A.R.II.d. ru

*obv.* as above

*rev.* Goat lying r. on dotted ground line; r.: ba ru; above: grain of barley and: o le si; exergue: se E Y; linear border; some with circular incuse

lxxxi
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lxxxii
### K.A.R.II.e. ta

*obv.* as above  
*rev.* Goat lying r. on dotted ground line;  
r.: *ba ta*; above: grain of barley  
and: *wo le si*; exergue: *se E Y*;  
linear border; some with circular incuse

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### K.A.R.II.f. alpha

*obv.* as above  
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r.: *ba A*; above: grain of barley  
and: *wo le si*; exergue: *se E Y*;  
linear border; some with circular incuse

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lxxxiv
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**K.A.R.II.g. caduceus reverse**

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lxxxvii
### K.A.R.III. Fractions

#### K.A.R.III.a. male head / smooth

*obv.* male head r., short curly hair; dotted *rev.* smooth.

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<td>ANS 1944.100.58048; Newell Collection; Massey Collection</td>
<td><em>BMC, p. xxix, no. 5</em></td>
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<td>BN E 656</td>
<td>Babelon 1893, p. 86, no. 578</td>
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lxxxviii
b 0.95 - Pozzi Collection, Geneva
  1921, no. 2890

c 0.82 - ANS 1951.116.237 GU

d 0.80 - BN; Waddington Collection
  Babelon 1897, p. 275, no. 4807, pl. XIII, fig. 6; Babelon Traité 2, p. 704, no. 144, pl. CXXVII, fig. 15

e 0.86 - BN; Waddington Collection
  Babelon 1897, p. 276, no. 4808; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 704, no. 144, pl. CXXVII, fig. 16

f 0.73 - CM
  Dikaios 1961, p. 177, no. 16; Karageorghis 1965, p. 13, no. 7a. "Series V"

g 0.64 - CM
  Karageorghis 1965, p. 13, no. 7, fig. 3/7. "Series V"

h 0.68 - ANS 1951.116.235

i 0.79 - Classical Numismatic Auctions, March 1992, no. 258

587 o3 0.80 - BN; Platt, 18 March 1958
  SNG Delepierre, no. 2920

a 0.72 - ANS 1951.116.246

b 0.80 - ANS 1951.116.231; Gunther Collection, no. 95, 96 (4 coins), 98 (10 coins), 150 (2 coins), March 1949

c 0.74 - CM
  Karageorghis 1965, p. 12, no. 4, fig. 3/4. "Series III"

d 0.79 - ANS 1951.116.234

e 0.82 - Credit Suisse, Apr. 1986, no. 195

588 o4 0.78 - BM 1903 3-2-3; Col. W.J. Massey pres., from Salamis 1903
  BMC, p. 55, Salamis 45, pl. XI.8; Spyridakis, no. 32

a 0.80 - ANS 1951.116.233

b 0.78 - CM
  Karageorghis 1965, p. 12, no. 3, fig. 3/3. "Series II"

c 0.76 - CM
  Karageorghis 1965, p. 12, no. 2, fig. 3/2. "Series II"

d 0.31 - ANS 1951.116.254
  v. worn

lxxix
589 o5 0.74 - ANS 1952.116.243
a 0.78 - Berlin; Imhoof-Blumer
Six 1883, p. 284, no. 16.1; Six 1890, p. 256, no. 2; Imhoof-Blumer, p. 380, no. 89
b 0.76 - ANS 1951.116.238
c 0.64 - CM
Karageorghis 1965, p. 12, no. 5, fig. 3/5. "Series IV"
d 0.64 - CM
Karageorghis 1965, p. 12, no. 6, fig. 3/6. "Series IV"

590 o6 0.78 - ANS 1951.116.242
a 0.75 - ANS 1951.116.236; Gunther Collection, no. 95, 96 (4 coins), 98 (10 coins), 150 (2 coins; March 1949
b 0.76 - CM
Karageorghis 1965, p. 12, no. I, fig. 3/I. "Series I"
c 0.80 - Danish National Museum; Philipsen 2809
SNG Copenhagen, no. 42, pl. Cyprus 2

591 o7 0.65 - CM; Meniko Hoard
Karageorghis 1965, p. 19, no. 3, pl. II. "Series 1b"
a 0.68 - CM; Meniko Hoard
Karageorghis 1965, p. 10, no. 4. "Series 1b"
b 0.63 - CM; Meniko Hoard
Karageorghis 1965, p. 10, no. 6. "Series 1b"

592 o8 0.48 - CM; Meniko Hoard
Karageorghis 1965, p.10, no. 2. "Series 1a"
a 0.63 - CM; Meniko Hoard
Karageorghis 1965, p. 10, no. 5. "Series 1a"
b 0.56 - CM; Meniko Hoard
Karageorghis 1965, p.10, no. 1, pl. II & III (enlarged). "Series 1a"

593 o9 0.44 - BM 1901 7-6-24; W.T Ready's find; from same find as Amathus, nos. 2 & 14; Ready Hoard (Noe 292)
BMC, p. 55, Salamis 47, pl. XI.10; Spyridakis, no. 35
a 0.59 - ANS 1951.116.244
b 0.55 - CM; Meniko Hoard
Karageorghis 1965, p. 12, no. 33, pl. II. "Series 16"
594 o10 0.59 - CM; Meniko Hoard Karageorghis 1965, p. 11, no. 21. "Series 6"
a 0.53 - CM; Meniko Hoard Karageorghis 1965, p. 11, no. 20, pl. II. "Series 6"
b 0.50 - ANS 1951.116.253

595 o11 0.70 - CM; Meniko Hoard Karageorghis 1965, p. 12, no. 31, pl. II. "Series 14"
a 0.58 - CM; Meniko Hoard Karageorghis 1965, p. 11, no. 29, pl. II. "Series 12"
b 0.55 - CM; Meniko Hoard Karageorghis 1965, p. 12, no. 32, pl. II. "Series 15"
c 0.51 - CM; Meniko Hoard Karageorghis 1965, p. 11, no. 28, pl. II & III (enlarged). "Series 11"

596 o12 0.80 - ANS 1951.116.239
a 0.78 - Berlin; Löbbecke

597 o13 0.62 - CM; Meniko Hoard Karageorghis 1965, p. 11, no. 18, pl. II. "Series 5"
a 0.61 - CM; Meniko Hoard Karageorghis 1965, p. 11, no. 19. "Series 5"

598 o14 0.56 - CM; Meniko Hoard Karageorghis 1965, p. 11, no. 25, pl. II. "Series 8"
a 0.414 - Bank of Cyprus Collection CCEMAB,1991, no. 21; 1994, no. 22

599 o15 0.55 - ANS 1951.116.255
a 0.56 - CM; Meniko Hoard Karageorghis 1965, p. 11, no. 26, pl. II. "Series 9"

600 o16 0.53 - CM; Meniko Hoard Karageorghis 1965, p. 11, no. 27, pl. II. "Series 10" obv.: to r.: ba

601 o17 0.67 - Ashmolean; G. Petrakides 11/- Jan. 1953

602 o18 0.66 - CM; Meniko Hoard Karageorghis 1965, p. 12, no. 30, pl. II. "Series 13"

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<td>Six 1883, p. 284, no. 16.2?, pl. VI, fig. 8; Six 1890, p. 256, no. 2; Babelon 1893, p. 86, no. 577, pl. XVI, fig. 18</td>
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<td>0.7</td>
<td>Adonis Kyrou Collection</td>
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Karageorghis 1965, p. 10, no. 7, pl. II & III (enlarged). "Series 2"
24th of a Stater

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<td>Spyridakis, no. 39 obv.: head l., no border</td>
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<td>BN; Bourgey Dec. 1944; Hess Vente d 15 Jev 1934, no. 496; Delepierre Hoard (Noe 251)</td>
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<td>Weber Collection</td>
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<td>BM 1901 7-6-23; W.T. Ready; from Ready's find; same find as Amathus, nos. 2 and 14; Ready Hoard (Noe 292)</td>
<td>BMC, p. 55, Salamis 48, no plate; Spyridakis, no. 49</td>
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<td>BM 1925 1-5-33; Spink (Col. Massey) (part exchange); found at Salamis</td>
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48th of a Stater

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<td>Dray &amp; du Plat Taylor, p. 67</td>
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<td>Famagusta Museum?; Aphendrika tomb 37</td>
<td>Dray &amp; du Plat Taylor, p. 67</td>
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**K.A.R.III.b. male head / wheel**

*obv.* male head r., short curly hair (as above)  *rev.* wheel with four spokes; shallow incuse circle

**12th of a Stater (?)**

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<td>Babelon 1897, p. 276, no. 4809; Babelon <em>Traité</em>, 2, p. 704, no. 1148, pl. CXXVII, fig. 20 <em>rev.</em>: between spokes: <em>ba</em></td>
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xciv
628 o35-r2 0.47 - ANS 1952.142.210; Gunther Collection (lot 2), March 1949
pyridakis, no. 48
obv.: linear border

629 o35-r3 0.64 - BM 1901 7-6-25; W.T. Ready; from Ready's find; same find as Amathus, nos. 2 and 14; Ready Hoard, (Nee 292)
BMC, p. 55, Salamis 49, pl. XI.11; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 704, no. 1148; Spyridakis, no. 47
rev.: spokes stylised

630 o36-r4 0.57 - Ashmolean; G. Petracides rev.: syllable?
15/- Jan. 1953

631 o36-r5 0.47 - ANS 1952.142.209; Gunther Collection (lot 2), March 1949 obv.: linear border

632 o37-r5 0.49 - ANS 1951.116.259; Gunther Collection, no. 93a, 115 (a,b), March 1949

633 o38-r6 0.49 - Weber Collection Weber, no. 7727

634 o39-r6? 0.53 - ANS 1944.100.58051; Newell Collection obv.: linear border

xcv
### 24th of a Stater

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<td>-</td>
<td>CM 1966; Salamis, Necropolis, Tomb 79</td>
<td>Karageorghis 1973, p. 59, no. 975 - Appendix 1: Helly, p. 205, no. 8</td>
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**K.AR.III.c. Herakles' head / wheel**

*obv.* Herakles' head r., bearded, wearing, *rev.* wheel with four spokes lion's skin; linear border

### 12th of a Stater

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<td>BMC, p. 55, Salamis 50, pl. XI.12; Babelon Traité 2, p. 704, no. 1149; Spyridakis, no. 44</td>
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xcvi
639  o2-r2  0.36 - ANS 1951.116.261; Gunther Collection, no. 114 (a, b, c, d), 142 a, 297, March 1949

640  o2-r3  0.48 - ANS 1951.116.269; Gunther Collection, no. 141 a, b, 149, 304 a, March 1949

a  0.52 - ANS 1951.116.267; Gunther Collection, no. 141 a, b, 149, 304 d, March 1949

b  0.25 - ANS 1951.116.270; Gunther Collection, no. 141 a, b, 149, 304 a, March 1949

c  0.45 - Danish National Museum; E.J. Seltman 1913

641  o2-r4  0.39 - Danish National Museum; SNG Copenhagen, no. 45, pl. E. J. Seltman 1913

rev.: between two spokes: sigma

642  o3-r5  0.61 - BM 1925 1-5-34; Spink (Col. rev: between two spokes: ba

Six 1883, p. 282, no. 7.2; p. VI, fig. 6; Babelon 1893, p. 86, no. 580, pl. XVI, fig. 20; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 704, no. 1149, pl. CXXVII, fig. 21; Babelon 1930, p. 109, no. 2932

rev.: between two spokes: ba

643  o4-r6  0.52 - ANS 1951.116.264

644  o5-r7  0.50 - CM; Meniko Hoard

karageorghis 1965, p. 16, no. 36, pl. II.

rev.: spokes ending in decorative palmettes; between two spokes: sigma

xcvii
### 24th of a Stater

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<td>Destrooper-Georgiades 1989, p. 205, no. 30, pl. 86</td>
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xcviii
3. ii. Types and Iconography

K.AV. Gold

K.AV.I. Goat: staters (nos. 358-359)

The obverse of the two gold staters has the head of Herakles, beardless and nearly facing, inclined slightly to the left; on his head he wears his lion's skin with the forelegs either knotted under the neck or hanging loosely around his face. The obverse inscriptions differ, although a precise reading is impeded by the small size of the flan. On one example (no. 358, see pl. XLII) the intended inscription of the full name of Evagoras is clear: e-u-va-ro-ko. Unlike the obverse of the silver staters where the inscription runs from right to left, here the inscription starts from the lower left of the face and moves clockwise to the lower right.

The reverse type is the same as on the silver types of Evagoras with a goat lying to the right on a linear ground line, surrounded by a linear border. The inscription is the same as seen on the silver staters and along with the type, will be discussed more fully under the silver issues; basileus is written as usual, with the syllabic symbol ba to the right of the goat, and the continuation above, si-le-o, ending below with se on one example and se-wo on the other.

K.AV.II. Forepart of goat: thirds (nos. 360-405)

The obverse type is that of the second series of Evagoras I silver staters (AR.II), Herakles' head facing to the right, bearded, and wearing his lion's skin over his head with forelegs knotted under his chin. There is always a linear border. The reverse is an abbreviated type of the larger denomination, the forepart of a goat lying to the right with either a ground line (II.a, nos. 360-397) or
Herakles' club below (II.b, nos. 398-405). Again there is always a linear border and the field is very clean and clear; the design is very simple. On one rare example (no. 376) a ba syllable is added to the right field.¹

K.AV.III. Bust of goat: sixths (nos. 406-409)

The obverse is exactly the same as the thirds (AV.II). The reverse is now abbreviated further as there is now only room for the protome of the goat. Again, there is always a linear border.

K.AV.IV. Ba reverse: twelfth (no. 410)

The obverse of this rare specimen is the same as that described above in Series I-III. With the reverse, however, there is a remarkable change, to a single syllable, a ba surrounded by a very clean, clear field with a linear border.

K.AR. Silver

The silver coins of Series I and II consist of staters, thirds and one sixth. The catalogue is organised by the reverse type as this is where most variations occur, the most notable being in the secondary symbol to the right of the goat. In addition to this added sign, the ba syllable is always found in this area of the field, which represents the first syllable in the word basileus with the continuation above the goat. The variations occur on the numerous coins with either a second syllable, an alphabetic letter, or a sign, just below the ba.

As this second character is no addition to the legend, it is no doubt some type of control mark²; there are eight known within Series I and II: a, ka, ni, ru, ta,

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¹ Spyridakis, p. 80, no. 56 (my no. 378) read a syllable go or ko in the right field which is unlikely.
² Masson & Amandry, p. 39 also suggests that these signs/symbols differentiate emissions, but admit that no pattern can be found.
A, Δ, and a caduceus, and there are also a number of examples without any secondary mark at all.

K.Α.Ρ.Ι: Herakles seated obverse (nos. 411-524)
K.Α.Ρ.Ι.α: no mark (nos. 411-434)
Staters (nos. 411-417)

Although Series I is comprised predominantly of thirds, there are some staters available for study. The obverse depicts Herakles nude, seated to the right on what seems to be a rock covered by his lion's skin. Herakles' profile faces right and he is beardless, with more youthful features than those of his bearded profile seen on the obverse of the Series II staters. His left arm, holding a rhyton, usually rests on his leg while the rhyton curves up into the upper right field. His right arm bends down on his right side and in his hand he holds one end of his club which is shown on some examples with the larger end resting on the undelineated ground. His left leg is bent at the knee and the foot rests on a rock sometimes visible in the lower right field; the other foot is presumably resting on the ground. To the right of the figure is the beginning of the syllabic legend 'Evagoras' which moves counter-clockwise around the field. The e, usually placed in the lower right corner, continuing in the upper right field with the u. The legend is then divided by the head and continues downwards in the upper left field with wa-ko-ro. There is a dotted circular border surrounding the whole.

As on the gold issues, the reverse depicts a goat lying to the right on a ground line. The forelegs are clearly shown bent beneath him; often his front knees jut out into the right field. On well preserved examples one notices that the goat has a full beard, well defined right ear and two horns often extending behind into the centre of the flan. Very few examples show the dotted or linear pattern of the hair along the back of his long neck and body. The goat's tail often
curls up behind, running along the linear border to the left. To the right is the characteristic *ba* syllable, while directly above the body of the goat, to the left of the neck, is the continuation of the word, from right to left, with three syllables *si-le-wo*.

Some variations in the reverse inscription do occur. On a few examples the inscription remains purely syllabic (nos. 411-413), while others introduce the alphabetic script to the reverse inscription. While the *Basileus* remains the same, some examples include the alphabetic *E* in the exergue (nos. 414-415), obviously the first letter in the King's name. The third variation extends the abbreviation to *EY* (no. 416).

**Thirds (nos. 418-524)**

The obverse and reverse types of Series I thirds are as on the staters, with a little variation. Oddly enough, there may be an added element to the smaller denomination. On most thirds Herakles' bow is added to the lower left field just behind the rock, and seems to be resting on the ground, leaning against the border of the flan. However, the existing examples of the staters are in rather poor condition and it is difficult to tell whether or not this extra element was included.

The reverse remains essentially the same, but with the introduction of a secondary symbol below the *ba* to the right of the goat. This symbol or control mark can extend below the ground line. Further variations can be seen in the spelling of 'basileus', the exergual abbreviation, the ground line and the addition of a grain of barley laid horizontally just below the horns. The finest examples show some linear patterning in the husk of the grain.
K.A.R.I.a. no mark (nos. 418-434)

There are some thirds, which like their larger counterparts, do not have an additional syllable to the right of the goat. The majority depict the goat on a dotted ground line (sometimes linear) and use the spelling ba/si-le-o (rather than the wo) and end the inscription in the exergue with se or se E (nos. 424-426). A second variation, still without any control mark, has an added grain of barley and wo rather than the o in the legend (nos. 418-423).

K.A.R.I.b. a (nos. 435-443) and c. ni (no. 444)

The known secondary symbols in this first series are the syllabic syllables a (I.b) and ni (I.c), and the alphabetic letters alpha (I.d) and delta (I.e). The issues with the syllabic marks (b and c) include the abbreviation se only in the exergue with no alphabetic abbreviation for the king's title added. It should also be noted that both the ni and a issues use the o spelling of the king's title.

K.A.R.I.d. alpha (nos. 445-453) and e. delta (nos. 454-499)

Those examples with an alpha as a control mark (I.d) also use the o in basileus. Furthermore, the known examples do not add an E or EY abbreviation in the exergue. The more common specimens, with a delta control mark (I.e, see pl. XLII), have both linear and dotted ground lines, only use the o spelling of the title and the majority end the inscription with a se in the exergue, with one example (no. 499) which includes the E.

K.A.R.I.f. uncertain (nos. 500-524)

There are a number of thirds which must be placed in a sixth category since wear, or an off-centre strike, makes it impossible to discern a secondary mark.

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3 Spyridakis, p. 74, no. 11 did not read this syllabic.
Series II is comprised of staters (with one exception) and is catalogued, like Series I, according to reverse type. The obverse, which differentiates Series II from Series I, bears the head of Herakles in profile, always facing to the right. Herakles is portrayed as bearded with quite rugged facial features. The detail in many of the dies is refined and in a full classical style. Herakles is wearing his lion's skin with forelegs knotted under his chin. The detail is remarkable with the head of the lion clearly laid out on top of his head with its mane tumbling down behind the back of the hero's head. The representation is cut off at the neck, not showing a full bust. To the right of the face is the inscription, the king's name - Evagoras written in the genitive case from top right downwards: e-u-wa-ko-ro.4

The whole depiction and inscription is surrounded by a circular linear border. As the dies are quite large, the inscription and the border are not visible on many of the flans; however, the die study has shown that both elements were likely to have been included on all dies.

The reverse type is the same as in Series I, a goat lying right on a ground line. It is interesting to note that the ground line here is always the dotted type, whereas in the first series the linear also appears. As in the first series, the spelling of the title basileus seems to be random, with either o and wo being used. All but one of the staters in this second series include the grain of barley above the goat. The most notable difference, however, is the exergual inscription where the se EY is now constant.

K.A.R.II.a. no mark (nos. 525-529)

There are six known examples without a secondary control mark, with two variations, \( o \) (no. 525) and \( wo \) (nos. 526-529); most examples include the grain of barley above the goat, but no. 525 does not.

This issue (II.a) was not recognised by Masson and Amandry in their die study as the only specimen they could list, no. 527, with \( ba \) alone and a grain of barley, is classified by them as a forgery.\(^5\) It is important to note here that since their study other examples of \( ba \) alone have come to light in the recent 1988/89 hoard (see H.32), thus we must add this variation. We should, therefore, consider the coin in Florence (no. 527) to be authentic.

K.A.R.II.b. \( a \) (nos. 530-533)

The syllable \( a \) is placed under the \( ba \) in four known examples, all of which use \( wo \) in the spelling of \( basileus \) rather than \( o \). Masson and Amandry have rightly pointed out that the syllable is \( a \) rather than \( wa \)\(^6\) (which clearly has two marks at the bottom of the sign), as read by previous scholars.\(^7\)

K.A.R.II.c. \( ka \) (nos. 534-537)

The syllable \( ka \) is utilised in only four known specimens, using both the \( o \) (nos. 534-536) and \( wo \) (no. 537) spelling, and some showing a more circular incuse.

K.A.R.II.d. \( ru \) (nos. 538-551)

Of the 22 examples with the syllable \( ru \) used as control mark, all use the \( o \) spelling of the King's title. It can be easy to confuse the syllable \( ru \) with the syllable \( a \) (II.b) which has a single straight vertical line from the top to bottom of

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5 Masson & Amandry, p. 38.
6 Masson & Amandry, p. 36, n. 44, "\( a \) en graphie arrondie".
7 Deecke, p. 154; Six 1883, p. 283.
the sign (see p. 42). It is however clear on the known examples that the centre line of the sign is only at the very bottom and angles to the right or left, thus making it a ru rather than an a syllable. The se E is written retrograde on three examples (no. 546).

K.AR.II.e. ta (nos. 552-553)

As with the ka control mark, ta as a secondary symbol seems to be rare with only four known examples. All four use the wo instead of the o spelling.

K.AR.II.f. alpha (nos. 554-563)

There are ten known examples with alpha used as a control mark (see pl. XLIII). The majority have basileus spelled with wo, with three known examples using o (nos. 562-563). In ICS (p. 322) Masson wrongly interprets the A as an extension of the letters E Y, but corrects this assumption in Masson and Amandry 1988.

K.AR.II.g. caduceus (nos. 564-567)

Seven known examples incorporate the caduceus symbol in the right field as a control mark. All examples use the wo syllable in the King's title.

K.AR.II.h. uncertain (nos. 568-583)

On a number of coins in this Series, like Series I.f, one is unable to read the secondary control mark as the specimens are either too worn, or the coin has been struck off centre, thus the area to the right of the goat is off the flan.

There is only one other denomination, other than a stater, within Series II and that is a sixth of a stater (no. 583). The type is almost exactly the same as above, but due to obvious space restraints the inscription and border is not

8 For examples of the ru syllable, see ICS, no. 217 (Idalion tablet), rows 12 and 19.

255
visible on the obverse nor is the border visible on the reverse. It is unclear as to whether or not these elements were included in the die. Due to the poor state of the specimen, its control mark is unclear, thus placing this specimen in the uncertain category (II.h).

Although the majority of coins from Series I have a delta as a control mark, it does not yet appear in Series II.

K.AR.III. Fractions (nos. 584-649)

K.AR.III.a. male head / smooth (nos. 584-626)

The obverse of these small coins depicts a youthful male head facing to the right (with one exception to left: no. 614) with short curly hair and often a dotted border. There is rarely an added syllable; when one is added it is ba (nos. 600 and 603). The reverse of these coins is smooth.

In J. and V. Karageorghis' very thorough publication of the Meniko Hoard in 1965, they described 35 fractions from this series (III.a) dividing them into 18 different series by die description, with an additional six series added from descriptions of coins studied in the Cyprus Museum and elsewhere. The coins from the hoard ranged from 0.45 g. to 0.71 g. (average weight of 0.55 g.) and were regarded as 'uncertain denominations', and so they were categorised by the detailed type of the obverse rather than by weight.\footnote{Karageorghis 1965, p. 13 ff.} In this catalogue, an attempt has been made to divide the series into separate denominations.
K. AR. III. b. male head / wheel (nos. 627-637)

The obverse remains the same as in Series III. a while the reverse incorporates a wheel with four spokes. The syllable *ba* is added rarely, placed between two of the spokes (no. 627).

K. AR. IIIc. Herakles' head / wheel (nos. 638-649)

The obverse is a Herakles' head very similar to that of the staters. Herakles is facing right, bearded and wears his lion's skin over his head, knotted just under the chin. There is always a linear border on the obverse. The reverse is the same as in Series III. b, a wheel of four spokes; occasionally with this series, the spokes end in very stylised patterns not unlike palmette leaves. There is here, however, more variation in the syllables added; *ba* (no. 642), *ku* (no. 646) an ankh (no. 647), and sigma (nos. 641, 644) (or *u* syllable?) are known.

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10 As the sigma looks very much like a Cypriot syllabic *u*, it is possible that a *u* is represented rather than a sigma. However, the *u* would not be used without the *e* syllable on coins of Evagoras.
Iconography

The two main types on the coins of Evagoras I are Herakles and a goat. The obverse types of Herakles show either a profile head or, more rarely, a full figure seated on a rock or omphalos. Evagoras’ desire to depict this very Greek hero on his coins is consistent with what we know of his desire to project a pro-Hellenic image. As the son of Zeus and the mortal Alcmene, the semi-divine Herakles was the most intrepid of Hellenic heroes. From the stories of his conception, through his youth and his heroic deeds, there is no character in the Greek pantheon who is more noble and powerful and yet lived as a mortal.

Hill rightly argued that the images used by Evagoras was used by him alone and thus 'may perhaps be regarded as personal to him, and not as representing any particular Salaminian cult'. While this certainly may be the case for the obverse type of Herakles, Hill overlooked a long standing iconographic tradition at the mint stemming from the very first obverse types produced at the end of the sixth century and throughout the fifth - the recumbent ram. Surely the recumbent goat should be looked upon as a continuation of the use of an agricultural icon. As the ram began as a lone image on the coins of Salamis, it was probably not connected in any way to the later reverse type.

Alternatively, the goat may represent a sacred animal of the island’s patron goddess – Aphrodite, as the goat, like the ram, is one of the animals often sacrificed in agricultural sanctuaries. The theory of the recumbent animal representing something sacred in the agricultural sphere is strengthened further

11 BMC, p. ci, n. 2. It has been suggested that the goat, along with the grain of barley above, is an adjunct image of Herakles as a rural divinity.
by the reverse field's one added symbol - the grain of barley often placed above the goat. In this instance there can be little doubt that the symbol represents the local corn industry.\(^{13}\) The barley grain also relates to the image of Herakles as he is also known as a protector of crops and agricultural interests.\(^{14}\)

The grain of barley as a numismatic symbol is, of course, not unique to Salamis. Most notably it is used in the sixth and fifth centuries as a main type on the coins of Metapontum (BMC, Italy, nos. 1-206) and figures largely on the reverse of fifth century types of Leontini.\(^{15}\) In both instances the type must have been chosen to commemorate the local corn industry.

It is also used elsewhere in the Greek world, notably Abdera (ACGC, no. 537), where at the end of the fifth century three grains of barley are standing upright enclosed within a square border on some tetrobols.

The seated Herakles holds a number of typical accoutrements – his club, bow and the lion's skin which he wore after killing the lion of Nemea.\(^{16}\) Herakles killed the lion with his club, obtained at Helicon cut from an olive tree, which was believed to ward off evil spirits.\(^{17}\)

Less frequent is the horn of Achelous which he grabs and holds up and away from his body in his left hand. Herakles obtained this horn while wrestling the river-god when they were in contention to marry Deianeira, the daughter of Oeneus. Achelous, who appeared as a bull, lost the fight after having one of his horns ripped off by Herakles.\(^{18}\) The bull's horn is thought of as a sign of fertility, especially for the sovereign power and thus legitimising a claim to the throne.

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13 E. Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cypern*, 1903, p. 274 (and p. 374 for goat) for testimony to the corn industry.
14 R. Vollkomer, *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece*, 1988, p. 85-86: Herakles as 'destroyer of insects or 'locust scarer' (Strabo 613c) and 'protector of flocks'.
16 Pind. I. 6, 47-48. His bow is said to be a gift from Apollo, Q. Smyrn. 9, 395-397.
17 Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (71), 4.II.
18 Diod. 4.35.4; Strabo 6.2.19.
The application of the image of Herakles as a representation of the sovereign must have also been relevant to Evagoras as Herakles was also perceived in the eastern tradition as Herakles Melkarth, the protector of cities.19

Salamis is not the only Cypriot mint which utilised Herakles for a main numismatic type. Curiously, the non-Hellenic city of Citium used Herakles as its obverse from at least the beginning of the fifth century; Herakles is seen lunging forward with his club, his lion skin draped on his head falling down his back and flowing behind.20 The smaller denominations at Citium depict the head of Herakles alone.21 A similar full-length portrayal of the attacking hero is seen on the coins of Lapethus during the late fifth and early fourth centuries produced by Kings Andro... and Demonikos II.22 This attacking type is seen again on early fourth? century coins possibly belonging to the mint of Soli, inscribed with the name of King Ar...; here, however, Herakles is strangling the lion.23 The only portrait head of Herakles known in Cyprus, other than on the small denominations of Citium and those produced by Evagoras I are on a series produced by an uncertain mint which appear in the Larnaca Hoard.24

As a numismatic type, Herakles is used widely elsewhere in the Greek world. It is more than likely that Evagoras' inspiration for the use of Herakles came from western Greece rather than Salamis' Phoenician neighbour in Citium. A number of mints of Southern Italy chose Herakles for their coinage in the fifth century, so pointing toward their Hellenic origins. In particular, some coins of

19 Agath., Hist. 2.24; Amm. Marc. 14, 8.3; Nann. Dion. 34, 191 f.; Joh. Lyd. Mag. 3.64; Dio Chrys. 33, 47. Herakles as the Cilician Sandon and Tyrian Melkart: Hdt. 2.44; Euseb. Praep. Ev. 1.10. For other images of Herakles in Cyprus see Cesnola, p. 192, fig. 197 and Ath. Mitth. ix, p. 131. 6.
20 BMC, Citium, nos. 2-7, 10-48, 50-51, 71-81, 83.
21 BMC, Citium, nos. 8-9, 49, 52-70, 82.
22 W. Schwabacher, 'Coins of the Vouni Treasure Reconsidered', NRC 1981, p. 44
23 BMC, Unc. F?; Meniko Hoard.
24 BMC, Unc. A?; Larnaca Hoard.
Croton depict a strikingly similar image to the seated Herakles obverse types of Evagoras (ACGC, no. 636). The similarly young, nude Herakles is also seated on a rock with his club clutched on one hand and a laurel branch in the other; moreover, his bow and quiver is shown at his side, as on the coins of Evagoras. On the coins of Croton, the image depicts the legendary founder of the city itself, in the process of sacrificing at an altar.  

Other South Italian and Sicilian mints which depict Herakles on their coins include: Heraclea, Metapontum and Selinus. In the last quarter of the fifth century, c. 420, the recently founded Heraclea has a seated Herakles on the reverse of the staters. The mint later used other images of Herakles including a profile head and the hero wrestling the Nemean lion. Selinus used a similar image already in the middle of the fifth century; however, in this case, instead of the Nemean lion, Herakles is shown beating the Cretan bull with his club. It is interesting to note this further connection with the mint of Metapontum which, as noted above, also utilises the barley head as a main type. Possibly more relevant is the fact that in the later fifth century, the mint portrays the head of Herakles in the exact manner as our profile staters: his head, cut off at the neck, facing right with his lion's skin figuring prominently on his head. On certain staters and obols with the head of Herakles obverse, the ear of barley is used as a corresponding reverse type.  

The use of Herakles as a numismatic type may be prevalent in Magna Gracia, but it is not unique to this area. Although Herakles may not be as common as other types, it is certainly known in the fifth century from central Greece, Macedonia to East Greece.

28 C.M. Kraay, 'Two fifth century BC hoards from South Italy', *SNR* 1970, p. 51 ff.
What may be the earliest mints depicting Herakles are from the East Greek world and include Cyzicus and Mytilene. Both mints use Herakles as coin types at the beginning of the century, and yet at both he is only part of a larger repertoire of changing types and seems to have no direct connection to the city or issuing authority (ACGC, pp. 264-266). Similarly, and closer to home, the early coinage of Lycia utilised the image of Herakles, but again it was either short lived or sporadically used along with a variety of types used by the mint in the early fifth(?) century.

In central Greece, in the second half of the fifth century, the coinage of Thebes has Herakles in action, in a number of the hero's famous postures, including the infant Herakles strangling the serpents, stringing his bow, advancing on the enemy with his club (as on the coins of Citium) and running off with the tripod of Delphi (BMC, Central Greece, nos. 29-40, 89-90).

The royal mints of Macedonia adopted the head of Herakles as the main type at approximately the same time (Archelaus, c. 413) as the type is adopted by Evagoras at Salamis. As the types were introduced to the mints contemporaneously, there is little basis to claim any influence from the Kingdom of Macedon on the royal house of Salamis (ACGC, pp. 144-145). It is interesting to note, however, that the second and larger series of staters shows a shift in obverse type from the seated Herakles to the head of Herakles in profile. Moreover, one must also compare the impact of the type on the two mints. After the reign of Evagoras, Herakles is no longer used as a coin type at the mint of Salamis. However, in Macedonia, the head of Herakles continues to be used throughout the fourth century by the succession of Macedonian kings down to, most notably, the abundant issues of Alexander III. The choice of Herakles by both of these monarchs, although separated by almost a century, shows a deliberate desire to project the image of the great Greek hero to further their ties to the Hellenic world.
Comparisons of types to those used by the royal house of Macedon, does not end with Herakles. One must remember that during the fifth century, in the reign of Alexander I (ending in c. 451) the goat's head and forepart of a goat appeared on the regal tetradrachms of Macedon (full goat on AE); here, however, it is a direct reference to the Macedonian capital, Aegae (BMC, Macedon, Archelaus I, no. 1).

The only other type produced on the coins of Evagoras I is the wheel on the reverse of the fractional issues. Although it is difficult to believe that Peloponnesian fractional issues could be influential on Cyprus, a comparison can be made between the reverse wheels depicted on the coins of Phlius in Achaea and those of Evagoras I. The wheel is rendered in exactly the same fashion, taking up the whole field and having a circular centre with sometimes bulging stylised spokes emerging from the centre (ACGC, nos. 302-304). More than likely, however, the only connection between the two types is that they are good representations of wheels in use in the Greek world in the fifth century B.C.
3.ii. Die and Fabric Study

Gold (AV)

K.AV.I (nos. 358-359)

Only two gold staters of Evagoras I are known to exist, suggesting that the issue may have been quite meagre. The coins themselves are of the highest quality with clean surfaces and are well rounded. The diameter of these staters is quite small compared to its silver counterpart at just 11 mm. The axes are at 4 and 3 o'clock. It is quite possible that the two specimens share the same obverse die.

K.AV.II (nos. 360-405)

The thirds are on average 8 mm. in diameter. The majority of axes of this larger selection are set at 12 or 6 o'clock with the variations quite closely related to the two, at 1, 2 or 7. This certainly points to some sort of regulation in setting the die axes. Again, the fabric of these small specimens is quite fine.

For the 63 thirds available for study, 24 obverse dies and 27 reverse dies can be counted. Dies r1-r22 have a linear ground line (II.a) on the reverse, while dies r23-r27 use a club as a ground line (II.b). There is no die link between the two series.
Table 3.iii.1. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group K, AV Series II, Thirds

K.AV.III (nos. 406-409)

Compared to the third, the smaller denomination, the sixth, is more rare, with only six extant examples catalogued. These coins are small, on average 7 mm. in diameter. As with the other gold coins produced under the name of Evagoras I, the fabric of these tiny examples is quite fine with a clear, clean field and very round flan. Four of the six examples have axes set at either 12 or 6
o’clock. For the six sixths available for study, four obverse dies and three reverse dies can be counted.

![Diagram of die sequence]

Table 3.iii.2. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group K, AV Series III, Sixths

K.AV.IV (no. 410)

The one twelfth of a stater is tiny, measuring only 6 mm. in diameter. Although minuscule, the fabric is of the highest quality, with a clear, clean field and perfectly round shape. Interestingly, the obverse die o3 is used for the sixths.

Silver (AR)

Series I (nos. 411-524)

Unlike Series II, which is almost wholly made up of staters, the majority of Series I is represented by thirds. Only nine staters are known, which have a Herakles seated obverse; so compared to Series II, discussed below, the number of staters available for study is very meagre and suggests a limited production of this type combination in the larger denomination. The thirds are much more common with 119 examples catalogued.
K.A.R.I. Staters (nos. 411-417)

The axes of the staters tend to be variable and the average diameter compares closely to the staters of Series II, at approximately 22 mm. The overall fabric of these rather large coins is fairly flat, but at times rather lumpy. A number of the extant examples are quite worn.

Out of the nine staters available for study, four obverse and seven reverse dies were used. The only significant die link is with o2 which links the se to the se E exergue.

K.A.R.I. Thirds (nos. 418-524)

The third of the stater is obviously the predominant denomination within Series I with 119 known examples. The axes are not set and the average diameter is 14 mm. The fabric of the thirds is fairly dumpy and the coins are less round than the larger silver counterparts or, of course, the gold coins produced under the name of Evagoras.

For the 115 thirds available for study, 43 obverse and 93 reverse dies can be counted.
Table 3.iii.3. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group K, AR Series I, Thirds
The following chronological conclusions regarding the control marks can be deduced:

Obverse die 15 links the control marks a and alpha (I.b and I.d)
Obverse die 18 links the control marks alpha and delta (I.d and I.e)
Obverse die 16 links the control marks ni and delta (I.c and I.d)

As only a few die links can be established between the various control marks, one must be very cautious when considering any chronological conclusions especially as it is wholly unclear what purpose the control marks serve. We can be sure that at least a, alpha, delta and ni are related in some sort of chronological succession.

Further assumptions can be made regarding those coins which have uncertain control marks (I.f) due to wear or an off-centre strike of the flan. For example, as r70 is clearly connected to o7, and o7 is linked to reverses with no control mark (I.a), it is likely that r70 also bears no mark. This method can be used elsewhere: r71: a (I.b); r72 ni (I.c); r17 alpha (I.d); r74 - r89 delta (I.e).

Series II (nos. 525-583)

As stated above, the most obvious difference between Series I and II is that Series I consists mostly of thirds, while Series II is made-up of staters and one sixth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Series I</th>
<th>Series II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staters</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirds</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

269
KARII. Staters (nos. 525-582)

The axes of these staters are not set at any point and tend to vary widely. The average diameter of the staters is 21 mm. The overall fabric is quite advanced compared to that of its predecessors (Series I) with quite large and flat flans, often showing a very shallow circular incuse.

For the 80 staters available for study in Series II, 10 obverse dies and 42 reverse dies can be counted. The die groups are as follows:

```
table 3. iii. 4. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group K, AR Series II, Staters
```

270
The following chronological conclusions regarding the control marks can be deduced:

Obverse die 1 links no mark (II.a), o & wo (barley) and ru (II.d), o and alpha (II.b), o
Obverse die 2 links no mark (II.a), wo and ka (II.c), o
Obverse die 6 links a (II.b), wo and ka (II.c), wo
Obverse die 10 links ru (II.d), o and ta (II.e), wo and alpha (II.f), wo and caduceus (II.g), wo

The result of this die study shows random usage of both control marks and the spelling of the title ‘basileus’.

Comparisons Between Series I and II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rev dies</th>
<th>mark</th>
<th>spelling</th>
<th>grain?</th>
<th>exergue</th>
<th>ground line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>a. none</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>D &amp; L*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-15</td>
<td>a. none</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>se &amp; se</td>
<td>D &amp; L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-23</td>
<td>b. a</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>D &amp; L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>c. ni</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-33</td>
<td>d. alpha</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24-68</td>
<td>e. delta</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>se E</td>
<td>D &amp; L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>e. delta</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>se E</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Dotted and Linear

Table 3.iii.5. Inscriptions and Added Details of Group K, AR Series I, Thirds

271
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rev dies</th>
<th>mark</th>
<th>spelling</th>
<th>grain?</th>
<th>exerge</th>
<th>ground line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a. none</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>se E Y</td>
<td>D G L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a. none</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>se E Y</td>
<td>D G L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>a. none</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>se E Y</td>
<td>D G L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-9</td>
<td>b. a</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>se E Y</td>
<td>D G L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>c. ka</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>se E Y</td>
<td>D G L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>c. ka</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>se E Y</td>
<td>D G L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-26</td>
<td>d. ru</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>se E Y</td>
<td>D G L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-28</td>
<td>e. ta</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>se E Y</td>
<td>D G L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29-36</td>
<td>f. alpha</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>se E Y</td>
<td>D G L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37-38</td>
<td>g. alpha</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>se E Y</td>
<td>D G L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-42</td>
<td>h. caduceus</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>se E Y</td>
<td>D G L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.iii.6. Inscriptions and Added Details of Group K, AR Series II, Staters

When all the details of Series I and II are compared, one may make a suggestion regarding the order of control marks. As the grain of barley is always included in Series II (save just one die with no control mark), it is interesting to note that it is only included in Series I on those dies with no control mark (I.a). Similarly, the dotted ground line is always utilised in Series II, whereas in Series I a linear ground line is also used. We may note, however, that the dotted ground line is used in Series I only on those dies with no control mark (I.a), the a syllable (I.b) and delta (I.e) control marks.

The use of the exergue may also be important. As the abbreviation of the King's name evolves to the full EY in Series II (as opposed to no alphabetic abbreviation or E alone) it is interesting to note that the E is included on those
dies in Series I with no control mark (I.a) and delta (I.e). Moreover, the spelling of the title basileus may also be an indicator as Series II regularly utilises both the o and wo. On the other hand, Series I uses only the o spelling save one example using wo which also has no control mark (I.a) and includes the grain of barley (r1-5).

The use of the grain of barley, the ground line, exergual abbreviation and the spelling of basileus all point to a connection between the two series via those dies with no control mark (I and II. a) and delta as a control mark (I.e). As the delta does not exist as a control mark in Series II, one may posit that the last dies of Series I were with those with no control mark (I.a) and Series II began with no control marks (II.a). This assumption must be viewed with caution, however, as one must remember that the comparison is between thirds and staters.

K.A.R.III. Fractions (nos. 584-649)

K.A.R.III.a (nos. 584-626)

The fractions of the first issue, III.a,\(^{29}\) constitutes the largest series of fractional denominations produced by Evagoras I, with 108 examples. These coins also exhibit the widest range of weights, which makes the identification of the exact denomination quite difficult. The size of the coins range from 11 mm. for the larger denominations (twelfth) to 6 mm. for the smallest (96th). The surface of the obverse tends to be somewhat undulating as many have a wavy or concave plane. The smooth reverse rarely exhibits any flaws, which were common with previous issues from the mint.

\(^{29}\) Six 1890, pp. 256 ff. attributed this series to Abdemon; BMC, p. xcix, no. 2, thinks they mark the transition between earlier coinages and that of Evagoras I, p. c., he states that they may be the first issues of Evagoras I.
In the 108 examples known, 38 obverse dies exist. Remarkably, one reverse die match can also be made, despite the smooth nature of the reverse punch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>obv die</th>
<th>number of coins</th>
<th>Karageorghis Series³⁰</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3, 4, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11, 12, 14, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 (link to III.b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.iii.7. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Group K, AR Series III.a, 12ths

³⁰ Karageorghis 1965.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>obv die</th>
<th>number of coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.iii.8. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group K, AR Series III.a, 24ths**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>obv die</th>
<th>number of coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>1 (link to III.b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.iii.9 Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group K, AR Series III.a, 48ths**

As will be seen in the next section (Chapter Three.iv), the weights of the coins within Series III.a vary widely with many of the 12ths exhibiting much lighter weights than might be expected (see Chart 3.iv.4). Consequently, there is some difficulty in assigning a denomination to certain coins since some of the lighter weight 12ths could classified as 24ths. However, the distinction between the two denominations can be discerned from the die study as it is obvious with die o25 there seems to be a shift in the size of the dies: compared to dies o1-o24, dies o25-o28 are markedly smaller.
K. AR. III. b (nos. 627-637)

The fractional issue III. b, represented by 20 known examples, is comprised of middle range denominations. The size of the coins varies from the larger denominations, the twelfth, of 9 mm. in diameter to the 24th at approximately 7 mm. in diameter. The fabric of the examples is quite similar to that of the previous series, as a number bear a concave surface on the reverse. The dies themselves rarely seem to be centred on the flan with the reverse type almost always slightly off centre.

There are seven dies used for the 20 specimen known in this issue. It must be noted that the reverse dies with the wheel of four spokes are almost impossible to match due to the nature of the design combined with the wear of the coins.

Table 3.iii.10 Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group K, AR Series III.b, 12ths
K.A.R. III.c (nos. 638-649)

There are slightly more coins catalogued with a Herakles' head obverse and same reverse type as the previous series: 27 specimens in total. The larger denomination, the twelfth, averages in size at about nine mm. in diameter while the smaller in the series, one 24th, is about two mm. smaller. Most of the specimens are quite worn and the fabric compares quite closely to that of the previous issue (III.b).

For the 27 specimens studied, six obverse dies were used and perhaps nine reverse dies.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{obv. die} \quad \text{rev. die} \\
01 \quad r1 \\
02 \quad r2 \quad r3 \quad r4 \\
03 \quad r5 \\
04 \quad r6 \\
05 \quad r7 \\
\end{array}
\]

Table 3.iii.11. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group K, AR Series III.c, 12ths

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{obv. die} \quad \text{rev. die} \\
06 \quad r8 \quad r9 \\
\end{array}
\]

Table 3.iii.12. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group K, AR Series III.c, 24ths

277
3.iv. Weight Standard

Gold

K.AV.I. Staters (nos. 358-359)

The two extant specimens weigh 2.04 g. and 2.05 g.

K.AV.II and III. Thirds and Sixths (nos. 360-409)

The 63 thirds\(^{31}\) range in weight from 0.83 g. to 0.54 g. peaking at approximately 0.70 g. The rarer sixths range between 0.31 g. and 0.40 g., with an average of c. 0.35 g. The chart also shows the possibility of an intermediate denomination at approximately 0.62 g.

\(^{31}\) Head 1911, p. 743, calls them "tenths".
K.AV.IV. 12th? of a Stater\(^{32}\) (no. 410)

This rare example weighs 0.20 g.

Hill considered the ratio between gold and silver to be the traditional 13 and \(\frac{1}{3}\) to 1 on the Persian standard, thus the equivalent of a quarter-daric, arguing that one gold stater of Evagoras I was equivalent to 2 1/2 of his silver staters. He further refers to the smallest two denominations as tenths and twentieths.\(^{33}\) For the purposes of this study, the largest gold denomination will be referred to as a stater, as there is no contemporary evidence to indicate how the Salaminian denominational system worked. Certainly there is no doubt that it is related in some way to the Persian system (Persian AV daric = 8.35 g., thus an Evagoras I stater of 2.05 g is roughly equal to a quarter-daric), as with the issues of the fifth century; but again, one must look at the evidence practically and recognise the different denominations by judging them against the heaviest issue.

As a result, the smaller denominations divide neatly into thirds, sixths and twelfths of a stater, at c. 0.70 g., 0.35 g. and 0.20 g. As we shall see in the next chapter, this system for the gold fractional coinage is continued by Evagoras' successor Nikokles.

\(^{32}\) BMC, pp. cii-ciii refers to the stater as a half-drachm or quarter-daric.

\(^{33}\) BMC, p. ciii.
Silver

Series I (nos. 411-524)

K.A.R.I. Staters (nos. 411-417)

The very rare staters of Series I range from 9.07 g to 11.23 g. As these specimens are very few in number and show a very wide range of weights, an assumption regarding their approximate weight cannot be ascertained.

K.A.R.I. Thirds (nos. 418-524)

Chart 3.iv.2: Weights of Group K, AR Series I, Thirds

The thirds range from 2.46 g. to 3.41 g., with a peak at 3.05 g. The third of a stater produced under Evagoras I weighs exactly one-third of 10.50 g. which is slightly lighter than the average weight of both Series I and II staters.
The plentiful Series II staters range from 10.04 g. to 11.10 g. (the very worn specimens under 10 g. are omitted). As one can see from Chart 3.iv.3 there is a peak at 10.78 g. with a steady decline in weight after this point.

Compared to the staters produced throughout the fifth century (Groups A-J), there seems to be a slight reduction in the weight for the Series II stater, since the fifth century staters have an average weight of approximately 11.00 g. - 10.95 g.

The only other denomination in Series II is a sixth (no. 583) weighing 1.70 g.
Series III. Fractions (nos. 584-649)

K.A.R.III.a (nos. 584-626)

Chart 3.iv.4: Weights of Group K, AR Series III.a, Fractions

12ths: range from 0.41 g. to 1.00 g., peak at 0.80 g.
24ths: range from 0.37 g. to 0.44 g., peak at 0.44 g.
48ths: range from 0.14 g. to 0.34 g., peak at 0.22 g.

Although there seem to be many 12ths which weigh well into the average range of the 24ths, the die study clearly shows a shift in size and style of dies which appears to separate the 12ths from the 24ths (see above). The few tiny fractions weighing under 0.12 g. touch 0.06 g. and are either 96ths as categorised in the catalogue or very worn 48ths.
K.A.R.III.b (nos. 627-637)

Chart 3.iv.5: Weights of Group K, AR Series III.b, Fractions

As with the first issue, III.a, the 12ths of III.b seem to range widely from 0.47 g. to 0.80 g. As the peak at 0.48-0.50 g. is far too light to be in the range of a 48th it is likely that these lighter coins represent very worn 12ths. The 24ths seem to be more stable peaking at 0.40 g.

K.A.R.III.c (nos. 638-649)

Chart 3.iv.6: Weights of Group K, AR Series III.c, Fractions
As with those of III.a and b, fractions of III.c categorised as 12ths exhibit a peak in the range of 0.50 g. Furthermore with this issue, the heaviest fraction weighs only 0.65 g. Those coins categorised as 24ths again seem to peak at approximately 0.40 g.

The three issues of silver fractions of Evagoras I comprise coins weighing under 1 g., with 162 extant fractions available for study. Chart 3.iv.7 shows the range of weights of issues a-c, and gives an indication of the possible denominational divisions. The sometimes rather ambiguous peaks on the scale should represent expected divisions of the stater (at 10.84 g.) at approximately 0.90 g. (12th of a stater), 0.45 g. (24th of a stater), 0.22 g. (48th of a stater) and 0.11 g. (96th of a stater). Certainly these divisions seem vague; as the variations in weight range fairly steadily from 0.05 g. up to 1 g. clear denominations are difficult to discern. Any value listed should be considered hypothetical.
Previous scholarship on these fractional series has been very haphazard, since without a large collection of specimens it was only possible to make assumptions regarding their value. Hill took two different coins weighing c. 1.04 g. or 1.30 g. as trihemiobols.\textsuperscript{34} Spyridakis stated that coins weighing between 0.68 and 0.78 g. were obols.\textsuperscript{35} The problem of placing precise denominational titles on these coins can only be solved by charting the known specimens and attributing denominations on the basis of a fractional series rather than traditional standards.

\textsuperscript{34} BMC, p. xcix.
\textsuperscript{35} Spyridakis, p. 93.
3.v. Hoard Evidence

The following hoards are known to contain coins of Evagoras I of Salamis:

H.29. Cyprus\textsuperscript{36}
Provenance: Cyprus
Find date: 1987
Burial date: c. 400
Contents: 3+ AR (obviously part of a larger hoard)
Disposition: in trade.
Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Evagoras I: AR Stater
Series I.a: Herakles seated / goat lying r.
no. 412: ('as NC 1914, pl. 3.8'): o1-r2

Other Cypriot? mints:
Uncertain mint, Citium?: stater as \textit{Traité}, 1, 123(2) (pl. XLVI, P)
\textit{obv.}: Baal seated l. on throne, in r. hand holds sceptre with bird on top, dotted border.; \textit{rev.}: Herakles advancing/attacking r., on dotted ground line, wearing lion's skin over head and hanging down back and seen between legs, swings club over head in r. hand and holds something forward in l., dotted border.

Uncertain mint: stater (pl. XLVI, Q)

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{CH VIII}, no. 65. The burial date of c. 425 printed in \textit{CH VIII} was obviously a mistake. My thanks for Dr J. Spier for bringing the coins of this hoard to my attention.
obv.: winged griffin seated l. with one paw raised in front, head reverted or facing.; rev.: horned and winged creature with lion's body lying l. on dotted ground line, dotted border.

H.30. Cilicia
Provenance: Cilicia, Asia Minor?
Find date: pre 1914
Burial date: c. 380
Contents: 89+ AR
Disposition:
Number of Salamis specimens: 2

Evagoras I, AR Staters:
Series I.a: Herakles seated / goat lying r.
no. 417: o2? - r7
Series II.b: Herakles' head / goat lying r.
no. 530: a o4-r6

Other Cypriot mints: 2 Citium: 1 stater, 1 third.
1 Baalram and 1 Melekiathon

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 Syracuse; 35 Athens; 3 Sinope, 4 Miletus, 1 Samos; 1 Teos; 4 Aspendus, 1 Side; 2 Celenderis, 2 Issus, 2 Mallus; 7 Aradus, 2 Tyre.

Provenance: Cilicia
Find date: 1988?
Burial date: c. 380
Contents: 112+ AR
Disposition: in trade 1988 - 1994
Number of Salamis specimens: 31 (or 30?)

Possibly part of hoard:
Phausis (Group F): stater.

Evagoras I: AR Staters
Series I.a: Herakles' seated / goat lying r. (possibly part of hoard)
   no. 416: no mark / se EY: o4-r6
Series II: Herakles' head / goat lying r.
   II.a: nos. 525, 525a: o1-r1: no mark
   II.c: nos. 535 o7-r10; 536 o7-r11: ka
   II.d: nos. 538, 538a o1-r13; 539 o1-r14; 540 o1-r15; 541 o1-r16;
       542 o1-r17; 545 o1-r20; 546, 546a o8-r21; 547, 547a o8-r22;
       548 o8-r23; 550 o9-r25; 551 o10-r26: ru
   II.e: no. 553 o10-r28: ta
   II.f: nos. 554 o10-r29; 556 o10-r31; 557 o10-r32; 562 o1-r37:
       alpha
   II.g: no. 565 o10-r40: caduceus
   II.h: nos. 568 o4; 569 o1; 571 o8; 575 o1; 577 o8: uncertain

---

38 Most coins were on sale in NFA 1988/9. Some also seen at Baldwins in 1994 and recorded by S. Bendall in trade. CH VIII 93 is likely also to be part of this hoard. It also includes: 4 Side, 5 Nagidos, 6 Celenderis, 16 Soli, 12 Tarsus, 18 Mallus and 20 Issus. My thanks to Andrew Meadows for information on this deposit.
H.32. Southern Cilicia

Provenance: Southern Cilicia, Asia Minor
Find date: 1989/90
Burial date: c. 380
Contents: 436+ AR
Number of Salamis specimens: 2

Evagoras I: 2 AR staters

Series II: Herakles' head/goat lying r.

Other Cypriot mints:

Citium: 8 Staters

King Baalmelek II, c. 425-400

*obv.*: Herakles advancing r., wearing lion's skin over head and hanging down back, holds bow in outstretched l. hand and club in upraised r., l.: inscription, dotted border; *rev.*: lion r., bringing down stag kneeling r., above: inscription, dotted square border, incuse square.

Paphos: 1 stater

King Timocharis, c. 385

*obv.*: Zeus seated, inclined r. on throne, feet on stool, himation over lower half, l. hand on sceptre, r. holds phiale, inscription: basileuse, dotted border.; *rev.*: Aphrodite standing to front on dotted ground line, wearing wreath, long chiton with apoptygma fastened with girdle, and peplos hanging behind, fastened on r. shoulder with griffin's head fibula, holds in lowered l. hand an apple branch, in r. phiale over a thymiaterion, inscription: Timocharis, dotted border.

39 CH VIII, no. 91; E. Levante, 'Le "trésor de Nagidos"', in M. Amandry and G. Le Rider (eds.), *Trésors et circulation monétaire en Anatolie antique*, 1994, pp. 7-11; Two lots in trade, February 1990: but likely to be the same hoard.
Non-Cypriot mints: 127 Athens; 19 Aspendus and Selge?; 26 Mallus, 19 Issus, 130 Nagidus, 18 Celenderis, 8 Soli, 27 Tarsus, 36 uncertain Cilicia; 1 Aradus, 40 Side, 1 Myriandros?

H.33. Cilicia

Provenance: Cilicia, Asia Minor
Find date: 1983/85
Burial date: c. 380
Contents: 41 AR
Number of Salamis specimens: 2

Evagoras I: 2 AR Staters

Series II: Herakles' head/goat lying r.

II.b: no. 555 o10-r30: alpha
possibly from hoard:

II.a: no. 526 o1-r2: no mark
II.a: no. 528 o2-r4: no mark
II.e: no. 552 o10-r27: ta
II.g: no. 565 o10-r40: caduceus

Other Cypriot mints: 3 Citium.

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 Celenderis, 1 Mallus, 8 Issus/Tiribazus (386-380), 21 Mallus/Tiribazus, 3 Soli/Tiribazus, 3 uncertain/Tiribazus.

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40 CH VIII, no. 165. Other pieces possibly from hoard - Giessener Münz.. Auktion 32, 12-13, Nov. 1985, lot. 98 (Tiribazus), lot. 103 Evagoras I (our no. 1557).

290
H.34. Cilicia

Provenance: Cilicia, Asia Minor
Find date: 1966
Burial date: c. 375
Contents: 53+ AR
Disposition: dispersed
Number of Salamis specimens: 53

Evagoras I: 3 staters; 50 Series I thirds

H.35. Podalia

Provenance: Podalia, Lycia, south of Elmali
Find date: 1957
Burial date: c. 375 - 370
Contents: c. 1600 AR (pot hoard)
Disposition: 510 in Istanbul; 5 (Lycian) in British Museum; 4 (Lycian) in Paris, BN
Number of Salamis specimens: 1 overstruck

Evagoras I: Stater, Series II (Herakles' head / goat lying r.), 9.85 g.,
overstruck by Lycian mint, Pericles (pl. XLVI, R):

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43 G.K. Jenkins, 'Recent acquisitions of Greek Coins by the British Museum', NC 1959, pp. 33-41.
obv. draped and bearded bust facing, wearing laurel wreath, in r. field, dolphin downwards.; rev. naked warrior fighting r. with shield and sword, wearing helmet, upper r. field, star of eight rays, on l. and r. inscription, incuse square.45

Non-Cypriot mints: Lycian dynasts: 173+ staters; 315+ fractions; Aspendus: 202+ double sigloi, 40+ sigloi.

H. 25. Rouvier46

Provenance: Cilicia
Find date: 1900/01
Burial date: c. 370
Contents: 137 AR (small denominations)
Disposition: New York (E.T. Newell Collection47)
Number of Salamis specimens: 9 or 10

Evelthon fractions: see Chapter Two, p. 161.

Evagoras I: AR 24th

Series III.a: male head l., short curly hair / smooth

no. 614a o25

47 Acquired by Newell from Rouvier. Newell's notes on the hoard are on file in the American Numismatic Society.
Other Cypriot mints:
   Amathus and Citium, fractions: see Chapter Two, p. 161.

Non-Cypriot mints: 3 Selge?, 5 Side; 73 Celenderis, 2 Nagidus, 24 Cilician Soli, 6 Tarsus (Pharnabazus and Datames: 379-372); and Phoenician\textsuperscript{48}.

H.26. Delepierre\textsuperscript{49}
Provenance: Celenderis, Cilicia
Find date: pre 1944
Burial date: c. 370
Contents: 52 AR (small denominations)
Disposition: Paris
Number of Salamis specimens: 2

   Evelthon fraction: see Chapter Three, p. 163.

Evagoras I: AR 24th
   Series III.a: male head l., short curly hair /smooth
   no. 614b: o25

Other Cypriot Mints:
   Citium and Lapethus: see Chapter Three, p. 163.

\textsuperscript{48} The Phoenician coins can no longer be identified as Rouvier added them to his general collection: Destrooper-Georgiades 1988, p. 24.
Non-Cypriot Mints: 1 Selge?, 7 Side; 24 Celenderis, 3 Nagidus, 11 Soli; 1 Phoenician.\(^{50}\)

H.36. Ready\(^{51}\)

Provenance: Cyprus

Find date:

Burial date: c. 370

Contents: 8 AR\(^{52}\)

Disposition: London

Number of Salamis specimen:

Evagoras I, AR fractions:

Series III.a: male head r. short curly hair /smooth

12th: no. 593 o9

24th: no. 615 o26

Series III.b: male head r., short curly hair /wheel with four stylised spokes

12th: no. 629 o35-r3

Other Cypriot mints: 2 Amathus

1 sixth: uncertain king (BMC 2, c. 450 - 400)

\textit{obv.}: lion lying l., jaws open.; \textit{rev.}: forepart of lion r., jaws open, in dotted square within incuse square.

1 stater: King Lysandros (BMC 14, c. 375 )

\(^{50}\) Destrooper-Georgiades 1988, p. 24: the Alexander struck in Sidon purchased as part of the hoard is likely to be an intrusion.


\(^{52}\) Destrooper-Georgiades 1988, p. 19 - separate hoard from IGCH 1263 Rouvier.
obv.: lion with wart on flank lying r., jaws open, on dotted ground line,
above: eagle flying r., in exergue: syllabic inscription ro-to-sa-po,
dotted border.; rev.: forepart of lion r., jaws open, in field r., ro-to-
sa-po, dotted border.

H.37. Meniko

Provenance: near Ancient Tamassus, Cyprus
Find date: 1952
Burial date: c. 350
Contents: 394 AR, pot hoard
Disposition: Nicosia Museum, Cyprus
Number of Salamis specimens: 36

Evagoras I, AR Fractions: 12ths
Series III.a: male head r., short curly hair / smooth
  nos. 584, 584a-h o1; 585, 585a o1-r1; 591, 591a-b o7; 592,
  592a-b o8; 593b o9; 594, 594a o10; 595, 595a-c o11;
  597, 597a o13; 598 o14; 599a o15; 600 o16; 602 o18;
  606 o22; 607 o23; 608a-c o24.

Series III.c: Herakles' head r., bearded / wheel
  no. 644 o5-r7

Other Cypriot mints:
  Amathus: 2 fractions (Karageorghis 1965, p. 18, nos. 37-38)

Vlamis NRC 1974, p. 76, V/NR.121.
King Rho(ikos)?, mid 4th century

*obv.*: head of lion r., jaws open, dotted border.; *rev.*: forepart of lion r., head facing, jaws open, dotted truncation, in field r.: star, linear border.

Lapethus: 2 fractions (Karageorghis 1965, p. 19, nos. 39 & 40)

King Andr... or Demonikos II, c. 415-350

*obv.*: Athena wearing crested Attic helmet, standing to front, head r., r. arm bent, r. hand resting on hip, l. hand holding spear and resting on it, on l.: ankh.; *rev.*: Herakles nude, walking r., holding club in lowered r. hand and bow in outstretched l. hand, over l. forearm hangs lion's skin, on l. Phoenician legend, incuse square.

Marium: 1 fraction (Karageorghis 1965, p. 28, no. 41)

King Stasioikos II?, mid. 4th century

*obv.*: head of Apollo l., laureate.; *rev.*: ankh with double cross bar and V in ring (ankh), in field l.: B.

Uncertain: 353 fractions (Karageorghis 1965, pp. 21-30, nos. 42-394)

King Ari..., early 4th century; (as BMC unc. F)

*obv.*: Herakles r., nude strangling lion, behind: club, on either side of Herakles head, signs of legend, dotted border.; *rev.*: Athena, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, aegis, long chiton, peplos round lower limbs, seated l. on prow, legs crossed, her l. hand rests on hip, r. holds aphlaston, legend.
H.38. Cyprus

Provenance: NE of Dali, Idalium, Cyprus
Find date: 1896
Burial date: c. 340-330
Contents: 5 AR
Disposition: Paris and elsewhere
Number of Salamis specimens: 2

Evagoras I: 2 staters?

Other Cypriot mints:
Amathus: 3 staters
King Epipalus, c. 360

*obv.*: lion lying r., jaws open, on exergue line, above: eagle flying r., in ex: lo
and long crescent, dotted border.; *rev.*: forepart of lion r., jaws open, in
field r.: inscription.

Discussion

The hoards listed above all contain coins of Evagoras I. Only one of the
hoards can be dated prior to c. 385-380: Cyprus 1987 (H.29) and should be dated
at the latest to c. 400. This hoard includes one Series I issue of Evagoras with
Herakles seated on an omphalos on the obverse alongside two uncertain issues
which surely date well into the fifth century, thus supporting an early date for
Series I. The three known coins belonging to Cyprus 1987 are obviously part of a

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54 IGCH 1280; P. Perdrizet, 'Statère chypriote au nom d'Epipalos', *RN* 1898, p. 207-209 (on Amathus); Vlamis 1974, p. 76, V/NR.125.
larger deposit, which, on the current evidence, is likely to be the earliest hoard to contain coins of Evagoras I.

These two 'uncertain mint' issues are extraordinary (pls. XLVI, P & Q). Both staters are rather worn and bare no legible inscription; their flans are broad compared to mid to early fifth century flans of Cyprus but thick compared to most fourth century issues. The coin with Herakles advancing on the reverse could possibly be attributed to Citium. The similarities of this reverse type to the obverse of Citium throughout the fifth century are striking: Herakles is advancing in exactly the same posture, with the lion's skin waving behind and even shown between his lunging legs, as on many of the Citium issues. On the other hand, there is no evidence for Baal or Zeus seated on his throne at the mint of Citium.

The other uncertain issue from this hoard with both obverse and reverse exhibiting fabulous winged creatures is even more puzzling. The attribution to a Cypriot mint is strengthened not only by the context in which they were found (supposedly on Cyprus and alongside a coin of Evagoras I), but by the style and theme. Not only can the winged animal be compared with issues of the mint of Idalium, with winged sphinx seated in the same manner as our griffin, but the recumbent creature of the reverse conjures up comparisons to the lying lions of Amathus and, more specifically, the recumbent goat on the coins of Evagoras I. The comparison to the reverse of the coins of Evagoras I is even more relevant when, upon closer inspection of the head of the creature, it is quite clear that some sort of horned goat is intended, since the creature clearly dons a beard quite similar to that of the goat depicted on Evagoras I reverse types.

With the evidence of these two new specimens, one may posit that this hoard contains Cypriot issues from an uncertain mint dating to the second half of the fifth century. As these coins were found alongside our Series I stater of
Evagoras I, there certainly seems to be hoard evidence to suggest that Series I preceded Series II.

The two later hoards containing Series I coins also include Series II specimens. Cilicia pre 1914 (H.30) is dated by Newell to c. 380 based on the fact that the latest coin of the hoard is likely to be that of the satrap Tiribazus who minted at Mallus and Soli between the years 386 and 380 and the absence of later satrapal issues of Datames.55 This hoard also contains one specimen from Series II with an a syllable control mark (II.b).

The third hoard which contains an example from Series I is Cilicia 1988? (H.31). As this hoard, along with the following hoard, Southern Cilicia 1989/90 (H.32), were seen on the numismatic market at approximately the same time, it is quite possible that they belong to the same deposit; thus they will be discussed as a whole. Most of the Cypriot issues in the hoard were minted at Salamis by Evagoras I and most are of Series II with Herakles' head obverse and goat lying right reverse, with the exception of a Series I coin (no. 416) which could possibly belong to those coins seen in trade at Baldwins in 1994. More surprisingly perhaps, there is also a much earlier coin of Salamis listed among those belonging to this hoard (recorded by Mr S. Bendall), that of King Phausis, whose coins I have dated to the middle of the fifth century (see Chapter Two). However, the other Cypriot coins of the hoard, found alongside those of Evagoras, include coins of Baalmelek II of Citium, whose issues found in the Southern Cilicia (H.32) hoard date to the last quarter of the fifth century.

The non-Cypriot coins of this hoard (or hoards?) are typical of those found in Southern Cilician hoards of the beginning of the fourth century, which include coins of Athens and southern Asia Minor, the majority being Cilician.

55 Newell, NC 1914, p. 30.
There is at best little information available about the Cilicia Hoard of 1966 (H.34) recorded by Vlamis in 1973 and 1974 which included more than 50 thirds of Evagoras I. Although these coins cannot be identified specifically, this hoard may in part account for the large number of Evagoras I thirds preserved in various public and private collections.

There is one very interesting coin of Evagoras I overstruck by a Lycian satrap found in the Podalia Hoard (H.35) which has a burial date of c. 375-370. This Series II stater of Evagoras was overstruck by a die of Pericles. The authors of the Podalia Hoard date the Lycian coins of the hoard to c. 380 or after. This date is based partly on Newell, who was the first to suggest that our Series II was indeed the second series of Evagoras I staters; thus the coin of Evagoras which was overstruck must have been issued during the second half of his reign.\(^\text{56}\)

The Rouvier (H.25), Delepierre (H.26) and Ready (H.36) hoards, like the Meniko Hoard (H.37) discussed below, all contain fractional issues of Evagoras I from the mint at Salamis. The first two hoards also contain fractional issues of Evelthon or his successors (Group D) whose coins date to the first half to middle of the fifth century, while the burial date of the three hoards must be c. 370. Alongside the Series III.a fractions of Evagoras I found in Rouvier, one finds coins of Pharnabazus and Datames who were active in Cilicia from 379-372, thus securely dating at least this hoard to the 370s or later. The Delepierre Hoard, which also includes an Evagoras Series III.a fraction, like the Rouvier Hoard contains examples from Cilician mints active in the early fourth century.

On the other hand, the Ready Hoard (H.36) is homogenous, containing only Cypriot issues and was unlike the other two, found on Cyprus. Its fourth

century date is confirmed not only by the Evagoras I issues, but by a coin of Amathus which can be dated to the first quarter of the fourth century. It is likely that this hoard pre-dates the Delepierre and Rouvier deposits. It should be noted that this is the only hoard which includes a fraction of Series III.b with the inclusion of the wheel reverse type.

The Meniko Hoard (H.37), published in detail by J. and V. Karageorghis in 1965, is also made up of fractional issues of Evagoras I and, like the Ready Hoard, contains only Cypriot issues. The vast majority of those coins which can be attributed are of Salamis, and belong to Evagoras I, Series III.a; although there is one example of Series III.c with the bearded head of Herakles obverse and wheel reverse. The single coin of Lapethus found in the hoard is probably attributable to Demonikos II (c. 390-350), while the other Cypriot issues found in the hoard can be dated later than those of Evagoras I. The coins of Amathus and Marium can be dated to the middle or second half of the fourth century.

The last hoard listed, Cyprus 1896 (H.38) is dated by IGCH to c. 340-330. This late date is puzzling as the coins of Amathus, which are the only other specimens in the hoard, are dated at the latest, c. 360. Thus a burial date in the second quarter of the fourth century is indeed possible.

Distribution

The distribution of the hoards containing coins of Evagoras I differs greatly from those containing coins of Salamis buried in the fifth century. The area of distribution has narrowed to only two major areas, Cyprus and Southern Cilicia.

57 Karageorghis 1965, p. 20.
58 Ibid., p. 19.
59 M. Amandry, Le Monnayage d' Amathonte, Amathonte 1, Testimonia 1, Études Chypriotes 4, 1984, p. 73.
The overall make-up of these hoards in relation to their find spots is what one has come to expect from Cypriot issues of the early fourth century. Those hoards found in Cilicia tend to be large and are generally made up of larger denominations. Furthermore, these Cilician hoards include a variety of Cilician mints and normally include Athenian as well as some Phoenician issues. On the other hand, those found in Cyprus contain mainly small, fractional issues and Cypriot mints. It must be noted, however, that this homogeneous characteristic is unique to those hoards which contain coins of Evagoras I, since other early fourth century hoards found in Cyprus, with no Evagoras I issues, contain coins of southern Asia Minor.

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60 Destrooper-Georgiades 1988, p. 34.
61 IGCH 1278, 1277.
3.vi. Archaeological Evidence

The following coins were found during excavation:

**Aphendrika**

nos. 624-626, AR 96th, III.a: male head r. / smooth  

**Salamis Necropolis**

no. 637, AR 24th, III.b: male head r. / wheel  

**Salamis, Enkomi**

Evagoras I, AR, III.a: male head r. / smooth


The archaeological evidence is very scanty and not surprisingly all examples consist of fractions.

The only coin of Evagoras I found at the necropolis of Salamis, no. 637, was a small silver fraction. The relevant coin was found in Tomb 79, which is largely a Cypro-Archaic I burial chamber, and like many other tombs found in the Necropolis, was reused on several occasions. Our coin seems to be the only Classical object from the tomb.63

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62 No such specimen has been borne out by this study.  
63 Karageorghis 1972, pp. 120 ff.
Unfortunately for the historian, compared to the admittedly thin accounts of the fifth century, sources for the fourth century tend to be weak in narrative and strong in the political. The primary source for fourth century Salamis, is Isocrates' *Orations*\(^{64}\) in honour of King Evagoras I and his successor Nikokles, which must be looked upon with a great deal of suspicion regarding its analytical narrative, as Isocrates' motivation was to produce a glorified eulogy rather than a historical document.

It is from the text of Isocrates that we learn about the exalted lineage from which Evagoras (and, of course, his ancestors discussed in the previous chapter) was descended.\(^{65}\) The Teucridai were descendants of Teucer, son of Aeacus, who in turn was a descendant of Zeus. The heroic ties to Aeacus are of the highest order, as he was the brother of Ajax and cousin of Achilles. Teucer settled in Cyprus after the end of the Trojan war and named the city of Salamis after his former mainland home.\(^{66}\)

Other than Isocrates, our sources vary. As in the fifth century, much of our information is from Diodorus, whose text can be highly valuable, although one must be cautious with certain passages which appear wholly derivative of Isocrates.

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\(^{65}\) For discussion of the historicity of the lineage, see A. Zournatizi, PhD dissertation, 1991, Berkeley, pp. 17 ff.

\(^{66}\) Aeschylus, *Persae* 895-6, dated to 472 BC. Also attested in Euripides' *Helen*, earlier than Isocrates.
The numismatic evidence suggests that Evanthes was the last Teucrid\textsuperscript{67} to hold the throne at Salamis before the emergence of Evagoras I toward the end of the fifth century. Isocrates (\textit{Evag.} 19-29) states that a Phoenician exile in the court of the king of Salamis (presumably Evanthes) had disposed of the king and usurped the throne. The name of this usurper is unknown and there is no numismatic evidence to suggest that any such usurper ever coined at the mint of Salamis. This first Phoenician ruler was then succeeded by a descendant whose name is equally unknown to us (Isoc. \textit{Evag.} 26).

According to both Isocrates (\textit{Evag.} 26) and Diodorus (14.98) a third Phoenician, Abdon (either a Tyrian or a Phoenician from Citium), seized the throne from the current dynasty ruling at Salamis. The reference to Citium leads one to believe that he may have been a resident Phoenician of Citium.\textsuperscript{68}

According to Isocrates, this series of Phoenician rulers at Salamis was responsible for the 'barbarization' of the city and for 'bringing the whole island under Persian rule (\textit{Evag.} 19-20, 47, 49). While there may have been some justification for accusing the Phoenician overlords of allowing a local economic downturn, there is no evidence that any of the Phoenician rulers of Salamis was able to reign over other parts of the island.\textsuperscript{69}

Surprisingly, Isocrates relates that during these times of upheaval, the Teucrid heir to the throne of Salamis had remained untouched, resident within the city itself, until after the usurpation by Abdon he was compelled to go into

\textsuperscript{67} Though SCE IV, p. 489, n. 3: suggests he was not a Teucrid.
\textsuperscript{68} Diod. 14.98: calls him 'Abdon of Tyre'; Theopompus, \textit{FGH} 115 F 103.2, refers to him as 'Abdon of Kition'; Spyridakis, p. 43 argues a date of c. 415; Isoc. \textit{Evag.}, 26; Six 1890, attempts to identify certain coins from Citium as issued by Abdon, but Hill rejected this.
\textsuperscript{69} Costa, pp. 40-41, states that there is 'no discernible cultural break in the local art and crafts' (based on Gjerstad, SCE IV, p. 490) and rightly points out that the Persians were anyway in control since the middle of the century.
exile. Fleeing to Soli in Cilicia, Evagoras laid plans and solidified support to retake the Salaminian throne.

It is assumed that Evagoras returned to Salamis in 411 with his supporters and seemingly swiftly unseated the Phoenician, re-establishing the ancient Teucrid rule by placing himself on the throne (Isoc. Evag. 26-32; Diod. 14.98). This traditional chronology, however, has recently been pushed back by Stylianou who has rightly argued for a slightly earlier return of Evagoras.

A possible terminus ante quem for the beginning of the reign of Evagoras is supplied by a reference to the king which is traditionally dated to 411/410 when Athens officially awarded him Athenian citizenship (IG I(3) 113). This honour was bestowed on Evagoras (and his sons: Pnytagoras and (P)ythagelos) as a reward for acts which were to the benefit of Athens (δια πολλας και μεγαλας ευεργεσιας).

According to the second part of the inscription, Evagoras was responsible for various negotiations between Athens and Tissaphernes (Thuc. 8.87), who at the time of negotiations was satrap of Sardes and thus represented the interests

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70 Isoc. Evag. 26 claims Abdemon attempted to arrest him.
71 Hill 1940, p. 127, n. 2 and 3: Isoc. Evag., 28; Aristophanes, Thesm. 446 f. - the speaker's husband fell in Cyprus. The play was produced in 411: Spyridakis, p. 45. Whether Athens publicly supported Evagoras is more doubtful.
72 Beloch, III, 2, p. 98 f. as per Lysias 6.26 ff.; FGH 115 (Theopompus) F103; (Isoc. Evag. 26, 31); SCE IV, p. 490; Stylianou rightly points out that Beloch's arguments which lead to the conclusion that Evagoras came to the throne in 411 are highly questionable. Yet, Maier, CAH VI, 2nd ed., p. 312, still places the usurpation to 411.
73 Diod. xiv. 98.1; Isoc. Evag. 14, 18.
74 Stylianou, p. 465, also pushes back the date of the birth of Evagoras to c. 442, while Maier, CAH VI, 2nd ed., p. 312, prefers the date of c. 435.
76 IG i(3) 113; Isoc. Evag. 54; Hill, p. 129; Spyridakis, p. 46 dates it to 410 or early 409; E. Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums, iv, 1901, p. 619; Osborne, pp. 31 ff.; II, p. 23 dates the decree to 407-405; M.J. Osborne, 'Attic citizenship decrees: a note', BSA 67 (1972), p. 129 ff.; Lewis, p. 129 f. and n. 132, 13, dates it to early 407; Beloch, II(2) 1, p. 425, n. 2; IG II(2), no. 716 confirms the honours to Evagoras and descendants.
of the Great King in Asia Minor. There have even been suggestions of a possible alliance between Athens and Salamis. These negotiations have also been dated to c. 411.

A second, possibly more closely datable source, is Lysias (6.26-28) who relates to us that Andocides, after having escaped from Athens a second time, sailed again to Cyprus (he took refuge there on a previous occasion), this time to Salamis which was ruled by Evagoras who, and we note he adds here, 'ruled Cyprus'. Precise dating is greatly aided by the information given to us by Lysias. He claims that Andocides returned to Athens while the Council of the Four Hundred were in power. As the Four Hundred can be dated firmly to 411, there is little doubt that Andocides second flight to Cyprus took place late in 411 or in 410.

A third source has often been used (Andoc. 2.11) to claim that in c. 411 Evagoras aided the exiled Andocides to transport supplies of copper and corn to Samos where the Athenian fleet was stationed at that time. It has been argued, however, by both Gjerstad and Costa, that this is not the case and it is highly unlikely that Evagoras had anything to do with this particular shipment. Yet Andoc. 2.20-21 certainly refers to a shipment of corn to Athens from Cyprus.  

78 Hill 1940, p. 129: thus pre 407; Meiggs, p. 486, appendix 7; Spyridakis p. 49.  
79 Hill 1940, p. 129; Spyridakis, p. 49.  
80 Hill 1940, p. 129, n. 3; Spyridakis, p. 49; H. Grégoire and R. Goossens, ibid., CRAI 1940, pp. 224 ff.; as opposed to Lewis, p. 130, n. 133 who dates the decree to 408/7 and Osborne, p. 23 f.; Stylianou, p. 466 ff., dates the negotiations to 412, but views the alliance as 'anti-Persian'.  
81 Hill 1940, p. 128, either in 415 or 414 he was imprisoned by Baalmelek II (Lysias 6.26, 27).  
83 Costa, pp. 44-45; SCE IV, p. 491, n. 3.  
84 Cyprus is only mentioned in Andoc. 2.20-21. There seems to be much confusion regarding these two passages: Andoc. 2.11 and 20-21. Hill 1940, p. 127, n. 4; seems to regard them as the same shipment: rather than 412, and certainly before 410, because the supply of corn and bronze for which Andocides claims credit, and which seems to have come from Cyprus, arrived while the Athenian fleet was at Samos. Stylianou (p. 467) dates Andoc. 2.11 as a shipment of corn in 407; According to Hill (1940, p. 128) this is the date of the oration; he also refers (p. 127) to the shipment of supplies referred to in Andoc. 2.11.20 f. Also see M. Edwards, Andocides, 1995, p. 191 who states that there is little reason to doubt supply of 20-21.
Stylianou rightly dates Evagoras' ascension to the throne to c. 415, the same year the Athenians lent support to Amorges of Caria. His argument is based on the assumption that the inscription honouring Evagoras is dated to 412; and so 415 must be a reasonable inference since the deeds for which he was rewarded could not have been achieved within the first few moments of power. These deeds, according to Stylianou, were in direct response to Athens' need to rebuild her fleet after the Sicilian disaster.\(^8\)

The very fact that Evagoras was allowed by Persia to dethrone a Phoenician, and likely a Persian sympathiser, is telling. One of two scenarios is possible: either Salamis was not important enough at the time to be worthy of the Great King's concern, or, more likely, Evagoras was actually a better alternative to the Phoenician. As was the case earlier in the century, the Persian government had a tendency to remain detached from local politics as long as the local government continued a show of loyalty via payment of annual tribute.

It is clear that there is no need to assume that 411 was too early for Evagoras to have made important contributions on the international scene\(^8\) as it is quite likely that he may have been already on the throne for up to three years. There should be equally little surprise in Evagoras' apparent ease in taking the throne of Salamis, especially as support from Athens for this venture should not be ruled out.\(^8\) Moreover, relations between Athens and the Great King may have been more amiable than realised because of their sometimes common enemy - Sparta.\(^8\)

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85 Thuc. 8.1.2 f.; 8.4.1; H. Grégoire and R. Goossens, *ibid.*, CRAI 1940, p. 225; Stylianou, p. 461, has also suggested that IG i(3) 113 relates to this and that line 49 'as Xios' refers to the Chian triremes impounded by Athens after their revolt in 412. These triremes were then dispatched to Evagoras.
86 Lewis, p. 130, n. 133 and Osborne, p. 22 and n. 44.
87 Stylianou, p. 464.
88 Although it must be admitted that Athens was not in a position to give much support at this juncture.
Some evidence would suggest that after Evagoras' initial expeditious ascent to power which led to a newly acquired sway over the Cypriot kingdoms, King Artaxerxes could no longer ignore the situation in Cyprus. Hill has suggested that not only did Evagoras' rule encompass a great deal of the island but he also began to delay, if not halt, his tribute payments. The question that should be addressed first, however, is whether or not Evagoras was ever paying tribute in the first instance. The traditional viewpoint was that Evagoras was in a position of oppression and defiance, thus possibly not paying tribute. More recent scholars have tended to argue that Evagoras was loyal to Persia at this stage since loyalty was in his best interest, though Stylianou has argued against any co-operation (or indeed payment of tribute) by Evagoras, championing instead a purely philhellenic rule. There is enough evidence, overall, to argue that Evagoras' obvious support of Athens does not necessarily mean an anti-Persian policy.

What direct evidence we have on this issue is unclear. Later negotiations with the Great King suggest that Evagoras halted payment of tribute at some point between his accession to the throne and negotiations that took place in 398 when we are told that Evagoras should 'be reconciled with Anaxagoras, the King of the Cypriotes' and that he 'resume payment of phoros to the Persian

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89 Pseudo-Lysias, 6.28: as early as 399 Evagoras is referred to as 'King of the Cypriots'; See Spyridakis, p. 51, n. 1; Ctesias, Pers., 29; Plut., Artax., 21; Stylianou, p. 467: Photius, Bibl. 72 44b = FGH 688 F 30.
90 Hill, p. 128 ff.; Diod. 14.98.1: '... to make all island his own'. Evagoras accused of removing King Agyris (Anaxagoras?) from throne, ally of Persia: Diod. 14.98.2; that Agyris is a mistake for Anaxagoras (see C. Müller, Ctesias, 1862, p. 77), is plausible.
92 Costa, pp. 40 ff.; Lewis, p. 130, n. 133; Osborne, p. 24; Maier, p. 39.
93 Stylianou, p. 467 ff., citing Evagoras' sheltering of Conon in 405: Xen. Hell., 2.1.28f; Diod. 13.106.6.
94 Maier, CAH VI, 2nd ed., p. 312 refers to Evagoras' 'two pronged policy during the first part of his reign'; Costa, pp. 42 ff.
95 Costa, p. 47, has suggested that Evagoras took advantage of Cyrus' revolt to cease payments.
throne' (Ctesias, Pers. Eklog. 63; Diod. 14.39.1). Not only does this passage reveal that Evagoras was surely at some point making regular tribute payments, but it also tells us that he may not have been the most powerful ruler in Cyprus at this stage. Both Meyer and Hill have suggested that at some juncture before 398 Evagoras attacked the kingdom of Anaxagoras, who was obviously in favour with Persia.

Evidence for Evagoras' attempts to expand his rule on Cyprus at this date (c. 394 or before) are well founded as he is accused of forcing his rule over this unknown kingdom ruled by King Anaxagoras (Agyris).

Whatever conflict (or resolution) there was between Evagoras and Persia must have been settled quickly, as the situation seemed to change in c. 398, when Evagoras came to the aid of Athens yet again, this time under the pretext of establishing an alliance between Athens and Persia against the common enemy of Sparta. Under the guidance of Conon (who was already in residence in Cyprus after he fled there after his defeat at the battle of Aegospotami in 405), Evagoras began to 're-establish' friendly relations with the Great King and one way of doing so was by paying the tribute.

Evagoras took an active part in this new alliance as he was called upon by Pharnabazus to provide 100 triremes for the new fleet which was to be under the

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96 Hill 1940, p. 129, n. 7.
97 Diod. 14.98.2.3; Ephorus Frg. 134 = FHG I, p. 271; See also Costa, p. 46 ff. and C. Müller, Ctesias, 1862, p. 77.
98 c. 399 according to Swoboda, RE xi, 1322 f.; 397/6 according to Stylianou, p. 469.
99 Both Ctesias of Cnidus and Pharnabazus were also involved in the negotiations: FGH 688 F 30; Diod. 14.39; Justin. vi, 1.4-9; Orosius, 3.1.7; Isoc. Evag. 53 ff.; Xen. Hell. III, 4.1; Ctesias, Pers. Eklog. 63; W. Judeich, Kleinasiatische Studien, 1892, pp. 49-50; Swoboda in RE VI. I. col. 822.
100 Isoc. Evag. 52; Xen. Hell., 2.1.29.
101 Hill 1940, p. 130; SCE IV, p. 491 and n. 8; Costa, p. 47 f.; Stylianou, p. 468 believes that this was not a return to the practice of paying tribute but the first time that Evagoras did so; Maier, CAH VI, 2nd ed., p. 313 believes that Evagoras agreed to pay the arrears of a number of years - based on Ctesias FGH 688 F 30.
command of Conon himself.\textsuperscript{102} The outcome of this alliance is well known and culminated off Cnidus with the defeat of the Spartan fleet in 394.\textsuperscript{103}

Evagoras' contribution to the Athenian/Persian victory over Sparta did not go unrewarded; he was given high honours at the Dionysia and a bronze statue was erected in front of the Stoa of Zeus in the Agora in Athens,\textsuperscript{104} a very high honour indeed.

It is likely that it was at this juncture, after his international victories, and while he remained on friendly terms with Persia, that Evagoras expanded his control over most areas of Cyprus. The extent of this control is, however, unknown.

It is without doubt that these years of prosperity saw the growth of Hellenic interests in Salamis spurred on by Evagoras' pro-Hellenic sympathies. Evagoras not only sided with Athens politically, but he was a great admirer of all things Greek, endeavouring to import its cultural commodities (Isoc. \textit{Evag.} 50). Commenting on the change of attitudes within the city, Isocrates (\textit{Evag.} 49) states that 'before the return of Evagoras the rulers who were fiercest enemies of the Greeks were thought most of; after his return it was those who seemed most philhellenic'. There is no doubt that much of the influx of Hellenic culture was due in part to the need for skilled craftsman to help with Evagoras' great reconstruction schemes for the city.\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{102} Diod. 14.38.2; Isoc. \textit{Evag.} 54-56; Paus. 1.3.2; Xen., \textit{Hell.} 3.4.1 shows that the Spartans received a report from Phoenicia that no less than 300 ships were in preparation; Lysias, 19. 19-20: In addition, Conon and Evagoras attempted to strengthen ties with Spartan-friendly Syracuse by negotiating a marriage between relations of Dionysus and Evagoras.

\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Hell. Oxy.} 2.1; Philochorus, apud Didym. de Demosthene (Foucart, \textit{Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.} xxxviii, i, 1909, p. 163); in the archonship of Souniades (397/6). Diod. 14.39.1-4; FGH 688 F 30; 328 F 144/5. Isoc. \textit{Evag.} 56; cf. Paus. 1.3.2; \textit{Hell. Oxy.} 6 f., 9, 20.

\textsuperscript{104} IG II(2) 20; Paus. I, 3.2; Isoc. \textit{Evag.} 57; D.M. Lewis & R.S. Stroud, 'Athens Honors King Euagoras of Salamis', \textit{Hesperia} 48 (1979), pp. 180 ff. dates the decree to 393; For more on the relationship between Athens and Evagoras, see. J. Pouilloux, 'Athènes et Salamine de Chypre', RDAC 1975, p. 117 ff.

\textsuperscript{105} Isoc. \textit{Evag.} 47 and 58 ff.; Diod. 14.87.
Although Evagoras may have thought of himself as Greek and throughout his career unreservedly supported Athens, it must be noted that the more 'oriental' institutions of his government never wavered. Evagoras' reign was, in fact, in direct opposition to the principals of a 'democratic' Athens. Not only was Evagoras an autocrat, but his style of rule had many parallels to that of the Persian, ie. institutions such as the 'King's Eye' and 'Ears'.

In 392/1, however, the attitude of the Persian King toward Evagoras shifted dramatically. After the defeat at Cnidus, Sparta successfully negotiated a truce with Persia; a situation which also altered Persian policy regarding Athens. The reasons for the breakdown in relations between Evagoras and the Great King are probably more localised, as attempts were now made by certain cities to curtail Evagoras' expansion. Amathus, Soli, and not surprisingly, Citium, resisted Evagoras' advances by appealing to the Great King for help. He obviously took the threat seriously, as in response to the plea he committed money (15,000 talents) and ordered the building of a fleet under the command of Autophradates, satrap of Lydia, and Hecatomnus, satrap of Caria. These events marked the beginning of the 'Cypriot War'.

In response to the Persian threat, Evagoras first appealed for help to Athens, who was able to send only ten triremes in 390. More support for Evagoras was found locally in the father of Aristophanes, Nicophemus, who lived in Salamis at the time and managed to secure a large sum of money from

106 Aeschylus, Persae, 980; Hdt. 1.114.2.; Xen., Cyr. 8.2.10 f.; For Persian systems, see Hornblower, CAH VI, 2nd ed., p. 53.
107 Xen., Hell. IV. 8.12-16; Diod. 14.85.4; Nepos, Conon, 5.3-4.
108 For arguments as to the effect this action had on relations between Evagoras and the King, see Costa, pp. 52-53.
110 Isoc. Evag. 58, 60; Diod. 14.98.3; Theopompus FGH 115 F 103(4); Stylianou, p. 472, points out that both Diodorus and Theopompus seem to hint at a lack of conviction on the part of Artaxerxes on this decision.
his son and other supporters. The following year a second Athenian squadron of ten triremes was sent to Evagoras, but unfortunately, it never managed to reach Cyprus as it was captured off Rhodes by the Spartan Teleutias. Despite the difficulties, Athens did not end her support; on the contrary, she sent Chabrias in command of ten ships in the spring of 387.111

Support for Evagoras, however, was not from Athens alone, as aid was sought and given by another Athenian benefactor112 King Acoris of Egypt who contributed a fleet to the cause.113

Information regarding subsequent events on Cyprus is scanty, but it is evident that Evagoras was able, with help from his many supporters, especially the general Chabrias, to take (or retain) control of most of the island.114 There is also evidence that the forces sent by the Great King in aid of the resistance were ineffective if not counter-effective, as Diodorus hints at secret dealings between Hecatomnus and Evagoras (Diod. 14.98.4 and 15.2.3; c.p. Isoc. Paneg. 162).

Evagoras only lost the support of Athens in 387/6 when Antalcidas was able to come to terms with Persia on behalf of Sparta and Athens. As with the

111 There is a great deal of confusion as to the number and identification of squadrons: Stylianou, p. 473; P.J. Stylianou, 'How many naval squadrons did Athens send to Evagoras', Historia 37 (1988), p. 463-471, based on Xen. Hell. 4.8.24, 5.1.10, Nep. Chabrias 2.2, and Lysias 19.21 and 43 argues that there were three expeditions sent from Athens to Cyprus.; Costa, p. 54, suggests that ten triremes only sent through effort of Aristophanes son of Nikophemos.; Theopompus (FHG, p. 295-296, F 111); Lysias 19.21-3, 43, Costa says that these ten ships were captured by Teleutias in 391. Hill dates fleet of Xen. Hell. 4.8.24 to 387 which was under the command of Thrasybulus and reached Aspendus where the commander was assassinated.; Maier, CAH VI, 2nd ed., p. 315 does not distinguish between the two, he says that the first ten were captured.

112 Hill 1940, p. 133, Acoris concluded a treaty with Athens in 388, Plutus of Aristophanes, performed in 388: Athens also in alliance with Egypt; Theopompus FGH 115 F 103; Diod. 15.2.3-4; Bengston SdA nos. 234, 237.

113 Diod. 15.2.3; Aristophanes, Plutus, 178; Hill, p. 133, n. 3: Among the allies whom Acoris enlisted against Persia were, according to Theopompus, Barca and the Pisidians; Sprydiakis, p. 59 assumes direct alliance between Evagoras and the Pisidians, for which there is no evidence.

114 Nepos, Chabrias, 12. 2.2; c.f. Demosthenes 20. 76; Maier, CAH VI, 2nd ed., p. 315, says spring of 387 a new Athenian fleet of ten ships, carrying 800 pelastis and commanded by Chabrias reached Cyprus: Xen. Hell. 5.1.10; Diod. 14.110.5.
Peace of Callias, almost a century earlier, the Peace of Antalcidas forced Athens to allow Persia to reclaim Cyprus as its own (Xen. Hell. 5.1.31; Diod. 14.110, 3-5; Justin 6.6.1), thus forcing Athens to relinquish its alliance with Evagoras.

Even without the assistance of Athens, it was going to take a great deal of time and effort before the Great King could bring the island under Persian control. As Artaxerxes was busy trying to regain control in Egypt between c. 385 and 383, Evagoras was somehow able to take a bold initiative. According to Diodorus (15.2.3-4 where he refers to Evagoras as 'the king of the barbarians') Evagoras went so far as to extend his empire outside the island by taking control of neighbouring cities in Phoenicia, including Tyre and so expanded his fleet and army substantially. According to Isocrates (Evag. 62, Paneg. 161), Evagoras also made alliances in Cilicia.

At some point after the Common Peace, the Great King turned his attentions to Cyprus and began to assemble a fleet and recruit mercenaries in western Asia Minor and Cilicia, placing Orontes and Tiribazus in command of the operation. Orontes was placed in charge of the army, while Tiribazus and Glos were in charge of the sea forces.

As Cilicia would have been the obvious launching position for an attack on Cyprus, it was crucial that Cilicia was the first target for the Persian army (Hill, p. 137). Proof of the successful take-over of Cilicia is evident in the coins minted by Tiribazus at Issus, Mallus, Soli and Tarsus.

115 Isoc. Paneg. 140; Hill 1940, p. 136, n. 4 dates war to 385-383.
116 Hill 1940, p. 136 dates these events to the years after the Peace, while others, included Stylianou, p. 473 date it prior, while still in alliance with Athens.
118 Hill 1940, p. 137, n. 3; Head 1911, p. 722.
When the fleet arrived in Cyprus, Evagoras seemed to hold out well. Again, he was able to rely on the support of Acoris who sent fifty ships, grain and money (Diod. 15.2.3). Along with his own substantial resources at this time, he was surely in a strong position to resist the Persian offensive. According to Diodorus (15.3.1-3) Evagoras' forces managed to cut many of the Persian supply lines and force internal strife among the Persian's mercenary forces; in time, however, the entire Persian fleet was sent to their aid.

Eventually, Evagoras took the offensive and attacked the Persian forces on land (Diod. 15.4.2) and sea, both in the vicinity of Citium (Diod. 15.3.4-6). While the land forces were victorious in battle, the fighting at sea was less successful for Evagoras, who had to flee to Salamis. The Persians proceeded to lay siege to Salamis, while based in Citium. In the meantime, Tiribazus was able to deliver the news of the victory to the Great King personally, at the same time requesting further resources (in the form of 2000 talents) (Diod. 15.4).

In desperation, Evagoras travelled personally to Egypt in order to solicit further support. Pnytagoras, Evagoras' son, was left in charge of the city while the king was in Egypt (Diod. 15.4). Although Diodorus (15.8.1) states that the King of Egypt was Acoris, it is more than likely that the current king was his successor, Nectanebo. Nectanebo may not have been in a position to help Evagoras at this juncture, nor may he have had the same sympathy for the Cypriot cause as his predecessor; for Evagoras was only able to secure a small amount of money (Diod. 15.8.1).

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119 385? There is certainly confusion regarding the chronology as it is unclear whether or not Acoris could have supported Evagoras at this date because of the Persian invasion of Egypt; For 385 see Stylianou, p. 476, n. 448; Beloch, III: 2, pp. 226 ff. dates the crossing to 381.

120 c. 381 according to Hill 1940, p. 137, n. 7; Spyridakis, p. 63, n. 1; Polybius 12.25 f, 2; c. 384 was the date of the sea battle according to Stylianou, p. 477, n. 450.

121 cp. Isoc. Paneg. 141; Theopompus, fr. III M.

122 Theopompus, fr. III M; Beloch, III: 2, pp. 122, 124.
Evagoras was thus in a position where he had no choice but to negotiate a peace with Tiribazus,\(^{123}\) who, however, offered a settlement which was impossible for the King of Salamis to accept - offering peace only if Evagoras gave up control of all areas except Salamis, paid the traditional annual tribute to Persia and regarded himself in respect to the Great King as "slave to his master". As Hill rightly pointed out (p. 138), returning to the *status quo* may not have been such a disastrous humiliation, but Evagoras certainly, with his past achievements, was never in a position to consider himself slave to the Great King.

As Evagoras' position was militarily weak, he decided to use his cunning instead. It became obvious that he had to do away with Tiribazus and so used Orontes to do so. The latter successfully charged his comrade with treasonous acts, including secret negotiations with Evagoras as well as the Spartans. Thus Tiribazus was eventually placed under arrest and out of the picture.\(^{124}\) Evagoras' efforts were doubly successful as the scheme despatched Glos as well. Glos wisely fled from his position in Cyprus (Diod. 15.9.3-5, 15.18.1).

It is at this juncture, according to Hill (p. 140, n. 1), that Evagoras sought new allies for his cause and petitioned Sparta, but to no avail (Diod. 15.9.1.2; Isoc. *Paneg.* 135; Theopom. fr. III M; *FGH* 115 F 103.10). The chronology is somewhat confusing, however, as the so-called pact with Orontes would not have made any sense if indeed Evagoras was still in a position to seek outside help. It seems more likely that Evagoras had resigned himself to an amended treaty with Orontes prior to the arrest of Tiribazus. Thus after Tiribazus was out of the way, the treaty was accepted by both with the last condition being amended as "king to king" rather than "slave to king" (Isoc. *Evag.* 64; Diod. 15.9.1.2).

\(^{123}\) Diod. 15.8.2; M.J. Osborne, 'Orontes', *Historia* 22 (1973) p. 530; Spyridakis, p. 71.
\(^{124}\) Theopompus, *FGH* 112 F 103.9; Diod. 15.8.3-5 who does not credit Evagoras with part of the scheme; Polyaenus 7, 14.1; M.J. Osborne, 'Orontes', *Historia* 22 (1973), p. 534.
Evagoras' international turmoil was at an end by 380/79. His troubles on the domestic front, however, were far from over, as at some point he entered into a scandalous liaison with his son's lover; the whole affair ending in the violent assassination of both himself and his son Pnytagoras in 374/3.

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125 On chronology see Beloch, III: 2, pp. 226-9; Swoboda in RE vi, 825-6; Spyridakis, p. 63; Lenschau, RE xix, 1847; Stylianou, p. 479.
126 Isoc., Nic. 31; Theopompus FGH 115 F 103.12; Diod. 15.47.8 says that Evagoras was assassinated by the eunuch Nicocles who then seized the throne; Hill 1940, pp. 140-14 discusses the confusion on part of Diodorus with son Nicocles who succeeded. Aristotle, Politics 5.1311b blames the affair on Pnytagoras who stole the wife of a eunuch who proceeded to kill the king in revenge.
Any discussion of the coins of King Evagoras I must be prefaced by a consideration of the coins attributed to the Phoenician Abdemon; there have been up to six varieties of coins attributed to this usurper of the Salaminian throne. These attributions were made principally because of the likeness of the series to types which came before and after Abdemon's rule. The obverse type of a ram's head is quite similar to the ram's head on the coins of Evanthes, a long thin head, naturalistically rendered. The reverse bears a young male head, like the obverse of the fractional issues of Evagoras; details are difficult to read from the poorly preserved coins, but it is clear that it is a beardless head, with short curly hair with classically rendered features.

In his original attribution of this group of coins to Salamis, Six interpreted the inscription on the reverse as a Greek alphabetic delta with a Cypriot syllabic wo; this attribution was accepted by both Babelon and Hill. Subsequently, Troxell has successfully argued that not only are these types Carian, but that so is the script. The find spot of the hoard which contain these issues also suggests a Carian provenance.

The majority of the surviving coins of King Evagoras I consist of silver staters and thirds which have been divided into two categories (AR. Series I and

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127 Six 1890, pp. 256-259.
128 Babelon, Traité, 2, nos. 1143, 1177, 2336.
129 BMC, nos. 42-44; BMC Troas, Cebren, no. 14.
130 Troxell, pp. 253-254, nos. 8 and 9.
Gold coins and smaller silver fractions were also issued by Evagoras, but these issues do not assist any relative chronology for the series, and so will be discussed separately below.

The *terminus post quem* for the coins of Evagoras I is given by documentary evidence which suggests that he came to the Salaminian throne in c. 415 (see p. 307 ff.). The *terminus ante quem* should be conservatively placed at the date of his death in 374 (see p. 317); however, as we shall see below, there is reason to believe that coin production halted well before the end of his reign.

In all likelihood, the first coins to be issued by Evagoras I are staters and thirds with a seated Herakles on the obverse, catalogued here as Series I. Previous suggestions by Six\(^\text{132}\) and Hill\(^\text{133}\) that the fractional issues with the youthful male head (III.a and b) were the first were based on a comparison with types attributed to Abdemon. As these coins can no longer be so attributed, the argument fails. Furthermore, as we shall see again below, the hoard evidence, although conflicting, also points away from this dating.

Although Series I is represented predominately by thirds, a few rare staters do appear in the earliest hoards containing coins of Evagoras I; even though the majority of these staters have been found with coins of Series II, one very early hoard (H.29), dating no later than c. 400, is a welcome exception and affirms the argument that Series I preceded issues with a Herakles' head obverse (Series II). Hoard evidence thus provides a *terminus ante quem* of c. 400 for the commencement of Series I.

This chronological conclusion is strengthened by a close examination of the fabric of the two series. Flans of Series I, especially the staters, are quite

\(^{132}\) Six 1890, p. 282.
\(^{133}\) BMC, p. cii.
dumpy with somewhat undulating edges. In comparison, the flans of Series II are larger, flatter, more circular with very shallow incuse circles on the reverse.

While examples of Series I are found in hoards as late as c. 380, this is also the earliest and latest firm date for hoards which contain examples of Series II. It is at least clear, therefore, that c. 380 is the terminus ante quem for the beginning of Series II. The fact that we do not find any staters or thirds in hoards dated later than c. 380\textsuperscript{134} must be set against the hoards which contain fractional issues dating to the mid fourth century. As we have seen with the hoard evidence of the fifth century, it is not unusual to find coins deposited in hoards well after their minting stopped.

However, this terminus ante quem of c. 380 for Series II can be reinforced by two overstrikes. At least two foreign mints overstruck on Evagoras I Series II staters, the Lycian dynast of Pericles (pl. XLVI, R; see p. 301) and the Cilician mint of Issus\textsuperscript{135} (pl. XLVI, S). Both of these 'over types' can be dated to c. 380\textsuperscript{136}

Impetus for Evagoras' massive production of large silver denominations may be discerned within the evidence for the history of early fourth century Cyprus. From very early in his reign, Evagoras was a key figure in relations between Athens and Persia. In 411 Evagoras earned the respect and admiration of the Athenians by sustaining negotiations between Athens and the Persian satrap, Tissaphernes (see pp. 306-307); yet while forging these bonds with Athens, he remained loyal to the Great King, no doubt paying annual tribute and taking measures not to disturb the status quo to the extent that Persia might take

\textsuperscript{134} The one exception may be Cyprus (IGCH 1280) dated c. 340-330, but with the available evidence, it is impossible to discern the denomination of the coins included in the hoard.

\textsuperscript{135} Waggoner 1976, p. 3. Waggoner based her date of the Issus issue on the fact that the coin bears the same dies as one of the Issus coins from the Cilician Hoard (IGCH 1259; Newell NC 1914).

\textsuperscript{136} W. Schwabacher, 'Lycian coin portraits', in C.M. Kraay and G.K. Jenkins (eds.), \textit{Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson}, 1968, pp. 119-120 places this die at the beginning of this series produced by Pericles (minted c. 380-360), thus c. 380 would be an appropriate date.
offence. The hypothesis that he paid tribute at this early date is strengthened by the fact that those coins which we now know date within the fifth century, continued (after the gap in minting after Evanthes) the practice of minting on the Persian standard.\textsuperscript{137} Whether or not Evagoras' intentions toward Persia were as straightforward as they seem is questionable,\textsuperscript{138} but there is evidence to suggest that his rule may not have been any threat to Persia because of arguably friendly relations between Athens and Persia at this juncture.\textsuperscript{139}

There is, however, evidence that Evagoras stopped paying tribute sometime before c. 398 when he negotiated a 'resumption' of payment to the Persian King (see p. 309). This hiatus in payment is likely to have been a consequence of Evagoras' growing power in not only affairs Cypriot, but also international.

As the hoard evidence suggests, Evagoras was certainly minting coins in the fifth century, and also there is every possibility that he began coining to facilitate the payment of tribute soon after his accession. The assumed gap in tribute payment at the turn of the century may suggest an interruption in the mint itself.

If indeed there was a brief cessation in minting early in Evagoras' reign due to a lapse in tribute payment, it may account for the introduction of a new obverse type (Series II), in c. 398 when payment of tribute was again necessary. The hoard evidence clearly shows that Series II was introduced well before c. 380; the large output of coins at this juncture may further have been occasioned by the

\textsuperscript{137} Costa, p. 44, n. 26.

\textsuperscript{138} Stylianou, pp. 458 ff. for arguments and opinion that Evagoras was not loyal to Persia and did not pay tribute; SCE IV, p. 491 vs. Costa (pp. 42 ff. and p. 44, n. 26 states that the 'voluminous and varied silver coinage of Evagoras remained on the Persic standard throughout his reign might suggest that Salamis' trade was not solely dependent on "political and cultural" contacts with Athens alone."

\textsuperscript{139} Osborne, p. 23 f., as opposed to Ed. Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums, IV, 2, 1901, p. 322 who suggests that IG i(3) 113 expresses the Athenian hopes that Evagoras would protect them from the Persians.
need for Evagoras to provide 100 triremes, and no doubt other expenses to be met in the build-up of warfare with Sparta (see pp. 311-312).

Congenial relations between Evagoras and Persia evolved further in 398 when he engineered the offensive alliance between Athens and Persia which led to the defeat of the Spartan army in 394 (see p. 312). Evagoras benefited substantially from this action. First, he was awarded (for the second time) high honours in Athens which undoubtedly increased his say in the affairs of the eastern Mediterranean (see p. 312-313). Secondly, on a local level, his heightened power led to control of most of the island of Cyprus. Evidence for his take-over of at least some of the Cypriot kingdoms can be found numismatically, in the issues in his name at the mint of Curium.140

The extent of Evagoras' expansion is, however, debatable.141 Both Babelon142 and Hill143 used numismatic evidence to argue that Evagoras placed a Greek by the name of Demonicus on the throne of Citium, but it is now accepted that the coinage struck under the name of Demonicus does not belong to Citium, but rather Lapethus.144

The pendulum soon swung back, however, as many of the Cypriot kingdoms asked the Great King for support in fighting off Evagoras' advance. The situation was not helped by the fact that Sparta soon made peace with Persia, leading shortly to a breakdown of relations between the Persian King and

140 Hill 1940, p. 134, n. 3; Cox, p. 86 ff.
141 Maier, CAH VI, 2nd ed., p. 315, n. 33; Costa, pp. 52-6; Yon and Szynecer announced in December 1991 a new Phoenician inscription from Citium, celebrating a victory of King Milkyathon over other Cypriots which may refer to the conflicts of the period.
142 Babelon 1893, p. cxxxi f.
143 Hill 1940, p. 133, n. 6.
Evagoras. By 392/1 Artaxerxes rallied troops to invade Cyprus – thus beginning the 'Cypriot War' (see p. 313 ff.).

Evagoras sought and received support from both Athens and Egypt, however, by c. 386 Evagoras lost the support of Athens as yet another Peace (of Antalcidas) was negotiated between Persia and Athens. It is crucial to note that at this juncture Evagoras did not give up his territories. On the contrary, while Artaxerxes was busy re-conquering Egypt, Evagoras actually expanded his empire beyond Cyprus. There is strong evidence that he ruled in Phoenician Tyre and possibly in areas of Cilicia (see p. 315).

After subduing Egypt, Artaxerxes finally turned his attentions to Cyprus; under the command of Orontes and Tiribazus his troops laid siege to Salamis. By 380/79, after a great deal of negotiation, Evagoras was forced to give up his claims to all territories except Salamis.

With the commencement of the Cypriot War, payment of tribute undoubtedly terminated yet again. As no hoards containing large denominations can be dated later than 380 there is every reason to believe that Evagoras stopped production of coins well before the end of his reign in 374. That hoards containing Series II material are dated correctly to c. 380 is reinforced by the fact that a Series II stater was overstruck by a Lycian mint of Pericles in c. 375. Further, hoard evidence suggesting that the majority of issues of Evagoras I were produced prior to 380 comes from Cilicia 1988/89 which includes most of the known control marks, including the alpha which is presumed to be a late issue within Series II.

The assumption that Evagoras discontinued coining as early as c. 391, at the beginning of the Cypriot War is, however, unlikely. Currency would have been needed to pay mercenaries and build the fleet. Furthermore, Salamis must have been a very wealthy city by this juncture as it held almost total control of the island and at least one external mint. Moreover, Evagoras' assets must have
grown substantially with the expansion of the empire into Phoenicia and Cilicia. By the end of the war in 380/79, however, it is likely that the coffers were empty and minting therefore impossible.

The circulation of the coins of Evagoras I reinforces the suggestion that his silver coins were in great demand during this conflict. Compared to the wide range of find-spots of Salaminian coins in the fifth century, coins of Evagoras I are only found in hoards from Cilicia and Cyprus, the latter represented only by the Ready Hoard. There is no doubt that this huge migration of Salaminian currency to Cilicia is directly connected to the events surrounding the Cypriot War.

The reign of Evagoras no doubt marked the 'golden years' of the city of Salamis. Although it is obvious from the historical evidence that Evagoras was a keen politician who kept Persia happy when it was beneficial to do so, at heart he was a philhellene, and his desire to project himself as a Greek king and hero is nowhere more evident than on his coinage. There is no doubt that he deliberately attempted to equate himself with the greatest Greek hero with his consistent use of Herakles as a coin type. Furthermore, his recurring desire to ally his kingdom with Athens demonstrated his ambitions to be a key figure in the politics of the Aegean Greek world.

Connections with Athens are borne out by archaeology as well. Compared to other areas of Cyprus, from c. 420 to 370, Salamis saw the greatest influx of Attic pottery.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, there is evidence from Isocrates for a sizeable migration of Greeks from Asia Minor, and indeed the mainland, to

Cyprus during these years, although this evidence must be regarded with a great deal of caution.

This great expansion of Greek culture, which no doubt started in the second half of the fifth century, must have occasioned the demise of the use of the Cypriot syllabic script. Evagoras was the first to use the alphabetic script on his coins, while other mints, such as that of Paphos continued inscribing in syllabic well into the fourth century. While the use of the syllabic script on coinage may be viewed as an archaising feature unique to coinage, epigraphic evidence from Salamis reveals that this is not the case, since the first digraphic inscription from Salamis dates to the reign of Evagoras I.

Gold Issues

Unfortunately, there is no hoard evidence for the very rare gold issues of Evagoras I. Clues to their date can as yet come only from the coins themselves. Firstly, unlike the inscriptions on all of the larger silver series (I and II) which have his name retrograde (or counter-clockwise) around the field, the inscription on the two extant gold staters (AV.I) of Evagoras moves clockwise around the almost facing head of Herakles. This may be a sign of a later practice in the mint; non-retrograde syllabic inscriptions on Cypriot coins are rare indeed, but they are not unique to the coins of Evagoras I, since we also have a non-retrograde inscription on the gold coins of King Timarchos of Paphos, of the mid 4th century (ICS, p. 122).

Secondly, when comparing the gold and silver issues of Evagoras I, one notices the more advanced design and refined, exceptional workmanship of the

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146 Costa, p. 45 based on Isoc. 51
148 BMC, pp. 108-111.
gold dies. Compared to the profile head of Herakles on the silver staters, the almost full frontal head of AV.I may indicate a later date and is no doubt an example of the influence and diffusion of style from Syracusan dies produced by Eucleidas and Cimon at the very end of the fifth century.\footnote{ACGC, p. 222. One will notice the diffusion of influence through Asia Minor with the coins of Clazomene, p. 258 which date to the early fourth century.}

Thirdly, there is some evidence that there is some regulation in the setting of the die axes, at least with the more abundant thirds (AV.II), where the majority of dies are set at either 12 or 6 o'clock. As this is a practice that will increase during the fourth century, this is a further hint of the later date of the gold issues.

One may therefore conclude that Evagoras minted his gold issues comparatively late in his reign, and so posit that the gold issues were minted in conjunction with the Cypriot War. As discussed above, his military expenses must have been high; this, coupled with the assumption that he must have been a very rich man at this stage strengthens a date during this conflict for the gold issues.\footnote{The practice of minting gold issues in times of emergency is well known at other mints in the early fourth century. See ACGC, p. 251; S. Hornblower, Mausolus, 1982, p. 179; See also ACGC, p. 228 regarding the gold issues of Dionysius I of Syracuse.}

Elsewhere on Cyprus, gold coins were also introduced, perhaps at this date, at Citium and Paphos. King Melekathon of Citium (c. 392-361, BMC, p. xxxv), introduced gold and possibly bronze coinage (BMC, nos. 72 and 73). Melekiathon's successor, Pumiathon (c. 361-312, BMC pp. xl-xli) also issued gold coinage, but on the Euboic standard. King Timarchos of Paphos minted gold coins in the mid fourth century (ICS, p. 122), and as discussed above, retained the syllabic script for these issues (BMC, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii). The gold coins of King Stasioikos II of Marium are difficult to date, but are perhaps of the mid to late fourth century as well (ICS, p. 184). The Marium issues are minted on the Rhodian standard. (BMC, pp. lx-lxi).
The silver fractions are divided into three series (AR.III.a, b and c) based on their type combinations. By far the largest surviving group of fractions is Series III.a, with the male head obverse and smooth reverse. This smooth reverse type is remarkable, since there is little doubt that these issues belong to the mint of Evagoras I in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, though otherwise the practice of using a smooth reverse type had clearly ended early in the fifth century.

One may posit that this practice was a deliberate reference to his dynastic lineage. One may recall that Evagoras had to re-take his throne from Phoenician usurpers; and this connection with the unusual Salaminian coins of Evelthon of the early fifth century may be part of his campaign to strengthen his claim as the 'rightful' king of Salamis.

This argument is strengthened by the evidence of the Dali Hoard (H.20) which clearly proves that smooth reverse staters of Evelthon were in circulation as late as c. 425. Moreover, smooth reverse fractional issues of the early fifth century have been found in hoards dating well within the fourth century and alongside fractional issues of Evagoras (H.25 and 26).

The second and third series (III.b and c) of coins survive less well, but are still comparatively substantial. The reason for this high rate of survival is the substantial number in fourth century hoards consisting of Salaminian fractions. As touched upon above, the Rouvier (H.25) and Delepierre (H.26) hoards, both found in Cilicia and both dating to c. 370, not only include Series I fractions of Evagoras I, but also include fractional issues which can be attributed to at least a century earlier. This evidence is remarkable, but also difficult to interpret.

One may assume that fifth century issues of fractional coins with the ankh reverse type (D.IX) parallel those of the larger denominations. This also includes
fractional issues with ankh reverses which can be attributed to the two later fifth century kings, Nikodamos (I.I.c, II.b, V.b) and Evanthes (I.III.b, IV.b, V.b). Given this evidence, there is no reason to believe that the fractional issues attributed to the time of Evelthon (or successors) with a smooth reverse type (B.II) were issued later in the century than their larger counterparts as Destrooper-Georgiades has suggested.151

Consequently, the Rouvier and Delepierre hoards (c. 370), like the Dali Hoard of the fifth century, are examples of deposits which included coins of Salamis amassed over a very long period of time. It is interesting to note as well that these two hoards are the only evidence of fractional issues travelling outside of the island.

The fractions of the Ready (H.36, c. 370) and Meniko (H.37, c. 350) hoards, are, however, less surprising as both were found in Cyprus and neither include coins of the fifth century. The Meniko Hoard is especially useful as it included most of the specimens catalogued in Series AR.III.a and c. This hoard also included vast numbers of fractional issues from other mints throughout Cyprus, demonstrating that the use of fractional silver coinage there in the fourth century was widespread. As the range of denominations extends from the 12th of a stater down to the 96th (within Series I.a), there is no doubt that silver fractions played an important part in the local Cypriot economy.

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Chapter Four  

The Fourth Century  
King Nikokles to King Nikokreon

To our knowledge, King Nikokles (Group L) never produced any silver coinage. There exist, however a number of gold staters (L.I), in particular a fairly large number of quarter-staters (L.II). All of his coins carry the same types – Aphrodite obverse and Athena reverse. There is also one rare bronze issue tentatively attributed to him (see Appendix).

Evagoras II (Group M) minted in gold, silver and bronze. He also coined satrapal issues while in exile¹; in this study I will be discussing only those coins produced at the mint of Salamis itself.

The gold coins of Evagoras II (M.AV.I and II) are represented by two denominations: staters (AV.I) and quarter-staters (AV.II).² The rare gold staters bear an exceptionally crafted lion obverse. The more prolific quarter-staters carry an Aphrodite bust obverse and an Athena bust reverse.

This silver coinage (M.AR.I-III) can be divided into three series. The larger denominations, which include didrachms (AR.I) and half-drachms (AR.II), all carry an Athena bust obverse with an Aphrodite bust reverse. Two series of fractional issues (AR.III.a and b) which can be firmly attributed to Evagoras II bear an Athena bust on the obverse and star of eight or sixteen rays on the reverse. Two more series (AR.III.c and d) are only tentative attributions.

¹ BMC, p. cix-cx for discussion of those minted at Sidon.
² BMC, p. cv, nos. 1 & 2: 'staters and tenths or twelfths'.

329
The spectacular gold issues of Pnytagoras (Group N) compare closely to his silver issues, as the bust of Aphrodite is repeated on both obverse and reverse on both gold denominations – staters (AV.I) and twelfths (AV.II).

The majority of the silver coinage of Pnytagoras bears an Aphrodite on the obverse and Artemis on the reverse. A unique tetradrachm (AR.I) can now firmly be attributed to Pnytagoras, the only tetradrachm known from the mint of Salamis before Alexander III. Although a number of didrachms do exist (AR.II), most of the silver coins are half-drachms of Series III.a with an Aphrodite bust obverse and Artemis bust reverse; the survival rate due largely to a high hoard element. Two further rare series of half-drachms (III.b and c) have the image of Aphrodite on both obverse and reverse.

The last of our monarchs, King Nikokreon (Group O), also produced gold and silver issues of high quality. The gold output consists of staters (AV.I) and twelfths (AV.III) with a possible third (AV.III) with a bust of Aphrodite on both obverse and reverse.

The silver issues of Nikokreon see the introduction of the god Apollo on the coinage of Salamis, taking the place of Aphrodite on the reverse. These consist of didrachms (AR.I) and half-drachms (AR.II).
L. King Nikokles
(c. 374 - c. 360 BC)

GOLD

L. I. Staters

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Ciii
M. King Evagoras II

(c. 360 - c. 350 BC)

GOLD

M.A.V.I. Staters

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obv: Lion standing l. devouring prey on linear ground line; eagle perched on back, wings closed, looking back; above: star of 16 rays; linear border

rev. Aphrodite bust l., wearing turreted crown, long hair falls on back and one lock to front of shoulder, drop earring, beaded necklace, drapery on shoulder; r.: EYA (downwards)
M.A.V.II. Twelfths

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CV
a 0.62 1 BN

b 0.69

691 o3-r6 0.70 Spink, Oct. 1985, no. 151
692 o3-r7 0.60 Hirsch 31, May 1912, no. 482

a 0.53 Schulman, Oct., 1935, no. 24

b 0.71 Münz. & Med., June 1975, no. 205

c 0.70 Weber 1908, Hirsch 21, no. 3949

693 o4-r6 0.72 12 Leu, May 1998, no. 297

a Morgenthau 338, Barrage Collection, 10 Oct 1934, no. 230

b 0.70 NFA, March 1977, no. 47

694 o5-r7 0.62 Weber Collection; Morgenthau 338, Barrage Collection, 10 Oct 1934, no. 231; Naville VII, 1924, Bement Sale, 11, no. 1653

695 o6-r8 0.66 9 BM 1925 1-5-36; Spink (Col. Massey) (part exchange)

696 o7-r8 0.62 9 Gulbenkian Collection; M. Gudenian 1920

697 o8-r9 0.68 12 British Museum 1902 1-3-77; Lang

a 0.55 12 BN

Babelon 1897, p. 276, no. 4812; Six 1883, p. 289, no. 26; Babelon Traité 2, p. 718, no. 1167, pl. CXXVIII, fig. 7

Spink, Oct. 1985, no. 151

Hirsch 31, May 1912, no. 482

Schulman, Oct., 1935, no. 25

Weber, no. 7733

obv.: bust l., to r.: BA

obv.: bust l.

Jenkins, no. 812

BMC, p. 59, Salamis 64, pl. XII.1

obv.: bust l., to r.: BA

obv.: bust l., to r.: BA

Mionnet, VI, p. 559, n. 44; Six 1883, p. 290, no. 28.3; Babelon 1893, p. 89, no. 605, pl. XVII, fig. 5; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 718, no. 1168, pl. CXXVIII, fig. 8; Borrell, p. 43, pl. n. 3

obv.: bust l., to r.: BA

CVI
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SILVER

M.A.R.I. Didrachms

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obv. Athena bust r., wearing crested and laureate Corinthian helmet, long hair falls on back and front of shoulder, drop earring, beaded necklace, drapery on shoulders; l.: EYA (upwards); linear border

rev. Aphrodite bust r., wearing turreted crown, drop earring, beaded necklace, long hair falls on back of shoulder with one lock in front, drapery on shoulders; l.: BA (upwards)

cviii
### M.A.R.II. Half drachms

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**No. Dies Wt Ax Location/Provenance References and Notes**

**M.A.R.II. Half drachms**

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**M.A.R.II. Half drachms**

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# M.A.R.III. Obols

## M.A.R.III.a. Athena / Star of 8 Rays

*Obv.* Athena head l., wearing crested Attic helmet, single drop earring, hair down back of neck  
*Rev.* star of 8 rays with dot in centre, most with shallow incuse circle

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<td>Destrooper-Georgiades 1989, p. 205, no. 32, pl. 86 obv.: hair worn in sack?</td>
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| 715 | o7-r6 | 0.46 | 0  | Berlin; Lübbecke (1906)  
| a  | 0.47 | 0  | Coll. de M.J. Naue, Munich | Six 1883, p. 292, no. 35, pl. VI, fig. 15 rev.: *ba* between rays |
| 716 | o7-r7 | 0.39 | 0  | ANS 1951.116.285  
| a  | 0.31 pl | 0  | ANS 1951.116.284  
| b  | 0.60 | 0  | BM 1903 3-2-2; Col. Massey pres.; from Cyprus | BMC, p. 60, Salamis 68, pl. XII.5 |
| 717 | o8-r8 | 0.52 | 0  | ANS 1951.116.287  
<p>| a  | 0.58 | 0  | BN; de Luynes Collection | de Luynes, p. 26, no. 10, pl. V; Six 1883, p. 292, no. 36.1; Babelon 1893, p. 90, no. 609, pl. XVII, fig. 8; Babelon <em>Traité</em>, 2, p. 718, no. 1173, pl. CXXVIII, fig. 13; Babelon 1930, p. 111, no. 2942 |
|     |      |     |    |                     | cx                   |</p>
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<td>CM 1965; Salamis Necropolis, Tomb 60</td>
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Dray and du Plat Taylor, p. 71
Six 1883, p. 292, no. 36.1; Babelon 1893, p. 90, no. 610; Babelon *Traité*, 2, p. 718, no. 1174, pl. CXXVIII, fig. 14; Babelon1930, p. 111, no. 2943
Six 1883, p. 292, no. 36.4; Babelon 1893, p. 90, no. 627; Babelon *Traité*, 2, p. 718, no. 1174 pl. CXXVIII, fig. 15
Karageorghis 1970, p. 100, no. 108a - Appendix 1: Helly, p. 239, no. 9, fig. 9

---

cxi
### M.A.R.III.b. Athena / Star of 16 Rays

Obverse die numbers continue:

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#### Possible Attributions to Evagoras II (Series III.c and d)

### M.A.R.III.c. Athena / Athena

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<td>Destrooper-Georgiades 1989, p. 205, no. 33, pl. 86, n. 14</td>
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M.A.R.III.d Athena / Aphrodite

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N. King Pnytagoras

(c. 350 - 331 BC)

GOLD

N.A.V.I. Staters

\textit{obv.} Aphrodite bust l., wearing a fillet on \textit{rev.} Aphrodite bust l., wearing turreted forehead and crown consisting of plain band from which rise semi-circular plates; long curly hair falls on neck; hoop and beaded earring, beaded necklace, torque earring, beaded necklace, torque ending in foreparts of horses?; shoulders draped; r.: BA

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<td>Six 1883, p. 295, no. 43.6; Babelon 1893, p. 92, no. 627, pl. XVII, fig. 19; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 726, no. 1184, pl. CXXVIII, fig. 25; Babelon 1930, p. 112, no. 2950</td>
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<td>739</td>
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<td>7.92</td>
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<td>Giessener Münz.; Apr. 1996, no. 248</td>
<td>l.: graffito- delta</td>
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\textit{cxiv}
740 o4-r3 8.30 12 BM RPK A.1, p. 111; R. Payne Knight

a 8.30 12 Berlin; Löbbecke


741 o5-r3 8.23 11 ANS 1967.152.551; Newell Collection, March 1967; Sotheby’s 1900, no. 404; Dunfee Collection, no. 602, Sotheby’s 1910; Santiges Collection, no. 377

742 o6-r4 8.30 10 Bank Leu, May 1981, no. 191; Hess & Leu, April 1958, no. 241; Hess, April 1954, no. 179; Jameson Collection

743 o6-r5 8.30 12 Leiden; Six Collection

744 o7-r6 8.17 Weber, 1908, Hirsch 21, no. 3951

N.AV.II. Twelfths

| obv. Aphrodite bust l., wearing semi- | rev. Aphrodite bust l., wearing turreted |
| circular plated crown, long hair | crown, long hair falls on back |
| falls on back of neck, circular | with one lock to front of shoulder, |
| beaded earring, necklace with | drop earring, beaded necklace, |
| protomes?, drapery on shoulder; | drapery on shoulder; r.: II |
| r.: ba |

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<td>de Luynes, p. 25, no. 4, pl. V; Six 1883, p. 295, no. 44.2; Babelon 1893, p. 92, no. 628, pl. XVII, fig. 20; Babelon Traité 2, p. 726, no. 1185, pl. CXXVII, fig. 26</td>
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CXV
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cxvi
### SILVER

#### N.A.R.I. Tetradrachm

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<td>ANS 1945.79.3; Hirsch, 7/3/45; Ars Classica, July 1933, no. 1445</td>
<td>S.P. Noe, 'Greek Coins acquired during 1945', ANSMN I (1945), p. 14</td>
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#### N.A.R.II. Didrachms

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<td>BMC, p. 63, Salamis 77, pl. XII.12; Babelon Traité , 2, p. 726, no. 1186</td>
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cxviii
### N.A.R.III. Half Drachms

**N.A.R.III.a. Aphrodite / Artemis**

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<td>Spink, Oct. 1985, no. 152; Naville XII, 1926, Bissen et al, no. 1935</td>
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**Obv.** as above, except single-drop earring  **Rev.** Artemis bust r, hair rolled above forehead and rolled behind, single-drop earring, beaded necklace, drapery on shoulder; l.: BA (upwards)
762 o2-r2 Vienna

a 2.35 12 Berlin; v. Pfau; BPN, March 1978, no. 292
Pinder, n. 373, t. I, 9; Friedlander 1873, n. 168, 1877, n. 249; Six 1883, p. 295, no. 43.7

763 o2-r3 2.06 12 BM; H.P.B. p. 134, N. 1; H.P. Borrell
BMC, p. 64, Salamis 82, no plate; Borrell, p. 134, n.1

764 o3-r3 2.00 12 CM 1942/I-26/2 (h); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)
Destrooper-Georgiades 1982, no. 25; Nicolaou 1989, p. 140

a 2.10 12 CM 1942/I-26/2 (g); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)
Destrooper-Georgiades 1982, no. 27; Nicolaou 1989, p. 140

b 2.27 12 Berlin; Prokesch-Osten

765 o3-r4 2.17 12 ANS 1951.116.314; Gunther Collection, no. 124, 125, 127, 145 b and 58 b; March 1949

a 2.25 12 CM 1941/XII-20/1; Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)
Destrooper-Georgiades, 1982, no. 15; Nicolaou 1989, p. 139

b 1.92 Hamburger, June 1930, no. 403

766 o4-r4 2.32 12 University of Glasgow; Hunterian Collection
McDonald, Salamis 6, no plate

a 2.20 12 CM 1941/XII-2/2(b); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)
Destrooper-Georgiades 1982, no. 1; Nicolaou 1989, p. 139

b 2.34 12 Harvard; Dewing Collection Mildenberg & Hurter, p. 155, no. 2534, pl. 124

c 2.15 Egger 46, 1914, no. 2328

d 2.31 Hirsch 25, Philipsen 1909, no. 2819

767 o5-r5 2.20 12 CM 1942/I-26/2 (a); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)
Destrooper-Georgiades 1982, no. 32; Nicolaou 1989, p. 140

a 1.97 Hirsch 20, Hoskier 1907, no. 433

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cxxi
a 2.10 12 CM 1942/I-26/2 (j); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43) Destrooper-Georgiades 1982, no. 22; Nicolaou 1989, p. 140

b 1.97 12 ANS 1977.158.599; Kelley Collection; MUM June 1950 17

c 2.20 12 BN Six 1883, p. 296, no. 46 CK; Babelon 1893, p. 93, no. 632, pl. XVII, fig. 23

d 2.00 12 Ashmolean; Evans Bequest 1941

e 2.30 12 Larnaca Museum 1945/XII 418 (a)?; Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43) Destrooper-Georgiades 1982, no. 6

f 2.2 12 CM 1942/1-26/2 (k); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43) Destrooper-Georgiades 1982, no. 23; Nicolaou 1989, p. 140

g 2.03 12 Fitzwilliam SNG, Fitzwilliam, no. 5360, pl. CXII; Leake, suppl. p. 169.4; Six 1883, p. 296, no. 46 CK

h 2.25 Ward Collection no. 761B

775 o8-r8 2.07 12 BM 1866 12-IT 3792 W; Woodhouse BMC, p. 64, Salamis 83, pl. XII.17

a 2.30 Elsen, May-June 1991, no. 63; Numismatica Ars Classica, March 1989, no. 236

776 o8-r9 2.25 12 BN Six 1883, p. 296, no. 46; Babelon 1893, p. 93, no. 633; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 726, no. 1187, pl. CXXVIII, fig. 29

a 2.09 12 Ashmolean; Robinson, 1964

b 2.08 12 ANS 1951.116.317; Gunter Collection, no. 124, 125, 127, 145b, 58b; March 1949

c 2.1 12 CM 1941/XII-4/2; Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43) Destrooper-Georgiades, 1982, no. 3; Nicolaou 1989, p. 139

d 1.96 12 ANS 1951.116.315

cxxii
e 2.91 Sotheby's, Oct. 1995, no. 205; von Post Collection

f 2.24 Peus 283, May 1974, no. 140

g 2.15 BPN, Oct. 1976, no. 138; Peus, Dec. 1974, no. 469

777 o9-r7 2.10 12 Berlin; Prokesch-Osten

778 o9-r8 2.17 12 Fitzwilliam; McClean Collection

a 2.29 BPN, May 1981, no. 446

779 o10-r7 2.1 12 CM 1941/XII-4/4; Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)

a 2.2 12 CM 1941 2/1-26/2 (l); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)

b 2.27 Kurpfalzsche, June 1994, no. 126

780 o10-r9 2.2 12 CM 1941/XII-11/1; Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)

781 o11-r7 12 Collection of A. Spaer

a 2.15 12 CM 1942/I-26/2 (l); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)

b 2.20 12 CM 1941/XII-18/1 (a); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)

c 2.1 12 Adonis Kyrou Collection

d 2.05 12 CM 1942/1-26/2 (m); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)

782 o12-r7 2.2 12 CM 1942/I-23/2; Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)

783 o13-r10 2.3 12 CM 1941/XII-6/1; Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43)

cxxiii
a 2.27 12 ANS 1944.100.58095; Newell Collection; Pozzi Collection, 1921, no. 2901, Baldwin

b 2.04 Naville, June 1923, BM Duplicate, no. 2777

c 2.34 Naville VII, 1924, Bement Sale, 11, no. 1655; Ready Collection; Feaurdent 1919, no. 520

784 o13-r11 2.26 12 Fitzwilliam; Sotheby 17:vi:1841; Abdy Sale, 756 Six 1883, p. 296, no. 46 CK; SNG, Fitzwilliam, no. 5359, pl. CXII; Leake, suppl. p. 169.3

a 1.93 12 Fitzwilliam; McClean Collection Grose, no. 9177, pl. 331.32


785 o14-r12 2.1 12 CM 1942/I-26/2 (e); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43) Destrooper-Georgiades 1982, no. 33; Nicolaou 1989, p. 140

a 12 CM 1941/XII-2/2(a); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43) Destrooper-Georgiades 1982, no. 2; Nicolaou 1989, p. 139

b 2.20 12 CM 1942/I-26/2 (c); Athienou-Arsos Hoard (CH II 43) Destrooper-Georgiades 1982, no. 29; Nicolaou 1989, p. 140

c Cahn, July 1928, no. 1183

d 1.98 Weber Collection, no. 7737

786 o15-r13 2.26 12 ANS 1944.100.58094; Newell Collection; Seltman

a 2.35 12 Ashmolean; New College

787 o16-r14 2.28 Schulman, Spring 1979, no. 179; Schulman, Sept. 28, 29 1976, no. 208; Schulman, Sept. FPL 205, June 1975, no. 76;
a 2.30 Glendining, Feb. 1961, Lockett Sale, no. 2539
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<td>Dikaios 1961, p. 178, no. 27</td>
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</table>
### N.A.R.III.b. Aphrodite / Aprhodite wearing Crown

| obv. as above | rev. Aphrodite bust l, wearing crown of semi-circular plates, long hair falls on back of neck, earring, necklace or torque, drapery on shoulder |

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Ax</th>
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<td>12</td>
<td>BM 1925 1-5-39; Spink (Col. Massey)</td>
<td>BMC, p. cxi, no. 4, pl. XXIV, 20 (part exchange)</td>
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### N.A.R.III.c. Aphrodite / Aprhodite wearing Wreath

| obv. as above? | rev. Aphrodite bust l, wearing myrtle wreath, long hair falls on back of neck, beaded, hoop earring, necklace or torque, drapery on shoulder; to r.: BA |

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<td>BM 1866 12-1-379; Woodhouse</td>
<td>BMC, p. 63, Salamis 79, pl. XII.14; Babelon <em>Traité</em>, 2, p. 726, no. 1187 bis</td>
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O. King Nikokreon
(c. 331 - 311/10 BC)

GOLD

O.A.V.I. Staters

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<td>Jenkins, no. 814; Jameson no. 2606</td>
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<td>803</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Bruxelles; Hoffmann, 29 June 1881, 3.500F; Bayle sale 1 May 1881; Hirsch Collection</td>
<td>Naster, p. 270, no. 1617, pl. LXXXVI; Destrooper-Georgiades 1990, p. 15, no. 9</td>
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<td>804</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>BN; de Luynes Collection</td>
<td>Six 1883, p. 297, no. 48; Babelon 1893, p. 93, no. 634, pl. XVII, fig. 24; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 728, no. 1188, pl. CXXIX, fig. 10; Babelon 1930, p. 113, no. 2952</td>
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<td>Berlin; C.R. Fox Collection</td>
<td>von Sallet, p. 132, pl. V, 6; Six 1883, p. 297, no. 49.1; BMC p. cxiii, pl. XXIV, 21; Babelon Traité, 2, p. 728, no. 1188 bis, pl. CXXXIX, fig. 11 r.: NK (across and attached)</td>
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O.AV.II. Third?

*obv.* as above; no necklace, inscription?  *rev.* as above

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Possible attribution to Nikokreon

O.AV.III. Twelfth

*obv.* Aphrodite bust l., wearing turreted crown, hair falls to front and back of neck, necklace, triple?-drop earring, drapery on shoulder; *rev.* Aphrodite bust l., wearing fillet and crown comprised of band with semi-circular plates, hair falls on back of neck, earring, necklace, drapery on shoulder; to r.: ba; linear border

<table>
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<td>5</td>
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SILVER

O.A.R.I. Didrachms

O.A.R.I.a. Aphrodite NK / Apollo BA

*obv.* Aphrodite bust r., wearing turreted crown, long hair rolled above forehead and falls to front and back of shoulder, single-drop earring, drapery on shoulder; l.: NK (up and connected)

*rev.* Apollo bust l., laureate, curly hair, bow behind shoulder; r.: BA

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cxxix
O.A.R.I.b. Aphrodite BA / Apollo NK

*Obv.* Aphrodite bust r., wearing turreted crown, long hair rolled above forehead and falls to front and back of shoulder; single-drop earring, drapery on shoulder; I.: BA (up)

*Rev.* Apollo head l., laureate, short curly hair; bow behind shoulder; r.: NK (down and connected)

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O. AR.II. Half Drachms

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4.ii. Types and Iconography

L. King Nikokles

Gold

L.I. Staters (nos. 650-652)

The best preserved examples of Nikokles' gold staters exhibit a very detailed image of Aphrodite's profile facing left on the obverse. Her face is full and the features are hard, with a thin, elongated eye. She wears a heavily ornamented crown, presumably jewelled, with three upwardly projecting points. There is a dotted row representing either hair or a crown on the forehead, which extends downwards just behind the eye and stops half-way down the face. Behind this feature, a long ornamented strap hangs down from the crown covering the ear and reaching below the shoulder. Her long hair falls from the back of the crown down behind the back of her neck, sometimes in four delineated strands. On the best preserved examples, an earring can be seen between the long strap and the hair, along with a beaded necklace and drapery on the shoulders. There also seems to be some sort of ornament attached to what is presumably the front of the necklace; however, although some examples are in very fine condition, it is still impossible to discern what it is. The field around the figure is usually very clean and the whole is surrounded by a finely dotted circular border. On some examples an a syllable is added to the right field (nos. 651-652). Masson noted in ICS (no. 326, note 3) that these coins are the latest to carry the syllabic legend at Salamis, but we shall see below that this is not the case.

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3 For sculptural comparison for the early fourth century from Salamis see: V. Karageorghis, *Sculptures from Salamis I*, 1964, p. 8, 2; marble head of goddess, pl. VII; transitional period, deeply set, almond-shaped eyes.
The reverse depicts Athena's profile facing left. Her facial features tend to be much more delicate than those of Aphrodite on the obverse. She is wearing a crested and laureate Corinthian helmet, 'at ease', pushed back on top of her head so that her face is exposed. The crest extends down in a plume behind the neck in what is sometimes very clearly three wavy strands. Athena's hair appears slightly below the helmet in front of her ear, but many strands fall down the back of her neck with one lock falling to the side of her neck and resting on the front of her shoulder. She wears what looks to be a solid, circular earring, and drapery falls in folds on her shoulder. In the field to the right is placed the ba syllable, just behind the plume of the helmet. In the left field, just in front of her face, the syllable ni is added with its three points facing out to the left.4 Most specimens have a slightly concave surface.

L.II. Quarter-Staters (nos. 653-681)

The obverse of the quarter-staters is almost exactly the same as the obverse of the staters, but on a smaller scale. The only real differences lie in the fact that one cannot discern any addition to the front of the necklace and there is no border. Moreover, there is no obverse inscription. The reverse type also copies the staters, save the omission of an inscription (see enlarged photo, no. 668, pl. XLIII).

4 Spyridakis, p. 82, nos. 74 and 75, read the ni syllable as a retrograde E.
M. King Evagoras II

Gold

M.AV.I. Staters (nos. 682-684)

With the lion depicted on the obverse of this group, the artistic repertoire of the mint expands impressively in style and technique. The lion is rendered in a dramatic posture, violently bending down towards the ground line to eat his prey whose presence is denoted only by a few lines under his left paw. The lion's movements and musculature are rendered realistically with very clearly defined muscles and sinewy skin. To the rear of the lion's back is perched an eagle, standing towards the left, but looking behind to the right. Its wings are folded along its sides and it has a stern expression on its face, distinguishing its species from that of the dove of Aphrodite. In the field above the lion's head, to the left of the eagle is a large star, or sun, of 16 rays. The field below the exergue is clear and the whole is enclosed by a linear border.

The Aphrodite on the reverse is very similar to the Aphrodite on the silver didrachms of Evagoras II. Aphrodite wears a crown consisting of four turrets rising up from a low base. In the best examples the detailing in the turrets can be read with ease, with a clear window in the middle and three tiny protrusions rising up from the top of each turret. Aphrodite's hair, upon which this majestic crown rests, is rolled up from the forehead and behind to create a bed for the crown. The next section of hair is pulled to the back of the head just below the roll, creating a base from which the remainder of the hair falls down the back of the neck and shoulder, with one curling lock separated in front of the shoulder. Aphrodite's face is stern with full features. Her eye is in full profile and the features are classically and naturalistically rendered. On her ear, she wears a

5 BMC, p. cv, n. 2.
drop earring which consists of two horizontal panels, from which a long bead drops from the bottom. The lower part of the bust depicts her shoulder which is simply draped. There is also some indication of a beaded necklace. The abbreviation EYA is present on most examples, facing inwards to the left and running upwards. On one example (no. 694), the obverse inscription BA is added, while on another (no. 699) the bust faces right thus the EYA is in the left field and moves upwards.

M.AV.II. Twelfths (nos. 685-700)

Like the reverse of the staters, both the obverse and reverse of the twelfths are very close in style and detail to the silver didrachms whose types will be discussed below. The goddesses are, however, reversed, with Aphrodite on the obverse die and Athena on the reverse die, although admittedly the differentiation between the two goddesses becomes less clear as the century progresses (see enlarged photos, pl. XLII).

One must note the number of variations used in the direction in which the busts are facing; all four combinations are utilised in the 30 surviving examples. The most prevalent type is the right/left combination.

Silver

The larger denominations of Evagoras II (didrachms and half drachms) carry on the obverse a bust of Athena wearing a crested Corinthian helmet. Her long hair falls down the back of her neck and shoulder. Often we are able to see her drop earrings, beaded necklace and drapery set on the shoulder. The most common legend for the obverse is EYA representing the abbreviated name of Evagoras.
The reverse type is always that of the bust of Aphrodite who wears a turreted crown with her hair rolled up under the crown in front and falling on the back of her neck and front of shoulder. Like Athena, she is often depicted with drop earrings, beaded necklace and drapery around her shoulder. The most common reverse legend is BA representing the title Basileus, in conjunction with the King's name on the obverse.

It is interesting to note that the faces on the obverse and reverse are altered according to the denomination; on the didrachms they face right/right and on all but two of the half-drachms they face right/left. Whether or not this was a deliberate attempt to differentiate the denominations would be difficult to prove.

M.A.R.I. Didrachms (nos. 701-705)

The series of didrachms exhibit a fully classical, highly refined style. The obverse inscription remains constant throughout the series and clarifies the issuing authority: EYA, as seen on the earlier coins of Evagoras I. Athena's facial features are full and lack feminine delicacy. Her Corinthian helmet is as ever 'at ease'; surviving examples tend to be in good condition and thus we see the laurel leaves lying on the side of the helmet. The helmet is crested with long wavy plumes falling down behind the neck. Most examples show a small rear neck-plate attached to the helmet behind her ear. Her long wavy hair falls out from the back of the helmet and rests on the back of her neck and shoulder. As on the coins of Nikokles, one lock often falls separately on the side or in front of the shoulder. She wears a single drop earring and a beaded necklace with the slightest hint of drapery at the bottom of the neck. The field is usually blank, save for the legend, and is often surrounded by a linear border.

The face of Aphrodite on the reverse can be described as somewhat softer, with less puffy features than that of its counterpart on the obverse. On the didrachm series, she is always facing right, and she wears a turreted crown.
well preserved examples there is a thin band from which rises four rectangular turrets which are each capped with three tiny protrusions. There are also seven small bead-like dots along the band which are placed in front of the turret and in between each. On the clearer examples, one can see the other side of the crown, as the turrets on her left side can be seen between the turrets on the right side of the crown.

On the front of her head, her hair is rolled up above her forehead and tucked under the front of the band. Behind her ear, the hair is gathered with a fillet and then falls in wavy curls along the back and side of her neck. She wears a single drop earring in the shape of a pendent triangle or T, quite similar to the type worn by Athena. Just above the delicately folded drapery on the neck and shoulder, one can see a beaded necklace. Most of the examples carry the BA written upwards behind her head, with the rest of the field remaining empty, save for a linear border on some examples.6

M. AR. II. Half Drachms (nos. 706-709)

The most obvious differences between the didrachms and the half-drachms is the fact that Athena is now wearing an Attic helmet and the abbreviation, EYA, has now moved to the reverse field, if shown at all.

M. AR. III. Obols (nos. 710-735)

M. AR. III. a (nos. 710-731) and b (nos. 732-733)

The fractional series which can be firmly attributed to King Evagoras II are: III. a. obv. Athena bust; rev. star of eight rays, and III. b. obv. Athena bust; rev.

6 A forged tetradrachm of Evagoras II should not go unmentioned. It is inscribed Basileus Evagorou Kuprion (Mionnet, iii, 677, 46, 47) and is based on a coin of Perseus of Macedon. See also O. Masson, 'Notes de numismatique chypriote, IX-X', RN 1991, p. 62, no. 8 and p. 63, fig. 3 and F. de Callataj, 'Contrefacacons de monnaies grecques, notes I-IV', RBN 1992, p. 155.
star of sixteen rays (see enlarged photo, pl. XLIII). The obverses of the two fractional series are quite similar to the obverse of the half drachms (AR.II). Athena again wears an Attic helmet with most features remaining the same as on the larger denomination.

The reverse type is where the significant change occurs. The bust of Aphrodite is now replaced by a star of eight (AR.I.a), or sixteen (AR.II.b), rays which is always represented with linear bursts and a dot in the centre. Only a few specimens deviate from the basic: at least two (nos. 715 and 715a) have a ba symbol included on the reverse type; while on two others (nos. 711 and 712) the Athena bust seems to be different as she may be wearing her hair in a saccos rather than donning a helmet. However, both specimens seem to be in very poor condition.

M. AR.III.c (no. 734) and d (no. 735)

Although at least two further coins have been attributed to Evagoras II, the attribution must remain in question as these coins are without inscription. Series III.c, represented by only one example, is attributed to Evagoras II by Destrooper-Georgiades in her 1989 article on the collection of Adonis Kyrou.7 This coin carries the head of Athena on both the obverse and reverse. On the obverse Athena is wearing a diadem while on the reverse she is wearing her more characteristic Attic helmet.

The fourth series, III.d, also uninscribed, is equally rare with only one surviving example in the American Numismatic Society. The head of Athena, and, more markedly, the head of Aphrodite are quite different in style from any of the above silver types of Evagoras II. On the other hand, the type combination seems to be in keeping with the mint at this period.

7 Destrooper-Georgiades 1989, p. 205.
Two further issues, again represented by one coin each, are not included in the catalogue. An uninscribed fraction with a dolphin obverse and star of eight rays on the reverse is tentatively attributed to Evagoras II because of the types, as not only is the reverse connected with previous groups, but by the dolphin type of the obverse, a type found on a bronze coin firmly attributed to Evagoras II by its inscription (see Appendix).  

One other coin is known to us from the excavation report of the Necropolis of Salamis. Helly describes a small silver coin with the head of Athena obverse and a horse walking reverse. While this is a common type of bronze coin ascribed to Evagoras II, this is the only silver coin attested with this type combination. If this is indeed a silver coin, there is no doubt that it could be attributed to Evagoras II. Unfortunately, however, the photograph in the publication is of poor quality.

N. King Pnytagoras

Gold

N.AV.I. Staters (nos. 736-744)

On the obverse of the staters the bust of Aphrodite is quite similar (see enlarged photos, pl. XLIV), if not an intended duplicate, to that on the silver half-drachm reverse to be discussed below. Compared with the silver issue, however, on these fine pieces we are clearly able to discern many of the fine details; no doubt the large field enabled the die engraver to expand the detailed

8 Babelon Traité, 2, p. 720, no. 1175, pl. XXCIX, fig. 7.
9 Karageorghis 1970, p. 66, no. 70a, appendix 1: Helly, p. 240, no. 11, fig. 1; BMC, p. cvi, no. 6: Hill adds yet another group with head of lion l. / head of Athena right in crested Corinthian helmet.
ornamentation. Here the goddess is wearing two separate hair-pieces, a fillet or ribbon as well as the diadem. The fillet is placed along her hairline on her forehead (forcing her hair to curl up above the fillet) and just below the band of the diadem there is a small pedimental area as the two bands meet just above the ear. The base of the diadem is a slightly wider band than seen before, and the plates rising from it are here semi-circular. Five plates are usually shown to the viewer. One lock of hair falls out from the fillet and rests in front of the ear, curling in a downwards spiral pattern and resting against the earring. It is presumed this was shown on the silver issues as well but the examples are too poorly preserved to see this detail. The hair, which again falls rather unnaturally on the back of her neck, consists of two layers. The outer layer is made up of four small stylised upward curls which end just above the shoulder, while the inner layer tends to be less curly lies flat on the neck, and continues to extend on the back of the shoulder.

The earring consists of a large, presumably metallic hoop from which dangle at least five tiny circular elements. Fortunately, the lower half of the neck is well preserved, but admittedly still presents problems. The necklace is indeed beaded and there are certainly two very abstract horse protome pieces shown on either side of the neck (one protruding out from behind the right side of her neck). Below these elements the folds of drapery begin. What is unclear, however, is from which element these protomes protrude. It would seem strange that they could be attached to a beaded necklace. The inscription BA is placed facing inwards just behind her neck and advancing downwards.

In order to assess the Aphrodite reverse we must look back to the didrachms of Evagoras II (M.AR.I) but here Aphrodite is facing left. As on the coins of Evagoras II she wears a turreted crown which differs little in detail; again her hair is rolled up above her forehead and tucked under the front of the lower band of the crown; behind her ear, the hair is gathered with a fillet and
then falls in wavy curls along the back of her neck with one or two locks allowed to fall to the front of the shoulder. Unlike on the Evagoras II examples, she wears a triple-drop earring comparable to the ones worn by Aphrodite on the silver didrachms of Pnytagoras. As with most of the representations, she wears a beaded necklace below which is a simple fold of drapery. Behind her neck is the abbreviation IIN written inwards and downwards.10

M.AV.II. Twelfths (nos. 745-747)

The twelfths carry essentially the same type as the staters. Of course due to space restrictions on these very small denominations much detail is difficult to read or is omitted. The only major difference is the use of the Cypriot syllabic sign for *ba* on the reverse, obviously serving the same purpose as the alphabetic BA on the larger denominations.

Silver

N.ARI. Tetradrachm (no. 748)

This one surviving tetradrachm may be securely attributed to Pnytagoras due to a very faint, but legible inscription on the reverse: IIN.11 The types are almost exactly as the didrachms and half drachms of Evagoras II (M.ARI. I and II) with Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet on the obverse and Aphrodite wearing a turreted crown on the reverse. One may then wonder if one or more of the issues of obols attributed to Evagoras II (M.ARI. III) actually belong to Pnytagoras. As no fractional issues can be attributed to either Pnytagoras or Nikokreon, this must remain an option.

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10 One 'AR' coin with the same types as the gold staters appears in Bernhart, Munchen, 1935, pl. XI, no. 9 and is classed as a Rhodian didrachm. It is quite possible that this coin is a fake made from casts of the gold staters.


340
N.A.R.II. Didrachms (nos. 749-760)

The Aphrodite on the obverse of the didrachms, like her predecessor under Evagoras II, has a full-faced, fleshy profile (see enlarged photo, pl. XLIV). Her wavy hair is rolled up on her forehead, down to her ear and pulled back under the myrtle-wreath which stretches from just behind the ear up to the top of the head, presumably surrounding the head. Behind the ear, the long hair is contained by a ribbon and then allowed to flow down behind the back of her neck; no longer is a single lock allowed to rest on the front of the shoulder.

The earring now becomes slightly more elaborate. Just below the ear lobe hangs a circular bead to which is connected three longer hangings, in the centre, an upside-down triangular piece, which ends in a circular point, and two thinner pieces left to dangle on either side. On the lower part of the neck, a two-string beaded necklace rests just above the shoulder, on which rests a hint of drapery. The abbreviated name of the issuing authority, ΙΙΝ, is written just behind the back of the neck, pointing downwards.

The Artemis profile is slightly less fleshy than that of its counterpart on the obverse. As with that of Aphrodite, Artemis' hair is taken up in front, rolled up and tucked under some sort of fillet, which is hinted at just behind the ear. Unlike Aphrodite's hair however, Artemis' is not allowed to flow free behind, but is taken up and bound in some sort of pony-tail [krobylos?], traces of which curl up behind in the centre back of the head. The earring of the reverse seems to be identical to that seen on the obverse. Artemis wears a single-stranded beaded necklace and her drapery is shown to be gathered up and tied on her shoulder. Behind her shoulder is one of her characteristic appendages, a quiver, which extends diagonally up to the right, in some dies almost reaching the back of her head. On the finest preserved examples, her bow can be seen as well.
Many of the extant examples exhibit an inscription BA written downwards on the reverse behind her head to the right, curiously shown almost upside-down underneath the quiver.

N.ARIII. Half Drachms (nos. 761-801)

N.ARIII.a. Half Drachms (nos. 761-799)

On the half-drachm pieces the bust of the obverse is now pared down out of necessity. The face of Aphrodite is much smaller and less full. The hair remains similar but there is no hint of a myrtle-wreath, as the hair is rolled up and tucked under the fillet. Unlike on the didrachm (AR.II), here she only wears a single-drop earring, again shaped like an upside-down triangle. Only on a few surviving examples does the necklace and drapery survive. As with the didrachms the IIIN is written just behind the back of the neck, pointing downwards.

The main difference between the Artemis on these smaller issues and that on the didrachms is the hair, and the fact that the pony-tail is now omitted. Instead, Artemis' hair is neatly pulled back behind and tucked under the fillet on the back of the head. Her earring seems to be of the single-drop type and she wears a single-stranded beaded necklace. As on the didrachms, her drapery is shown to be gathered up and tied, but this time behind her neck rather than on her shoulder. On most specimens the inscription BA is written upwards behind her head.
There are two surviving half-drachms which stand apart from the rest because of a difference in reverse type. The obverse type of both seems to be very similar to that of the other half drachms (N.A.R.III.a), though Aphrodite retains the myrtle-wreath worn in her hair as on the didrachms (N.A.R.II).

The major difference is seen on the reverse where Artemis is replaced (if at the date in question she had already been introduced) by what looks to be another bust of Aphrodite. The Aphrodite of III.b faces left but wears a different head-dress from what we have seen previously. Again, her hair is rolled up off her forehead, but this time tucked under a crown or diadem. The diadem consists of a thin band resting just above her ear, from which rises short, triangular plates; again the shape is slightly distorted due to the condition of the specimen. As on other Aphrodites, her long hair is allowed to rest along the neck, behind her ear. However, in these dies the long locks are highly stylised, consisting of one spiralling cord neatly hugging the contour of the neck.

The third half drachm series, III.c, also shows Aphrodite on the reverse, but here she has retained her myrtle wreath crown. Her earring also deviates greatly from what has been seen before. It consists of a large hoop from which dangles either beads or small circular plates. There is a necklace which may have been beaded, and there is an additional element to the necklace which may point to a different piece of jewellery altogether. In front of the neck, there are decorative protrusions which indicate some sort of ending to a torque which would most likely be in the shape of horses. Both specimens show little indication of drapery. The field seems to be empty save for 'BA' written behind her head facing inwards and downwards.
King Nikokreon

Gold

O.AV.I. Staters (nos. 802-805)

The Aphrodite with turreted crown on the obverse of the staters differs very little from that of previous issues of Evagoras II (M.AV.I, AR.I and II) and Pnytagoras (N.AV.I and II, AR.I) with the same depiction. The crown itself has a row of small dots along the top of the band, the goddess has a full face, wears a beaded necklace, and her hair falls on the back of her neck with one lock in front of the shoulder – all characteristics we have seen before with this type. Unlike those on the similar silver didrachms (O.AR.II), the earrings are triple-dropped. Luckily on some fine examples which are slightly more detailed one can see that the two side hangings are actually fine chains which end in a pendent triangle shape, possibly meant to be a bunch of grapes. NK is only seen on one specimen (no. 805) while on most the abbreviation NI is used instead.

On the reverse is Aphrodite with the semi-circular diadem, as on the half drachm of Pnytagoras (N.AR.II.b). Here the base of the diadem consists of two thin bands rather than the one seen in Pnytagoras' silver and gold (N.AV.I). In the detail of the earring we also see an additional bead hanging in the centre of the hoop. The necklace now looks more like a true torque, ending with T shaped protrusions. The legend BA appears consistently on all examples.

O.AV.II. Third (no. 806)

One very strange coin from the Jameson Collection carries the same types as the staters but purportedly weighs 2.94 g. If this is indeed a gold coin it may possibly be a third of a stater (discussed below). The style, however, is quite
different; this combined with the strange weight, must put some doubt on its authenticity.

O.AV.III. Twelfth (no. 807)

Both the obverse and the reverse types of this rare example in Paris are the same as on the staters, save omissions due to lack of space. The most important variation is the fact that the syllabic letter ba is used in the field. As the inscription obviously points to a Cypriot mint and the types are those of Nikokreon, it is fair to assume an attribution to Nikokreon, even if the signature alphabetic letters NI or NK are omitted from the flan.

Silver

O.AR.I. Didrachms (nos. 808-822)

O.AR.I.a. (nos. 808-818)

On the obverse of this series of didrachms is an Aphrodite bust similar to those seen on the coins of both Evagoras II (M.AR.I and II) and Pnytagoras (N.AR.I), the turreted crowned Aphrodite, the details of which remain fairly standard: full faced, crown without any small dots along the band, single-drop earring, one lock in front of the shoulder, etc. The only aspect that is somewhat innovative is the ligatural abbreviation NIK for Nikokreon.12 Although the positioning of the monogram varies, the head of Aphrodite always faces to the right.

12 Originally attributed to Pnytagoras by Borrell, p. 55 and W.H. Waddington, 'Statères de Pnytagoras', RN, 1865, p. 12; The first to attribute these coins to Nikokreon was D. Pierides, 'On the coins of Nicocreon, one of the Kings of Cyprus', NC 1869. pp. 19-24.
Similarly, on the reverse, Apollo always faces to the left. For the first time at the mint of Salamis, Apollo is introduced as a primary type. Apollo is shown young, with short curly hair; a laurel wreath confines the hair as it rests on the crown of his head. The profile is of the neck and head only, unlike earlier profiles which have always included at least a hint of the shoulder. Behind the neck one can make out the simplified lines of his bow jutting out into the lower right of the field; also to the right are the letters BA facing inwards and downwards.\textsuperscript{13}

O.A.R.I.b. (nos. 819-822)

A second and rarer series of didrachms reverses the two inscriptions, with BA on the obverse and NK on the reverse.

O.A.R.II. Half Drachms (nos. 823-828)

The types of the half drachms are essentially the same as in the didrachms. The main difference is that BA, when shown, is always on the obverse and NK on the reverse (see enlarged photo, no. 827, pl. XLIV).

\textsuperscript{13} There is one coin in the Fitzwilliam which should be included in this category but is likely to be a fake: Loscombe Sale no. 463.
With the coinage of Nikokles one witnesses a shift in the use of iconographic types on the coinage of Salamis. From now onwards the ruling dynasts normally chose busts of major deities for their coinages. Nikokles begins this trend by selecting Aphrodite for the obverse of his gold coinage and Athena for the reverse.

The choice of Aphrodite as a Salaminian coin type should come as no surprise, as from the beginning of Greek habitation on the island she was the population's principal deity. The goddess of love, known as Anassa, came to reside in Cyprus soon after her birth from the waves, a birth which sometimes is said to have taken place off the coast of Cyprus itself. Her principal cult centre was at Paphos, near the island's western coast, where the famous grove, altar and temple of Aphrodite stood.\(^{14}\)

As Paphos was the home of the cult of Aphrodite, it may seem strange that she was not represented on the coins of Paphos until the fourth century. This should not come as a surprise, however, as representations of gods was rare on any Cypriot coinage before then throughout the Greek world. However, with the coins of King Timocharis (c. 385?) she, or her cult image, is depicted full-figured on the reverse of the coins of Paphos.\(^{15}\) The first appearance at Paphos of the bust of Aphrodite follows the issues of Timocharis, where she is depicted as on the coins of Nikokles, wearing an ornamented crown (or stephanos).\(^ {16}\) Her

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\(^{15}\) *BMC*, Paphos, no. 45.

\(^{16}\) The Paphian 'stephanos' and the ornamented crown on the Aphrodite of the Salaminian examples are similar to the pelos worn by Hera on the fourth century coins of Argos, *BMC Peloponnesus*, pl. XXVII, nos. 12 and 13.
image is underlined by the addition of her dove flying on the reverse of the Paphian issue. It must be noted, however, that in terms of style, the image of Aphrodite on the coins of Paphos seems to be slightly more advanced, with more natural facial features, than that portrayed on the coins of Nikokles.

A second Timocharis (father of Nikokles of Paphos), in the middle of the fourth century, continued the use of Aphrodite as the main type of his coins, this time wearing a stephanos, with her dove on the reverse now standing. The image of Aphrodite continues throughout the fourth century on the coinage of Paphos until Alexander III took over the mint.

Curiously, the image of Aphrodite does appear as a numismatic type on Cyprus earlier than at Paphos, at the mint of Lapethus, where in the early fifth century her head is pictured in very archaic style on the obverse, with Athena on the reverse. As with later depictions, here she is shown with long wavy hair, wearing a diadem and circular earrings.

Also in the mid-fifth century, a small issue of obols minted by a King Sa... at Idalium has a head of Aphrodite, as on bronze coins of the mint of Citium, minted under Melekiathon in the early fourth century.

In the very late fourth century, the head of Aphrodite also appears on the coins of Stasioikos II at Marium.

There is no question that the choice of Aphrodite stemmed from the local cult tradition rather than outside influences. The argument is further strengthened by the fact that during the archaic and classical periods Aphrodite was one of the least represented Olympians on coins anywhere in the Greek

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17 BMC, Paphos, no. 46.
18 Warren, p. 145; BMC, pl. XXII. 5.
19 BMC, Paphos, nos. 47-49.
20 BMC, Lapethus, nos. 2-6. As seen in Asyut (H.11), Larnaca (H.13), Jordan (H.14), and Dali I (H.20) hoards.
21 BMC, Marium, nos. 5 and 6.
world. There are merely four small pockets of use. Her head can be seen in Central Greece at Thespiae and to the north, Neapolis: neither issue could have influenced Cyprus as the former representation was only one of many reverse types of the mint and the coins from Neapolis were only small denominations, unlikely to travel.22

The third area where the head of Aphrodite was used as a coin type was Cnidus where she is seen as a reverse type of the famous lion series in both the fifth and fourth centuries.23 The fourth area which saw the most prolific use of Aphrodite as a numismatic type during this period is Cilicia. Nagidus, Tarsus, Mallus and, not surprisingly, Aphrodisias all used the image of Aphrodite on their coins at one time or another during the late fifth and fourth centuries. It must be noted, however, that as against the full standing or seated figure of Aphrodite on the coins, the use of the bust alone was quite rare.24

While the use of Aphrodite as a coin type was therefore rare and a localised phenomenon; the choice of Athena for the reverse of the coins of Nikokles can be looked upon in a completely different light. Athena was undoubtedly the most popular coin type of the archaic and classical period; and her popularity as a coin type is explained by her use at the mint of Athens. Athenian fifth century coinage travelled farther and wider than any other coinage in the Greek world and the quality and general acceptance of the currency was renowned, thus making its iconography extremely influential.

Yet the particular type used on the coins of Nikokles is based on the Corinthian rather than the Athenian version on the coins of Nikokles, since Athena dons the Corinthian rather than the Attic helmet.

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22 ACGC, pp. 114 and 150.
23 Ibid., p. 246.
24 Ibid., pp. 279-285.
Other than at the two main centres of production, Athens and Corinth (including her colonies), Athena is fully represented on the coins of some of the most important poleis of the Greek world. The mints of southern Italy (Sybaris, Thurii, Heraclea, Taras, Metapontum, Cumae, Velia and Neapolis), for example, used the bust of the Attic-helmeted Athena in some cases (as Sybaris and Thurii) as a reference to their mother-city of Athens. Many of these mints, however, changed the iconography to conform to the Corinthian type in middle of the fourth century because of the influx of Corinthian currency into Magna Gracia during this period.25

The image of Athena was also used by a number of mints along the western coast of Asia Minor, including Lampsacus, Cyzicus and Mytilene. Interestingly, Lampsacus also chose the bust of Athena for its fourth century gold staters, there, however, an obvious copy of the Athenian, rather than the Corinthian type.26 The mints of Cyzicus and Mytilene are examples for the evolution of early Greek numismatic iconography. Both began to coin early, in the sixth century, and until the middle of the fifth century, various animal types were used. The use of the divine head as a type only seemed to take over mid century when Athena was used at both mints, although again used sporadically as part of a repertoire of busts.27

Closer to Cyprus, in the late fifth century, mints of west Lycia used Athenian types for their coinage. It should be noted, however, that the coinage of Athens was not the only influence on the Athena coins of Lycia as there are also examples of early fourth century types copied directly from Syracusan models.28

25 Ibid., p. 194.
26 Ibid., p. 260.
27 Ibid., pp. 265-266.
28 Ibid., pp. 270-271.
Moving east along the Southern Coast of Asia Minor, the Pamphylian mint of Side used the head of Athena on the reverse, Athena being the city's chief deity. Interestingly, Side seems to have been influenced by changing economic influences since she also shifted from an Athena wearing an Attic to a Corinthian helmet in the fifth century. Her fourth century types also reflect a certain local influence as the main types of Apollo and Athena are now shown full figured. 29

As with Aphrodite, there are parallels with the use of Athena between our mint and the mints of Cilicia. Athena, like Aphrodite, is often portrayed full-figured, either as Athena Parthenos (Nagidus) or seated (Tarsus and Mallus in the 370s). With the mints of Soli and Mallus, closer comparisons can be made. The early fourth century issues of Mallus, directly influenced by the mints of southern Italy, portray Athena with the Attic helmet, only to be converted to the Corinthian type in the mid-fourth century along with a similar progression from the mint of Mallus. 30

Before the issue of Nikokles, the image of Athena is only seen at one other Cypriot mint, and that is on sixth, fifth and fourth century coins of Lapethus where she appears first in conjunction with Herakles 31, and later, under Demonikos I, c. 500, on both the obverse and reverse. 32 This double depiction continues under the reign of Sidqmelk in the early/middle of the fifth century. Finally, she is seen in conjunction with the bust of Aphrodite on the obverse. 33 On the early coins of Lapethus, she is almost always depicted wearing a Corinthian helmet. 34 The image of Athena continues to dominate the coinage of

29 Ibid., p. 276.
30 Ibid., p. 280 ff.
31 As seen in the Asyut Hoard (H.11).
32 As seen in the Larnaca (H.13) and Dali I (H.20) hoards.
33 As seen in the Asyut (H.11), Larnaca (H.13), Jordan (H.14), and Dali I (H.20) hoards.
34 BMC, Lapethus, nos. 1-8.
Lapethus in the fourth century under Kings Andro... and Demonikos II where she is depicted standing with her armour.35

The image of Athena used on early Cypriot coins may of course be explained by influence from Athenian coinage and/or by Nikokles' direct connection to Athens via Isocrates (see p. 305 ff.). Athena's affiliation to Cyprus is also present in the worship of the goddess Agraulos, another title of Athena, who is said to have been worshipped in Salamis itself.36 There is also archaeological evidence which indicates the worship of Athena at many important sanctuaries throughout Cyprus, including Soloi, Kakopetria, Mersinaki and Idalium.37

It is clear that the goddess Athena usually appears on Greek coins for one of the three following reasons: 1) Athens is the mother-city, 2) Athena is the principal deity of the city using her image, or 3) the image is a copy of the renowned Athenian (or South Italian) type. Unlike in the case of Aphrodite, whose image on coins of the Cypriot kingdoms seems quite indigenous, one is pressed to suggest reasons why Nikokles chose the image of Athena for the reverse of his gold coins. From our knowledge of ancient Salamis, it is obvious that explanations 1 and 2 do not apply here. So, the supposition that the image is a result of outside (Athenian, Corinthian, or South Italian) influence is quite plausible.

35 As seen in the Meniko Hoard (H.37).
36 RE, vol. 1, col. 828..
37 V. Karageorghis, Cyprus, from the Stone Age to the Romans, 1982, p. 144.
The variety of type combinations on the coins of Evagoras II are more numerous than in any reign before or hereafter at the mint of Salamis. The silver types alone produce at least seven different series. A number of recently used symbols are converted to entire types, including a star of eight or sixteen rays and possibly a dolphin and horse. On the gold coinage we see a new and very different type introduced, the standing lion on the obverse of the staters, with an Aphrodite bust reverse.

The lion may be one of the oldest numismatic types on Cyprus. The forepart or head of the lion appears as the main type on a group of coins issued in the third or fourth quarters of the sixth century at an uncertain Cypriot mint (or mints). The lion also figures strongly on the prolific coinage of Citium where the lion is first depicted seated on the reverse types of Baalmelek I (c. 479-450) and later bringing down a stag on the coins of Azbaal (c. 450-425); the later image continues well into the fourth century. As the lion is always depicted in conjunction with the obverse type of Herakles Melkarth, there is every indication that the type refers to this hero. On the other hand, the image of the lion killing a stag has strong eastern connections which could symbolise the victory of Persia over the Greeks, an image that would not be surprising for the Phoenician monarchs of Citium.

38 BMC, Unc. B and C; As seen in the Asia Minor (H.4), Asyut (H.11), Larnaca (H.13), Jordan (H.14) and Dali I (H.20) hoards.
39 BMC, Citium, nos. 2-9; As seen in Jordan (H.14) and Dali I (H.20) hoards.
40 BMC, Citium, nos. 10-28; As seen in Jordan (H.14), Dali I (H.20), Dali II (H.21), Celenderis (H.22), Balkh (H.24) and Kabul (H.27) hoards.
41 BMC, Citium, nos. 29-71, 75-82, 84: Baalmelek II (c. 425-400), Baalram (early fourth), Melekiathon (c. 392-361), Pumiathon (c. 361-312).
42 G. Perrot, & Ch. Chipiez, 1885. Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, III, p. 652; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Kypros. The Bible and Homer, 1893, pl. 32.25.
Two other early lion depictions should be mentioned; the first being that of King Sasmas (son of Doxandros) at Marium who minted staters and tetrobols in the second quarter of the fifth century. This obverse type of the full lion with bent head licking its foreleg is a charming image. The lion also appears as the main type of the mint of Amathus which minted from the middle of the fifth century well into the middle of the fourth.

Outside of Cyprus, the lion on the coins of Evagoras II compares most closely with the fourth century coinage of Tarsus in Cilicia. An early fourth century series of Tarsian coins depicts a lion attacking a bull in much the same manner as the lion on the gold staters of Evagoras II. Similarly, later coins attributed to Mazaeus of Tarsus depict the lion attacking a stag (in almost the exact same manner as depicted on the coins of Citium) and a lion walking below a sixteen rayed star; this later image is very close in style and composition to at least one bronze series issued by Evagoras II (see Appendix).

The busts of Aphrodite and Athena on the coins of Evagoras II evolve slightly when compared with the representations on the coins of Nikokles. Notably, Aphrodite now wears a turreted crown, which may represent the fortifications of the city itself; thus she is now represented as a city-goddess or Tyche. The shift to the turreted crown is very rare at this early date as images of the turreted-crowned Tyche tend to date to the third and second centuries. This shift, however, may be a result of influence of contemporary images of

43 Cyprus Hoard, IGCH 1273.
45 BMC, Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia, Tarsus no. 11.
46 Ibid., Tarsus nos. 37-47.
47 Ibid., Tarsus nos. 59-64.; BMC (Hill), pc. cv, n. 2 suggested that the eagle, star and lion combination was a representation of the sun.
48 For example on later Hellenistic coinages of Pamphylia (Head 1911, pp. 701 and 704) and Cilicia (ibid., p. 733).
Tyche in Phoenicia, particularly the fourth century coinage of Aradus where Tyche figures regularly with a turreted crown.\textsuperscript{49}

The bust of Athena also exhibits a shift in head-gear; as on the half-drachms and fractions of Evagoras II, the goddess now wears an Attic helmet as opposed to the Corinthian seen on the coins of Nikokles and indeed on the didrachms of Evagoras II.

\textbf{N. Pnytagoras}

Hill described the busts on the gold coins of Pnytagoras as of Aphrodite-Astarte.\textsuperscript{50} Although I retain this description in the catalogue, it is difficult to accept that the same goddess was intended for both the obverse and reverse of the fine issues of gold coins; as they are surely intended to be different. On the obverse the goddess wears a diadem\textsuperscript{51} while on the reverse she wears the turreted crown as on the didrachms of Evagoras II. There is one further head piece worn by Aphrodite in this series as on the silver didrachms she wears a myrtle wreath as a crown.

Aphrodite occurs again on the silver coins produced under Pnytagoras, but more remarkable is the first appearance of the goddess Artemis on the reverse of this prolific issue. It is clear that Artemis, the goddess of the hunt, is intended here by the inclusion of her quiver in the field directly behind her shoulder.

\textsuperscript{49} For example, Babelon 1893, nos. 928-929.
\textsuperscript{50} BMC, p. cxi.
\textsuperscript{51} BMC, p. cxi, draws close parallels between this image and a head from Dali in the British Museum which is also wearing a diadem.
Artemis, like Aphrodite, is not the most common deity to appear on Greek coinage, at least during the archaic and classical periods. When she does appear, she is usually depicted as full figured (Selinus, ACGC, p. 220, and Abdera, ACGC, p. 156) or it is a copy of a cult statue (Ephesus, ACGC, pp. 23 and 256). Few cities utilise the bust of Artemis and these are in either the Peloponese or central Greece where the archaic coinage of Phocis included her head on the reverse of the hemidrachms (ACGC, p. 120). In Arcadia, two mints used the head of Artemis: the Arcadian League for its early fifth century coinage produced a large series of small denominations with the head of Artemis on the reverse.\(^{52}\) While the mint of Stymphalus depicted the bust of Artemis on the obverse of its staters in the mid-fourth century (ACGC, p. 101). Interestingly, on the coins of Stymphalus, Artemis' hair is depicted in a very similar way to that on our coins of Pnytagoras, loosely pulled back and upwards into a pony-tail or bun on the back of the head. However, none of these mainland types can be considered to have been influential as they are not large issues, and usually small denominations which did not travel.

Although not the principal deity, cults of Artemis are attested to on Cyprus. The goddess was worshipped at Citium as Artemis Paralia and a temple of Artemis was built by King Nikokles of Paphos in the fourth century.\(^{53}\)

\[Q.\text{ Nikokreon}\]

Two deities appear on the late fourth century coinage of Nikokreon, not surprisingly, Aphrodite, used at the mint throughout the century, and now, for the first time, the bust of Apollo was also introduced.

\(^{52}\) R.T. Williams, The Confederate coinage of the Arcadians in the fifth century BC, NNM 155 (1965).
\(^{53}\) V. Karageorghis, Cyprus, from the Stone Age to the Romans, 1982, p. 144.
The image of Aphrodite on the coins of this last monarch does not differ greatly from previous depictions. On the obverse of the gold coins she is wearing the turreted crown of the city goddess and her image (if indeed it is her?), is repeated on the reverse wearing a diadem, the combination used by Pnytagoras. On his silver issues, Aphrodite wears a turreted crown.

Before Nikokreon's issues, the image of Apollo was used at the Cypriot mints of Curium, Marium, Paphos and Soli. The coins of Marium may be the earliest depiction as the head of the laureate Apollo is depicted on the obverse types of King Stasioikos in the second half of the fifth century and continues with the coinage of Timocharis well into the early fourth century.

At Curium, a delightful three-quarter laureate head of Apollo is depicted on the obverse of coins minted in the name of Evagoras II. On one issue, Apollo's lyre is shown on the reverse type (see p. 406).

Towards the end of the fourth century, the bust of Apollo is again depicted frontally on the Solian coins of King Pasikrates whose reign began in 331. Apollo is also seen depicted seated on his omphalos on the late fourth century coinage of Nikokles of Paphos.

The worship of Apollo is well attested in Cyprus where he takes on a number of forms. Specifically, there was a sanctuary of the god at Curuim where he was worshipped as Apollo Hylates or Apollo of the woods. The existence of this centre of worship may strengthen the theory that the bronze issues of

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54 BMC, Marium, nos. 1-2; Vouni Hoard.
55 BMC, Marium, no. 3; Vouni Hoard.
56 BMC, Soli, no. 1.
58 V. Karageorghis, Cyprus, from the Stone Age to the Romans, 1982, p. 144.
Evagoras II, which bear Apollo as an obverse type, may belong to the mint of Curium rather than Salamis (see Appendix).

Unlike the two goddesses depicted on the later issues, Aphrodite and Artemis, the image of Apollo is very well attested as a coin type throughout the fourth century and in all corners of the Greek world. Two major reasons are apparent: as the patron deity of a particular city, or through the influence of the major coinage of Philip II of Macedon.

As a patron deity, Apollo appears in the west on the coins of Leontini in the fifth century (ACGC, no. 836) and eastern Greece at Miletus (ACGC, no. 934) in the fourth century. As on the bronze coinage of Evagoras II (see Appendix), Apollo is often depicted in conjunction with his lyre (Colophon (ACGC, p. 253, no. 898) and the Chalcidian League (ACGC, p. 138)).

The main sphere of iconographic influence must stem from Macedonia, however. Philip II's grand issue of gold staters travelled all over the Greek world and depicted the laureate head of Apollo as the obverse type (ACGC, no. 511). Philip's choice of Apollo, influenced by the coinage of the Chalcidian League produced in the late fifth and first half of the fourth century, sent a profound message stressing his role as a Greek ruler. This purely Greek message stems directly from the fact that Apollo was the patron deity of Delphi, the centre of the Greek world.  

59 ACGC, p. 146 ff.
4.iii. Die and Fabric Study

L. King Nikokles

Gold

L.I. Staters\(^{60}\) (nos. 650-652)

Only seven examples are known in this category. The average diameter is approximately 12 mm., and the axes of most specimen tends to be somewhat erratic with two examples at 10 o'clock. The overall fabric is rather fine with flat, round flans.

Two obverse dies and three reverse dies were used to produce the seven existing examples, which suggests that those catalogued here are a good representation of the full issue.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{obv. die} & \quad \text{rev. die} \\
\text{o1} & \quad \text{r1} \\
\text{o2} & \quad \text{r2} \\
\text{} & \quad \text{r3}
\end{align*}
\]

Table 4.iii.1. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Group L, Series I, Staters

L.II. Quarter-Staters (nos. 653-681)

There are at least 61 extant examples of quarter-staters, and so this series is much less rare than its larger counterpart. The coins are very small with an

\(^{60}\) BMC, p. civ, no. 1, "thirds".
average diameter of approximately 8 mm. As with the staters, the axes of these smaller denominations are still varied.

Sixteen obverse dies and eleven reverse dies were used to produce the 59 coins available for study:

![Die Sequence Diagram]

Table 4.iii.2. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group L, Series II, Quarter Staters

360
M. King Evagoras II

Gold

M.AV.I. Staters (nos. 682-684)

As only four gold staters of King Evagoras II survive, one may suggest that the issue was quite small; two of the four coins share the same obverse and reverse. These gold staters are far larger than those of Nikokles with an average diameter of around 18 mm. The coins are quite flat and clean in fabric, but the larger flans tend to be less well-rounded than the earlier issues.

M.AV.II. Twelfths (nos. 685-700)

As with the issues of Nikokles, the smaller gold denominations seem to be much more common: 32 tenths are catalogued. The extant examples exhibit a wide range of die axes and the coins have an average diameter of approximately 9 mm.

For the 31 coins available for study, 8 obverse and 11 reverse dies are counted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>obv. die</th>
<th>rev. die</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o1</td>
<td>r1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o2</td>
<td>r2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o3</td>
<td>r3</td>
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<td>o4</td>
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<td>r9</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.iii.3. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group M, AV Series II, Twelfths

361
Silver

M.A.R.I. Didrachms (nos. 701-705)

Thirteen didrachms of Evagoras II are known. As with most of the coins produced under Nikokles, the didrachms\(^\text{61}\) sporadically show set axes. The average diameter is approximately 19 mm. The flans of the didrachms tend to be thin, the reverse sometimes exhibiting a shallow incuse circle. Most examples show a slightly concave surface to the reverse.

The dies are differentiated by minor details: for example, the single lock which sometimes falls to the front of the shoulder, and the BA is sometimes absent from the reverse type. Number 132 has the appearance of the hair falling to the back of the shoulder only on the obverse, but its die link (obv. die 2) shows otherwise.

For the 13 extant coins, two obverse dies and five reverse dies can be counted.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{obv. die} & \rightarrow \text{rev. die} \\
o_1 & \rightarrow r_1 \\
o_1 & \rightarrow r_2 \\
o_1 & \rightarrow r_3 \\
o_2 & \rightarrow r_4 \\
o_2 & \rightarrow r_5
\end{align*}
\]

Table 4.iii.4. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group M, AR Series I, Didrachms

\(^{61}\) BMC, p. cvi, no. 3 'Rhodian didrachms'... 'similar to those on the gold tenths, to which they were probably equivalent.'
M. AR. II. Half Drachms\textsuperscript{62} (nos. 706-709)

The four half-drachms of Evagoras II also exhibit erratically set die axes. The average diameter is approximately 11 mm.

The three extant coins available for study have two obverse die and three reverse dies.

\begin{equation*}
\begin{array}{c|c|c|}
\text{obv. die} & \text{rev. die} \\
\hline
\text{o}_1 & \text{r}_1 \\
\text{o}_2 & \text{r}_2 \\
\end{array}
\end{equation*}

\textbf{Table 4.iii.5. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group M, AR Series II, Half Drachms}

M. AR. III. Obols (nos. 710-735)

Of the two series of fractions\textsuperscript{63} which can be firmly attributed to Evagoras II, the first (III. a, nos. 710-731) with an Athena head left and a star of eight rays reverse is the more prolific with 33 known examples. The size of the coins averages 9 mm. in diameter and the fabric seems to be less than fine, with many examples of types off-centre.

For the 30 coins available for study, 13 obverse dies and 14 reverse dies can be counted.

The second series (III. b, nos. 732-733) of obols, with the 16-ray star reverse is less common than the eight-ray star with only four extant examples. The diameter of the coins is the same as the previous group, approximately 9 mm.

\textsuperscript{62} BMC, p. cvi, no. 4 'hemidrachms'.

\textsuperscript{63} BMC, p. cvi, no. 5 'obols'.

363
The overall fabric also differs little. Many of the reverse fields are slightly concave or retain a slight circular incuse.

From the four surviving examples in Series III.b, two obverse and two reverse dies can be counted. One of the obverse dies from Series III.b can be linked to Series III.a (o12).

Table 4.iii.6. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group M, AR Series III.a and b, Obols
Gold

N.AV.I. Staters (nos. 736-744)

The beautiful gold staters of King Pnytagoras are represented by 14 surviving examples. These clean, nearly perfectly round specimens average 16 mm. in diameter and are set, or intended to be set, at a 12 o'clock axis.

For the 14 coins available for study, seven obverse and six reverse dies can be counted.

Table 4.iii.7. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group N, AV Series I, Staters

M.AV.II. Twelfths (nos. 745-747)

The gold twelfths of King Pnytagoras are rarer than the staters, with only four extant examples. These small coins are approximately 8 mm. in diameter and tend to be less perfectly shaped than their larger counterparts.

For the four coins available for study, three obverse dies and two reverse dies can be counted.
Table 4.iii.8. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group N, AV Series II, 12ths

Silver

N.AR.I. Tetradrachm (no. 748)

The one surviving tetradrachm is on an axis of 12 o'clock and the diameter is rather large at 23 mm. The coin is rather worn and cannot be considered perfectly round. The flan is quite thick.

N.AR.II. Didrachms (nos. 749-760)

Twenty-eight didrachms of Pnytagoras have been catalogued here. The axes are now all set at 12 o'clock and the average diameter is 17 mm. The fabric is quite clean and flat.

For the 27 coins available for study in this category, seven obverse dies and seven reverse dies can be counted.
Table 4.iii.9. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Group N, AR Series II, Didrachms

N.AR.III. Half Drachms (nos. 761-801)

Because of the hoard finds, the half-drachms of King Pnytagoras make up one of the largest surviving issues of the fourth century with 101 coins catalogued. These sometimes very fine silver coins are overall in very worn conditions. Like the didrachms, the axis is set perfectly at 12 o'clock and the average diameter is 12 mm.

The 88 half-drachms (N.AR.III.a) available for study produced a number of die duplicates and links with 17 obverse and 15 reverse dies counted.
Table 4.iii.10. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group N, AR Series III.a, Half Drachms

N.AR.III.b (no. 800) and c. (no. 801)

Two rare half drachms with Aphrodite represented on both obverse and reverse were likely intended to have 12 o'clock die axes although one seems to be slightly off kilter at 11. The diameters of the two coins are quite different, one rather oblong in shape while the other is comparatively larger than the previous group at 15 mm. in diameter.
O. King Nikokreon

Gold

O.AVI. Staters (nos. 802-805)

Five gold staters issued under Nikokreon are catalogued here. The recorded die axes are set at either 12 or 6 o'clock, and the average diameter is 17 mm. The fabric of the flans is quite refined: clean, smooth, and flat with smooth round edges.

Three obverse and three reverse dies were used to produce the five known staters of Nikokreon.

Table 4.iii.11. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group O, AV Series I, Staters

O.AV.III. Twelfth (no. 807)

The die axis of this coin which may be attributed to Nikokreon is likely to be intended for either 12 or 6 o'clock, while the average diameter is 8 mm.

Silver

O.ARI. Didrachms (nos. 808-822)

The surviving silver coinage in the name of Nikokreon is sparse in comparison to that of his predecessor, King Pnytagoras. Only 17 didrachms are available for study.
O.A.R.I.a. (nos. 808-818)

The first group of silver didrachms catalogued are those with the NK obverse inscription and BA reverse; 13 coins are known with this combination with an average diameter of 18 mm. As expected at this late date, the die axes of all the existing coins produced by Nikokreon are now set vertically at 12 o’clock. The fabric of these didrachms is very advanced with smooth clean surfaces, flat and well shaped flans.

Five obverse and six reverse dies were used to produce the 12 coins available for study in this first group.

Table 4.iii.12. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Group O, AR Series I.a, Didrachms

O.A.R.I.b. (nos. 819-822)

The second group, five in total, has those with the BA obverse inscription and NK reverse. The general fabric does not differ from those described above.

Three obverse and two reverse dies were used to produce the five known examples in this group.
Table 4.iii.13. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group O, AR Series I.b, Didrachms

O.AR.II. Half Drachms (nos. 823-828)

There are seven extant examples of half drachms which have the same type combination as the second group of didrachms. The half-drachms are also all set at a 12 o'clock die axis and seem to be slightly more hastily produced than their larger counterparts as many are not as finely shaped. The average diameter of these half drachms is 12 mm.

Three obverse dies and three reverse dies were used to produce the six half-drachms available for study.

Table 4.iii.14. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Group O, AR Series II, Half Drachms
4.iv. Weights

L. King Nikokles

Gold

L.I. Staters\textsuperscript{64} (nos. 650-652)

The gold staters of Nikokles weigh between 2.54 g. and 2.78 g. with a peak weight (excluding the very light specimen at 2.54 g.) of 2.75 or 2.78 g.

\textsuperscript{64} BMC, p. civ, no 1, "thirds".
L.II. Quarter-Staters\textsuperscript{65} (nos. 653-681)

The quarter-staters weigh between 0.61 g. and 0.76 g. with a well defined peak at 0.69 g.

The two extant gold staters of Evagoras I weigh considerably less, at 2.05 g., than those of Nikokles with an average weight of approximately 2.76 g. The comparison is of reduced significance, however, as the number of surviving examples is quite low for both kings.

However, when one compares the gold thirds of Evagoras I to those of Nikokles (Chart 4.iv.3), it is clear that this denomination is consistent in both issuing authorities. Until further examples of Evagoras I gold staters come to light, however, we should classify the smaller denomination as a third of 2.05 g. rather than a quarter of a stater.

\textsuperscript{65} BMC, p. civ, no. 1, "tenths" and note 2 "twelfths, according to Babelon p. 89".
The coinage of King Evagoras II clearly shows a shift in weight standard from the Persian system to the Rhodian or 'Chian' weight standard. This will be discussed further below.

**Gold**

M.AV.I. Staters (nos. 682-684)

The rare gold staters of Evagoras II exhibit an average weight of 8.30 g.
Chart 4.iv.4: Weights of Group M, AV Series II, 12ths

These fractional coins range in weight from 0.53 g. to 0.71 g. with a higher peak of 0.70 g. which should represent the intended weight. On the other hand, this chart could point to two different denominations, the second peaking at 0.62 g.

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66 BMC, p. cv, no. 2 "tenths or twelfths".
Silver

M.A.R.I. Didrachms (nos. 701-705)

Chart 4.iv.5. Weights of Group M, AR Series II, Didrachms

Thirteen didrachms weigh between 6.78 g. and 7.38 g., with peak weights at 6.96 g., 7.08 g. and 7.34 g. The heavier peak at 7.34 g. may, however, represent the approximate intended weight.

M.A.R.II. Half Drachms (nos. 706-709)

The four half-drachms weigh between 1.53 g. and 1.77 g.
There are four groups of type combinations attributed to Evagoras II that weigh under 1 g. These fractional denominations on the 'Chian' standard, range from 0.22 g. to 0.78 g. and compared to other fractional series from Salamis in the fourth century tend to be unevenly distributed. The chart shows that the most prominent peak is at 0.50 g. making one denomination approximately a sixth of a drachm. As there are only five examples above 0.60 g. it is quite possible that only one denomination was intended, at either a fourth, fifth or sixth of a drachm. For our purposes, I shall refer to all of the fractions in this category as obols.

Series III.a weights range between 0.44 and 0.71 g. Series III.b, with a 16-rayed star reverse, is rarer. Unfortunately, the weights of the six examples, ranging from 0.47 to 0.64 g., merely reflect the 33 examples of the previous group; thus no further deduction can be made regarding denomination differentiation by types.
Only one example of the tentatively attributed Series III.c survives, with the bust of Athena obverse and Athena head left reverse. Comparatively, it is rather heavy at 0.70 g.

The last category, the Series III.d, again represented by one example and only tentatively attributed to King Evagoras II, weighs 0.34 g.

After Evagoras II, there are no obols attributable to the two succeeding monarchs.

N. King Pnytagoras

Gold

N.AV.I. Staters (nos. 736-744)

![Chart 4.iv.7. Weights of Group N, AV Series I, Staters](chart.png)

The comparatively numerous gold staters of Pnytagoras weigh between 8.17 g. and 8.34 g. with a pronounced peak at 8.30 g.
M. AV. II. Twelfths (nos. 745-747)

The much rarer issue of twelfths weigh 0.66 g., two at 0.67 g. and one at 0.69 g. One may thus assume an average weight of 0.67 g.

Silver

N. AR. I. Tetradrachm (no. 748)

The one surviving tetradrachm issued by King Pnytagoras, weighs 13.97 g. This is the only surviving tetradrachm known to be produced at the mint of Salamis before Alexander III.

N. AR. II. Didrachms (nos. 749-760)

Chart 4.iv.8. Weights of Group N, AR Series II, Didrachms

A peak weight of 6.72 g. is clearly evident from the didrachms ranging between 6.31 g. and 7.00 g.
N.A.R.III. Half Drachms (nos. 761-801)\(^{67}\)

The half drachms weigh between 1.88 g. and 2.36 g. with only one example weighing 2.90 g. (not on chart); a peak weight at 2.16 g. is clear.

The two rare half-drachms with Aphrodite on both obverse and reverse weigh 1.84 and 2.36 g.\(^{68}\)

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\(^{67}\) BMC, p. cxii, no. 5, p. cxiii, no. 6 'silver Rhoadean hemidrs?'.

\(^{68}\) BMC, p. cxii, no. 4, 'tetrobols'.

380
O. King Nikokreon

Gold

O.AV.I. Staters (nos. 802-805)

There exist only five gold staters of Nikokreon, weighing between 8.26 g. and 8.32 g. with two examples weighing 8.30 g.

O.AV.II. Third? (no. 806)

One strange coin from the Jameson collection with the same types as the staters weighs 2.94 g. If this coin is indeed genuine, it could be classified as a third of a stater, which would be unique for the standard.

O.AV.III. Twelfth (no. 807)

There are only three fractional gold coins of Nikokreon available for study. They weigh 0.67 g. 0.68 g. and 0.70 g., all roughly a twelfth of a stater.
The didrachms of Nikokreon weigh between 6.04 g. and 6.38 g. with one odd specimen weighing 5.74 g. The wide range of the specimens makes the average weight difficult to assess.
Of the half-drachms available for study most weigh between 1.86 g. and 2.14 g. with a peak weight at 1.98 g.

The change in weight standard between those coins minted before Evagoras II (Groups A-L) and those of Evagoras II (Group M), Pnytagoras (Group N) and Nikokreon (Group O) is nowhere more clear than the new gold staters now weighing approximately 8.30 g. Although these staters are fairly rare, they remain consistent in weight throughout the reigns of the three kings who use the Chian standard:

69 BMC, p. cxiii, no. 3, 'tetrobols'.

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Similarly the gold twelfths produced throughout the period of these three issuing authorities (Groups M, N and O) tend to remain fairly consistent in weight. When comparing the twelfths, however, one may be able to posit that King Evagoras II (Group M) produced a larger number of gold coins than his successors. This is a risky assumption, however, due to the small number of specimens available for study.
Chart 4.iv.14. Weights of Evagoras II (M.AV.II), Pnytagoras (N.AV.II) and Nikokreon (O.AV.II), 12ths

It is with the silver issues of these three groups that one is able to draw more firm conclusions, since it is clear that the didrachms produced under Kings Evagoras II (M), Pnytagoras (N) and Nikokreon (O), decrease in weight as the decades progress to the end of the fourth century:
Chart 4.iv.15. Weights of Evagoras II (M.AR.I), Pnytagoras (N.AR.II) and Nikokreon (O.AR.I), Didrachms

A comparison of the half drachms is less informative; if anything, one might draw the opposite conclusion. However, this comparison is much less instructive as the number of half drachms available for study is unbalanced due to the large number of coins of Pnytagoras available from the Athienou-Arsos Hoard:
Although we call the new weight standard 'Rhodian' or 'Chian', the average weights are certainly not precisely equal to what we consider to be average 'Chian' weights. Like the coins produced in the fifth century which were slightly lighter versions of the Persian standard, again, the Cypriot system tends to a lighter version of the 'Chian' system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chian Standard</th>
<th>Salamis Standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tetradrachm</td>
<td>15.60 g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didrachm</td>
<td>7.80 g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-drachm</td>
<td>1.95 g.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chian standard, first used in Chios, was initially adopted in Rhodes and throughout Asia Minor in the fourth century. The shift has been credited to
the decreased influence of the Athenian mint and resurgence of mints in western Asia Minor.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{70} ACGC, pp. 247-248.
4. v. Hoard Evidence

The following hoards are known to contain coins of Nikokles, Evagoras II, Pnytagoras and Nikokreon:

H.39. Athienou-Arsos

Provenance: Athienou, Cyprus
Find date: 1941 (pot hoard)
Burial date: c. 320
Contents: c. 100 - 150 AR
Disposition: Nicosia and Larnaca Museums, Cyprus
Number of Salamis specimens: 33

Group N. King Pnytagoras: 2 didrachms and 28 half-drachms

Series AR.II. Didrachms:
nos. 743a: o1-r1; 759: o7-r 7

Series AR.III.a. Half Drachms:
nos. 761, 761a, c: o1-r1; 764, 764a: o3-r3; 765a: o3-r 4; 766a: o4-r4; 767: o5-r5; 768, 768a: o6-r5; 774a, e-f: o8- r7; 776c: o8-r8; 779 and 779a: o10-r7; 780: o10-r9; 781a-b, d: o11-r7; 782: o12-r7; 783: o13-r10; 785, 785a-b: o14-r12; 795-797: NAS


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H.40. Saida, Phoenicia

Provenance: Saida, Phoenicia (ancient Sidon)
Find date: between 1829 and 1863
Burial date: c. 323 - 320
Contents: 7200+ AV (in three lots)
Disposition: Istanbul, Vienna, dispersed
Number of Salamis specimens: 2

Group N. King Pnytagoras: 2 AV.I Staters

Other Cypriot mints: At least two of the Alexander III specimens were minted at Salamis.

Non-Cypriot mints: 6+ Philip II st., 17+ Alexander III, 1+ Philippi; 10+ Chios; 1+ Panticapaeum, 2+ Pergamon, 3+ Rhodes; 1+ Ptolemy I (probably not from hoard).

Only one king of Salamis is represented in known hoards after those of Evagoras I: King Pnytagoras (Group N). Most of his coinage available for study today comes from one hoard, the Atheienou-Arsos Hoard (H.39) found in 1941 in Cyprus from which thirty-three coins have been collected by the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. The vast majority of the coins available for study are half drachms, though two didrachms are also well preserved. All of the coins of Pnytagoras represented in the hoard are of the same type, on the obverse the bust

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72 IGCH 1508; Noe 884; CH VIII, no. 190; W.H. Waddington, 'Trouvaille de Saida', RN 1865, pp. 3-25; C. Weckbecker, 'Fund von Alexander-Stateren zu Saida 1863', WNM 1865, pp. 5-11; Westermark, p. 22-35. She makes no comment on the coins of Pnytagoras; Vlamis 1980, p. 83, CNR/188.

73 Westermark, p 29, nos. 42 (present location unknown) RN 1865, p. 12, pl. I.6 (Waddington) and 43 (present location unknown) RN 1865, p. 12: Hoffman April 23, 1867.
of Aphrodite to the left, usually with the legend PN; and on the reverse the bust of Artemis with the inscription BA.

Other than the coins of Pnytagoras in the hoard, issues of Alexander III can be identified. Two of the Alexander issues were minted at Salamis since they incorporate the traditional Salaminian symbol for coins minted under Alexander—a bow in the left field. These issues are dated to 332-320. One other coin of Alexander is identified as having been minted at Sardes, and dates to 325/4, the latest coin represented in the hoard.

Arguing from the large number of dies represented in the hoard, and variations in design, Destrooper-Georgiades claimed that the coinage of Pnytagoras was issued regularly throughout his reign (351/50-332/31).

It is clear from the Cyprus Museum records that the hoard was much larger than the 33 coins recovered. It is also likely that many of the Pnytagoras coins collected by Mr. Gunther in Cyprus during the 1940s could also belong to it.

The better known Saida Hoard (H.4) found in the nineteenth century is less well recorded than the Athienou hoard in regard to its Cypriot contents. There is reason to believe, however, that at least two gold issues of Pnytagoras were included in this massive and very rich find. The burial date is similar to that of the previous hoard, while its provenance is said to be Phoenician.

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77 Westermark, pp. 33-34.
A further important difference between the two is that the Phoenician hoard is made up of over 7000 gold coins, representing some of the richest mints of the third quarter of the fourth century, including coins of Philip II, Alexander III, Chios, Philippi, Panticapaeum, Pergamum and Rhodes. There is no doubt that this was a royal treasure of some sort, while the Athienou Hoard is likely to be of merely local significance.
4.vi. Archaeological Evidence

Although this study is not based on the bronze issues of the mint of Salamis, finds of bronze coins are listed here as the evidence may contribute to solving chronological problems regarding the issues.

Coins which are reported to have been found during excavation:

**Cyprus**

**Aphendrika**

- no. 717b, Evagoras II, M.ARI.Ia obol (Athena I./star) tomb 46, 25.8.1938
- no. 726a, Evagoras II, M.ARI.IIa. obol (Athena /star) tomb 46, 25.8.1938

**Citium**

Evagoras II? AE (lion walking/horse walking)

- SCE III, p. 63, no. 589; Destrooper-Georgiades 1985, p. 108, no. 30, pl. XVIII

**Curium**

Evagoras II? AE (lion walking/horse walking)

- Cox, p. 5, no. 21
- 19 Evagoras II, AE (bust of Apollo/Lyre)
  - Cox, p. 3, no. 4; NC 1926, p. 127, no. 15
- 17 Evagoras II, AE (Apollo/mare suckling foal)
  - Cox, p. 3, no. 5; BMC, p. cvii, note 3
  - no. 816, Nikokreon, O.ARI. didrachm (Aphrodite/Apollo)
**Idalium**

Evagoras II? AE (lion walking/horse walking)

SCE II, p. 534, no. 82; Destrooper-Georgiades 1985, p. 108, no. 18, pl. XVII

Evagoras II? AE (lion walking/horse walking)

SCE II, p. 532, no. 5; Destrooper-Georgiades 1985, p. 108, no. 26, pl. XVIII

**Salamis Necropolis**

Nikokles?, AE (profile head? /Pegasus r.) found near surface (1967?)

Karageorghis 1970, p. 211, found in square, no. 6 - Appendix 1: Helly, p. 238, no. 8, fig. 8

no. 704d, Evagoras II, M.A.R.I. didrachm (Athena/Aphrodite) tomb 47 (1964)

no. 729, Evagoras II, M.A.R.IIIa obol (Athena /star) tomb 60 (1965)

no. 730, Evagoras II, M.A.R.IIIa obol (Athena /star) tomb 113 (1967)

Evagoras II, AE (head of Athena r./lion walking r. EYA) pyre S (1965)

Karageorghis 1970, p. 183, pyre S, no. 5 - Appendix 1: Helly, p. 241, no. 13, fig. 13

Evagoras II, AE (head of Athena r./lion walking r. EYA) pyre Z (1965)

Karageorghis 1970, p. 188, pyre Z, no. 1 - Appendix 1: Helly, p. 240, no. 12, fig. 12

Evagoras II, AE (head of Athena r./lion forepart r. EYA) square 156, found near surface (1967?)

Karageorghis 1970, p. 217, square no. 156, no. 70a - Appendix 1: Helly, p. 241, no. 14, fig. 1

Evagoras II?, AE (head in Corinthian helmet/star of 6 rays?) tomb 79

Karageorghis 1973, p. 54, tomb 79, no. 803a - Appendix 1: Helly, p. 206, no. 9
Salamis. Temple of Zeus

Pnytagoras, AE


Levant

Al Mina

Evagoras II? AE (lion walking/horse walking) Al Mina (18/12/1937)

NC 1937, p. 193

Mainland Greece

Corinth

Evagoras II? AE (lion walking/horse walking) South Stoa, well IX

Price 1967, p. 385, no. 134

The very rare bronze coin possibly belonging to Nikokles was found near the surface at Cellarka (Salamis) and thus the archaeological evidence has no bearing on the chronology of this series, though the fact that a specimen was found in Salamis does help to confirm its attribution to the mint.

The silver obol with a smooth reverse attributable to Evelthon and his successors found in Salamis Necropolis Tomb 60 (see Chapter Three) was found alongside a coin of the fourth century belonging to Evagoras II (no. 729). This tomb, although found intact had been used during three different periods and so the coins have little chronological significance. The material in the tomb overall dated to the Cypro-Classical I period.78

Two other coins of Evagoras II (no. 730) were found in Tomb 113 at Cellarka. This tomb, which was found intact, contained an upper and lower burial layer. Both of our coins were found in the lower layer dating to the Cypro-Classical II period.\(^7\)

Two other coins of Evagoras II were found in pyres at the Necropolis of Cellarka. Pyre S was dated on the evidence of our coin to the end of the fourth century,\(^8\) while the dating of Pyre Z to the end of the fourth century was confirmed by the presence of Attic black glazed pottery.\(^9\) The only other coin of Evagoras II was found near the surface in square no. 156, thus contributing nothing to the chronology of the site or the find.

The excavations which took place under the direction of Vassos Karageorghis at the Necropolis of Salamis are characterised by two very different sections of the Necropolis, those tombs which are designated to be 'royal' or at least wealthy, and those excavated in the area of Cellarka which are much more modest. They are rock-cut chamber tombs of the Archaic and Classical periods, and are much more meagre in content; they contain several burials and tend to be regularly reused, especially during the Cypro-Classical period.\(^\) It is in these Classical tombs where most of the coin finds were made during these excavations. In one of these tombs, a coin was actually found in situ in the mouth of one of the skeletons. This burial custom was not uncommon in the Greek world, being placed in the mouth of the deceased to be used by him or her as payment to Charon.\(^\)

\(^7\) Ibid., pp. 164-167.
\(^8\) Ibid., pp. 183-184.
\(^9\) Ibid., pp. 188-189.
The bronze coin with a head in a Corinthian helmet and star of six rays reverse was found in the same tomb as the Evagoras I coin (see p. 304), tomb 79; it was looted and reused, and is somewhat difficult to interpret. As stated in the previous chapter the main burial was of the Cypro-Archaic period, although there is certainly evidence for much later burials dating well into the Hellenistic period. This fourth century coin was found within an amphora which is a type distinctive to Salamis and dates to the end of the White Painted III or the very beginning of the white Painted IV period.\(^84\) Along with the coin, inside the larger amphora, was found a much smaller amphora dating to the Hellenistic I period.\(^85\)

A number of important bronze specimens, 36 in total, were found during excavations at the site of Curium. One issue of bronze coins shows a bust of Apollo on the obverse and a Lyre on the reverse (see Appendix). The second issue shows Apollo again on the obverse and a mare suckling a foal on the reverse (see Appendix). Both groups have been attributed to Evagoras II but, because of the provenance are taken to have been struck at the mint of Curium.\(^86\)

Quite remarkably, a bronze coin of the fourth century was uncovered during the excavations of the South Stoa at Corinth in the Peloponnese. This coin was found in Well IX which according to Price was a 'habitational fill' which contained a vast number of coins which were possibly 'unacceptable in transactions and were deliberately thrown away by the shopkeeper or customer into the shop well'.\(^87\) Judging from the range of coins found (79 different mints and/or issuers in all), this may be a sound assumption. It should be mentioned

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\(^{84}\) Karageorghis 1973, p. 115.
\(^{85}\) Ibid., p. 120.
\(^{86}\) Cox, p. 3.
\(^{87}\) Price 1967, p. 361.
that a coin of Sidon was found as well. The dates of the specimens found alongside ours range from fourth century issues down to the mid second century, with a *terminus ante quem* of the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC.\textsuperscript{88}

Escaping the gruesome fate of his father and brother, Nikokles, Evagoras' oldest son (probably), succeeded to the throne of Salamis in 374/3 (Diod. 15.47.8). Nikokles, who may have been a pupil of the orator Isocrates, grew up in this highly Hellenic court and, according to Hill, may even have studied in Athens, although there is no evidence for this. As with his father, much of our information survives through the works of Isocrates who wrote at least two pamphlets in honour of the king, both instruments of propaganda in support of monarchic rule.

Isocrates relates to us (Nic. 27 ff.) that when Nikokles succeeded to the throne, the city was destitute. According to Isocrates, Nikokles' policy in ruling Salamis seemed to have been one of retaining a sensible status quo after the Cypriot War (Nic. 9, 29); retaining many of the philhellenic customs of his father. Nikokles is also credited with a resurgence in the city's prosperity. This reported upturn in the city's fortunes may have taken place, but there is no other evidence, certainly not in the extant coinage produced by Nikokles.

This depiction of a serene state of affairs is somewhat contradicted by two aspects. Firstly, there is the hint (Isoc. Nic. 33) that the previous peaceful...
relations (albeit gained through dominance) with the other city-kingdoms of the island were now strained. Secondly, according to some sources, Nikokles was a typical near-eastern tyrant who lived a life of court luxuries.94

It is possible that the imprisonment and death (Athen. 12.531d-3; Aelian V.H. 72.) of Nikokles (c. 36095) was in some way related to the events in Phoenicia during the Satraps' Revolt of c. 362-360.96 Although there is no direct evidence for a connection between Nikokles and the Revolt, it seems that there could have been a common political resistance toward what Maier has termed 'the harsher ruling methods adopted by the Achaemenid empire as it became more unstable.'97

Evagoras II, the successor to the throne of Salamis, is thought to be either a son or brother of Nikokles.98 Unlike his predecessors, Evagoras II was politically aligned with Persia.99

After Artaxerxes III (Ochus, who came to the throne in 359/8) unsuccessfully attempted to invade Egypt in 351/0, the Phoenician city kingdoms revolted. It was inevitable that the Cypriot kingdoms joined in due course (Diod. 16.40.3-5, 16.41, 16.42.3-5); but Evagoras II remained loyal to Persia and in return was unseated by his nephew, Pnytagoras.100 Thus only sitting on the Salaminian throne for a comparatively short ten years, Evagoras fled and

94 Theopompus FGH 115 F 114; Anaximenes FGH 72 F 18; Aelianus, V.H. 7.2.
95 Isoc., Antidosis 67 and Nicoles 45 - both refer to length of reign. The actual date of death is very approximate; Hill 1940, p. 361.
96 Theopompus FGH 115 F 114; Diod. 15.90.3, 92.3-4; W. Judeich, Kleinasiatische Studien, 1892, p. 132 f.; Hill 1940, p. 145.
97 Maier, CAH VI, 2nd ed., p. 328.
99 W. Judeich, ibid., 1892, pp. 133, 134; Spyridakis, p. 99 f.; Hill 1940, p. 146.
100 Beloch, III, 2, p. 100 f. Ancient authors refer to him as Protagoras, Pythagoras and Pnytagoras; Borrell, pp. 55-56, who he mistakes for an officer of Alexander; D. Pierides, 'On the coins of Nicocreon, one of the kings of Cyprus', NC 1869, p. 20 rightly recognises them to be the same individual.
took refuge with the Great King. Pnytagoras, having aligned himself with the
current Phoenician revolt from Persia (Diod. 16.41.5), joined the other rulers of
Cyprus declaring their independence in a parallel Cypriot revolt.\textsuperscript{101}

Before Artaxerxes III was able to turn his attention to Cyprus, Pnytagoras
and the other Cypriot cities were able to enjoy a short period of peace as the
Great King was at first occupied with quelling the revolt in Egypt and Phoenicia.
After the defeat of the Phoenician vassals (344/45) (Diod. 16.45.4-6), Artaxerxes
was able to spend some resources on the recovery of Cyprus, and Evagoras II
returned to Salamis as co-commander (along with Phokion) of a force assembled
to invade and retake Cyprus on behalf of the Great King. Siding with many
Greek mercenaries against the Cypriots and Pnytagoras (see below), the army
made solid advances; many of the Cypriot cities were plundered and fell, but
Salamis held firm under Pnytagoras,\textsuperscript{102} who resisted valiantly and like one of his
great predecessors, Evagoras I, was in the end (c. 343/2\textsuperscript{103}) allowed to surrender
and remain on the throne (Diod. 16.42.6-9, 46.1).

Evagoras II was in recompense made King of Sidon (c. 344/3-342/1? ).\textsuperscript{104}
Eventually, he had to flee back to Cyprus as his rule in Sidon was apparently
disastrous. Unfortunately for the exiled king, his flight to Cyprus ended in his
execution (Diod. 16.46.1-3).

The next direct reference to Pnytagoras is during the invasion of Phoenicia
by Alexander III of Macedon. During Alexander's siege of Tyre (Arrian Anab.
2.18-24; Diod. 17.40.2-46), the combined Cypriot naval forces abandoned the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[101] Diod. 16.42.5.
\item[102] Diod. 16.42.6-8. This is the period when it is possible that Evagoras II held power in areas
    of Cyprus other than Salamis.
\item[103] Maier, CAH VI, 2nd ed., p. 330, n. 70.
\item[104] Stylianou, p. 484: 'it is very doubtful whether two groups of Phoenician coins which are
    generally thought to have been struck by Evagoras in Caria and Phoenicia respectively do in
    fact belong to him: J.W. Betlyon, 'A New Chronology for the Pre-Alexandrine Coinage of
\end{footnotes}
royal fleet and aligned themselves with Alexander against the common enemy, the Great King of Persia (Arr. *Anab.* 2.20.3; Plut. *Alex.* 24.2).

The combined efforts of the Cypriot and Phoenician forces were important in Alexander's eventual victory over Tyre in July of 332 (Arr. *Anab.* 2.21.1); and in reward for their services, the Cypriot kings were once again left autonomous, with possibly the only burden being to contribute military forces to Alexander.¹⁰⁵

Not only was Pnytagoras rewarded with what was likely semi-autonomy, he was given the copper-rich territory of Tamassus (Duris *FGH* 76 F 4. Athen. 4.167 e-d), which had been under the control of Citium.¹⁰⁶

According to literary sources, Pnytagoras had a son by the name of Nithaphon who was a trierarch under Alexander during his Indian expedition (Arr. *Anab.* 6.16; *Indike* 18.8). It is not Nithaphon, however, who succeeded Pnytagoras, but rather Nikokreon. Not only do we know of Nikokreon through his coins, but according to Plutarch, he was present as King of Salamis at Alexander's victory celebrations in 331, where he competed with distinction as choregos (Plut. *Alex.* 29.1-2).

With the death of Alexander in 323, came the struggle for power amongst Alexander's successors, and not surprisingly, Cyprus was a key territory which both Ptolemy, Perdiccas and Antigonus were each to attempt to claim as their own. As early as 321, Nikokreon wisely aligned Salamis with Ptolemy (Arr. *Diad.* 24.15-28).

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¹⁰⁵ Arrianus, *Anabasis*. 7.19.3-4, and 3.6.3; Curtius 4.8.14. No doubt Salamis was instrumental in building quinqueremes for Alexander's fleet.
¹⁰⁶ After the Cypriot War, c. 350, the King of Tamassus, Pasicyrus, sold Tamassus to Citium for 50 talents: Diod. 16.42.4. The King of Citium in 326/5? was Pumiathon who is referred to as 'king of Citium and Idalium': KAI, no. 33. Wealth is also attested by the dedication of a gold crown at Delos: *Insc. de Delos* 1409 Ba II 113-114, 1429 Ai 78, 1141, Ai 98-99, 1450 A6e; IG xi 2, 161 B B 88-89.
After the assassination of Perdiccas and whilst attempting to conquer Phoenician territories, Antigonus in 315 dispatched ambassadors to Cyprus in order to win local support. While many of the cities of the island sided with Antigonus, those already loyal to Ptolemy, including Nikokreon, were not persuaded.\textsuperscript{107} In response to the advances of Antigonus, Ptolemy dispatched forces to Cyprus under the command of his brother Menelaus, who was in turn supported by many of the loyal princes of the island, including Nikokreon. It seems that Menelaus reduced most of the rebellious cities without much struggle; only Citium held out valiantly, but to no avail in the end (Diod. 19.61.1-6). The punishment Ptolemy inflicted on the rebel kingdoms was harsh; he displaced or executed most of the ruling princes and placed the King of Salamis, Nikokreon, and his brother Menelaus, in control (both with the title of strategos\textsuperscript{108}) of Cyprus. Not only did this promotion allow Nikokreon to rule most of the island, it provided him with the revenue from all those cities under his control (Diod. 19.79.4-5, 20.21.1).

Though Cypriot power was almost now completely in the hands of the Salaminian throne, the end of the royal house of Salamis was very near. The Marmor Parium relates that under the archon Simonides (311/10) Nikokreon was succeeded by Ptolemy's brother Menelaus and not a member of his own family.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{107} Diod. 29.57.4, 59.1. Those who sided with Antigonus included Pumiathon of Citium, Praxippus of Lapethus, Stasioecus II of Marium and the king of Ceryneia.

\textsuperscript{108} See R.S. Bagnall, The administration of the Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt, 1976, p. 38 ff.

\textsuperscript{109} FGH 239 B17 (Marmor Parium) = IG XII 5, 444; Tarn, CAH VI, p. 494. Diod. 20.21, 1-3; See also V. Karageorghis, Salamis in Cyprus: Homeric, Hellenistic and Roman, 1969, pp. 151-64; For the end of Teucrid rule at Salamis see also H. Gesche, 'Nikokles von Paphos und Nikokreon von Salamis', Chiron 1974, pp. 103-125.
4.viii. The coinage of Nikokles to Nikokreon

Summary Conclusions

Hitherto, hoard evidence has assisted considerably in the assessment of the relative chronology of the issues of Salamis. After King Evagoras I (Group K), however, the hoard evidence is scanty, and consists solely of issues of King Pnytagoras (Group N). It is fortunate, therefore, that the historical documentation for this period is more comprehensive, and can thus facilitate the assemblage of the overall structure for the various issues of the kings of the fourth century.

L. King Nikokles c. 374 - c. 360

Documentary evidence reveals that King Nikokles succeeded Evagoras I in c. 374. One of the most striking aspects of the coinage of Nikokles is that he never produced any silver coinage (if we trust the available evidence). Like his predecessor, he did, however, issue gold and at least one series of bronze.

Maintaining the same weight standard as Evagoras I, Nikokles produced gold staters (L.I) and quarter-staters (L.II) with a bust of Aphrodite on the obverse and a bust of Athena on the reverse. These types mark a major shift in the numismatic iconography of the mint; no longer do the coins of Salamis retain their unique character within the realms of Greek coinage. From the reign of Nikokles on, the iconography changes little and conforms more closely to coinages elsewhere in the Greek world.

The choice of types must have been the result of Nikokles' having been brought up in the court of Evagoras I, who, as we have seen, can be credited with much of the island's cultural shift to the Hellenic. There is also some evidence to
suggest that Nikokles was schooled in Athens itself. If this was the case, it could certainly explain his choice of Athena for the reverse of his gold coins; and even if Nikokles had never travelled to Athens, the wide influence of Athenian types is well documented for the fifth and fourth centuries as the coins travelled widely throughout Greek and Persian spheres.

Yet, while there is little doubt that the choice of Athena was a result of such increased exposure to Greek types, this particular type may be influenced more by Corinthian than Attic types, since on the coins of Nikokles, Athena is wearing a Corinthian, rather than Attic helmet. In the fourth century, many mints in Magna Greaca altered their types under the influence of the vast influx of Corinthian coins in the fourth century. This shift can also be seen in Cilicia where early fourth century Athena types saw a change from an Attic to a Corinthian helmet.

Even so, it should be noted that earlier fifth century representations of Athena on Cypriot coinage (particularly Lapethus) show her wearing a Corinthian helmet. Consequently the choice of a Corinthian, rather than Attic, helmet for the Athena on the coins of Salamis may result from a more local, traditional representation of the goddess.

Unlike the image of Athena, the use of Aphrodite as a coin type is comparatively rare in the Greek world. As the island's principal deity, however, her image, cult image, or indeed symbols of her cult, were used previously in the fifth and early fourth centuries at a number Cypriot mints (Paphos, Lapethus and Idalium). It should be noted that on the coins of Nikokles, Aphrodite dons a heavily jewelled crown which seems to be a unique representation and is not repeated by his successors.

One should address the question as to whether or not the numismatic evidence of Nikokles has any bearing on the state of the city's economy immediately after the reign of Evagoras. As we have established in the last
chapter, when Evagoras' reign ended he was in control of Salamis alone and had undoubtedly exhausted most of his resources in his struggles during the Cypriot War. It has been suggested that Nikokles did not produce any silver coinage simply because of the kingdom's faltering economy.\textsuperscript{110} While this assumption may hold some weight, there are other explanations which may be more acceptable, especially given the fact that Nikokles did indeed strike considerable issues of gold coins which is not always an indication of impecunious reserves.\textsuperscript{111}

It is conceivable that Nikokles had no need of silver issues for two reasons. Firstly, with the copious silver issues of Evagoras I produced in the early years of the fourth century, it is quite possible that enough of these coins were still in circulation to satisfy the needs of the local economy. The fact that many of the smaller denominations are found in hoards dating well into the middle of the fourth century is evidence to support this assumption. Furthermore, as Nikokles' reign is marked by peaceful associations with Persia (with the possible exception of the Satraps Revolt of c. 362-360), he never had to produce coinage to facilitate a war-time economy, as was the case with Evagoras I (see p. 313 ff.).

On the other hand, the production of gold issues does indicate some necessity for a large and valuable currency. As Salamis was indeed again under the authority of the Persian King, there is every reason to believe that Nikokles was paying tribute to Persia. Certainly, the very valuable gold coins produced by Nikokles could have facilitated the payment of tribute.\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{110} Stylianou, p. 482.
\textsuperscript{111} It has been argued that the Persian empire minted gold darics regularly throughout the fifth and fourth centuries, thus not always minted for special purposes, I. Carradice, 'The 'Regal' Coinage of the Persian Empire', in I. Carradice (ed.), \textit{Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires}, 1987, p. 75 ff.
\textsuperscript{112} Although there is no evidence for Nikokles taking part in the satrapal revolt of 362/1-361/0, the possibility that he produced gold coinage for this campaign should not be overlooked. For numismatic evidence in connection with the revolt see R.A. Moysey, 'Observations on the numismatic evidence relating to the great satrapal revolt of 362/1 B.C.', \textit{REA}, 1989, pp. 107-139.
If indeed Nikokles was displaced (or killed) as a result of his participation in the Phoenician Satrap’s Revolt of the late 360s, Evagoras II's political attitude marks a significant shift in allegiance towards Persia. From the beginning of his reign (c. 360), Evagoras II was steadfastly faithful to the Persian throne. It was this loyalty which, ten years later, brought about his expulsion from Salamis, never to return as its ruler.

Although subsequent years saw the production of coins of Evagoras II minted elsewhere (see p. 322, n. 1), those produced at Salamis must have been issued during this ten year reign; yet the variation in metals, types and denominations of the coins produced at Salamis by Evagoras II are many.

One of the most significant changes in the mint of Salamis took place with his coinage – the shift in weight standard from the Persian to the Chian (or 'Rhodian'). As we know Evagoras II to have been a highly loyal servant of Persia, this change in standard raises a number of questions. The fact that fourth century vessels continued to pay tribute to the Persian King is confirmed by both Thucydides (8.5, regarding Tissaphernes) and Diodorus (15.90, who states that during the Satraps' Revolt half of the King's revenues were cut off). One may assume from the onset that the coins of Evagoras II were not issued to facilitate the payment of tribute to the Persian court, but rather for payment of mercenaries,\textsuperscript{113} local administration or to maintain the local economy. The last would certainly explain the comparatively large production of small denominations (M.A.R.III) and bronze issues (see Appendix).

By the early years of the fourth century, the Chian standard was used widely throughout the east Greek world and indeed in Cyprus there seems to be

\textsuperscript{113} H.H. Howarth, 'The history and coinage of Artaxerxes III, his satraps and dependants', NC 1903, p. 37-38; Hornblower, CAH VI, p. 60.
new evidence for Rhodian didrachms issued by King Pumiathon of Citium.\textsuperscript{114} The best evidence, however, seems to come from Amathus where the switch to the Rhodian standard may begin earlier. Amandry attributed Amathusian silver issues struck on the Rhodian standard to Evagoras I based on a simple E on the obverse.\textsuperscript{115} Given the fact that the Rhodian standard is not used at the mint of Salamis until the reign of Evagoras II, combined with the fact that there is good evidence for Evagoras II minting elsewhere on the island (see Appendix), it seems likely that these coins belong to the reign of Evagoras II rather than Evagoras I. If this is indeed the case, the use of the Rhodian standard at the mint of Amathus is likely to have commenced with the reign of Pyrwos, c. 385; perhaps fifteen years prior to its adoption at Salamis.

One of the most remarkable results of the use of the new standard was the production of comparatively heavy gold staters (M.AV.I) weighing 8.30 g. As these staters are quite rare, it is difficult to assess whether these were produced in any quantity. There is, however, some indication that the production of gold twelfths (M.AV.II) was much larger. As for the silver, Evagoras II produced didrachms (M.AR.I), half drachms (M.AR.II) and fractions (M.AR.III), though after his reign, there are no more obols which can be attributed to the mint.

The gold coinage of Evagoras II also marked a further expansion in the variety of types produced by the mint. The exquisite lion on the obverse of the staters, while likely to have been influenced by contemporary Cilician coinages, also appears on Cypriot coins from a very early date. The lion is known on Cypriot issues as early as the sixth century with the very prolific issue of lion's head silver staters issued at a yet to be determined location (see Chapter Two).


Three other mints of the fifth century used lion images as numismatic types: Marium's King Sasmos in the second quarter of the fifth century; Citium's succession of Phoenician rulers in the fifth and fourth centuries; and lastly Amathus who minted coins with a recumbent lion as its main type from the middle of the fifth century well into the fourth.

The image of Aphrodite on the gold coins of Evagoras II (M.AV) is quite similar to the one which appears on his silver didrachms and half drachms (M.AR.I and II). The most significant change is from the heavily ornamented crown of Nikokles' Aphrodite (L.I and II) to an Aphrodite wearing a turreted crown, which is certainly an early representation of the type in the Greek world.

The other comparison that can be made between the Aphrodite on the coins of Nikokles (Group L) and those of Evagoras II (Group M) is a slight evolution in style. The Aphrodite of Nikokles has heavy, broad, and stern features; while the image on the coins of Evagoras II is markedly softer and more corporeal. Furthermore, the eye of the goddess on the earlier issues is rather almond shaped, while the Evagoras II specimens clearly show a more evolved style with a naturally rendered profile eye.

The representation of Athena on the reverse of Evagoras II's silver coins (M.AR) differs according to denomination. Curiously while the didrachms (M.AR.I) represent Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet, the half drachms (M.AR.II) and obols (M.AR.III) introduce Athena wearing an Attic helmet. One must wonder if this choice in helmet was deliberate. As the image of Athena is not continued by the successors of Evagoras II (Groups N and O) it is impossible to make any chronological assumptions based on the choice of helmet type.

Out of the four possible variations of obols (M.AR.III.a-d) that could possibly be attributed to Evagoras II, only two (a and b) can be attributed to him or the mint with any certainty. Both of these series carry an Athena head obverse which is quite similar to that of the half drachms (M.AR.II) with the Attic helmet.
The reverse type is a star of eight or sixteen rays, a symbol used on Evagoras' gold staters.\textsuperscript{116}

The fact that Evagoras II also produced at least three groups of bronze issues at the mint of Salamis is also important. For discussion regarding these three issues and other possible bronze issues which may be attributed to Evagoras II, see Appendix.

The vast majority of the fourth century coins found in archaeological excavation are silver obols and bronze coins of Evagoras II. These small denominations have been found all over the island in such locations as Aphendrika, Curium, Idalium, Citium and especially in the ancient Necropolis of Salamis. As small denominations and bronze issues are at best rare during the reigns of Nikokles, Pnytagoras and Nikokreon, one is unable to draw any conclusions from the fact that coins of these other Kings are almost absent from the archaeological evidence, since larger denominations are very rarely found in excavation.

The only other group of coins issued by Evagoras II was that minted outside the city of Salamis. These coins were likely minted at Sidon after Evagoras' departure from Cyprus, thus falling beyond the scope of this work.\textsuperscript{117}

\textsuperscript{116} BMC, p. cvi, only recognised Groups I and II (p. cvi, no. 5). In addition he adds one other possible obol, p. cvi, no. 6, with a head of lion obverse and Athena head reverse but admits that it may not even by Cypriot.

As stated above, the rebellious Pnytagoras unseated Evagoras II during the Cypriot revolt from Persia in c. 350. Initially Pnytagoras and the other Cypriot kings were ignored by the Persian king who had first to deal with parallel revolts in Egypt and Phoenicia. After the defeat of the Phoenician satraps in 344/45, the Persian King then turned his attentions to Cyprus, choosing the exiled Evagoras II to co-command the invasion of Cyprus with Phokion. Evagoras' invasion of Cyprus was highly successful but was thwarted before Salamis was taken. By c. 343/2, however, Pnytagoras was forced to submit to the wishes of Persia, but, not unlike one of his great predecessors, Evagoras I, was allowed to retain his throne. Evagoras II was subsequently made King of Sidon (c. 344/3 - 342/1) before his favour with the Persian king subsided for good and he had to flee back to Cyprus where he was executed.

The reign of Pnytagoras lasted for at least ten more years after the revolt, as in 336/5 we know that he aided Darius III against yet another Egyptian revolt. Pnytagoras' greatest glory must, however, be his strong connection to Alexander III. During the siege of Tyre, Pnytagoras and the Cypriot kings again aligned themselves against Persia and sided with Alexander III. After the subsequent victory in 332, Alexander richly rewarded Pnytagoras with the valuable copper territory of Tamassus which previously had belonged to Citium. More importantly, however, this was the last Persian involvement in Cyprus; the kingdoms were able to enjoy a great deal of autonomy during the reign of Alexander and indeed for a short period of time afterwards.

The gold coins of Pnytagoras (N.AV) fit well within the successive issues of the fourth century kings of Salamis. The staters (N.AV.I) and twelfths (N.AV.II) bear the image of Aphrodite probably on both the obverse and reverse,
although there is some question as whether or not the same goddess is meant to be represented. The image on the reverse continues the tradition of Evagoras II of Aphrodite as the city-goddess with a turreted crown, while the goddess on the obverse is now crowned with a diadem. In addition to the diadem, one other new head-piece is introduced on the silver didrachms (N.AR.II) where Aphrodite is now crowned with a wreath of myrtle.

The unique silver tetradrachm (N.AR.I, weighing 13.97 g.) of Pnytagoras in the collection of the American Numismatic Society is the only example of a tetradrachm ever produced by the Teucrid dynasty at the mint of Salamis. As stated earlier, it also bears the same types as used by Evagoras II (M.AR), thus suggesting an early date in the reign of Pnytagoras for this issue.

The introduction of a bust of Artemis on the reverse of the silver issues (N.AR) is noteworthy as she is rarely represented on Greek coins. When her image does appear as a coin type, it is usually full figured or an image of her cult statue. The areas where her bust is used on coins are the Peloponnese and central Greece, but these mints were in no way influential in the broader Greek world. Although not at Salamis, there is some evidence for the worship of Artemis on Cyprus, but the question of why she was chosen as a type for the coins of Pnytagoras, must remain open.

The very advanced and refined style of Artemis' profile is noticeably softer than representations of Aphrodite seen so far at the mint. This fully developed classical style is reminiscent of Syracusan dies by Cimon.118 The flowing hair of Artemis, pulled up into a pony-tail above her head, must have been particularly influenced by the Syracusan Arethusa types.

One of the most notable advances in the production of the coins of Pnytagoras is the fact that up until now no minters had aligned the axes to 12 o'clock. Although there is some indication that the technique was beginning to

118 ACGC, p. 233.
be established at Salamis in the late fifth century, we now have the first clear move to regulate the axes in the fourth. Furthermore, it is curious that the coins produced after Pnytagoras, by Nikokreon (Group O), are not all aligned at 12 o'clock; under his reign the mint seems to relax the practice somewhat as many are aligned at 6, 3 or 9 as well as 12.

The fact that Alexander III also utilised the mint of Salamis creates questions regarding the chronology of the issues of Pnytagoras. As we can safely say that Nikokreon's reign began in c. 331, and that Pnytagoras aligned the city with Alexander just before 332, Alexander's issues minted at Salamis must have been produced during the very last years of Pnytagoras or possibly, but less likely, during the reign of Nikokreon. The hoard evidence strengthens this conclusion as both hoards (with burial dates to c. 320) known to contain coins of Pnytagoras also contain issues of Alexander III. Moreover, two of the Alexander specimens found in the Athienou-Arsos Hoard are of the mint of Salamis. Given the quantity of dies and specimens found in the Athienou-Arsos Hoard, Destrooper-Georgiades concluded that Pnytagoras must have issued regularly throughout his reign.119 This assumption does not, however, fully account for the use of the mint by Alexander III. While it is quite possible that the issues were minted consecutively at the mint, one would hope to find some evidence for this in technique or design of the coins of Pnytagoras.120

120 It is interesting to compare Alexander's use of the mint of Paphus where 'Nikokles of Paphos' was inscribed on the coins of Alexander III. Maier, CAH VI, 2nd ed., p. 333 has suggested that they were issued after 323.
Pnytagoras must have died sometime immediately after Alexander's victories in Phoenicia, as in 331 his successor, Nikokreon, was on the throne of Salamis. Nikokreon, like Pnytagoras, was also a loyal supporter of Alexander III and competed as choregos at his victory celebrations. He continued to rule at Salamis after the death of Alexander in 323, when the successors of Alexander's great kingdom began their struggle for control of Cyprus. By 321 he aligned himself and the kingdom with Ptolemy and by 315 he was fighting on the side of Ptolemy's brother, Menelaus, against Ptolemy's rival Antigonus who was supported by other Cypriot kingdoms. After the rebellious cities were quelled, Ptolemy placed Nikokreon, along with his brother Menelaus, in control of the entire island.

When Nikokreon's reign ended in 311/10, it marked the end of the Teucrid royal dynasty on the throne of Salamis as Nikokreon was not succeeded by an heir, but by Menelaus, who subsequently issued his own coinage from the mint of Salamis.

The gold coins of Nikokreon (O.AV) are almost exact copies of the gold coins of Pnytagoras (N.AV) with Aphrodite as both the obverse and reverse types. The only difference, of course, is with the abbreviated name of the king. The smaller issue (N.AV.II) is particularly interesting in the fact that at this very late date in the fourth century, the gold twelfths of Nikokreon still incorporate Cypriote syllabic symbols (ba and ku) even though alphabetic abbreviations had been used since the coins of Evagoras I (Group K) in the early fourth century. This no doubt underlines the archaising aspect of gold coinage in the fourth century.
The silver didrachms (O.AR.I) and half drachms (O.AR.II) of Nikokreon incorporate a very similar representation of Aphrodite on the obverse and, like his predecessor, introduced yet one more god to the Salaminian numismatic pantheon. The bust of the laureate Apollo now appears on the reverse of the silver issues. Unlike the unusual images of Aphrodite and Artemis, that of Apollo is fairly common on Greek coins.

Two factors have guided the use of Apollo as a coin type. First, at some cities he is represented as the patron deity. This is particularly the practice in Southern Italy. Secondly, the increasing popularity of this image in the fourth century all over the Greek world, must be due to the great influence of the coins of Philip II of Macedon. Certainly the image of Apollo on Philip II's grand issues of gold staters could have influenced the choice of this very similar representation at Salamis. At the same time representations of Apollo on Cypriot coinages previous to the reign of Nikokreon could have been a contributing factor for this image. Apollo is known to have been portrayed on fourth century coins of Curium (produced by Evagoras II), Marium, Paphos and Soli.

Contrary to Masson's view (ICS, p. 323), King Nikokles was not the last of the Salaminian kings to incorporate the Cypriot syllabary on his coins; in fact its use continues until the end of the Teucrid dynasty. While Evagoras I (Group K) used both alphabetic abbreviations and syllabic inscriptions, Nikokles (Group L) only used syllabic abbreviations on his gold coins, and his one tentative bronze issue. Evagoras II (Group M) on the other hand, used only alphabetic abbreviations of his name and title. With the reign of Pnytagoras (Group N) there is a limited use of the syllabary sign ba used in conjunction with his alphabetic initials on gold twelfths. Lastly, King Nikokreon (Group O) repeated the use of the syllabary on his gold twelfths, but this time incorporating the sign ku. The use of the ku sign alone, as we saw in the fifth century, has been
understood to stand for the island as a whole (Kuprion). It is quite possible that Nikokreon chose this particular sign to emphasise his domination over the island at the end of the century.

As the use of Greek alphabetic script is known to be used widely throughout the island by the third quarter of the fourth century, numismatically and epigraphically, the use of the syllabary on these issues must be some sort of archaism meant to evoke a 'Cypriot' identity. In that context, it is interesting to note the omission of the syllabary on the coins of loyal Persian vassal, Evagoras II.

Iconographically, the shift from the exotic indigenous types of the fifth century to the very Hellenic types of the fourth century underlines the growing influence and spread of Greek culture in the eastern Mediterranean. Although the political ties between Cyprus and Athens may have weakened compared to the events of the fifth, the cultural bond with the Greek mainland and Salamis flourished in the second half of the fourth century.121 This cultural transformation to a Hellenic society is nowhere more evident than in the types chosen for the coinage of Salamis after the reign of Evagoras I.

Regarding the weights of the fourth century issues minted on the 'Chian' standard, it may interesting to note that while the average weights of the gold coinage remains remarkably consistent throughout the century, the silver didrachms show a decrease in average weight (see Chart 4.iv.15) while the half-didrachms remain consistent. What may seem to be a debasement in the didrachms is probably very misleading, however, as the number of specimens

available for study is very slight, while the hoard evidence has provided a far greater quantity of half-drachms.

The most notable changes in the production of coins at Salamis takes place after the reign of Evagoras I (Group K) with the reduction in the use of silver coins and introduction of bronze currency. As we have seen, there are a number of obols which may be attributed to Evagoras II. The fact that we can also attribute at least one large issue of bronze coins to this monarch may explain what almost seems to be a cessation of small silver denominations during or immediately after his reign.

Furthermore, it is clear that after the abundant silver coinage of Evagoras I, the mint of Salamis never again produces a coinage of such magnitude. It has been suggested that the reduction of coinage on fourth century Cyprus can be explained by the increased production of the major mints in Cilicia and Phoenicia. If indeed there was a reduction in the production rate of our mint, as the evidence may suggest, it is interesting to note that there are convincing arguments for growth and prosperity on Cyprus during the second half of the fifth century.

122 ACGC, p. 311.
123 Diod. 16.42.8 (Ephorus); F.G. Maier & V. Karageorghis, Paphos, 1984, pp. 209 f.; Maier, CAH VI, 2nd ed., p. 335.
The fifth-century numismatic evidence clearly presents at least ten different issuing authorities at the mint of Salamis before the reign of Evagoras I. This study has revealed the existence of a separate issue of uninscribed coins (Group A) produced prior to those inscribed with the name of Evelthon (Group B) and suggested that they were issued by a predecessor of Evelthon himself. Furthermore, given the current documentary evidence, there is now no reason to doubt that those coins of Evelthon inscribed in the nominative case and with smooth reverse (Group B) were issued during the reign of Evelthon himself. As the nominative case is still present on coins with an ankh reverse (Group D.II), there is every possibility that it too was introduced during the reign of Evelthon (i.e. before 499).

As the nominative case continued to be used, however briefly, after the introduction of the ankh reverse, it is very likely that those coins inscribed in the genitive (D.IV-VII) belong to the period after the reign of Evelthon himself, thus implying a posthumous inscription. The die and fabric study has also revealed a clear evolution in the types of the ankh reverse series placing those coins with a blank centre of the ankh (D.I) before those with a ku centre. The study of the fabric, coupled with hoard evidence, also reveals that the ankh reverse coins with additional syllabic signs (D.V-VII, ki, ke and ko-ru) are later issues than those with simple ankh reverses with either blank or ku centre.

The puzzling re-cut issues inscribed ..noki.. and ..we...we.. (Group C) known to us through the hoard evidence are best placed immediately after the reign of Evelthon as they still incorporate a smooth reverse type (which, when inscribed, uses only the nominative case, Group B) and presumably indicate a
change in the issuing authority. There is always the possibility, however, that these dies were re-cut elsewhere in Cyprus and thus represent a different city and dynast.

The faint, but nonetheless existing obverse inscription on the Mo... staters (Group E) clearly reveals that the Mo.. inscription was used in conjunction with the nominative spelling of the name of King Evelthon. If indeed these coins were produced at the mint of Salamis, they are likely to date prior to those employing the genitive case (D.IV). Thus, as with the Group C, these coins are comparatively early, as the hoard evidence also reveals. Their striking similarity to sixth century issues of Paphos also strengthens this early chronology. Until further evidence comes to light, however, the possibility that these two issues (Groups C and E) were actually minted at Salamis must remain open.

The invaluable evidence of new specimens (studied with the assistance of Mr J. Kagan), has led to what could be the most important discovery to arise from this thesis, the existence of a hitherto unknown ruler at Salamis - King Phausis (Group F). The recognition of this inscription has facilitated the identification of a number of coins previously catalogued as 'uncertain ruler'. The evidence of the inscriptions, along with a close examination of the fabric, places Phausis well within the first half of the fifth century and prior to the reign of King Nikodamos (Group I).

While some 'uncertain' issues have now been catalogued under the reign of King Phausis, two new 'uncertain' groups come to light. Two unpublished specimens, Groups G and H, are categorised separately because of their unusual inscriptions. The fabric and style clearly place these issues chronologically in the vicinity of the coins of King Phausis (Group F). Group H, which bears an unusual obverse inscription, possibly translated as ti-mi-le, may be the first diversion from the consistent use of the name of Evelthon as the obverse inscription.
It has been suggested in this study that King Gorgos lost his throne in c. 478 – a shift in power which may provide a date for the commencement of the reign of Phausis. Two other power shifts in Cypriot history are possible in the 450s, perhaps providing impetus for the commencement or termination of the reigns of Kings Nikodamos (Group I) and Evanthes (Group J). There is no evidence that the coinage and reign of Evanthes lasted long into the second half of the fifth century.

Further evidence provided by Carian mint studies has proven that the coinage previously attributed to Abdemon of Salamis does not belong to this Phoenician ruler on the Salaminian throne in the last quarter of the fifth century. Thus after the reign of King Evanthes, there is a gap in production at the mint of Salamis until the introduction of the coins of Evagoras I.

It is clear from the historical evidence that Evagoras I was on the throne of Salamis for at least a few years prior to 411. This study has suggested that the first coins minted by Evagoras I (Group K) are silver staters and thirds with Herakles seated on the obverse (K.ARI), and there is firm evidence to suggest that these coins were in production well before c. 400. Hoards, along with documentary evidence, suggest a gap in production at the mint of Salamis in the 390s and the subsequent introduction of the new obverse type (K.ARII) of Evagoras I well before c. 380. Again, documentary evidence, along with hoards, clearly indicates a connection in the massive production of large silver staters of Evagoras I and the Cypriot War which began in 392. Also in conjunction with the Cypriot War and comparatively late in his reign, can be placed the gold coins produced by Evagoras I (K.AV). There is also good evidence to suggest that Evagoras ceased minting his large silver issues well before the end of his reign in 374.
The coinage of Evagoras I's successors is marked by a shift in the iconographic repertoire at the mint of Salamis. No longer are the types unique to this sometimes very unusual mint. The canonic Greek busts of gods and goddesses, especially Aphrodite, are the standard types for the remainder of the Teucrid ruling house. A close consideration of the coinage of Nikokles, taken with the historical evidence, has suggested that Nikokles may not have been in need of silver issues to uphold a war-time economy.

It is clear from this study that the gold coins of Nikokles (Group L) remained on the Persian standard and a change only occurred with the introduction of the coinage of Evagoras II (Group M) when the standard shifted from the Persian to the Chian (or Rhodian). It is argued that a great deal of the coinage issued in the name of King Evagoras II was produced at the mint of Salamis during the ten years (350s) before his expulsion by his successor King Pnytagoras (Group N). Although there have been a number of silver fractional issues tentatively attributed to the reign of Evagoras II (M.AR.III) at Salamis, only two can be attributed with any certainty (M.AR.III.a and b). The rare examples making up the other two series (M.AR.II.c and d) are likely to belong to either Evagoras II or his successors, Pnytagoras and Nikokreon (Group O), even if no fractional issues can be attributed to them directly.

Evolution of the Mint

The coinage of the Teucrid ruling dynasty at Salamis can be divided into three distinct phases. The first, from the third quarter of the sixth century until approximately the third quarter of the fifth, consisted of a unique succession of issues produced by sometimes very elusive issuing authorities. Only one of the kings known to us through documentary evidence can also be identified from the
numismatic evidence; unfortunately, the remainder of the numismatic evidence does not coincide with what we are told historically.

The next two phases are quite different however. The second, which consists of the coinage of King Evagoras I alone, began well within the fifth century and continued through most of the first quarter of the fourth. Unlike earlier coinage of Salamis, that of King Evagoras I is accompanied by usable documentary evidence regarding his reign at Salamis. This phase marks a transition at the mint, which introduced new iconographic types steeped in political connections to the Greek world, while still incorporating the mint's unique Cypriot character which epitomised the first phase.

The third phase, consisting of the coinage of Kings Nikokles, Evagoras II, Pnytagoras and Nikokreon, is also accompanied by considerable documentary evidence, but marks a complete shift at the mint. No longer can the coins of Salamis be regarded as unique, with any indigenous Cypriot character. The mint, along with the rest of the island, seemed to evolve into one that was fully Hellenic, no longer admitting eastern influences, which were so abundant in the sixth and early fifth centuries.

The first two phases must be regarded as the 'golden years' of the mint of Salamis, for not only do they mark the mint's iconographic individuality, but it must also be viewed as the time in which the city held a most important role in the economy of the eastern Mediterranean. This is not only borne out by the historical evidence, but the numismatic as well. There is no doubt that the numbers of coins produced by the mint decreased dramatically between the fifth and fourth centuries. Furthermore, the hoard evidence exhibits stark differences in circulation of the coinage of Salamis between the three phases. The first phase is marked by widespread circulation of the coinage throughout the east which included Cilicia, the Levant, Afghanistan and especially Egypt. There is no doubt that the coins of Salamis were accepted widely and travelled alongside the
most prominent of archaic coinages of the Greek world. Doubtless this expansive area of circulation was a result of a number of circumstances: 1) the city's participation and facilitation of the active trade in the eastern Mediterranean during the archaic period, 2) the city's leading role in Cypriot politics at the time, 3) the city's need to pay tribute to its Persian overlord, and 4) Egyptian needs for bullion (via Greek, Phoenician or Cypriot ships).

The circulation of the coinage of King Evagoras I tells a dramatically different story, however. While some hoards of this phase are found in Cyprus itself, the vast majority are from Cilicia. No longer is the coinage of Salamis involved in varied trade routes throughout the eastern Mediterranean but it now seems to be facilitating the necessities of war and likely to be an archaeological manifestation of troop movements surrounding the events of the Cypriot War.

The third phase, representing the greater part of the fourth century, marks the decline not only in the production of the mint itself, but the city's regional influence. As the hoard evidence for this period is very scanty, assumptions regarding the coin circulation may be risky. However, it is safe to assume that the regal fourth century coinage of Salamis rarely travels beyond the shores of Cyprus itself.
Appendix
Bronze Coinages

Nikokles

Plate XLVII, T

There is at least one issue of bronze coinage which can be attributed to the reign of Nikokles. This issue, represented by a single specimen, has a head of a goddess (Aphrodite?) on the obverse and a dolphin on the reverse. The inscriptions, ba ni and BN, on the reverse secure the attribution.

Helly, in his assessment of site finds of the Necropolis excavations (Karageorghis 1970, p. 238), attributed one further bronze issue to Nikokles with a profile head obverse and a Pegasus flying reverse. Although the attribution was suggested based on its similarity to a coin attributed to Nikokles by Six, the evidence for Pegasus as a coin type at the mint of Salamis is non existent.

The date of the introduction of bronze coinage at Salamis must remain open because there are certainly early bronze issues that have yet to be attributed (see below). It may even be argued that the bronze coin with the inscription ba ni could belong to the later reign of Nikokreon rather than Nikokles. ¹ Compared to other Cypriot mints, there is little evidence. It has been suggested that King Melekiathon (c. 392-361 as BMC, p. xxxv), who also introduced gold at Citium, also was the first at Citium to issue bronze (BMC, nos. 72-73), but the attribution is far from certain.

¹ BMC, p. civ, no. 2, 'Babelon suggests Nikokreon, but good style suggests earlier date'; ICS, no. 326b.
Evagoras II

Plate XLVII, U

One issue which can be firmly attributed to Evagoras II by its inscription EYA on the reverse (as seen on the silver issues), has on the obverse an Athena head wearing a Corinthian helmet which compares very closely to the silver issues. On the reverse a lion always strides to the right. While the coin is clearly minted under the authority of King Evagoras II, as it carries the inscription EYA, one must question its origin, as it is possible that Evagoras II minted elsewhere on the island after his reign at Salamis.

Plate XLVII, V

The second bronze issue which can be securely attributed to Evagoras II has a male bust on the obverse and a mare on the reverse. As noted earlier 17 of these coins were found at Curium and thus attributed by Cox to that mint. The short-haired bust is nearly facing, but inclines slightly to the left of the field and so might be termed a three-quarter view face. He is presumably Apollo as he is crowned with a wreath of laurel seen just above his first row of curls on the forehead. It would be unfair to make a harsh judgement on the style as the details of the horse have worn away. In comparison to the horse seen on earlier bronzes, it is now clearly standing and not walking, out of necessity as its young is now positioned underneath and suckling its mother. They stand on what looks to be a linear ground line and in the field above the mare are the initials EYA.

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2 BMC, p. cvii, no. 7, attributed to Evagoras II.
3 Cox, p. 89, no. 5.
Plate XLVII, W

The third issue\textsuperscript{4} facilitates the identification of Apollo in the second. Nineteen of these very rare and beautiful bronze coins were found during excavations at Curium, and like the previous issue discussed above, the finds led Cox to attribute this issue to the mint of Curium (see p. 387). The obverse shows what is presumably the bust of Apollo in a three-quarter frontal view inclined slightly to the left. His face is surrounded by wavy locks which are crowned with a laurel or myrtle wreath. The reverse type gives us the firm clue to the identification of the obverse male as it clearly depicts a lyre. To the left of the instrument in the left field are the initials EYA facing outwards and running downwards.\textsuperscript{5}

Pyntagoras

Only one bronze issue has been tentatively linked to Pnytagoras. The types are a wreathed head of Aphrodite obverse and a head of Athena in an Attic helmet reverse. As there is no inscription, however, it is clear that this series could be attributed to either Evagoras II or Pnytagoras.\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{4} BMC, p. cvii, n. 3. Hill attributes this coin to Colophon, c.p. Imhoof-Blumer, Kleinasiatische Münzen, II, 1901-02, pl. ii.35.; Cox, p. 88, no. 4.; G.F. Hill, 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1925', NC, 1926, p. 127, where he attributes them to Salamis.

\textsuperscript{5} G.F. Hill, 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1925', NC 1926, pp. 127 confirms the attribution of the series (BMC, p. cvii, n. 3). A fourth possible bronze attribution is noted by Hill, BMC, p. cvii, pl. xxiv, 16, no. 10 with a head of Aphrodite wearing a stephanos obverse and a star of eight rays reverse. Obviously these types correspond to the Athena obverse obols.

\textsuperscript{6} BMC, p. cxii; Warren, p. 142, pl. v. 6.
There are at least three groups of bronze issues which have at one time or another been attributed to the mint of Salamis but cannot be attributed with certainty to any issuing authority. Discussion below will attempt to place these sometimes very large issues in some sort of context.

The three bronze type combinations are:

I. obv. lion walking; rev. horse walking
II. obv. head of Aphrodite; rev. star
III. obv. head of Athena; rev. head of Aphrodite

Group I (pl. XLVII, X)

A group of uninscribed bronze coins with a lion walking on the obverse and a horse walking on the reverse traditionally attributed to the reign of Evagoras II,\(^7\) raises a number of questions.

Unfortunately, the surviving examples within this group are in very poor condition, thus making a thorough description of the finer details very difficult. The obverse type is a lion, normally walking to the left, on a dotted ground line. On the few better preserved examples one can see that the rendering of the lion is not altogether in what may be called a fully classical style. While his rear two legs are shown realistically striding forward with realistic musculature, the front two are often rendered more geometrically and thus seem less natural, while the paws are seemingly exaggerated. The mane is not a full, flowing mane, but rather the individual hairs lie flat against the neck of the animal, while the obviously roaring face has an archaic quality. The whole feel of the style is eastern, if not specifically

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\(^{7}\) Six 1883, pp. 311, no. 27 attributes the series to Citium; Babelon 1893, attributes them to Salamis; BMC, p. cvii, no. 8, attributed to Evagoras II. BMC, p. cvii, no. 9 - Hill also recognised a variation with the lion couchant on the obverse (Six 1883, p. 312, no. 28); O. Callot, 'Note de numismatique Chypriote, Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis, 1992, p. 297, reattributes this series to Citium based on site finds.
Persian. In the field above the lion is normally placed a ram's head facing in the same direction as the lion. The whole is surrounded by a dotted border.

On the reverse a horse is striding, in all cases to the left, on a dotted ground line. Unfortunately none of the remaining specimens preserve the finer details of the horse. However, it seems to suffer from an awkwardness in stance similar to its counterpart on the obverse. As on the obverse, there is an added element in the field above—a star of eight rays rendered with a dot in the centre. Unlike the obverse, however, the reverse normally has to the left of the horse, usually just under its nose, an ankh symbol (or tanit), in a style rarely seen before. Instead of the very schematic cross on the lower half of the symbol, the lower vertical is now transformed into a triangle, into what might be considered a female pictogram. All of the known examples exhibit a rather crude fabric with a slightly concave reverse surface.

Without an inscription there can be no real certainty that these coins belong to Salamis. However, when compared to the bronze issue with a lion produced by Evagoras II (see above), the latter exhibits a much more naturally rendered creature with correctly detailed musculature, a natural stride and a wavy mane. The profile face of the lion is much more advanced than in the previous group with a highly naturalistic rendering of the facial features. The ground line on which the lion is walking, if dotted, is much less pronounced and more delicate than its predecessor. Above the lion's neck, in the upper right of the field, is a smaller star of eight rays. The reduction in size was required, as there is an added element, the abbreviation EYA in the upper middle-left field above the lion.

There is no doubt that the uninscribed series stylistically precedes the bronze issues of Evagoras II with EYA inscription, thus placing it earlier. As there is an issue of bronze which may be attributable to Nikokles, coupled with the fact that the lion is used as a type on the gold issues of Evagoras II, one may posit that both the uninscribed and inscribed series of bronze coins
belong to Evagoras II. However, the possibility that this series does not belong to the mint of Salamis, but rather to Citium, is conceivable.8

Group II (pl. XLVII, Y)

The bronze issue with Aphrodite wearing a stephanos on the obverse and a star of eight rays on the reverse is only represented by two rare specimens.9 Similar to the previous Group I, Group II is uninscribed and thus cannot be attributed with any certainty. However, the similarities between the types on this bronze issue and the firmly attributed silver obols of Evagoras II should not be ignored.

Group III

Group III is only represented by one coin and has a head of Aphrodite obverse and Athena head in Attic helmet on the reverse. Although the coin is uninscribed, Hill tentatively attributed this issue to Pnytagoras based on the type combination.10

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9 Six 1883, p. 364, no. 40; BMC, p. cvii, no. 10, pl. XXIV, 16 - attributed to Evagoras II.
10 Warren, p. 142, pl. v.6; BMC, p. cxii, no. 7.
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PLATE XIV

272 273 274 275 276 277

278 279

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288