

# KOINON

The International Journal of Classical  
Numismatic Studies

Volume II

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Produced by the  
*Societas De Tauro Cum Facie Humana*



ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING  
Oxford 2019

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Communications for the editors, manuscripts, and books for review should be addressed to the General Editor. All enquiries to:

Nicholas J. Molinari, General Editor  
1784 Providence Road,  
Northbridge, Massachusetts  
njmolinari@gmail.com  
<https://koinonjournal.wordpress.com/>

ISSN 2631-5874

ISSN 2631-5882 (e-pdf)

ISBN 978-1-78969-355-3

ISBN 978-1-78969-356-0 (e-pdf)

Published by Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, Oxford, UK

Subscriptions to **KOINON** should be sent to  
Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, Summertown Pavilion, 18-24 Middle Way,  
Oxford OX2 7LG, UK  
Tel +44-(0)1865-311914 Fax +44(0)1865-512231  
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Σωκράτης: ὦ φίλε Πάν τε καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῆδε θεοί, δοίητέ μοι καλῶ γενέσθαι τάνδοθεν: ἕξωθεν δὲ ὅσα ἔχω, τοῖς ἐντόσεινάι μοι φίλια. πλούσιον δὲ νομίζοιμι τὸν σοφόν: τὸ δὲ χρυσοῦ πλῆθος εἴη μοι ὅσον μήτε φέρειν μήτε ἄγειν δύναιτο ἄλλος ἢ ὁ σώφρων.

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

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

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

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# The Susa wreath group Alexanders: The first step in the transformation of an anchor seal to a dynastic emblem

LLOYD W. H. TAYLOR

A tetradrachm die study of the Susa wreath group (Susa Group 5) of Alexanders (Price 3853-60) attributed to the satrapy of Aspeisas in the period 316/5-312/1 BC,<sup>1</sup> indicates that the coinage should be downdated to the period 311/0-309/8 BC, the earliest coinage of Seleukos from the mint. A newly identified component of the coinage, die linked to the wreath group while bearing an anchor recut over the wreath, represents the first appearance on coinage of what was to become the primary Seleukid dynastic emblem. It sheds light on the origin and timing of placement of Seleukos's personal insignia, or seal, on his coinage, and its subsequent development into a dynastic emblem.

## INTRODUCTION

The Susa wreath group of Alexanders (Price 3853-60) includes a single issue of gold staters, seven issues of tetradrachms, two issues of drachms, and a single issue each of hemidrachms and obols.<sup>2</sup> The coinage is characterized by a laurel wreath symbol in the left field of the reverse, plus a primary mint mark, **Π** (a ligature of Π and P) that is common to all issues. Price associated the wreath group with the satrapy of Aspeisas in Susa in the period 316-311 BC.<sup>3</sup> However, the basis for this is weak. The definitive coinage of Aspeisas (Price 3852)<sup>4</sup> is limited to a single issue of tetradrachms that bears the Greek genitive of his name, ΑΣΠΕΙΣΟΥ, beneath the extended right arm of Zeus (Figure 1), in addition to the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.<sup>5</sup> It is not accompanied by a mint mark, or the wreath symbol. In a further departure from the wreath group, the Aspeisas reverse depicts Zeus's feet resting on a ground line, whereas on the wreath group Zeus's feet rest upon a distinctively styled footstool (Plates 1 & 2), while the ground line is absent. The Aspeisas coinage constitutes the fourth emission (Susa Group 4) from the Macedonian imperial mint at Susa. It was struck from a single obverse die paired to three reverse dies.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Referenced to the Macedonian lunar calendar year commencing September/October each year.

<sup>2</sup> Price (1991): 487 with the number of tetradrachm issues increased to account for two new types identified in the catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> Price (1991): 484 and 487.

<sup>4</sup> Robinson (1921): 37-38 and Bellinger (1963): 88 and pl. III, 9. Also note that Price (1991): pl. CXII, 3852 contains a publishing error. The correct ΑΣΠΕΙΣΟΥ reverse is paired to an obverse image from another coin. Refer BM 1921,0109.3; GC30.3852 for the correct obverse.

<sup>5</sup> Bellinger (1963): 89 noted that the appearance of two names in genitive on the coin is without parallel on the Alexandrine series.

<sup>6</sup> Taylor (2019) for a die study and comprehensive analysis of the Macedonian imperial mint at Susa in the period 319/8-312/1 BC.

In contrast, there are good reasons to consider that the wreath group is more closely associated with the earliest Susa issues struck under Seleukos (Price 3861 corr.<sup>7</sup>- 70; SC 164<sup>8</sup>) in the name of Alexander. Both are characterized by a wreath symbol, which on the issues currently assigned to Seleukos is supplemented by additional symbols; an anchor, a horsehead, and a Boeotian shield. Both types share a common legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ accompanied by various letter, or monogram, mint controls. Of the latter, the Π mint control is common to both the wreath group and what is currently attributed to be the first Susa issue of Seleukos (Price 3861 corr.; SC 164.1). Both share a similar style, notably including a variation among different issues in the depiction of Zeus, either with crossed legs, or parallel legs. Regardless of the varying the portrayal of Zeus's legs, his feet rest upon a distinctive tabular form of footstool, that is identically depicted on the last of the wreath group and the first issues assigned to Seleukos, while a ground line is absent in both cases.



Figure 1. Aspeias tetradrachm (ANS 1944.100.72211).

Price wrote that the wreath group coinage ‘most probably belongs to the time of Aspeias, and the wreath itself continues into the final group of Alexanders (3861-74), which belongs to the early years of Seleucus.’<sup>9</sup> In his compendium of the coinage the significance of one entry appears to have been overlooked. The entry against the illustrated hemidrachm of Price 3856 (BM G.2500) states ‘rev. <LF> wreath cut over horse-head l.’<sup>10</sup> The horse head, accompanied by a wreath, is found on some of the Susa coinage of Seleukos I dated to 311-305 BC (Price 3863-3870; *ESM* 284-289; SC 164, 166 & 168). It does not occur on the issues of Susa prior to the Seleukid era. Therefore, the existence of the wreath symbol cut over that of the horned horse-head on a hemidrachm die bearing the PO and Π mint controls indicates that the wreath group, was a close contemporary of the Seleukid types identified by Price that carry the horned horsehead symbol in addition to the wreath. This inference is borne out by an analysis of the following catalogue of wreath group tetradrachms.

#### CATALOGUE

(Susa Group 5)

Continuing the analysis of the Macedonian imperial coinage of Susa in the period 319/8- 312/1 BC<sup>11</sup> the wreath group constitutes the fifth emission from the mint (Susa Group 5). As a result, all

<sup>7</sup> Price (1991): 487. The entry for Price 3861 incorrectly ascribes the letter Π, rather than the ligature of Π and Π to the type.

<sup>8</sup> Houghton and Lorber (2002): 68-71.

<sup>9</sup> Price (1991): 484.

<sup>10</sup> Price (1991): 487 and pl. CXLI, 3856.

<sup>11</sup> Taylor (2019).



## THE SUSA WREATH GROUP ALEXANDERS

the types identified in the catalogue are prefixed with the group identifier (the number 5) with specific types identified by the following digit, after the decimal point. Obverse and reverse dies are numbered sequentially. Coin weights are in grams. All coins were struck from unadjusted dies. An asterisk denotes coins illustrated on the accompanying Plates 1-2.

*Obverse:* Head of beardless Herakles r. wearing lion skin headdress; dotted border.

*Reverse:* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ below, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to r., Zeus *Aëtrophoros* seated l., laurel wreath, or anchor (type 5.7), in l. field, Greek monogram and letter mint controls beneath throne; dotted border.

<b>5.1</b>	Wreath; <b>Π</b>		(Price 3853)	
	Zeus seated with his legs side by side.			
1. *	A1	P1	17.01	New York, ANS 1944.100.35573.
2. *	A2	P2	16.95	CNG eAuction 155 (3 Jan. 2007), lot 26.
3.	A2	P2	16.64	Künker 94 (27 Sep. 2004), lot 690.
<b>5.2</b>	Wreath; <b>Κ / Π</b>		(Price 3859)	
	Zeus seated with his legs side by side.			
4. *	A3	P3	17.12	Roma Numismatics E-Live 1 (25 Jul. 2018), lot 121.
5.	A3	P4	17.27	New York, ANS 1947.98.312. A3 – minor recutting to remove effects of die breaks on and before the bridge of Herakles’s nose, beneath the nose and on lips.
6	A3	P4	17.12	NBJ The Art of Numismatics sku-g24.
<b>5.3.</b>	Wreath; <b>Χ / Π</b>		(Price 3859 var.)	
	Zeus seated with his legs side by side.			
7. *	A3	P5	17.06	CNG eAuction 420 (9 May 2018), lot 108; Spink (Feb. 1994). A3 - in a wear state prior to the episode of recutting noted on Cat. No. 5. Demonstrates that retrograde K is an engraving reversal (error) on a single reverse die that occurred midway through the striking of type 5.2.
<b>5.4.</b>	Wreath; <b>ΠΟ / Π</b>		(Price 3855)	
	Zeus seated with his legs side by side.			
8. *	A3	P6	17.24	LWHT Coll. 306; Roma Numismatics E-Live 3 (25 Oct. 2018), lot 117. A3 - in recut state with more advanced die wear than on Cat. Nos. 5 and 6.
9. *	A4	P7	16.97	Roma Numismatics XVI (26 Sep. 2018), lot 230; CNG eAuction 412 (17 Jan. 2018), lot 102.
10.	A4	P7	17.32	Pars Coins PCW-G6069 (2018).
11.	A4	P7	17.09	Gorny & Mosch 233 (6 Oct. 2015), lot 1307.
12.	A4	P7	16.95	Tauler & Fau E-Auction 14 (2 Oct. 2018), lot 2179.
13.	A4	P8	17.28	Pars Coins PCW-G6067 (2018).
14.	A4	P8	17.11	CNG 76 (12 Sep. 2007), lot 776.
15.	A4	P9	16.89	New York, ANS 1944.100.35575.
16.	A4	P10	17.21	Berlin, Münzkabinett 18254395.

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17.	A4	P11	17.22	London, BM 1971,1013.3.
18.	A4	P12	17.18	London, BM 2002,0101.947.
19.	A4	P13	16.45	Künker 89 (8. Mar. 2004), lot 1212; Künker 83 (17 Jun. 2003), lot 196.
20.	A4	P14	17.03	Gorny & Mosch 204 (5 Mar. 2012), lot 1285.
21.	A4	P14	17.10	CNG eAuction 184 (19 Mar. 2008), lot 4.
22.	A4	P14	17.19	CNG eAuction 354 (1 Jul. 2015), lot 56.
23.*	A4	P15	16.98	LWHT Coll. 305; Pars Coins PCW-G6365 (2018).

**5.5. Wreath; E / Π**

(Price 3854)

Zeus seated with his right leg drawn back behind the left.

24.	A4	P16	16.90	Goldberg 87 (15 Sep. 2015), lot 2023.
25.*	A4	P16	17.15	CNG eAuction 355 (15 Jul. 2015), lot 32.
26.	A4	P16	16.90	Goldberg 87 (15 Sep. 2015) lot 2025; Goldberg 85 (2 Jun. 2015), lot 3018.
27.	A4	P16	17.11	Gorny & Mosch 237 (7 Mar. 2016), lot 1271.
28.	A4	P16	17.01	Heritage (13 Jan. 2009), lot 20024.
29.	A4	P17	17.09	London, BM 2002,0101.946.
30.	A4	P18	16.96	CNG eAuction 363 (11 Nov. 2015), lot 56; CNG eAuction 120 (10 Aug. 2005), lot 8.
31.	A4	P18	17.12	Goldberg 104 (12 Jun. 2018), lot 3028.
32.	A4	P18	16.98	Meydancikkale Hoard, 2481; Davesne and Le Rider, <i>Meydancikkale</i> , 1981, 111, no. 2481. <sup>12</sup>
33.	A4	P18	17.01	CNGeAuction 369 (24 Feb. 2016), lot 52.
34.	A4	P18	17.08	The New York Sale XVII (9 Jan. 2008), lot 42.
35.	A4	P18	16.77	Rauch Summer Auction (17 Sep. 2009), lot 157.
36.	A4	P19	n.r.	Wildwinds.com database example of Price 3854. < <a href="http://www.wildwinds.com">http://www.wildwinds.com</a> > at 1 July 2018.
37.*	A4	P20	17.03	Hess Divo (27 Oct. 2010), lot 151.
38.	A5	P21	17.18	Pars Coins PCW-G6066 (2018).
39.	A5	P21	17.01	Heritage 3067 (11 Sep. 2018), lot 30056.
40.*	A5	P21	17.18	Harlan J. Berk 204 (18 Jul. 2018), lot 57.
41.	A5	P22	17.04	VAuctions 217 (4 Dec. 2008), lot 11.
42.	A5	P22	16.90	New York, ANS 1944.100.35574.
43.*	A5	P23	16.99	Stack's Bowers 152 (8 Jan. 2010), lot 5844.

**5.6 Wreath; AI / Π**

(Price 3857)

Zeus seated with his right leg drawn back behind the left.

44.*	A6	P24	17.15	Stack's Bowers 154 (17 Jun. 2010), lot 8024.
45.	A6	P24	17.25	CNG 93 (22 May 2013), lot 64.
46.	A6	P24	16.83	Baldwin's 62-63 (29 Sep. 2009), lot 17.
47.	A6	P25	17.26	Peus 403 (27 Apr. 2011), lot 97.
48.	A6	P25	17.20	Stack's Bowers 146 (25 Apr. 2008), lot 1248.

<sup>12</sup> Davesne and Le Rider (1989).

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49.	A6	P25	17.09	Rauch 14 (14 Dec. 2013), lot 24; Rauch Summer Auction (17 Sep. 2009), lot 156.
50.	A6	P25	17.01	Heritage 3026 (25 Sep. 2013), lot 26035; Heritage Long Beach Auction (12 Sep. 2011), lot 25878.
51.	A6	P25	17.12	The New York Sale XX (7 Jan. 2009), lot 146.
52.*	A6	P26	17.14	CNG 105 (10 May 2017), lot 88.
53.	A6	P27	16.88	New York, ANS 1944.100.35576; Olympia (1922) Hoard, IGCH 0176.
54.*	A7	P28	17.14	Heritage 3067 (11 Sep. 2018), lot 30054. P28 - footstool rests on ground line.
55.	A7	P29	17.18	Roma Numismatics XVI (26 Sep. 2018), lot 232.
56.	A7	P29	17.03	Roma Numismatics E-Live 2 (30 Aug. 2018), lot 182.
57.	A7	P29	17.14	Forum Ancient Coins SH30317.
58.	A7	P29	17.08	CNG 106 (13 Sep. 2017), lot 205.
59.	A7	P30	17.08	CNG eAuction 411 (13 Dec. 2017), lot 27.
60.	A7	P31	17.05	Peus 401 (3 Nov. 2011), lot 241.
61.*	A7	P32	16.97	Roma Numismatics E-Live 1 (25 Jul. 2018), lot 120.
62.	A7	P33	17.03	Gorny & Mosch 204 (5 Mar. 2012), lot 1286; New York Sale XXV (5 Jan. 2011), lot 39.
63.*	A8	P34	17.18	CNG 84 (5 May 2010), lot 240. A8- in earliest state before initial recutting of the die.
64.*	A8	P34	17.09	CNG 108 (16 May 2018), lot 107; Triton XVIII (5 Jan. 2015), lot 11. A8-Herakles chin line, lips and under nose area recut.
65.	A8	P34	17.05	Pars Coins PCW-G6008 (2018).
<b>5.7</b>	<b>Anchor; AI / Π</b>			(Price -) Zeus seated with his right leg drawn back behind the left.
66.*	A8	P34 recut	17.12	LWHT Coll. 304; Savoca Numismatik Online Auction 24 (29 Jul. 2018), lot 36. P34 recut - anchor cut over erased wreath.
<b>5.6</b>	<b>Wreath; AI / Π</b>			(Price 3857) Zeus seated with his right leg drawn back behind the left.
67.	A8	P35	16.77	Heritage 3067 (11 Sep. 2018), lot 30055.
68.	A8	P35	16.81	Stack's Bowers 152 (8 Jan. 2010), lot 5845. A8 - earliest development of die break protruding from the chin of Herakles.
69.	A8	P36	17.14	Pars Coins PCW-G6061 (2018).
70.	A8	P36	16.94	Heritage 3032 (10 Apr. 2014), lot 23128.
71.	A8	P36	17.05	Helios Numismatik 2 (25 Nov. 2008), lot 95.
72.	A8	P36	17.25	CNG eAuction 355 (15 Jul. 2015), lot 33.
73.*	A8	P36	17.00	CNG 102 (18 May 2016), lot 237.
74.	A8	P36	17.19	Goldberg 98 (6 Jun. 2017), lot 2098.
75.	A8	P36	17.13	Stack's Bowers and Ponterio ANA Auction (21 Aug. 2018), lot 20038.
76.	A8	P36	17.02	Stack's Bowers and Ponterio ANA Auction (21 Aug. 2018), lot 20041.
77.	A8	P36	17.19	Gorny & Mosch 237 (7 Mar. 2016), lot 1272.

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78.	A8	P37	17.06	Numismatica Ars Classica 59 (4 Apr. 2011), lot 563; Gemini V (6 Jan. 2009), lot 538.
79.	A8	P37	17.03	Triskeles 20 (30 Jun. 2017), lot 136.
80.	A8	P37	17.20	Rauch Summer Auction (13 Sep. 2010), lot 145.
81.	A8	P37	17.15	CNG 103 (14 Sep. 2016), lot 131.
82.	A8	P37	17.18	The New York Sale XXVIII (4 Jan. 2012), lot 1014.
83.	A8	P37	16.95	Stephen Album 18 (16 Jan. 2014), lot 3; Peus 404 (2 Nov. 2011), lot 2275.
84.	A8	P38	16.98	CNG eAuction 385 (26 Oct. 2016), lot 104.
85.	A8	P38	17.08	Gorny & Mosch 257 (15 Oct. 2018), lot 306; VAuctions 236 (5 Nov. 2009), lot 6.
86.*	A8	P38	16.78	LWHT Coll. 207; CNG 76 (12 Sep. 2007), lot 772.
87.	A8	P38	17.05	CNG eAuction 359 (9 Sep. 2015), lot 19.
88.	A8	P38	17.05	The New York Sale XLII (9 Jan. 2018), lot 78; Nomos Obolos eAuction 5 (26 Jun. 2016), lot 132; CNG eAuction 372 (16 Apr. 2016), lot 68.
89.	A8	P38	17.14	Heritage 231840 (5 Oct. 2018), lot 61004.
90.	A8	P39	17.15	Heritage 3067 (11 Sep. 2018), lot 30057.
91.	A8	P39	17.07	Stack's Bowers Chicago ANA (13 Aug. 2013), lot 11037; Goldberg 70 (4 Sep. 2012), lot 3055.
92.*	A8	P39	17.12	Roma Numismatics XVI (26 Sep. 2018), lot 231.
93.	A8	P39	17.03	CNG eAuction 412 (17 Jan. 2018), lot 103.
94.	A8	P40	17.18	Forum Ancient Coins SH30492. A8 - well developed semi-circular die break extending from front of forehead along nose and into cheek.
95.	A8	P40	16.92	Stephen Album 14 (21 Sep. 2012), lot 13.
96.	A8	P41	17.08	Forum Ancient Coins SH30493.
97.	A8	P42	17.10	Hess Divo eAuction 14 (25 May 2016), lot 1033; CNG eAuction 365 (16 Dec. 2015), lot 98. P42 - retrograde P in legend.
98.	A8	P42	17.19	Rauch Summer Auction 2010 (13 Sep. 2010), lot 146.
99.	A8	P42	17.06	London Ancient Coins 50 (21 Mar. 2016), lot 38.
100.*	A8	P43	17.03	VAuctions 235 (22 Oct. 2009), lot 12. A8 - die extensively recut on and before Herakles face to remove large die breaks extending on and in front of Herakles's face. Die breaks on lion scalp untouched.
101.	A8	P43	17.04	Gorny & Mosch 170 (13 Oct. 2008), lot 1280.
102.	A8	P44	16.95	Rauch Summer Auction 2010 (13 Sep. 2010), lot 147. A8 - extensive die breaks redevelop before Herakles lips and forehead. Extensive die breaks in lion scalp, mane, and hair line.
103.*	A8	P45	17.03	CNG eAuction 378 (13 Jul. 2016), lot 95. A8 - extensive die breaks redevelop before Herakles lips and forehead. Extensive die breaks in lion scalp, mane, and hair line.

THE SUSA WREATH GROUP ALEXANDERS

Plate 1

Susa Wreath Group Alexanders



1



2



4



7



8



9



23



25



37



40



43



44



Plate 2  
Susa Wreath Group Alexanders



52



54



61



63



64



66



73



86



92



100



103



A



COMMENTARY

Seven types<sup>13</sup> are present in the catalogue, identified by different combinations of mint marks, or a symbol in the case of type 5.7. All are united by a common primary mint control, **Π**, beneath the throne of Zeus. The sequence of types and coins is determined primarily by style groupings and the progression of iconographic detail, overlain on which are direct sequencing determinations based on the progression of die wear on obverse die links between types. The latter defines the striking order of type 5.4 (Price 3855) and type 5.5 (Price 3854), die linked by A4. Obverse die A3 links types 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 while the sequence placement of these types is based on the affinity in style of A3 with die A2, plus the presence of a small lightly detailed wreath on the earliest reverse dies of types 5.1-5.4. On later reverse dies, the wreath develops a larger, more defined, and well-developed form. The splitting of type 5.6 (Price 3857) by type 5.7 (Price -) is defined by the progression of wear on linking die A8 and the recutting of a reverse die, P34. The interpreted striking sequence and die links between types are summarized on the following table.

Table 1. Sequence and obverse dies.

Type	Symbol; Controls	Price	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8
5.1	Wreath; <b>Π</b>	3853	x	x						
5.2	Wreath; <b>K</b> / <b>Π</b>	3859			x					
5.3	Wreath; <b>Χ</b> / <b>Π</b>	-			x					
5.4	Wreath; <b>ΠO</b> / <b>Π</b>	3855			x	x				
5.5	Wreath; <b>E</b> / <b>Π</b>	3854				x	x			
5.6	Wreath; <b>AI</b> / <b>Π</b>	3857						x	x	x
5.7	Anchor; <b>AI</b> / <b>Π</b>	-								x
5.6	Wreath; <b>AI</b> / <b>Π</b>	3857								x

Group 5 is a compact emission, in which type 5.6 from three obverse and twenty-two reverse dies (Tables 1 and 2), is the largest component of the coinage. Based on the number of reverse dies paired to each obverse die, it appears that the bulk of the coinage was struck from dies A4 and A8. This is consistent with the advanced state of die wear and breakage visible on the last of coins from these two dies, plus two episodes of recutting of A8 to remove developing die breaks. Both dies probably saw longer than average service.

Table 2. Distribution of Reverse dies.

Obverse Die	No. of Reverse dies	Sequence Type	No. of Reverse dies
A1	1	5.1	2
A2	1	5.2	1
A3	4	5.3	2
A4	14	5.4	10
A5	3	5.5	8
A6	4	5.6	22
A7	6	5.7	1 recut die
A8	12		

Obverse die A8 saw extensive use, paired to twelve reverse dies and undergoing two episodes of

<sup>13</sup> Types 5.3 and 5.7 are previously unpublished additions to Price's typology, although in the case of 5.3 the retrograde K mint mark found on a single reverse die is but an engraving variant of type 5.2 (Price 3859).

recutting. The initial recutting of this obverse die occurred after the first appearance of the die in the catalogue (Cat. No. 63; Plate 2, 63) following its pairing to a single reverse die. The line of the chin, lips, under nose area and immediately adjacent cheek area of Herakles were recut (Plate 2, 64), presumably to remove an early die break, one that redeveloped a little later in the sequence in the form of a prominent die break protruding from the chin line (Plate 2, 73-92). The second episode of recutting of die A8 occurred toward the end of its use (Cat. Nos. 100-103; Plate 2, 100-103). The recutting at this point was more extensive, done to remove the previously noted break, plus another involving a crack extending from the frontal edge of the forehead, across the length of the nose and into the cheek behind the mouth of Herakles. This recutting involved a modification of the frontal features of Herakles including his forehead and nose. A complex pattern of fine die breaks in the mane of the lion scalp and on the hairline of Herakles were left untouched in this recutting, providing a firm connection to A8 in its precursor state. Despite the recutting, die breaks redeveloped rapidly before the forehead and lips of Herakles, within the working life of three associated reverse dies, at which point further use of the die was abandoned, ending the wreath group sequence.

The most notable outcome of the die study is the identification of type 5.7 (Cat. No. 66; Plate 2, 66), die linked to type 5.6 (Cat. Nos. 63-65; Plate 2, 63-64) with the same AI / **Π** mint marks, but struck from a reverse die (P34) on which an anchor (flukes up) was engraved over the incompletely erased wreath symbol. The leaves of the latter can be recognised beneath the extended right arm and hand of Zeus and immediately above and before his right knee (Figure 2).



**Figure 2. Enlargement: type 5.7 (Cat. No. 66) reverse left field.**

Although the only known example of type 5.7 is well worn, the recut reverse die is matched to the underlying precursor die (P34) with a reasonable degree of confidence, although there is close similarity of all the type 5.6 reverse dies.<sup>14</sup> The development of a die break protruding from the chin

<sup>14</sup> Many of the reverse dies in this part of the wreath group sequence are so close as to be near identical. Very close scrutiny of fine detail is often required to disentangle the reverse die sequence.



of Herakles on obverse die A8, plus the subsequent recutting of this die in an attempt to remove die breaks before the face of Herakles, position the episode of reverse die recutting in the sequence of coins struck from die A8. The recutting of reverse die P34 occurred midway through the striking of type 5.6, splitting the wreath group in two via the introduction of the Seleukid anchor symbol into the otherwise standard iconography of the wreath group. The introduction of the anchor symbol at this point is a first in the Susa sequence. The continued use of die A8 to strike type 5.6 coinage after the episode of recutting of reverse die P34 serves to emphasise that the anchor was not engraved over the wreath as a result of recycling of a pair of dies at a later date. Type 5.7 has the characteristics of a trial strike, using as it does a recut die in the middle of the type 5.6 wreath group issue without any immediate follow-on expressed in the form of new dies, or types, with the anchor symbol. It marks the first occurrence of the Seleukid anchor on coinage struck in the name of Alexander. At a later date, the anchor re-appears, of smaller size, displayed horizontally, and positioned beneath the wreath (Plate 2, A)<sup>15</sup> on what till now has been considered the first issue of Seleukos from the mint at Susa (Price 3861 corr.; SC 164.1).

### Iconographic style

Despite the compact nature of the emission, the work of up to four die engravers can be recognised in the differing details of the eight obverse dies (Table 3). With the exception of obverse die A5, the overall style of the obverse iconography finds parallels in the preceding Susa Groups 1-4<sup>16</sup> as well as the earliest coinage identified with the rule of Seleukos (Plate 2, A). Dies A6-A8 more closely resemble some of the earliest of the Susa Alexanders bearing the wreath symbol accompanied by a horizontal anchor placed beneath the wreath (Plate 2, A), or a horsehead beneath the wreath (Price 3861 corr.-63; SC 164.1-164.3). However, the style of A5 finds no parallel in the preceding, or subsequent output of Susa.

**Table 3. Obverse die engravers.**

Engraver	Obverse Die
1	A1
2	A2, A3 & A4
3	A5
4	A6, A7 & A8

The reverse style of the coinage is equally varied with the work at least five die engravers represented in the catalogue of reverse dies. One aspect of note is the development of a distinctive tabular, or lozenge shaped form of the footstool that develops early in type 5.5 and is carried through the earliest of the subsequent issues attributed to Seleukos (Price 3861 corr.-66). Reverse die P28 (Cat. No. 54; Plate 2, 54) is a notable exception to the exergual convention of the wreath group. On this die both a footstool and a ground line are present, clearly separating the body of the iconography from the epigraphy of the exergue. The appearance of the exergual, or ground line, on this die is a one-off, the only example that contains a small, incomplete echo the style of the of

<sup>15</sup> Illustrated coin: Heritage 3037 (4 Jan. 2015), lot 29964. Refer also to the die study of Kritt, (1997): pls. 1-8.

<sup>16</sup> Taylor (2019): pls. 2-6.

the preceding Aspeisas (Group 4) coinage. The reverse iconography of the wreath group exhibits a progression from the archaized parallel legs portrayal on types 5.1-5.4, succeeded by to the crossed legs depiction on types 5.5-5.7. Although of relative chronological significance within the Group 5 sequence, the varying depiction of the legs of Zeus, often from one issue to the next, became a characteristic of the Susa emissions after 311 BC, while the archaized depiction was ultimately maintained well into the Seleukid era. The varying depiction of the disposition of Zeus's legs in Group 5 has its precedent in Groups 1-4.<sup>17</sup>

### Mint Controls

The  $\Pi$  mint mark is common to all Group 5 types, while five secondary letter mint controls serve to differentiate the types (Table 1).<sup>18</sup> In addition to the die links between the various types, the AI /  $\Pi$  controls serve to reinforce the association of types 5.6 and 5.7 as belonging to a unified issue, notwithstanding the engraving of a new symbol, the anchor, over the wreath. In this respect, it is unlikely that the wreath, or the anchor, were mint controls. Rather they appear to have been symbolic of a broader meaning, or message, rather than a component of the mint's internal control process. This has been suggested for the varied symbols found on the Alexanders of Susa identified as Seleukid by previous scholars on the basis of the Seleukid character of the symbols.<sup>19</sup> The symbols consist of the anchor, horned horsehead and Boeotian shield that are found in various combinations accompanying the wreath symbol on Price 3861 corr.-70. The wreath clearly serves to chronologically associate these issues closely with Group 5. The association is further reinforced by the previously noted engraving of the wreath over a horned horsehead on a hemidrachm bearing the type 5.4 mint marks, as noted by Price in his entry against the plate coin illustrating Price 3856. Additionally, the concurrence of the  $\Pi$  mint control on Group 5 and the earliest issue previously attributed to Seleukos (Plate 2, A; Price 3861 corr., SC 164.1) is further support for the inference from the die analysis that the wreath group is a component of the earliest coinage of Seleukos from Susa.

The identity of the mint official who might be associated with  $\Pi$  mint mark is unknown. However, *Diodoros* 19.91.3 records that Polyarchos, a *hyparch* in command of a district in Babylonia under Antigonos's satrap Peithon, betrayed Antigonos's cause and came over to Seleukos with 1000 soldiers when the latter re-entered Babylonia in 312/11 BC.<sup>20</sup> Polyarchos may have been a previous appointment of Seleukos in Babylonia, prior to his flight to Egypt in 316 BC, subsequently left in command of a Babylonian district garrison by Antigonos.<sup>21</sup> Although conjectural, it is conceivable that Polyarchos was rewarded for his loyalty to Seleukos with the responsibility for the latter's coinage issued from Susa in the years that followed. This could explain the primary mint mark, a ligature of the letters  $\Pi$  and P, an abbreviation of his name. Suggestively, after the cessation of the  $\Pi$  mint mark at Susa, a  $\Pi$  mint control appears as the primary control on Seleukos's anchor

<sup>17</sup> Taylor (2019): At Susa, the crossed legs depiction of Zeus first appeared on three reverse dies in Group 2 (type 2.6) while the balance of Groups 1-3 maintained the archaized depiction of parallel legs. The crossed legs depiction reappears on Group 4 before reverting to the archaized depiction on the first half of Group 5.

<sup>18</sup> In this, the retrograde K mint mark of type 5.3 is counted as a different control to the K of type 5.2, although it appears to be an engraving variant of the latter.

<sup>19</sup> Kritz (1997): 49 ... 'These forms can be interpreted as *conventions* which lasted for certain periods and were replaced by others.'

<sup>20</sup> Grainger (2014): 43.

<sup>21</sup> Billows (1990): 430, appendix 3, 101.

bearing coinage in the name of Alexander (SC 94) and his lion stater coinage (SC 88) from the mint of Babylon II in the period c. 307/6-304/3 BC. The author is inclined to conjecture that  $\square$  and  $\square$  mint controls represent one and the same senior official in Seleukos's administration who moved between Susa and Babylon in the period 311/0-304/3 BC. Polyarchos is a possible candidate whose name comes down to us from the ancient sources.

### STATISTICS

The catalogue provides a representative sample of coins from which can be estimated the original number of dies employed, plus the approximate total size of the tetradrachm mintage (Table 4). Using the geometric model of Esty,<sup>22</sup> it is calculated that that 9 original obverse dies may have been employed for the emission. These could have struck approximately 180,000 tetradrachms<sup>23</sup> equivalent to around 118 Attic talents of silver.<sup>24</sup> To this can be added the estimated value of the only other large denomination in the emission, the gold stater issue (Price 3856A) known from a single obverse die, representing a potential mintage of about 33 Attic talents of silver equivalent.<sup>25</sup> The total estimated value of the emission thus amounts to approximately 150 Attic talents of silver equivalent, more than ten-fold that of the Aspeias issue struck from a single obverse die.

**Table 4. Catalogue statistics.**

	A dies	P dies
Sample size ( <i>n</i> )	103	103
Observed dies ( <i>d</i> )	8	45
Singletons ( <i>d</i> <sub>1</sub> )	1	24
Characteristic Index ( <i>n/d</i> )	12.9	2.3
Coverage ( <i>Cest</i> )	0.99	0.77
Estimated dies ( <i>Dest</i> )	8.7	79.9
95% Confidence Interval	8.0-9.4	62.7-101.9
Observed die pairing ratio (P/A)	5.6	
Estimated die pairing ratio (P/A)	9.2	
Estimated coinage (no. of coins)	c. 180,000	
Attic talents of silver	c. 118.4	

From the catalogue statistics, the average obverse to reverse die pairing ratio (P/A) is 5.6, rising to 9.2 if the statistically estimated number of original reverse dies is considered (Table 4). A high average die pairing ratio implies frequent replacement of reverse dies. It may explain the presence of four die engravers in the mint during the striking of what was a compact emission from little more than a handful of obverse dies.

<sup>22</sup> Esty (2011): 7-29.

<sup>23</sup> Based on an assumed tetradrachm die average productivity of 20,000 coins (Callataj (2011): 22).

<sup>24</sup> Based on a tetradrachm weight of 17.1 grams.

<sup>25</sup> Based on an average productivity of 10,000 coins per stater die (Callataj (2011): 22) and a 10:1 gold to silver value ratio (Bellinger (1963): 31 and Le Rider (2007): 149).

### METROLOGY

The distribution of the weight of the coins in the catalogue is plotted in Figure 3. The mean weight (17.06 grams), median weight (17.08 grams) and modal weight (17.03 grams) are almost coincident, within a distribution that has a small standard deviation of 0.14 grams. The weight distribution of coins plotted in half gram weight divisions shows a weakly developed modal peak of 17.0-17.04 grams within a broader peak across the range 17.0-17.2 grams (Figure3). Indications are that the coinage was adjusted to a tetradrachm weight standard of about 17.1 grams, albeit with less precise weight adjustment than noted in preceding Susa Groups 1-4.<sup>26</sup>

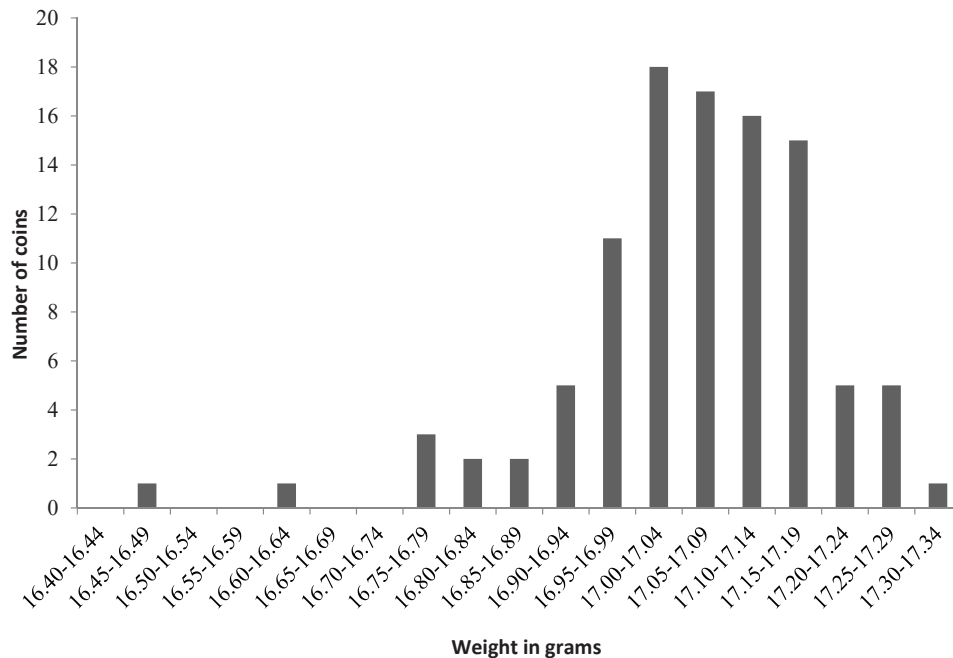


Figure 3. Weight distribution.

### HOARD RECORD

Documented hoard occurrences of Group 5 coins are relatively few and date to the 3rd century BC. Catalogued examples include the Olympia 1922 hoard (*IGCH* 0176), buried in c. 250-225 BC (Cat. No. 53) and the Meydancikkale Hoard (*CH* 8.308), dated to c. 240-235 BC (Cat. No. 32). The wreath group is not represented in hoards dated to earlier than 300 BC, including most notably the Kufth Hoard (*IGCH* 1670), c. 310-305 BC, the Egypt 1894 Hoard (*IGCH* 1669), c. 310 BC, the Kato Paphos Hoard (*IGCH* 1471), c. 305 BC, the Aghios Ioannis Hoard (*IGCH* 1470), c. 305 BC, the Chorsabad Hoard (*IGCH* 1754), c. 310-305 BC and the Pasargadae 1963 (*IGCH* 1793), c. 300 BC. Yet all of these contained examples of Susa Groups 1-4.<sup>27</sup> The absence of any of Group 5 coinage in these hoards indicates that the wreath group post-dates that of Aspeisis (Group 4).

<sup>26</sup> Taylor (2019): fig. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Taylor (2019): tables 7 and 8.

## THE SUSA WREATH GROUP ALEXANDERS

It is notable that 26 coins, one quarter of the catalogue, entered the numismatic trade in 2018, apparently for the first time. Almost all appeared to have been newly cleaned with one exception exhibiting an intact hoard patina (Cat. No. 12). Two thirds of these coins, many in lightly worn condition, were reverse die linked to some of the other examples introduced to commerce in 2018. The distribution of dies in this subset of the catalogue, closely mirrors that of the overall catalogue (Table 5). These are characteristics of a hoard introduced into commerce. The associated types identified in this probable commerce hoard included a number of examples of Susa Groups 1-3,<sup>28</sup> plus a variety of early Seleukos issues from Susa, Babylon II, and Uncertain Mint 6A (Opis) in Babylonia. One of these was a previously unknown anchor bearing issue (Uncertain Mint 6A Series V(a)), bearing the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ but struck from a recycled and recut die pair from the coinage of Philip III at Uncertain Mint 6A (Opis) in Babylonia, perhaps one of the first coins to bear the name of Seleukos.<sup>29</sup> The apparent association of the wreath group with some of the earliest of Seleukos's issues in this inferred hoard in commerce adds further support to the interpretation that the wreath group is among the first issues of Seleukos from the mint at Susa.

**Table 5. Distribution of wreath group dies in sample from the 2018 commerce hoard.**

Obverse Die	No. of coins	No. of reverse dies
A1	-	-
A2	-	-
A3	3	3
A4	6	2
A5	3	1
A6	-	-
A7	4	3
A8	10	5
Total	26	14

### CHRONOLOGY

The identification of the type 5.7 tetradrachm bearing the Seleukid anchor, recut over the wreath of type 5.6, places beyond reasonable doubt the origin of the Susa wreath group under Seleukos, rather than Aspeidas. It compliments Price's observation of the wreath symbol recut over the horned horse's head on a wreath group hemidrachm, the significance of which appears to have escaped his further consideration in thinking about the chronology of the wreath group. However, the exact relationship between the wreath group and the other Seleukid issues of Price 3861 corr.-70 (SC 164.1-164.4) is incompletely understood. An overlap of the two must have occurred, but the extent to which they were struck in parallel requires further detailed analysis to completely resolve. However, the progression of development of the wreath and anchor symbols, considered with the historical record, enables us to refine the probable chronology of the wreath group.

In 316 BC, Seleukos, then the Satrap of Babylonia, sought refuge in Egypt with his ally Ptolemy in order to escape the purge of the eastern satraps by Antigonos. Subsequently, he fulfilled

<sup>28</sup> Taylor (2019); refer to the 2018 entries in the catalogue of Groups 1-3.

<sup>29</sup> Taylor (2018).

the role of *navarchos* (admiral), leading Ptolemy's fleet in the years 316/5-313/2 BC.<sup>30</sup> In 312/1 BC he returned to retake Babylonia. In so doing, he annexed to Babylonia the adjacent provinces of Media and Susiana.<sup>31</sup> Shortly after he took control of Susiana, Antigonos challenged him for control of Babylonia in the protracted Babylonian War of 311/0-309/8 BC.<sup>32</sup> However, Seleukos's control of Susiana never came under threat. Some of the population of Babylon were even evacuated to Susiana at this time.<sup>33</sup> With Babylon under Antigonid threat and/or control for much of this period,<sup>34</sup> it is probable that Seleukos relied on his mints at Susa and Ekbatana<sup>35</sup> to meet his requirements for new coinage. It is into this period, c. 311-308 BC, that the wreath group falls, being among the first issues of Seleukos, preceding his adoption of the anchor symbol on his coinage issued in the name of Alexander. The wreath may have been emblematic of his very early success in 312/1 BC in wresting Babylonia, Susiana, and Media from Antigonid control. Only after firmly vanquishing Antigonid forces in Babylonia in 309/8 BC did the anchor insignia come to identify his authority as the issuer of coinage struck in the name of Alexander.<sup>36</sup>

### THE ANCHOR INSIGNIA

At Susa, the wreath group appears to have led a period of experimentation with emblematic symbols on Seleukos's coinage bearing the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Initially the wreath symbol appeared by itself, then to be accompanied by various combinations of symbols, the anchor, horned horsehead, and Boeotian shield (Price 3861-9) after which the anchor displaced all other symbols to become the sole symbol on his Susa coinage issued in the name of Alexander (Price 3872-79). This occurred prior to his acclamation as king in 304/3 BC<sup>37</sup> an event that was accompanied by the introduction of the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ to replace that of Alexander on much of his coinage.<sup>38</sup> On taking the royal title, the anchor symbol was temporarily erased from the iconography of his coinage.<sup>39</sup>

Appian (*Syrian Wars*, 56) indirectly details the probable origin of the anchor insignia on Seleukos's coinage... 'his mother saw in a dream that whatever ring she found she should give him to wear, and that he should be king at the place where he should lose the ring. She did find an iron ring with an anchor engraved on it, and he lost it near the Euphrates. It is said also that at a later period, when he was setting out for Babylon, he stumbled against a stone which, when dug up, was seen to be an anchor. When the soothsayers were alarmed at this prodigy thinking that it portended delay, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who accompanied the expedition, said that an

<sup>30</sup> Grainger (1990): 52-75.

<sup>31</sup> Grainger (1990): 76-94.

<sup>32</sup> Billows (1997): 136-147.

<sup>33</sup> Grainger (2014): 50.

<sup>34</sup> Grainger (1990): 77-94 and Grainger (2014): 41-53, plus Houghton and Lorber (2002): 1-9.

<sup>35</sup> Newell (1938):162-170, Series I, c. 311-303 BC. Newell (1938):170 '...Series I is better provided with gold staters, and infinitely better provided with fractional denominations than any of the issues which we have here studied for the sister mints of Seleucia, Babylon and Susa.' Boillet (2013): 196 'En reprenant la lecture chronologique des émissions de Séleucos à Ecbatane telle qu'elle fut établie par Newell dans ses *Eastern Seleucid Mints*, nous apercevons que le début du règne du monarque (311-303 a. C.) fut la période la plus prolifique en frappes monétaires (équivalent tétradrachmes attiques)...

<sup>36</sup> Taylor (2015).

<sup>37</sup> Taylor (2015): 73.

<sup>38</sup> Taylor (2015): 72-75.

<sup>39</sup> This sequence of iconographic development is very evident at his mints in Babylonia, in particular Uncertain Mint 6A (Opis). Refer Taylor (2015): 48-53.

anchor was a sign of safety, not of delay; and for this reason, Seleukos, when he became king, used an engraved anchor for his signet-ring.' The identification of an anchor signet-ring as being worn by Seleukos is significant. It is consistent with the seal of a *navarchos*, the role which he occupied in the period 316/5-313/2 BC and thus a pointer to the origins of what was to eventually become a Seleukid emblem.

Appian's outline of the significance of anchor signet-ring is but one component of the mythology, or propaganda, surrounding Seleukos's rise to kingship that originated in the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Ipsos in 301 BC.<sup>40</sup> Yet the anchor insignia first appeared on the coinage of Seleukos seven to eight years in advance of this date, only to be deleted from the coinage when he commenced issuance in his own name (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ) in the period 304/3-302/1 BC, then to be reinstated after Ipsos.<sup>41</sup> This indicates that the origin of the anchor insignia predates Seleukos's kingship and the myth making of his rise to power. Most plausibly it was a personal seal in the form of a signet ring, adopted initially by Seleukos in association with his role as *navarchos*, leading Ptolemy's fleet in the period 316/5-313/2 BC.<sup>42</sup> Two reasons can be posited for the temporary removal of the anchor symbol from the coinage at the time Seleukos took the royal title. Firstly, a new legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ established unambiguously the issuing authority, making the anchor, a symbol of Seleukos, redundant. Secondly, the anchor symbol could have been perceived as implying subservience to Ptolemy, his ally at the time. The erasure of the anchor symbol from dies used to strike some of his last issues the name of Alexander at Babylon II and Uncertain Mint 6A (Opis), immediately prior to the first coinage to bear the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, suggests that the second reason was the primary motivation for the temporary abandonment of the anchor symbol on the coinage of this period.

The outcome of the Battle of Ipsos in 301 BC saw Seleukos emerge an undisputed successor to Alexander the Great in the heartland of what was the old Persian Empire. To further secure the loyalty of the dominantly non-Macedonian population in his realm, his legitimacy to rule this domain, established in battle, was to be bolstered as an inevitable outcome of the will of the gods. This led to the mythologizing of Seleukos's rise to power, within which the anchor played a prophetic role, as outlined by Appian. This myth making served to further legitimize his kingship as an outcome that was prophesied, and thus preordained by the gods. This myth making propaganda saw the anchor reinstated as on his coinage, where it now served to remind recipients of the legitimacy of Seleukos, rather than simply being his personal insignia, used previously to denote his issuing authority on coinage that he struck in the name of Alexander. This symbolism of legitimacy, ordained by the gods, outlived Seleukos, with the result that the anchor became emblematic of the legitimacy of later Seleukid monarchs.

In this light, and with the evidence of the wreath group type 5.7 coin, the mythologization of the anchor in Seleukos's rise to power was the culmination of a progression, or outgrowth, of his

<sup>40</sup> Hadley (1974): 50-65 and 60-61.

<sup>41</sup> Taylor (2015).

<sup>42</sup> Svoronos (1904): Vol. I, p'–πα' went so far as to suggest that the anchor commemorated his service under Ptolemy. This is most improbable and deficient in a number of respects as noted by Hadley (1974): 60. Far more likely, Newell (1938): 112 ... 'it is but the personal emblem of Seleucus and proclaims these coins to be his, despite the name of Alexander which accompanies the types.' Hadley (1974): 61 concurred ... 'it frequently designates Seleucus as the minting authority in the absence of a legend.'

personal seal or insignia dating back to his period as *navarchos* of the Ptolemaic fleet. In the aftermath of Ipsos, the mythmaking successfully sought to redefine the anchor as a godly sanction of his right to leadership. This occurred against the backdrop of ‘an era in which political and military power were extremely unstable and competition between the Successors was especially severe. All these new kingdoms badly needed special sanctions to lend an aura of legitimacy to their otherwise *de facto* power. Of course, the prime key to success of any of these dynasts was his personality, abilities, and achievements, but a vital secondary key would frequently be a combination of charismatic and non-charismatic sanctions. Such sanctions, therefore, had the effect of transcending the lifespan of the individual upon whom they were originally conferred.’<sup>43</sup>

### CONCLUSIONS

The Susa wreath group (Susa Group 5) was initiated by Seleukos coincident with the earliest issues attributed to him by Price and Houghton and Lorber.<sup>44</sup> Chronological overlap must have occurred with the wreath/horse-head issues in order to explain the recut hemidrachm die noted on the British Museum example (BM G.2500) of Price 3856. The wreath symbol, initiated on coinage prior to the anchor symbol, may have been emblematic of the initial victories and success of Seleukos in wresting Babylonia, Susiana, and Media from Antigonid control. The recutting of the anchor over the wreath on a reverse die has the hallmarks of a brief trial, consistent with the placement of type 5.7 towards the end of the wreath group in the closing phase of the Babylonian War, 311/0-309/8 BC. This would make it the earliest example of the Seleucid anchor symbol on any coinage, preceding the more widespread adoption of the anchor on the Alexandrine coinage of Seleukos from 308/7 BC until his assumption of the royal title in c. 304/3 BC.<sup>45</sup> At this time the anchor was the personal seal of Seleukos.

The down dating of the Susa wreath group to the earliest years of the era of Seleukos leaves the Susa mint almost inoperative in the period 316/5-312/1 BC, but for the solitary Aspeias issue (Susa Group 4). This accords with the historical record that the treasury of Susa was removed to Kyinda by Antigonos, immediately following his victory over Eumenes. The dating of the wreath group to the period 311/0-309/8 BC, combined with the progression of development of the anchor symbol on the succeeding Alexander tetradrachm issues (Price 3861 corr.-81; SC 164)<sup>46</sup> suggests that all these issues pre-date 304/3 BC when the anchor was temporarily removed from the coinage of Seleukos, coincident with the first issuance of coinage in his own name.<sup>47</sup> The anchor reappeared on Seleukos’s coinage in the years following Ipsos, by then an emblem of his legitimacy, as well as his personal seal. This interpretation and chronology depart from that outlined by Houghton and

<sup>43</sup> Hadley (1974): 64.

<sup>44</sup> Price (1991): 484-489 and Houghton and Lorber (2002): 67-77.

<sup>45</sup> Taylor (2015): Series II coinage.

<sup>46</sup> Houghton and Lorber (2002): 68-69 dated the SC 164 issues progressively through the period c. 311-295/4 BC based on the Kritz (1997) chronology. The latter is subject to revision with the down dating of the Susa ‘Victory Coinage’ by L. Marest-Caffey (2016): 1-63.

<sup>47</sup> This chronology conforms closely to that of Price (1991): 487-9 which placed the types Price 3861-3881 in the period c. 311-305 BC. However, it conflicts with the subsequently down dating by Houghton and Lorber (2002): 69-71, of the last of these Alexanders, bearing only the anchor symbol (Price 3871-79), to the first decade of the 3rd century BC based on the Kritz (1997) chronology.



Lorber in *Seleucid Coins*. It indicates that a reappraisal of the coinage and function of the Susa mint in the period 311-300 BC is warranted.<sup>48</sup>

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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<sup>48</sup> A reappraisal is in preparation by the author in a paper titled *Susa under Seleukos in the Period 311-301 BC*. This, the third paper in the Susa Alexander series, will complete the die analysis of the Alexandrine coinage of Susa from the start of the mint down to the issuance of coinage in the name of Seleukos.

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