

The Double-Axe Mint: The Coinage of Tenedos in the Third and Second Centuries BC

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I. INTRODUCTION

Among the Alexanders of uncertain attribution in Martin Price's catalogue¹ there is a group of four types that are characterised in three cases by a double-headed axe (*bipennis*) in left field:

Price 2074: tetradrachm <LF> double-axe

Price 2075: drachm <LF> double-axe

Price 2073: drachm <LF> double-axe, <TH> fulmen

Price 2076: drachm <LF> double-axe with Δ and I to l. and r.

The three issues of drachms (Price 2075, 2073 and 2076) share an obverse die (see below) and so clearly belong together.

Price appended these four types to a group of bronzes (Price 2063–2072) also characterized, for the most part, by the appearance of a *bipennis*, under the heading “Miletus or Mylasa”, and provided the following commentary:

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1. Price.

The two groups of coinage retained in this uncertain category were excluded from the Miletus study of M. Thompson. The first group, of bronze “tetartemoria” probably do belong to Miletus. Varieties 2063–8 would seem to be closely parallel to 2114–2121, and should belong to the same issues. The recent Caria (1986) hoard confirms the area of their minting.

Variety 2073 is linked by obverse die to 2075, and both the *trident* and the *double-axe* find a place in the repertory of Mylasa as symbols of Zeus Osogoas and Zeus Labraundeus. They should, without doubt, be placed at that mint.²

In 2004 Richard Ashton reexamined the evidence for the whole “Miletus or Mylasa” group in the light of his work cataloguing the collection of Fethiye Museum. The appearance of a number of these issues in the collection at Fethiye, including a remarkable 22 specimens of Price 2064, together with provenances in the *Hautes Terres de Carie*, and at Kaunos, led him convincingly to attribute the entire sequence of Price 2063–2072 bronzes to a hitherto unsuspected Alexandrine mint of Kaunos.

About the silver issues (2073–6) he was rightly more cautious. None of the types is to be found in the collection at Fethiye. Concerning Price’s attribution he points out:

...it is worth noting here that the double axe cannot on its own justify attribution to Mylasa; it certainly has a close association with Karia in general, but it is attested in many places both in the area and beyond. The trident is a banal enough symbol and it and the double axe, though they often occur separately as types on Mylasean coinage, can be regarded typical of Mylasa only when they are combined into a single implement; on Price 2073–6 they do not appear together on the same coins, let alone as a combined symbol.³

Nonetheless, there is no particularly strong reason to attribute these silver issues to Kaunos in the form of findspots as there is with the bronze, and so he resisted firm attribution.⁴

In suggesting the attribution of the tetradrachms and drachms to a Carian mint, Price was not, of course, alone. The association had already been made by Ludwig Müller in 1855. Both Price 2074 and 2075 were known to him, as his numbers 1228–9, and associated with a series of gold and silver issues that certainly seem to belong at Miletus (Müller 1131–40,⁵ Price 2135, 2137, 2138, 2141, 2143, 2146, 2147, 2148).⁶ Müller’s reasoning is predictable and, as we have seen, clearly over-simplistic:

La bipenne est l’attribut connu de Jupiter Labrandien, divinité principale de la Carie, qui avait son célèbre sanctuaire près de la capitale, Mylasa; on la voit dans la main du dieu sur les monnaies des rois de Carie et elle forme le type principal des monnaies de beaucoup de villes cariennes; on peut donc la regarder comme l’emblème national de la Carie.⁷

2. Price, i, p. 274

3. Ashton, p. 34. On the *parasemon* of Mylasa see further, below Part IV.

4. Ashton, p. 42. Also, in 2004, Marie-Christine Marcellesi excluded the silver issues Price 2073–6 from her overview of the Milesian mint.

5. Müller’s no. 1130 is an issue of Magnesia on the Maeander with a monogram that was mistaken by Müller for a double axe: Price 2009. See now Vadan, p. 101.

6. This group is die-linked to an issue (Price 2149) that bears the characteristic M–I monogram of Miletus. See Ashton, p. 34.

7. Müller, pp. 254–55. He continues: “Les pièces d’Alexandre qui offrent ce signe ont en général été attribuées par les numismatistes à Tenedos; ce n’est que dans le dernier temps qu’une d’elles a été classée à la Carie. La bipenne sur les monnaies de Tenedos diffère en général un peu par la forme et à le manche plus court que celle sur les monnaies de Carie et d’Alexandre.” Müller cites (p. 255, n. 5), in support of the Carian attribution, the attribution of his no. 1136 to a Carian mint by both Leake and Prokesch von Osten. The last explains (p. 12, *ad* no. 26), “Die Forms des Beils bestimmt mich, diese Münze nicht Tenedos, sondern Plarassa Cariae zuzutheilen”(!). Müller’s no. 1136 is Price 2143, in fact an issue of Miletus.

Furthermore, in making this observation Müller was going against the *communis opinio*, which, at least since the work of Eckhel, had assigned these issues to the island of Tenedos, and which was followed by Lenormant and Mionnet.⁸ In fact, the attribution to Tenedos of Price 2074 was adopted by Dorothy Cox in her publications of the Gordion hoards,⁹ and, that of Price 2076 tentatively by Margaret Thompson and Alfred Bellinger in their publication of the Bab hoard.¹⁰ These attributions were then carried forward into the listings in the *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* for IGCH 1534 (Bab (anc. Batnae)), IGCH 1406 (Gordion I), IGCH 1405 (Gordion V) and IGCH 1370 (Northwestern Asia Minor).

However, in what was in retrospect clearly a backward step, Henri Seyrig, who encountered issues as Price 2074 in the Mektepinini hoard, listed them, without comment, under the heading “Atelier carien incertain.”¹¹ It is difficult to see on what basis Seyrig arrived at this attribution. The coins in the Mektepinini hoard clearly belong to the late third century, and there are no other Alexanders of the Carian region in this period with which these issues could be compared on stylistic grounds. The argument from control mark, as we have seen, is not to be relied upon. However, Seyrig was followed in this Carian attribution by Thompson in her study of the “Mylasan” mint, leading to the unsatisfactory position adopted by Price with which we started.¹²

We are thus left without a certain home for what, as we shall see, is quite an extensive coinage. Moreover, in considering the Alexanders distinguished by this control, it is important also to bear in mind that there are issues of Lysimachi similarly marked. This uncertainty of attribution, coupled with the recent appearance of a significant new body of material on the market, make it high time to collect the evidence and consider the problem afresh.

In what follows, I begin with catalogues of the Alexanders and Lysimachi (parts II and III), proceed to discussion of the attribution of these coinages to a mint on the island of Tenedos (part IV), lay out the history of the island (part V) and explore how the coinages attributable to Tenedos fit into that history (Part VI).

II. THE ALEXANDERS

Group 1

Thompson and Price both associate three issues of drachms with the tetradrachm coinage listed below. As already noted, it is certain that these three issues belong together since they all share the same obverse die.¹³ Indeed, with one exception, all drachms of these issues use only this die (group 1a, O1). The exception (struck from O2), of a markedly different style, is separated here as Group 1b, and it remains unclear whether both groups are to be attributed to the same mint. It is also somewhat unclear whether either of these drachm groups are to be associated with the tetradrachms bearing the same control. *Pace* Thompson, the style of the drachms bears no obvious resemblance to that of any of the tetradrachm groups. Moreover, the system of controls (adding either the initials ΔΙ or the trident symbol) is clearly different to the tetradrachms.

As noted by Thompson, the only hoard evidence for this coinage comes with the inclusion of at least 2 specimens in the Bab (Batnae) 1944 Hoard (IGCH 1534). No firm date can be accorded to this hoard, which consisted, so far as can be ascertained, of fairly heavily worn drachms, suggesting a deposit date

8. Eckhel, i.2, p. 103. Mionnet i., p. 533, nos. 282–83. Lenormant, p. 22, pl. XIII, 15, and p. 27, ad pl. XV, 23 (both Mionnet and Lenormant were describing Milesian issues).

9. Cox 1953; Cox 1966.

10. See the note at Thompson and Bellinger, p. 39.

11. Olçay and Seyrig, p. 18, *ad* nos. 411–415.

12. Thompson, pp. 208–9.

13. Thompson, p. 208.

to its publishers of the second half of the third century BC.¹⁴ However, on the basis of comparable wear, Thompson was inclined to date the double-axe drachms present in the hoard to roughly 280–270 BC.¹⁵ With the benefit of the full picture of the tetradrachm coinage discussed below, it may be preferable to raise this slightly to c. 300–280 BC. Taking all this into account, and in the light of the limited hoard evidence, we can probably do no better than to say that the drachms are best placed provisionally at the head of the production of the mint.

Also included in group 1 is a solitary issue of gold. The attribution to Tenedos is not certain, and is discussed more fully below à propos of the group A Lysimachi. If, as seems likely, the gold stater closely precedes group A, then chronologically and typologically it belongs at the end of group 1.

Silver Drachms

Obv. Head of Heracles beardless right, wearing lion skin headdress

Rev. Zeus enthroned left, eagle on outstretched right hand, sceptre in left hand; ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Group 1a

Thompson (1981) 17; Price 2075. <LF> Double-axe

O1/R1

1	4.22	0	London, BM 1841 Burgon 755. Price 2475
2*	4.10	0	New York, ANS 1947.98.210
3	4.24		Savoca Silver 29 (2018) 132
4	4.29		Gorny & Mosch 257 (2018) 319
5	4.27		Naumann 23 (2014) 205
6	4.54	0	CNG 85 (2010) 444
7	4.00		R. Fischer Auktionen 136 (2014) 3120 (and multiple other sales)
8	4.25	0	Obolos web auction 16 (2020) 673

O1/R2

9*	4.30	0	London, BM 2002-01-01-496 (Hersh)
10	4.07	0	CNG webstore 190098 (Jan. 2004); Electronic 394 (2017) 275; 459 (2020) 269
11	4.27		Gorny & Mosch 257 (2018) 320
12	4.00		Aeternitas, MA-shops 153402156 (viewed 3.v.20)
13	4.12	0	CGB MB 18 (2003) 110
14	4.16		Agora Auctions 69 (2017) 10

O1/R3

15*	4.32	0	Rauch 77 (2006) 171; Bertolami ACR Auctions 19 (2015) 147
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O1/R4

16*	4.16	0	New York, ANS 1944.100.32212 (Newell)
17	4.19	330	New York, ANS 1944.100.32223 (Newell)
18	4.31	330	Roma E-sale 41 (2017) 167
19	4.23		Savoca Blue 6 (2018) 154

O1/R5

20*	3.97		Warszawskie Centrum Numizmatyczne 52 (2012) 7.
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14. Thompson and Bellinger. Cf. Duyrat 2016, pp. 95–96, no. 140.

15. Thompson, p. 216, by comparison with drachms of Erythrae and Chios.

O1/R6

21* 4.06 0 Berlin 18252536 (1875, Prokesch-Osten).

O1/R7

22* 3.99 330 **Bab Hoard (IGCH 1534)**. Yale 2001.87.10371. Thompson and Bellinger (1955), no. 82a.

Thompson (1981) 18; Price 2076. <LF> Double-axe + Δ-I

O1/R8

23 4.21 Naumann 44 (2016) 111

24 4.36 Naumann 18 (2014) 87

25 4.18 Stacks, Bowers & Ponterio, Baltimore sale 30.x.14, 11005

26* 4.16 0 Leu Numismatik Web Auction 7 (2019) 148

O1/R9

27 4.18 0 London, BM 1898-06-02-83

28* 4.13 0 New York, ANS 1944.100.32213 (Newell)

O1/R10

29 4.10 **Bab Hoard (IGCH 1534)**. Paris, BnF R4323. Thompson and Bellinger (1955), no. 82b.

30* 4.33 Gorny & Mosch 257 (2018) 321

Thompson (1981) 16; Price 2073. <LF> Trident + fulmen

O1/R11

31 4.24 0 New York, ANS 1944.100.32211 (Newell)

32 4.05 0 Berlin 182507560. 1900 Imhoof-Blumer

33 3.62 Paris, Fonds général 941. Broken.

34* 4.12 0 CNG Electronic 316 (2013) 111

Group 1b

Thompson 17; Price 2075. <LF> Double-axe

O2/R12

35* 4.14 Hirsch 314 (2015) 2365

Gold Stater

Obv. Head of Athena right, wearing Corinthian helmet, ornamented with coiled serpent
Rev. Nike standing left, holding wreath and *stylis*; ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Group 1c

Price —. <LW> Double axe supported by two herms(?); <RW> Ξ.

A1/P1

36* 8.54 330 Heritage Long Beach Sale 3020 (2012) 24888. Double-struck.

Group 2

Group 2 comprises a single issue of tetradrachms marked with a Δ control in left field in addition to the double axe, and is the only coinage assigned by Price to Tenedos. The realisation of the head of Heracles is more elaborate than on the drachms. Zeus on the reverse has a well-built figure and is seated on a throne that is taller than it is wide, and which has no back. The two pieces of hoard evidence, the Tell Halaf hoard, deposited c. 240 BC and the later Seleucus III hoard (buried c. 224 BC),¹⁶ are of limited value and provide only a *terminus ante quem* for the issue's production. However, the coin from the latter hoard exhibits significant wear, suggesting that it was struck in the first half of the third century. Price placed this issue within the bracket c. 280–275 BC, connecting it, like other issues, with the Celtic invasions of this period. I have suggested elsewhere that this “post-Corupedium” phase of production in western Asia Minor was connected rather with an initial period of strong assertion of Seleucid control by Antiochus I.¹⁷

Silver Tetradrachms

Obv. Head of Heracles beardless right, wearing lion skin headdress

Rev. Zeus enthroned left, eagle on outstretched right hand, sceptre in left hand; ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Price 1611. <LF> Double axe | Δ .

O1/R1

37* 16.37 60 **Seuthopolis.** Dimitrov, p. 58, no. 157.

O1/R2

38* 16.64 Rauch 79 (2006) 2015. Goldberg 65 (2011) 4050

39 16.79 60 **“Seleucus III” Hd. Lot C. (CH 10.270)**

Uncertain dies

40 Istanbul. **Tell Halaf hoard (IGCH 1763)**

Silver Tetradrachms

Obv. Head of Heracles beardless right, wearing lion skin headdress

Rev. Zeus enthroned left, eagle on outstretched right hand, sceptre in left hand; ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Price 2074. <LF> Double axe.

Group 3

Group 3 comprises tetradrachms issued with the double-axe control mark alone. The division into three sub-groups is made on stylistic grounds. Group 3a has a more stylized feel on the obverse (O2), with hook-shaped locks on the lion-scalp and soft facial features, and the drapery falling from Zeus' midriff on the reverse is much shorter. The throne-back on R3–5 has only one upright, behind Zeus, parallel with his sceptre. R6–7 have no throne-back. All coins of this subgroup are unified by the use of O2. Group 3b consists of a single coin that seems in terms of its reverse style to have its closest affiliation with R6 in group 3a and R9 in group 3c. Group 3c, unified by the use of O4, has a Herakles with somewhat unkempt and naturalistic lion's mane. On the reverse, Zeus' drapery falls to the level of the throne-strut. The throne back shows either no or both uprights. Overall, the issues of group 3 are characterised on the reverse by a throne that gives the distinct impression of being taller than it is broad.

16. For the most recent discussion of the chronology of this hoard, see Marinescu and Lorber.

17. Meadows 2019, pp. 79–84.

A *terminus ante quem* for groups 3a and 3c is provided by the inclusion of four specimens in the Meydancikkale 1980 hoard (*CH* 7.80; 8.308; 10.269; *EH* I.55), buried by c. 235 BC. Of these specimens, those of group 3a look slightly more worn than that of group 3c, the latter appearing reasonably fresh. This group can be broadly dated to the years c. 270–235 BC.

Group 3a

O2/R3

41 16.83 **Meydancikkale Hd. (*CH* 7.80; 8.308; 10.269; *EH* I.55)** 1610
 42* 16.73 330 CNG electronic 363 (2015) 166

O2/R4

43* 16.9 **Unknown findspot 2012 hoard.** Gitbud & Naumann 9 (2013) 125
 44 16.87 CNG electronic 177 (2007) 29

O2/R5

45* 16.90 0 Berlin 18252532. 1856/18088.

O2/R6

46* 16.62 0 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum HCR23431

O2/R7

47 16.79 **Meydancikkale Hd. (*CH* 7.80; 8.308; 10.269; *EH* I.55)** 1611
 48 16.78 **Meydancikkale Hd. (*CH* 7.80; 8.308; 10.269; *EH* I.55)** 1612
 49* 16.93 330 Roma E-sale 7 (2014) 380; 15 (2015) 106

Group 3b

O3/R8

50* 16.97 Naumann 62 (2018) 87

Group 3c

O4/R9

51 17.07 **Meydancikkale Hd. (*CH* 7.80; 8.308; 10.269; *EH* I.55)** 1613
 52* 16.94 0 Vienna GR 35235. Egger 40 (1912, Prowe) 656.
 53 17.05 NumisCorner, VCoins 980125, viewed 3.v.20
 54 17.04 0 Lanz 131 (2006) 248

O4/R10

55* 17.02 Gorny & Mosch 165 (2008) 1195

Group 4

With group 4 we move, stylistically speaking, into very different territory. The locks of hair on Herakles' forehead now have the appearance of a series of tight curls. The hair of the lion's mane is rendered with a series of small lunate curls, largely oriented vertically. Most noticeable on the reverse is the shape of the base of Zeus' throne, which now has the appearance of being wider than tall. The size of the eagle held by Zeus is in general significantly smaller than in group 3.

Group 4a has been placed at the head of this period due to the appearance of coin 56 in the Meydancikkale hoard, where it is clearly the freshest specimen from this mint. The coin must have been

struck shortly before the deposit of the hoard, and the comparative condition of this and coin 51 of group 3c from the same hoard suggests that there was a very short gap between the production of Groups 3c and 4a, despite their obvious stylistic difference. On the subject of style, it should be noted that that of obverse die O5 is remarkably similar to that of O17–18 of group 5a, to the extent that the same die-cutter may be at work. However, as will be seen below, there is strong hoard evidence to suggest that group 5a was not struck until the last decade of the third century. Another characteristic of the coins struck from O5 is the style of the throne on the reverse. This is distinctive on R11–13, whereon the two uprights of the throne-back are capped with an ornament composed essentially of dots, but also apparently joined mid-way up with a band that extends behind Zeus' back. The dots are paralleled on other reverse dies that are placed here in group 4a. The central band as it is realised on these coins is unique but finds some similarity with the treatment on R15–17. For these reasons, the group struck from these reverses, die-linked by O6 and O7 are also placed here in group 4a.

Following this sub-group I have placed four coins that are, by contrast, struck from four different obverse dies (group 4b). The fact that the reverses of these coins all display two throne-back supports suggests that they may belong in this group, but it cannot be wholly ruled out that they should be associated with R10 in group 3c.

Chronologically speaking, we move onto a firmer footing with subgroups 4c and 4d. The first of these bears no control mark but is linked to the latter through the shared use of O13. This die-link establishes that the coins of Group 4c, which bear no mint mark, belong with our double-axe issues. Furthermore, the condition of the die, which is absolutely fresh on coins 74–79 but clearly deteriorates across coins 80–89, guarantees that the unmarked coins come first. Remarkably, a hoard provenance is recorded for every known specimen of 4c. The earliest of these is the Seleucus III hoard, buried c. 224 BC, followed by the Gordion I hoard (*IGCH* 1606), buried c. 210–205 BC, and the Dniye hoard (*IGCH* 1538), which belongs either to the same approximate period as Gordion I, or to the late 190s.¹⁸ A *terminus ante quem* for Group 4c is thus 224 BC, but in addition to that we might also suggest that it is a *terminus post quem* for group 4d, which, although die-linked to 4c by O13, is wholly absent from the Seleucus III hoard.

In group 4d, broadly speaking, there are two styles of obverse: a smaller-faced Herakles with a comparatively large nose (e.g., O13) and a rather flatter, fleshier-faced Herakles (e.g., O14). Since the two styles are die-linked (by R30), and further linked by a similarity of reverse style, notably a small, rounded axe, there can be no doubt of the homogeneity of the main part of this subgroup. The coins struck from O15 and O16 are linked to this first group (O13–14) by this characteristic axe, which on a number of reverse dies seems to position the axe head at an angle to the haft. In this context, we might also note that O6 of group 4a is used in combination with a reverse die of similar style (R14), as well as a series of dies with an axe-head of the more traditional triangular shape (R15–17). This serves to reinforce the idea that the various subgroups gathered here as group 4 form a connected period of production. The phase of production represented by subgroups 4c–4d is the best attested with 44 coins surviving from O6–O11 (giving a n:d ratio of 7.33:1).

As we have noted, the beginning of group 4 is anchored c. 240–235 by the presence on a fresh specimen in the Meydancikkale hoard. The latter part of the group is further anchored by the appearance of one small element in mint condition in the Seleucus III hoard of c. 224 BC. The *terminus ante quem* for the entire group is provided by the presence of coins of group 4d in a series of hoards deposited in the environs of 210 BC. The earliest testimony is provided by *IGCH* 1370, the “N.W. Asia Minor” hoard buried c. 210 BC, and the Gordion V hoard (*IGCH* 1605), buried probably within the period c. 217–210 BC, both of which contained coins struck from O13, which is die-linked to O14. Strictly speaking it could be argued that the coins struck from O15–16 are later than this, since they do not appear in the hoard record until at least a decade later. These hoards are the Antiochus III hoard (*CH* 10.288), perhaps also formed in

18. The date hinges on whether the latest coin is a dated issue of Aradus of year 209/8 BC or an Alexander of Phaselis of year 26, struck almost 30 years later and possibly intrusive.

N.W. Asia Minor and buried c. 196/5 BC¹⁹ and the Mektepini hoard (*IGCH* 1410), probably buried c. 195. However, the fact that Group 5, as we shall see below, appears to have begun to be struck by c. 210–205 BC bolsters this range as the *terminus ante quem* for group 4. A likely range of c. 235–224 BC for groups 4a–4c and 223–210/05 BC for group 4d results.

Group 4a

O5/R11			
56	16.99		Meydancikkale Hd. (CH 7.80; 8.308; 10.269; EH I.55) 1614
57*	17.03	330	Roma E-sale 18 (2015) 172
58	16.81		Auktionshaus Christoph Gärtner 32 (2015) 34128; Auctiones E-sale 55 (2017) 38
O5/R12			
59*	16.99	0	London, BM 2002-01-01-495 (Hersh)
O5/R13			
60*	16.89	0	CNG electronic 397 (2017) 170. Noble Numismatics 115 (2017) 4205
O6/R14			
61	17.12	30	Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. Roma E-sale 2 (2013) 164
62*	17.05	330	Berlin 18252534. 1873 Fox
O6/R15			
63*	17.00		Mektepini Hd. (IGCH 1410) 413
O6/R16			
64			Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. RA14
65*	17.10	330	Lanz 146 (2009) 119
O6/R17			
66	17.01	330	Vienna GR 10412
67*	16.96	330	“Rumania” Hd. (IGCH 886). New York, ANS 1944.100.32227
O7/R17			
68*			Aurea Numismatika 71 (2016) 2130
O6/R?			
69			“Pamphylia” 1977 Hd. (CH 5.42; 6.34; 10.294)

Group 4b

O8/R18			
70*			Athens, <i>SNG Saroglou</i> 435
O9/R19			
71*	16.85	0	London, BM RPK p. 80 E.63. Price 2074b.
O10/R20			
72*	17.10		Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. Gitbud & Naumann 10 (2014) 103

19. For discussion of date and findspot see Lorber and Houghton, pp. 90–92.

O11/R21
73* 17.01

Mektepini Hd. (IGCH 1410) 411

Group 4c

O12/R22 (no double-axe)

74* 17.07 0 **Seleucus III Hd. (CH 10.272)**. Lot B

O13/R23 (no double-axe)

75* 14.95 0 **Gordion I Hd. (IGCH 1406)** 15

O13/R24 (no double-axe)

76* 16.98 **Dniye (IGCH 1538). (IGCH 1538)** 21

77 17.06 330 **Seleucus III Hd. (CH 10.272)**. Lot C.

O13/R25 (no double-axe)

78 16.61 330 **Seleucus III Hd. (CH 10.272)**. Lot B

79* 17.09 0 **Seleucus III Hd. (CH 10.272)**. Lot B

Group 4d

O13/R26

80* 17.00 Hauck & Aufhäuser 21 (2009) 59. Künker 168 (2010) 7250

O13/R27

81 16.96 0 *SNG Copenhagen* 749 (no provenance)

82* 17.04 **Unknown findspot 2012 hoard.** London Coin Galleries 4 (2017) 566

O13/R28

83* 16.94 0 New York, ANS 1947.98.211

O13/R29

84 17.05 0 **Unknown findspot 2012 hoard.** Roma 7 (2013) 431; 9 (2015) 219

85* 17.06 0 **"NW Asia Minor" Hd. (IGCH 1370)**. New York, ANS 1944.100.32228.

86 16.94 **Mektepini Hd. (IGCH 1410)** 414

O13/R30

87 17.05 **Unknown findspot 2012 hoard.** Berk 195 (2015) 54; 201 (2017) 64

88* 16.86 0 Roma E-live 1 (2018) 112

89 16.55 300 **Gordion V Hd. (IGCH 1405)** 12

O14/R30

90* 17.18 0 New York, ANS 1944.100.32226 (Newell)

O14/R31

91* 17.07 0 Gorny & Mosch 117 (2002) 167; 126 (2003) 1244. CNG 78 (2008) 390; 84 (2010) 646

O14/R32

92 17.03 *SNG von Aulock* 6644

93* 17.02 0 New York, ANS 1948.19.916

94 17.07 Rauch 17.ix.09, 150

95 17.06 Rauch 85 (2009), 174

O14/R33			
96	17.07		Paris, BnF R3984
97*	17.07	0	Berlin 18252535. 1906 Löbbbecke
O15/R34			
98*	16.99	330	Heritage 3072 (2019) 35209
O15/R35			
99*			Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. RB 61
O16/R36			
100*			“Antiochus III” Hd. (CH 10.288) 9.
O16/R37			
101*			Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. RA60
O16/R38			
102*	17.01		CNG electronic 113 (2005) 4
103	17.04		Mektepini Hd. (IGCH 1410) 412
O16/R39			
104*	17.08	0	Bertolami ACR 12 (2014) 276; CNG 99 (2015) 265; Heritage 3048 (2016) 32028; CNG 108 (2018) 234
O16/R40			
105*	16.98	0	New York, ANS 1948.171.14
106	17.09		Lanz 153 (2011) 194
O16/R41			
107*			CNG electronic 109 (2005) 7 (part)
O16/R42			
108*	17.12		Rauch 85 (2009) 173

Group 5

Group 5a exhibits another clear stylistic break from the issues that precede. On the obverse the curls of the lion's mane have become more luxuriant, the scalloping of the hide around Herakles' ear is more pronounced, while the hero's hair is now rendered as a series of clumped curls along his forehead. On the reverse, the throne gradually moves from a square-ish appearance to being taller than wide. All dies show both uprights of the throne-back, and the ornamentation at the top of these often takes on a triangular appearance. The axe is now of a bold size, with a large head, rounded at the ends. All 32 known coins of group 5a were struck from just two obverse dies (O17 and O18), linked by R46. As group 5b I have, *faute de mieux*, placed the solitary coin no. 142, the dies of which appear to have a fairly advanced style, but no obvious analogue in what has been described above.

The hoard record is at once clear and perplexing. This phase of production was all but unattested in the hoards until the appearance of the unknown findspot 2012 hoard, buried apparently in 191/0 BC. Of the 32 specimens recorded below, almost two-thirds (19 coins) first appeared on the market after 2012 (Fig. 1), and are likely to derive from the hoard. By contrast, no specimens of group 5 were present in the Mektepini, Antiochus III and NW Asia Minor hoards of the earlier 190s, all of which contained issues

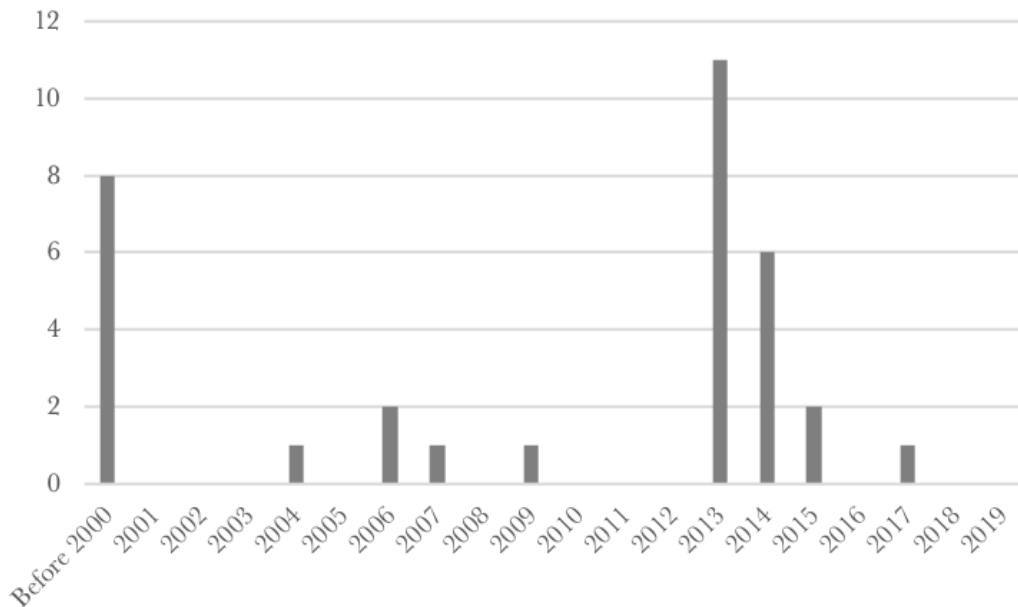


Figure 1. First appearance of coins of Group 5 in commerce by year.

of Group 4d. By itself, this might suggest that Group 5 was struck in between the period of the deposit of those three earlier hoards (c. 195 BC), and the deposit of the unknown findspot 2012 hoard (191/0 BC). This supposition would further be supported by the fact that the coins from the unknown findspot 2012 hoard are in extremely fresh condition, suggesting that they had been struck very shortly before that hoard's deposit.

However, the inclusion of a single specimen of group 5 in the Gordion I hoard (*IGCH* 1606), apparently buried c. 210–205 BC, suggests instead that this coinage must have been struck by that date. Cox specifically noted of the coin (here no. 136), “the almost uncirculated state... puts it close to the burial date of the hoard.”²⁰ We are faced then with a dilemma, which probably cannot be resolved here: either to play down the absence of this group (which was struck from only 2 obverse dies) from the hoards deposited between c. 210–205 and 191 BC; or to downdate the Gordion I hoard to the later 190s. In the absence of further evidence, the best date range that can be offered here is c.210/05–190 BC.

Group 5a

O17/R43

109*17.00 0 CNG 99 (2015) 266. Künker 333 (2020) 306
 110 17.07 Hauck & Aufhäuser 19 (2006) 38
 111 16.90 Gorny & Mosch 159 (2007) 116

O17/R44

112 17.12 0 **Unknown findspot 2012 hoard.** Roma 7 (2013) 430; 9 (2015) 220
 113 16.87 30 **Unknown findspot 2012 hoard.** Roma E-sale 3 (2013) 158
 114*17.12 0 CNG 96 (2014) 498
 115 17.08 Münzhandlung Basel 8 (1937) 250; Künker 94 (2004) 693; 97 (2005) 485; Elsen 86 (2005) 73

20. Cox 1953, p. 18. Her reference to coin “15” is clearly a misprint for “14”, as her plate demonstrates.

O17/R45			
116 17.13	0	CNG 73 (2006) 139; Freeman & Sear, Manhattan sale 1 (2010) 46; Tkalec 17.v.10, 20	
117* 17.11	0	London, British Museum, George III, GIS 11. Price 2074a.	
O17/R46			
118 16.55	0	Klagenfurt, <i>SNG Dreer</i> 416	
119 17.11	0	Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. Roma E-sale 1 (2013) 97. CNG Classical Numismatic Review 39.1 (2014) 975117; CNG 102 (2016) 514; 106 (2017) 425	
120 17.04	0	Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. Roma E-sale 1 (2013) 96.	
121 17.13	0	Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. Triton 17 (2014) 335	
122 17.11	0	CNG 96 (2014) 499	
123 17.08	0	NAC 78 (2014) 242	
124* 17.12	0	London, BM 2002-01-01-494 (Hersh)	
O18/R46			
125* 17.15	0	Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. Roma 7 (2013) 429. Nomos 17 (2018) 107	
126 17.13		Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. Gorny & Mosch 214 (2013) 788	
127 17.01		CNG 67 (2004) 429	
O18/R47			
128 17.08	0	Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. Roma 7 (2013) 428	
129 17.05	0	Spink & Son Ltd., London, February 1989. New York Sale XXVII (Prospero Collection, 2012) 311. Roma 4 (2012) 216; 10 (2015) 332; 13 (2017) 172; 16 (2018) 219; 19, (2020) 533	
130* 16.91	0	CNG 100 (2015) 1500	
131 17.10		Lanz 157 (2013) 112	
O18/R48			
132 17.04	0	Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. Roma E-sale 1 (2013) 98	
133 17.08	0	Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. CNG Electronic 318 (2014) 236. Nomos 11 (2015) 74	
134 17.11	0	Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. Roma 5 (2013) 263	
135* 17.07	0	New York, ANS 1944.100.32225 (Newell)	
136 16.19	0	Gordion I Hd. (IGCH 1406) 14.	
O18/R49			
137* 17.18	30	Unknown findspot 2012 hoard. Roma 6 (2013) 553	
138 17.04		Gorny & Mosch 180 (2009) 108; Roma 3 (2012) 161; Hess-Divo 326 (2014) 31; NAC 96 (2016) 1049	
139 17.09		Gorny & Mosch 244 (2017) 178	
O18/R50			
140* 17.09	0	Berlin 18252533. 1875 Prokesch-Osten	
O18/R51			
141* 17.03		Spink 14005 (2014) 81	
Group 5b			
O19/R52			
142* 16.91	0	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (Oman, 1947). <i>SNG Oxford</i> 2791. HCR23432	

Discussion

Chronology

Table 1 summarizes the chronological discussion and hoard evidence provided above:

Table 1. Hoard evidence for Alexanders

Drachms	
Groups 1a–1b: c. 300–280 BC	Bab 1944 Hoard, <i>IGCH</i> 1534
Tetradrachms	
Group 2: c. 280–275 BC	Tell Halaf Hoard, <i>IGCH</i> 1763 Seleucus III Hoard, <i>CH</i> 10.272
Group 3: c. 270–240 BC	Meydancikkale 1980 hoard, <i>CH</i> 7.80; 8.308; 10.269; <i>EHI</i> 55
Group 4: c. 235–210/05 BC	N.W. Asia Minor, <i>IGCH</i> 1370 Dniye, <i>IGCH</i> 1538 “Antiochus III” hoard, <i>CH</i> 10.288 Mektepini, <i>IGCH</i> 1410 Rumania, <i>IGCH</i> 886 Gordion V, <i>IGCH</i> 1405 Gordion I, <i>IGCH</i> 1406 “Pamphylia” 1977, <i>CH</i> 5.42; 6.34; 10.294
Group 5: c. 210/05–191 BC	Gordion I, <i>IGCH</i> 1406 “Unknown findspot 190s”, 2012

Metrology

The mean, median, mode (individual weights and 5 cg intervals), interquartile range, 80th percentile and standard deviations for the three tetradrachm groups severally and combined are summarised in Table 2, along with those for the drachms. Bar charts at 5 cg intervals for the two denominations are presented as Figs. 2 and 3.²¹

Table 2. Alexander Tetradrachm and drachm weight data

	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5	All Groups	Group 1
Mean	16.90	16.96	17.02	16.97	4.18
Median	16.90	17.03	17.08	17.04	4.18
Mode (ind)	16.90	17.07	17.08	17.07	4.16
Mode (range)	16.90–94	17.05–09	17.10–14	17.05–09	4.15–19
IQR	0.18	0.09	0.08	0.14	0.17
80%	17.02	17.07	17.12	17.09	4.28
SD	0.13	0.33	0.19	0.26	0.13

21. The two coins from the Gordion I hoard (*IGCH* 1406) have been excluded in the light of Cox's comments on their crystallization and its effect on their weight: Cox 1953, p. 1.

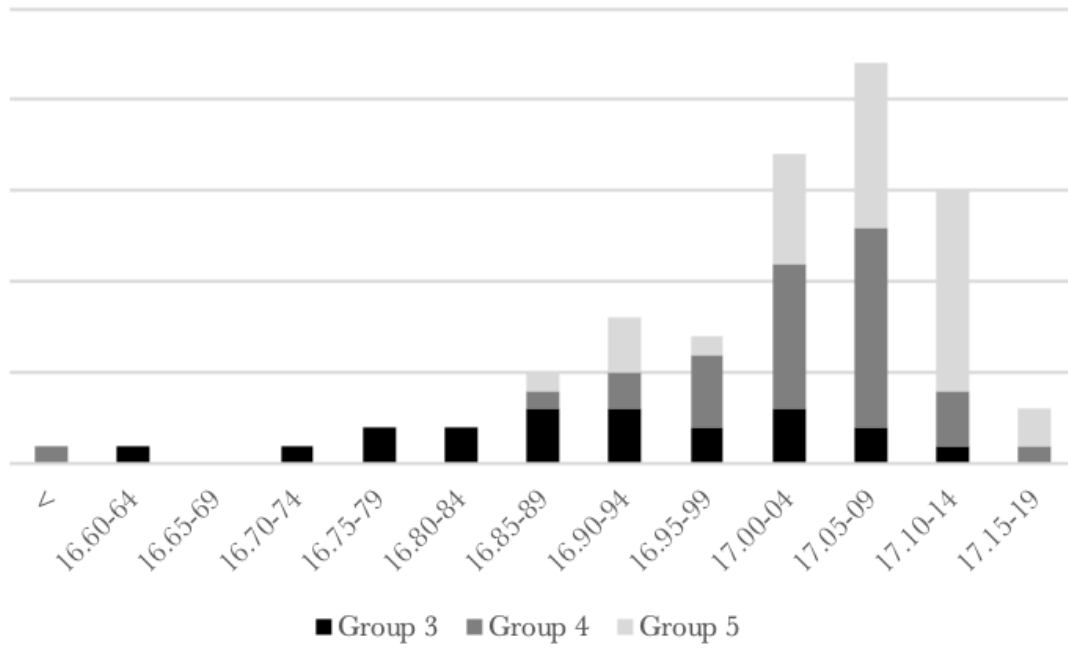


Figure 2. Weight table of Alexander Tetradrachms.

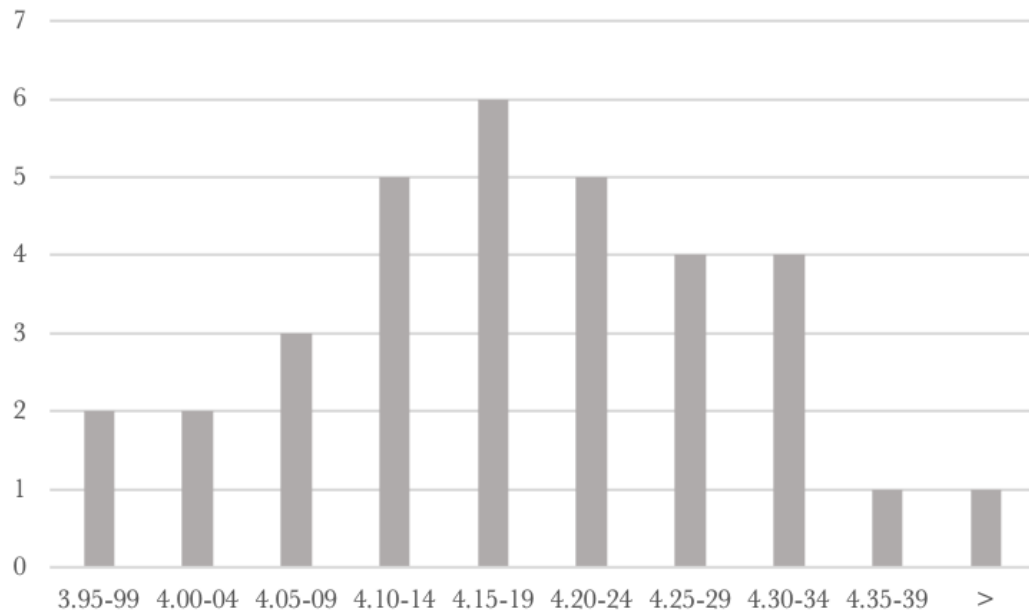


Figure 3. Weight table of Alexander group 1 drachms.

Overall, the tetradrachms appear to be aiming for a weight in the range 17.10–14 g. By comparison of the 80th percentiles of the three groups, we can see that each group is progressively slightly heavier, probably reflecting the fact that a number of the coins from the earlier groups appear in hoards of the 190s, and so exhibit more wear on average than the coins of Group 5 which were at that point freshly minted. This coinage is thus of good Attic weight from start to finish. The drachms in general appear to survive in a relatively fresh state, with an 80th percentile at 4.28 g, implying a tetradrachm of 17.13 g, and so in the same range as the tetradrachms.

Quantity

Table 3. Die estimates for Alexandrine tetradrachms based on Esty (2011)

Group 1a				Group 2				Group 3				Group 4				Group 5			
n	d	D (e)	Range	n	d	D (e)	Range	n	d	D (e)	Range	n	d	D (e)	Range	n	d	D (e)	Range
34	1	1	1	3	1	1	1–2	15	3	4	3–6	53	12	20	15–26	24	3	4	3–5

Using Esty’s formulae for the estimation of coverage and original number of dies (Table 3),²² we can see group 2 is likely to have been struck from 1–2 dies, with an estimate of 1; group 3 is likely to have been struck from 4 dies, with an estimate of 3–6; group 4 from 15–26 dies, with an estimate of 20 dies. It is unlikely that the group 1a drachms, with 34 specimens recorded from a single die, consumed more than that one die.

For illustrative purposes, if we were to posit a production rate of 15,000 coins per die, this would suggest minted outputs of 10–20 talents for group 2; 30–60 Talents for Group 3, 150–260 Talents for Group 4 and 30–50 Talents for Group 5 and 2.5 Talents for the Group 1 drachms, or somewhere between 222.5 and 392.5 Talents for the total.

Circulation

As can be seen from the hoard distribution map (Fig. 4), six of the eleven hoards containing double-axe tetradrachms were buried in the northwestern quadrant of Asia Minor, or on the Black Sea. To this we may add the evidence of the excavation find at Seuthopolis in Bulgaria of a coin of group 2. There is no sign that these coins made it to Syria in significant quantities as did contemporary Alexander coinages such as that of Chios (compare Fig. 5). There is certainly nothing in this pattern that would point to a place of production in southwestern Asia Minor, but the northern orientation, and particularly the findspots in Bulgaria and Romania would be in line with a mint in northwestern Asia Minor.

III. LYSIMACHI

Obv. Head of deified Alexander the Great diademed with horn of Ammon right.

Rev. Athena enthroned left, holding Nike in outstretched right hand; left arm resting on shield with lion’s head behind; in background, transverse spear; in exergue, double axe.²³

22. Die-estimates (D) are produced from Esty 2011, Formulae 3 and 4; confidence intervals from Esty 2006, Formula 4.

23. A coin catalogued as having a “labrys” in inner left field (Roma 11 [2016] 284 = E-sale 29 [2016] 120) in fact has an ivy-leaf control, and shares an obverse die with an example of Thompson 27 (“Sestos”).



Figure 4. Hoard Distribution of Double-axe Alexanders. (Data from Coinhoards.org)

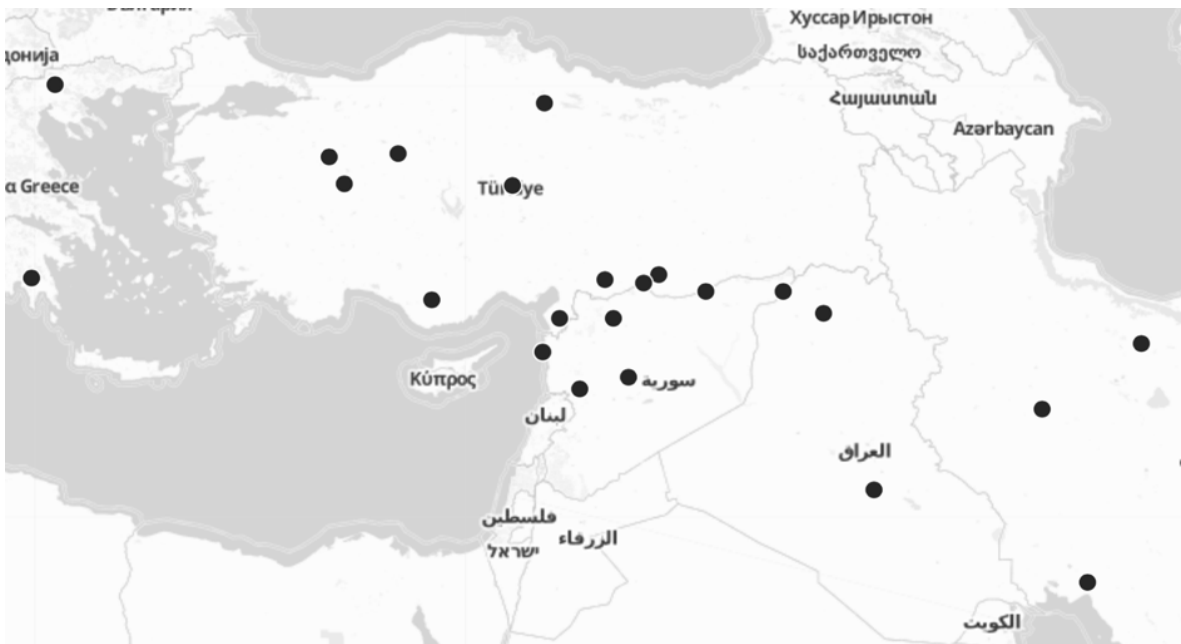


Figure 5. Hoard Distribution of Chian Alexanders. (Data from Coinhoards.org)

Group A

The attribution of this group to the mint of Tenedos is fragile, but a case can be made for their inclusion alongside the clearer cases of groups B–E. The coins in question are all struck from a single obverse die, the style of which suggests that these may be a small lifetime coinage of Lysimachus himself. The mint mark takes the curious form of a double axe supported by two vertical elements that have been described as pillars. Conceivably these supports are to be regarded as simplistic representations of herms, which would confirm the attribution to Tenedos, but suggest that the mint was still struggling to finalise its *parasemon* in the context of royal coinage.²⁴ Certainly a version of this design is attested on earlier Tenedian coinage.²⁵ As Marinescu has pointed out, the die-linked issue with grapes control would also fit Tenedos well, and further supports this notion of a mint experimenting with its identifier.²⁶ This in turn would support an early date for this issue. Furthermore, the occurrence of this supported double axe symbol on a gold Alexander,²⁷ might serve to confirm that we are at a transitional point in the mint's history (see above for commentary). In the absence of hoard evidence for this group, such considerations form our best evidence for its date, which may be tentatively placed c. 280 BC.²⁸

<ILF> Double axe supported by two herms(?)

O1/R1

143	16.97		CNG 46 (1998) 242
144*	16.96	150	CNG 82 (2009) 360. GM 190 (2010) 112; 195 (2011) 117
145	16.77	330	CNG Electronic 340 (2014) 58.

<ILF> Grapes

O1/R2

146*	17.02	30	Roma E-sale 24 (2016) 79
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Group B

Group B is a small group of issues known from just two obverse dies connected by style and control marks of Herm and the letter A, as well as the double-axe in exergue. There is no hoard evidence by which we might date this coinage. Constantin Marinescu informs me (*per epist.*) that the style of these coins is very close to issues of Byzantium that he would date in the decade 270–260 BC.

<OLF> Herm. <ILF> A. <EX> Double-axe.

O2/R3

147*	16.07		Paris, FG 118
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O2/R4

148*	16.90	0	R.J. Myers Ancient Coins FPL (n.d., c. 1971 "Weber Collection") 13. Cayon Subasta Rapida 7 (2013) 9
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O3/R5

149	16.20		ANS 1950.178.35
150*	15.37	60	Private collection

24. We might note also the variations in mint mark on the similarly early Alexander issues of Group 1 (see above).

25. See, for example, Imhoof-Blumer, p. 274, no. 2, pl. X.9. Here Plate IX, D.

26. For discussion of this whole group, chronology and the observation of the die-link to grapes issue see Marinescu 2017, p. 192

27. For a gold stater of Alexandrine type also bearing the supported axe symbol in combination with a monogram, see above, Alexander group 1c, no. 36.

28. Marinescu points out to me that the reverses of this group parallel reasonably closely the formulations used at the mint of Byzantium c. 280–270.

Group C

Group C constitutes a small group of issues that are relatively tightly connected by control-marks, die-links and style. The first two issues, struck from 2 dies (O4–5) are connected by the use of a Herm as a control in the outer-left field, and so potentially to Group B, the only other issues to bear a control in this position. However, while at first glance plausible, the temptation to link these Herm issues with those of Group B is best resisted. Stylistically, there is a good deal of difference between O2–3 and O4–5, and this seems, as we shall see, to relate to a significant chronological gap between the two groups. Within Group C, the transition away from the herm control occurs within the lifetime of O5, which also saw a shift to an inner control in the form of M, MI or MIA in monogram (\mathcal{M} , \mathcal{M}). The fifth obverse die (O5) is clearly from the same hand as O4. The position of the anomalous coin no. 156 with Nike control (R13) is quite uncertain. Stylistically it has no firm affinity with any of the Tenedian groups A–E. It is placed here solely because in obverse style O7 seems closest to this group, while the position of the control monogram can also be paralleled here. The occurrence of coins from this group in the Nimrud hoard (deposited c. 200–195 BC),²⁹ and Mektepini (c. 195 BC), guarantees that it had been struck by these dates. Marinescu has identified the engraver of Obverses 4 and 5 as a member of his Bosporean die-cutter group, Engraver H, apparently active at Byzantium in the last quarter of the third century.³⁰ A date range of c. 205–195 BC probably encompasses the production of this coinage, therefore.

<OLF> Herm. <ILF> AI. <EX> Double-axe.

O4/R6 (Marinescu engraver H)

151* 16.90 **Mektepini hd. (IGCH 1410)** 221

152 17.00 CNG 57 (2001) 274

<OLF> Herm. <ILF> M. <EX> Double-axe.

O5/R7

153* 13.86 London, BM 1971-12-08-3. **Nimrud Hoard (IGCH 1766)** 6192.

<ILF> IA. <EX> Double-axe (illegible).

O5/R8

154* 15.80 30 Marinescu 1996, Issue 96, no. 233 (this coin), attributed to Byzantium.³¹ Glendining 20.xi.75, 874. **Larissa 1968 Hoard** 13, **IGCH 237, CH 9.247.**

<ILF> M. <EX> Double-axe.

O5/R9

155* 16.14 30 Spartan Numismatics 80 (2019) 28

<ILF> \mathcal{M} <EX> Double-axe.

O5/R10

156* 16.90 Peus 316 (1986) 182

157 16.41 0 Private Collection.

O5recut/R11

158* 16.85 CNG 60 (2002) 472; CNG electronic 190 (2008) 30.

29. The latest dateable coin in this small hoard is a Philetairos of Group VI B2, the date of which in turn depends on the inclusion of this group in the Mektepini hoard. See Meadows 2013b, p. 161.

30. Marinescu 1996, pp. 279, 322 n. 105, 363. For O5 see also next note.

31. The reattribution of this coin to Tenedos is confirmed by the obverse die-link to coins 153 and 155–58. I owe this observation to Dr Marinescu.

<ILF> Δ <EX> Double-axe.

O6/R12

159 15.85 BM 1924-09-03-3. **Urfa hd. (IGCH 1772)**

160* 16.49 ANS 1944.100.81656 (Newell)

<ILF> Δ <EX> Double-axe.; Nike l.

O7/R13

161* Hermitage. Specht (1968), pl. xix, 11.1

Group D

Group D is distinct from group C both in terms of style and control-marks. Most noticeable is the fact that the horn of Ammon on all of the obverse dies forms its loop above the ear of Alexander, not around it. The group is unified by the use of Δ as control in inner-left field, as well as by the preponderance of this group in the Mektepini hoard, which contained four coins of group D, and three of the four recorded dies. This fact, together with the very fresh condition of these coins both in Mektepini and the Unknown findspot 2012 hoard, strongly suggests that they were struck in the period c. 200–195 BC.

<ILF> Δ . <EX> Double-axe.

O8/R14

162* 17.03 30 ANS 1952.101.22

O8/R15

163* 17.05 **Mektepini hd. (IGCH 1410) 223**

O9/R16

164* 16.93 **Mektepini hd. (IGCH 1410) 225**

O9/R17

165* 16.98 Paris R 2053 (Seyrig), **Mektepini hd. (IGCH 1410) 226**

O9/R18

166* 16.63 Coin Galleries 28.iv.10, 104

O9/R19

167* **Gaziantep Hoard (CH 10.308) A224**

O9/R20

168* 16.70 0 *SNG Cop. Suppl.* 92. Acquired from Athena, Munich 1979. **“Pamphylia” 1977 hoard (CH 5.42; 6.34; 10.294).**

O10/R21

169 16.95 **Mektepini hd. (IGCH 1410) 224**

170* 16.99 Hess 207 (1931) 284; 222 (1934), 283. Glendining 19.vii.50, 98

O11/R22

171* 16.84 Gorny & Mosch 215 (2013) 748. **Unknown findspot 2012 hoard.**

Group E

Group E marks another stylistic shift, compared with group D. On all but one (O12) of the obverse dies, two diadem ties extend to the rear of Alexander's head in a symmetrical bifurcated arrangement. His hair becomes more unruly. The coins of this group consist of a series of issues relatively tightly connected by die-links and shared controls. The monograms used probably resolve into three main issues: HP(TY), ΠAI and AMI. The position of the control marks, for the most part, now migrates to the exergue (alongside the double axe) and, in the issues placed last in sequence here, apparently move to a system of double control, the secondary control consisting of one of three symbols: a star, a rose, and a facing head. There can be no doubt that these double controlled issues belong with those that precede, since they are linked by one control (ϺϺ) and by the use of obverse die O14 across the transition. No examples of this group are included in the hoards of the 190s (Mektepinı and the Unknown findspot 2012 hoard), wherein group D was reasonably well-represented. This suggests that group E was struck after c. 190 BC. The absence of group E from the Pamphylia 1977 hoard, which did contain an issue of group D, if significant, would suggest a *terminus post quem* of c. 175 BC. The presence of three coins of group E in the Syria 1990, Babylon and Trabzon/Ordu hoards, buried c. 160, c. 155 and c. 154/3 respectively, suggest that this group had been struck by c. 160–155 BC.³²

<EX> Double-axe; ϺϺ, ϺϺ, ϺϺ (three variants)

O12/R23 (ϺϺ to l.)

172* 16.88 0 Leu Numismatik Web auction 3 (2018) 146

O13/R24 (ϺϺ to l.)

173* 15.25 Paris R2056 (Seyrig)

174 16.03 **Trabzon/Ordu hd. (IGCH 1373; CH 9.530).** Boehringer (1975), no. 96.

O13/R25 (ϺϺ to r.)

175* 16.78 Athena 2 (1988) 74. MMAG Deutschland 2 (1998) 34

<ILF> ϺϺ <EX> Double-axe.

O13/R26

176* 15.80 Paris R 2058 (Seyrig)

O14/R27

177* 16.67 Roma e-sale 9 (2014) 171. Vilmar inv. 14233 (viewed 17.v.20)

<EX> Double-axe; ϺϺ (mon. to r.)

O14/R28

178 **Syria 1990 hd. (CH 8.434), 8.**

179* 16.83 Spink 65 (1988) 45

180 15.93 180 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (Acq. 1973). *SNG Oxford* 3768

<EX> Double-axe; ϺϺ to l.

O14/R29

181* 16.48 0 Commerce 2017

<EX> Double-axe; ϺϺ

O14/R30

32. If the coin apparently imitating this group does indeed belong to the Kosseir hoard (see below, "Imitative Issues"), it is possible that part of the Group at least belongs before c. 180 BC.

182* 15.12 Paris R2055 (Seyrig)
 183 16.85 Hirsch 168 (1990) 166. Münz Zentrum 74 (1992) 241. Lanz 132 (2006) 103

<EX> Double-axe; Facing head; Ὡϙ (both to r.)

O14/R31

184* 16.35 30 Leu Numismatik web auction 10 (2019) 165

<EX> Double-axe; Ὡϙ, ϩϙ (two variants); Facing head (to r. and l.)

O15/R32

185* 16.79 Oldenburg 26 (1991) 108

O15/R33

186* 16.82 0 Bank Leu 72 (1998) 155. ANS 1999.30.9

<EX> Double-axe; Rose; Ὡϙ, ϩϙ (two variants) (to l. and r.)

O15/R34

187* 15.63 Paris R2057 (Seyrig)

O16/R35

188* 16.56 Paris FG 216

O16/R36

189* Karlsruhe. Specht (1968), pl. xix, 13.1

O16/R37

190 14.53 Berlin 18274397, 1928/367. **Babylon Hoard (IGCH 1774)** 12
 191* Hesperia Art xlv–xlvi (1968) 224.

<EX> Double-axe; Star; ΑΛ, ΛΑ (to l. and r.)

O17/R38

192* 16.66 30 CNG 81 (2009) 258; 84 (2010) 617

O17/R39

193* 16.79 30 ANS 1944.100.81655 (Newell)

Imitative Issues

Two coins have been segregated from the main catalogue on the basis of their aberrant style. The first of these, known in two specimens from the same dies, is apparently an imitation of one of the Herm issues of group B. The “herm”, however, bears no relation to a herm, causing Seyrig to describe it as a “terme de face.” In fact, it more closely resembles the cult-pillars that appear in the same position on the Lysimachi of Skostokos.³³ The shape of the A control is peculiarly rounded too, while the treatment of Alexander’s hair on the obverse bears no resemblance to any other die used at the mint.

The second issue is more intriguing. It derives from the Kosseir hoard and, in publishing it, Seyrig suggested “l’effigie barbare semble due à un graveur de rencontre” and, while noting the appearance of Tenedian issues in the Mektepini hoard, astutely observed that “son monogramme... devait appartenir à une émission un peu plus tardive.” As we have seen above, the issues of group E, which this coin imitates, seem to belong after 190 BC. Moreover, Marinescu has suggested that this die resembles the work of his engraver I, who appears to have been active at Byzantium a little before 175 BC.³⁴ On balance, it seems

33. For these see Fischer-Bossert 2005.

34. Marinescu 1996, p. 349, for engraver I, p. 363 for a similarity to the Kosseir piece. I doubt however that this is the same hand; moreover, the reverse style of the Kosseir piece and the Byzantine issues of engraver I are markedly different.

either that this coin may be intrusive to the Kosseir hoard, or that the deposit date of the hoard (only half of which Seyrig was able to record) is to be lowered by a decade or so from a little after 190 BC to a little after 180.³⁵

<OLF> Herm? <ILF> A. <EX> Double-axe.

O18/R40

194* 16.92

Mektepini hd. (IGCH 1410) 222

195

Bowers & Ruddy 62 (1982) 4023

<EX> Double-axe; TP (mon. to l.)

O19/R41

196* 16.48

Paris R2054 (Seyrig). **Kosseir hd. (IGCH 1537)** 11.

Chronology

Table 4 summarizes the chronological discussion and hoard evidence provided above:

Table 4. Hoard evidence for Lysimachi

Group A: c. 280 BC	No hoard evidence
Group B: c. 270–260 BC	No hoard evidence
Group C: c. 205–195 BC	Nimrud, <i>IGCH</i> 1766 Urfa, <i>IGCH</i> 1772 Mektepini, <i>IGCH</i> 1410
Group D: c. 200–195 BC	Mektepini, <i>IGCH</i> 1410 “Unknown findspot 190s”, 2012 “Pamphylia” 1977, <i>CH</i> 5.42; 6.34; 10.294 Gaziantep, <i>CH</i> 10.308
Group E: c. 175–160 BC	Trabzon/Ordu, 1970 <i>CH</i> 9.530 Syria 1990, <i>CH</i> 8.434 Babylon, <i>IGCH</i> 1774

Metrology

Table 5. Lysimachus Tetradrachm weight data

	Group A	Group B	Group C	Group D	Groups A–D	Group E
Mean	16.93	16.14	16.22	16.90	16.54	16.25
Median	16.97	16.14	16.45	16.95	16.85	16.56
Mode (ind)			16.90		16.90	16.79
Mode (range)			16.90–4	16.95–99	16.95–99	16.75–79
IQR	0.07	0.48	0.97	0.15	0.66	0.92
80%	16.99	16.48	16.9	17.006	16.978	16.802
SD	0.11	0.63	0.94	0.15	0.70	0.70

35. In practice, there is little to speak against lowering the date to c. 180 BC. The absence of Aradian Alexanders later than year 69 cannot be pressed, given the paucity of production after that date. Duyrat 2005 records just 4 obverse dies for the issues of the 180s. More telling would be the absence of Seleucus IV. However, Seyrig recorded just three Seleucid coins in total from the hoard. Given that the find comes from close to Antioch, it seems highly likely that much of the Seleucid content escaped him.

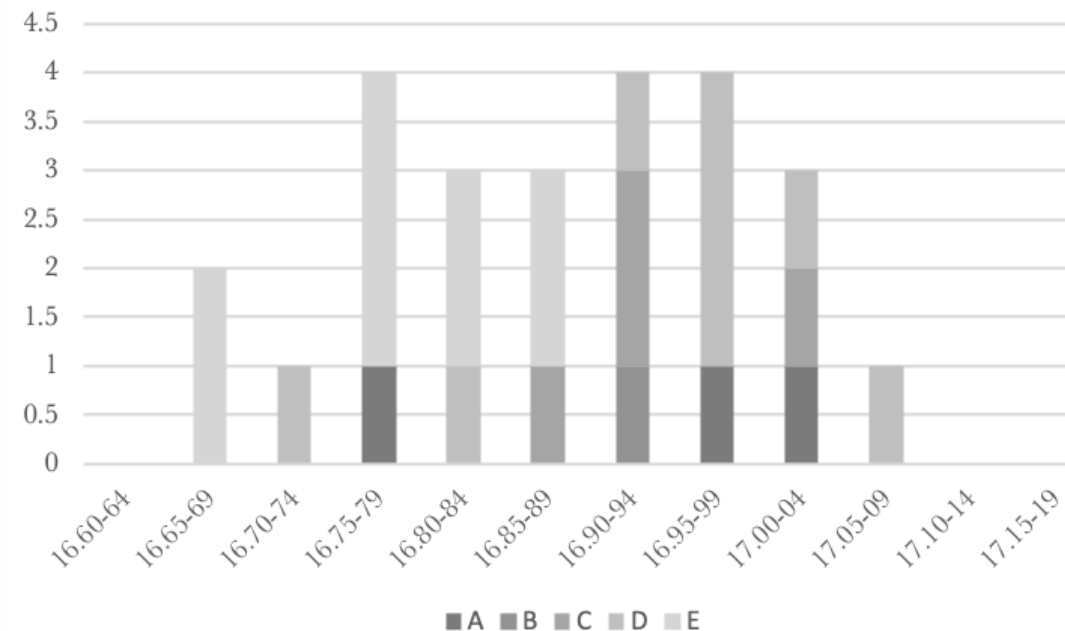


Figure 6. Lysimachi (excluding coins below 16.60 g).

The figures for the Lysimachi are summarised in Figs. 8 and 9 in the same way as for the Alexanders above. Numbers of available specimens are much lower for the Lysimachi than for the Alexanders, so some caution is required in comparison. Groups A, B, C and D appear to be aiming at a similar standard, with an 80th percentile at 16.98g, or about 10cg lighter than the Alexanders. Group E appears appreciably lighter, with an 80th percentile at 16.80g, almost 20cg lighter than groups A–D, suggesting that we are looking here at the “reduced Attic” standard that became widespread in the second quarter of the second century BC.

Quantity

Table 6. Die estimates for Lysimachi based on Esty 2011

Group A				Group B				Group C				Group D				Group E			
n	d	D (e)	Range	n	d	D (e)	Range	n	d	D (e)	Range	n	d	D (e)	Range	n	d	D (e)	Range
4	1	1	1–2	4	2	2	2–5	11	4	6	4–10	10	4	6	4–10	22	6	7	6–10

Ratios of specimens to observed dies are not as high as one would like, but they suggest very roughly that the early issue (group A) was struck from just a single die, group B from between 2 and 5 dies, groups C and D from 4–10 dies each, and group E was probably the largest, in the range 6–10 dies. Again, if we were to posit a production rate of 15,000 coins per die, this would suggest minted outputs of 10–20 talents for group A; 20–50 Talents for group B; 40–100 Talents for groups C and D; and 60–100 Talents for group E. This suggests somewhere between 170 and 370 Talents for the total.

Circulation

No clear pattern of distribution emerges for the Lysimachi (Fig. 7). It does not appear that they arrived in large numbers in Syria, but this is true in general of posthumous Lysimachi (as opposed to the posthu-



Figure 7. Hoard Distribution of Double-axe Lysimachi.

mous Alexanders of western Asia Minor). Nor is there any clear pattern of circulation in northern Asia Minor, although we may note that the Mektepini hoard contains the most examples, and we do have one specimen from the Ordu hoard on the Black Sea. Otherwise we are just looking at individual coins in deposits far from the point of production.

IV. ATTRIBUTION TO TENEDOS

Unlike the Alexanders, the Lysimachi have always been attributed to Tenedos. There seems no reason to doubt this, since, at least for the third group, they conform to a clear regional pattern, that has been well enunciated by Le Rider and Ellis-Evans.³⁶ This attribution will thus be regarded here as secure.

The various past attempts at the attribution of the Alexander coinage have been described above. Two types of arguments have been adduced, and a third may be added. The first of these is the double-axe symbol. This has in general pushed scholars in two directions: Caria and Tenedos. As we began by noting, Ashton has pointed out that by itself the double-axe is not sufficiently distinctive to point to a particular Carian mint. Fabrice Delrieux, moreover, has stressed the very particular form that the double-axe took when employed to indicate the mint of Mylasa: it is then combined with a trident to produce a quite distinctive badge.³⁷ One might even speculate that this curious hybrid was arrived at by the Mylasan mint in the knowledge that the double-axe by itself already bore a clear reference to another mint.³⁸

This it clearly did: the double axe was unequivocally linked to the island of Tenedos across a whole range of contexts. The association of the double-axe with the city of Tenedos, as its *parasemon*, has now been surveyed by S. Killen.³⁹ The image occurs on the coinage of the city from the Archaic period to

36. Le Rider 1972, pp. 227–40 = Le Rider 1999 i, pp. 325–38; Ellis-Evans 2019, pp. 41–46.

37. See Delrieux for a full study of this coinage.

38. Although it is also likely that the combination of the double axe and trident made reference to the two cults of Zeus Labraundeus and Zeus Osogoa, and possible that this can be read as a claim on the part of the city to “ownership” of these two sanctuaries. See Debord 2001, p. 27: “Il est très significative de constater la présence d’un monogramme combinant bipenne et trident et cette “fusion” devant la marque de deux poles religieux de la cité en même temps que l’affirmation de son unité.” Cf. Delrieux, pp. 258–61.

39. Killen 2008; the evidence is also summarised in Killen 2017, pp. 219–20.

the Macedonian conquest. It is also attested on market weights, bearing the double-axe and the legend ΤΕΝΕ|ΔΙΩΝ,⁴⁰ and in the pediment of a bronze tablet bearing a proxeny decree of Elis for a Tenedian found at Olympia.⁴¹ Plutarch describes how the Tenedians kept an axe in their treasury at Delphi, and Pausanias also notes the existence of axes dedicated at Delphi by the Tenedians. Where Plutarch associates the symbol with the natural fauna of the island, Pausanias recounts the myth of the axe of Tennes.⁴² The school of Aristotle, by contrast, thought the symbol influenced by a local form of punishment for adultery. Fascinatingly, this explanation seems to take its cue from the city's coinage: "...as Aristotle reports in the *Constitution of the Tenedians* (Fr. 593 Rose), a king of Tenedos passed the following law: anyone who catches adulterers must execute both of them with an axe. And when it happened that his son was convicted of adultery, he decided not to deviate from the law even with his own son. After his execution, the incident led to the proverbial term for cruel punishment. That is why, according to Aristotle, the Tenedian coins depict an axe on one side and two heads on the other as a reminder of the son's misfortune."⁴³ Whatever the origin of the design, it was clearly firmly entrenched as the symbol of Tenedos.

The second argument, deployed by Thompson to detach the Alexander coinage from Tenedos, is that "although it is not unknown for the same city to produce both posthumous Alexanders and posthumous Lysimachi, it is unusual."⁴⁴ There is little to recommend such a line of reasoning however. As Ellis-Evans has argued, we can view the choice to produce Lysimachi as a sign that "cities perceived their commercial interests to lie with the regional economic network centred on Byzantion and Kalchedon."⁴⁵ On the other hand, one might describe the decision to strike Alexanders as potentially conditioned by a desire to produce coinage acceptable to a wider audience, in geographical terms. If we are to regard the Lysimachi and Alexanders of Tenedos as fundamentally military coinages, then the decision to adopt these two different types may be indicative of differing concerns or focusses of the issuing authority. Alexanders, for example, were issued at various times by the massive territorial power of the Seleucid state, and we might therefore suggest that it is such a power, with a focus on a wider world, and perhaps from Tenedos looking southwards, to which the Alexander seemed like an obvious choice. By contrast, a more regional power with a clear interest in the straits trade, the Propontis and the Black Sea may have been more likely to choose the Lysimachus as a model. But certainly there is no reason why a mint located at such a pivotal point as Tenedos (see Part V) should have exclusively produced one type of coinage or another. Moreover, as Thompson notes, although it is unusual, it is not unique for one city to produce both types of coinage. Thompson herself points to the parallel of Parion.⁴⁶ We might add that of Lampsacus.⁴⁷ These two cities are the next two in line after Tenedos on the southern shore of the Hellespont and Propontis. Tenedos in particular, with its liminal position between the Aegean and the Propontis, is surely one place where we would expect to encounter such an oscillation between Alexanders and Lysimachi.

40. See Weiss, pp. 138–39, no. 4 = Killen 2017, pp. 219–20, b.1–3. Cf. Tekin, pp. 90–92, nos. 1–5. A total of seven weights are now published in the Pondera project online database: <https://pondera.uclouvain.be> (viewed 9.x.20). For the example in the BnF (Bronze 2241) see Pl. VIII, A.

41. *IvO* 39; Killen 2017, p. 220, k.1. Here Pl. VIII, B.

42. Plut. *Pyth. Or.* 12: "the people of Tenedos always kept in their treasury an axe, (a *type* and *parasemon*) taken from the crabs that live on their island near Asterion, for apparently they are the only crabs that carry the figure of an axe upon their shells." Killen 2017, i.1. Pausanias, *Periegesis* 10.14: "The axes were dedicated by Pericylytus, son of Euthymachus, a man of Tenedos, and allude to an old story..." For discussion, see Killen 2008; Specht 2001.

43. Steph. Byz. *Sv.* Τένεδος.

44. Thompson, p. 209.

45. Ellis-Evans 2019, pp. 41–46, quotation from p. 42. While, phrased in this way, civic agency is assumed for the Lysimachi, the pressures of the prevailing monetary habits would have applied no less to royal powers financing fleets in the region.

46. Alexanders: Price 1458–69; Lysimachi: Seyrig, pl. 40.1–15.

47. Alexanders: Price 1444–57; Lysimachi: Ellis-Evans 2019, pp. 41–46. Dr Marinescu informs me that he believes that Calchedon can be demonstrated to have struck parallel issues of Lysimachi and Alexanders. He also points to the parallel striking at Byzantium and Calchedon of Lysimachi and the epichoric silver coinage with types Demeter/Poseidon and Demeter/Apollo.

If Tenedos thus emerges as an entirely plausible candidate for the mint of these coins on the basis of the mint-mark and its geographical location, then we might further bolster this attribution by considering their distribution in the hoard record. As noted above, the double-axe Alexanders do not behave like other Alexanders of western Asia Minor. Their circulation seems more limited, and there is some evidence for them congregating in the region of northwestern Asia Minor and the Black Sea. We may add to this the result of Richard Ashton's work in Fethiye Museum, where no examples of this silver coinage have been recorded. While this evidence cannot constitute proof, it certainly fits the proposition that the mint is Tenedos, and makes it very difficult to argue that the mint is Carian. It is time, then, to take a look at the history of the island of Tenedos, and ask how and when these coinages might fit.

V. THE HISTORY OF TENEDOS

At some 10 km long, 5 km wide, with an area of 41 km², Tenedos is not a large island.⁴⁸ Its importance comes rather from its location, 5km off the coast of the Troad, and 20km southwest of the entrance to the Hellespont, and is further enhanced by the meteorological conditions of the region. Entrance and exit from the Hellespont are not straightforward matters. "The general average rate of the current may be taken at 1~ knot from one end of the strait to the other; but in some places, as at Chanak Kalehsi (mod. Çanakkale), it will run 3 knots, when at Gallipoli it is but 1 knot. The maximum current is at Chanak, where, with a strong N.E. wind, it will attain a speed of 4 knots." Daily average windspeeds from the northeast during the sailing season average 16.2km/h. During the month of August as few as 3 days a month allow northward sailing.⁴⁹ This wind constitutes a frequent obstacle to northward travel through the straights: "In the summer north and northeast winds are more constant. They are clear, agreeable, and moderate, and the barometer stands high. They spring up generally in the morning, die away with the setting of the sun, and are followed by light offshore breezes, chiefly in the deep bays. The regular but gentle sea and land breeze is called the Imbat, and prevails all through the archipelago for a considerable time. It lasts sometimes so long that it is not a rare occurrence to see 200 or 300 vessels in Tenedos Channel or in the other anchorages waiting a favourable and enduring breeze. With every slight southerly air they get underway, but only to shift from one anchorage to another, and they reach the Sea of Marmara after having accomplished the distance by short stages."⁵⁰ Tenedos was thus, as Louis Robert memorably put it, "la porte des Dardanelles." Strategically important for all who would control entrance and access; and economically important for both its position on a major trade route and the captive audience it held of vessels waiting to enter the straits, frequently for weeks at a time.⁵¹

The location of the island gave rise, in the fourth century BC at least, to an unusual preponderance of the population working in the field of "τὸ δὲ πορθμευτικὸν." Aristotle,⁵² whose observation this is, contrasts this area of seaborne employment with three other modes: ἀλιεῖς (fishing), τριηρικὸν (military) and ἐμπορικὸν or χρηματιστικὸν (trade). πορθμευτικὸν has often been translated as "ferrying", but in a recent study Barnes has shown that we need to be more sophisticated in our analysis of Tenedos' specialism. One possibility that we may consider is that Tenedos served as a point of transshipment, between ships from around the Aegean that off- or unloaded cargo there that had been or would be transported

48. The figures are those of Brill's New Pauly, sv. Tenedos.

49. See Wharton, p. 388, for currents; Korfmann, p. 7, for the speed of the winds.

50. Webb, p. 7. Cf. Barnes, p. 170, on the frequency and duration of the winds, and Leaf, pp. 215–16, for the position of Tenedos and for a description of the harbours.

51. Robert, p. 40; Rutishauser 2001, pp. 200–201.

52. *Ar. Politics* 4.1291b: τὸ μὲν πολεμικὸν τὸ δὲ χρηματιστικὸν τὸ δὲ πορθμευτικὸν τὸ δ' ἀλιευτικὸν (πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἕκαστα τούτων πολύοχλα, οἷον ἀλιεῖς μὲν ἐν Τάραντι καὶ Βυζαντίῳ, τριηρικὸν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν, ἐμπορικὸν δὲ ἐν Αἰγίῳ καὶ Χίῳ, πορθμευτικὸν δ' ἐν Τενέδῳ).

by Tenedian ships that specialised in sailing through the Hellespont.⁵³ An alternative that we may wish to consider is the servicing of merchantmen who may have been laid up in nearby harbours awaiting favourable winds. Further opportunities for exploitation of its position are revealed in a speech delivered in Athens in the mid-fourth century wherein Apollodoros son of Pasion, serving as *trierarch*, describes stopping at Tenedos and having to borrow money from local business contacts to pay *siteresion* to his crew. As Ellis-Evans has noted, further business opportunities existed in ship-repair, crewing and piloting in the difficult waters of the straits.⁵⁴

The history of the island, as far as we can reconstruct it, provides a clear reflection of its geographic, economic and strategic importance. From Tenedos' first appearance in western literature, in Homer's *Iliad* and other works of the Trojan cycle, its role on the maritime approach to northwestern Asia Minor is clear.⁵⁵ After the Epics, Tenedos next appears in Herodotus' *Histories* where, in the final stages of the suppression of the Ionian Revolt in 493 BC, the Persian fleet put out from Miletus at the beginning of the year and "easily subdued the islands that lie off the mainland, Chios and Lesbos and Tenedos."⁵⁶ Tenedos was to become a base for the Phoenician fleet, as emerges from the story of Miltiades' flight from Cardia later that year: "But now, learning that the Phoenicians were in Tenedos, he sailed away to Athens with five triremes loaded with the possessions that he had nearby. He set out from Cardia and crossed the Black Bay, and as he was sailing along the Chersonese the Phoenicians fell upon him with their ships. [2] Miltiades himself escaped with four of his ships to Imbros, but the fifth was pursued and overtaken by the Phoenicians."⁵⁷

By the 450s the Persian and Phoenician garrison had been removed and the Tenedians who, according to Herodotus (4.31.2), had been "netted" by the Persians⁵⁸ were clearly restored to their island and became loyal allies of the Athenians.⁵⁹

The first preserved entry for the island in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists comes in 452/1. The amount of tribute assessed for Tenedos is remarkably high: 4.5 Talents.⁶⁰ We can place this in context by setting the contribution alongside all others of 4T or above in the list for that year. In total we are looking at 37 city-states and the entire region of Lycia, and a total sum of 357T, perhaps two-thirds to three-quarters of the entire Tribute at this period. If we break these contributors down into the three "corridors of access" that John Davies has identified for Athenian imperial expansion,⁶¹ then we can present the data as in Table 7.

Although it has been suggested that this elevated amount might be due to the island's mainland *peraea*, it remains unclear how large that *peraea* was in the 450s, and it seems more likely that this level of tribute was justified rather by the island's key geographical location.⁶² Two factors suggest this. The first

53. For full discussion, see Barnes, pp. 173–77.

54. Ellis-Evans 2017, pp. 41–42.

55. The arrival of the Greeks from Aulis via Tenedos was described in the *Kypria* (Arg. 9a West). In the *Mikra Ilias* (Arg. 5 West) *Iliou Persis* (Arg. 2 West), it is to Tenedos that the Achaeans retire from and subsequently to Troy, having left the Trojan Horse and from which, in some versions of the myth, the snakes swim to attack Laocoon. See West, pp. 230–32. It was also the first stop on the journey home: Hom. *Od.* 3. 141.

56. Hdt. 6.31.1: αἰρέει εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ ἠπειρῷ κειμένας, Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον.

57. Hdt. 6.41.1–2: τότε δὲ πυνθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ, πληρώσας τριήρεας πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρόντων ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ ὡσπερ ὀρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος ἐπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου: παραμειβετό τε τὴν Χερσόνησον καὶ οἱ Φοινικὲς οἱ περιπίπτουσι τῆσι νηυσί. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῆσι τέσσερσι τῶν νεῶν καταφεύγει ἐς Ἴμβρον, τὴν δὲ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατεῖλον διώκοντες οἱ Φοινικες.

58. On the practice of netting, see Constantakopoulou, pp. 126–29.

59. The island not only remained loyal to Athens during the period of the Mytilenean revolt in the 420s, it in fact sent warnings to Athens in advance of it. See Thuc. 3.2.2 for the warning, and 3.28, 3.35 for later involvement. Tenedians were later present among the allies on the great Sicilian expedition: Thuc. 7.57.5. On Tenedian loyalty in general see Rutishauser 2001.

60. *IG* I³ 261 A.1.6: ΗΗΗΗ<Π> Τενέδιοι.

61. Davies, pp. 45–47.

62. Cook, pp. 360–63 posited a *peraea* extending from Achilleion southwards (and so slightly larger than that described by Strabo 13.1.32 C596 and 13.1.46 C604, which begins at Achaion) to Colonae and Larisa from the eighth century BC. Constantakopoulou, p. 239 argues that it was more likely that this was acquired from Athens at the expense of Mytilene following the latter's revolt. For discussion of the historical development and extent of the *peraea* see now Ellis-Evans 2017.

Table 7. Tribute payers on Routes 1,2 and 3 with assessments of 4T or higher

Route 1	Talents	Route 2	Talents	Route 3	Talents	Other	Talents
Abdera	15	Chersonesos	18	Paros	16	Aegina	30
Ainos	12	Byzantium	15	Kyme	12	Lycia	12
Torone	12	Lampsakos	12	Andros	12	Phaselis	6
Mende	8	Perinthus	10	Ialysos	10		
Karystos	7.5	Kyzikos	9	Miletus	10		
Eretria	6	Lemnos	9	Erythrae	9		
Potidaia	6	Chalkedon	7	Kamiroi	9		
Sermylia	6	Samothrace	6	Naxos	9		
Skione	6	Selymbria	6	Lindos	8.5		
Acanthus	5	Tenedos	4.5	Ephesus	7.5		
Chalkis	5	Abydos	4	Kos	5		
Dikaia	4			Keos	4		
Singos	4						
Total	96.5		100.5		112		48

is the company that the island keeps in the Tribute Lists, and the clear logic that emerges both from the story of Miltiades and Fig. 8. Tenedos occupied an important point on the grain-route northeast from Athens, via the Hellespont and Propontis towards the Black Sea.⁶³ The second is the fact that after the assessment of 452/1, Tenedos seems, quite unusually, to have made its contributions to Athens in Cyzicene stater.⁶⁴ We could ask for no clearer sign that Tenedos was “plugged in” to the Propontic trade route towards the Black Sea, and benefitting from it, presumably through harbour dues payable in coin.

Tenedos retained close associations with Athens through much of the fourth century too. We may infer this from the attack on and plundering of the island by the Spartan *epistoleus* Nikolochos during the Corinthian War in 389 BC and the subsequent Athenian response,⁶⁵ the anchoring of Attic triremes off the island in a blockade of Abydos 387,⁶⁶ and the fact that it was an early signatory to the prospectus for the Second Athenian Confederacy in 377 BC.⁶⁷ Athenian naval squadrons were putting in at the island in the 360s.⁶⁸ In 346 a Tenedian, Aglaokreon, was chosen to represent the Athenian allies on the famous embassy to Philip of Macedon (Aesch. 2.20 and 126), and in 340, during the attacks on Perinthus and Byzantium by Philip, the Tenedians seem to have provided financial support to the Athenians, for which they and specifically Aratos of Tenedos, were honoured at Athens (the city with a gold crown, Aratos with one of olive) and apparently provided with exemption from *syntaxis* until the debt was repaid.⁶⁹

Following the collapse of the Athenian Confederacy in 338 BC, Tenedos joined the Corinthian League,⁷⁰ but this did not save it when the outbreak of conflict between Macedon and Persia saw the conquest by the latter of Tenedos in 333 BC. The Persians did not use half-measures: 100 ships were sent

63. See Rutishauser 2001 for emphasis of this point.

64. See Meiggs, pp. 239, 442–43; Figueira, pp. 277–78.

65. Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.6–7: καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικόλοχος βοηθῶν Ἀβυδηνοῖς ἐπλεῖ ἐκεῖσε: παρατρεπόμενος δὲ εἰς Τένεδον ἐδήου τὴν χώραν, καὶ χρήματα λαβῶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ἀβυδον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ἀθροισθέντες ἀπὸ Σαμοθράκης τε καὶ Θάσου καὶ τῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνα χωρίων ἐβοήθηον τοῖς Τενεδοῖσι.

66. The episode is reported at Xen. *Hell.* 5.6.25; the location is given in Polyaeus’ account (*Strategemata* 2.24).

67. *IG II²* 43, Rhodes-Osborne 22, l. 79, column 2.

68. Demosthenes 50.53.

69. *IG II³* 1.313, Rhodes-Osborne 72. For another, more fragmentary decree in honour of Tenedos and Aratos of uncertain date and circumstance see *IG II³* 1.401. For discussion, see Rutishauser 2014, p.79; Russell, pp. 68–69.

70. On conquering the island in 333 BC the Persians required the Tenedians to pull down the *stelai* containing their agreement with Alexander and the Greeks (Arrian, *Anab.* 2.2.2; see next note). Against the notion that this indicates that they had not joined under Philip, see Bosworth *ad loc.*

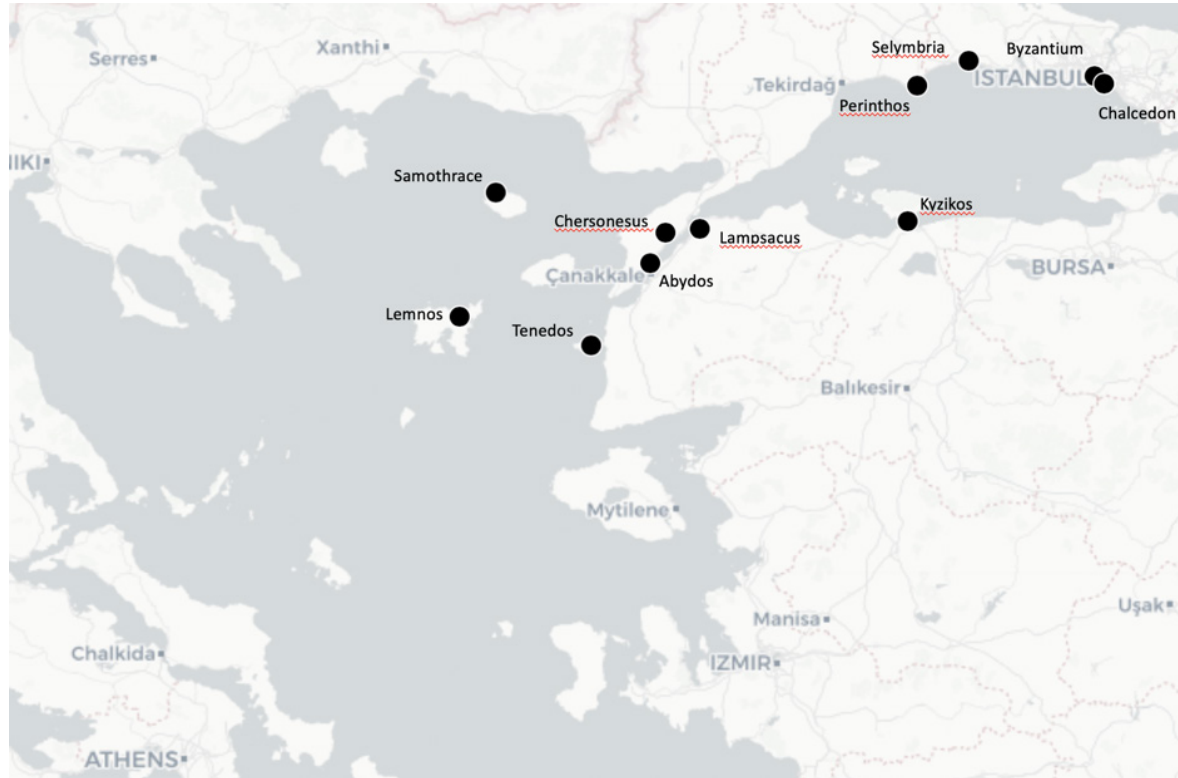


Figure 8. “Route 2” cities in the Tribute Lists with assessments of 4T or greater.

to detach the island from the Greek alliance.⁷¹ However, within a year, the Tenedians had burst free and reattached themselves to the Greek cause.⁷²

Given the importance of the island, it is unlikely that it escaped the interest of the imperial entities that arose in the footprint of Alexander’s empire, but the evidence is once again scant. We know that an Antigonid fleet was present in the region c. 314 BC⁷³ and, in the light of the other evidence of the interest of Monophthalmos in the region, it is all but impossible that Tenedos did not come under Antigonid control until the Battle of Ipsos in 301 most probably brought the region into the hands of Lysimachus. There is complete uncertainty about the chronology and nature of Lysimachus’ control of the region. As Lund has rightly pointed out, the temptation to base a reconstruction on Newell and Thompson’s attribution of royal coinages to cities in the region is best avoided.⁷⁴ Thus far, no lifetime coinage of Lysimachus has been attributed to Tenedos but, as we shall see, there is nothing implausible in the notion that there was some.

71. Arrian, *Anab.* 2.2.2–3: αὐτοὶ (sc. Pharnabazos and Autophradates) δὲ ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Τενέδου ἔπλευσαν: κατακομισθέντες δὲ τῆς Τενέδου εἰς τὸν Βόρειον καλούμενον λιμένα πέμπουσι παρὰ τοὺς Τενεδίους καὶ κελουσι τὰς στήλας τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας γενομένας σφίσι, ταύτας μὲν καθελεῖν, πρὸς Δαρεῖον δὲ ἄγειν τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν ἐπὶ Ἀνταλκίδου Δαρεῖω συνέθεντο. Τενεδίους δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς εὐνοίας ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον τε καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐποίει μᾶλλον, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι ἄπορον ἄλλως ἐδόκει ὅτι μὴ προσχωρήσαντας τοῖς Πέρσiais σώζεσθαι: ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Ἠγελόχῳ, ὅτῳ προσετέτακτο ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐθις ξυναγαγεῖν δύναμιν ναυτικὴν, τοσαύτη ξυνηγμένη ἦν ὡς δι’ ὀλίγου προσδοκᾶν ἔσεσθαι ἂν σφίσι παρ’ αὐτοῦ τινα ὠφέλειαν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ ἀμφὶ Φαρνάβαζον τοὺς Τενεδίους φόβῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐθελοντὰς παρεστήσαντο.

72. Arrian, *Anab.* 3.2.3: Ἠγελόχος κατέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Τενεδίους τε ἀποστάντας Περσῶν σφίσι προσθέσθαι καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄκοντας Πέρσiais προσχωρήσαι. It has been suggested that the Tenedian peraea was the location of the *chora* of Memnon, which Alexander deliberately avoided liberating, according to Polyaeus (4.3.15). There is no firm evidence for this, however. See Debord 1999, p. 434 for discussion.

73. Under the command of Dioscourides it successfully challenged Athenian forces (under the control of Cassander) for possession of Lemnos (Diod. Sic. 19.68.4). Tenedos may well have served as the Antigonid base for this campaign.

74. See Lund 1992, pp. 82–83. For the destruction of the notion of a mint of Alexandria Troas, for example, see Meadows 2004.

Following the Battle of Corupedium it can be inferred that the island fell into the hands of the Seleucids, since they gained control of the mainland to the east and Lemnos to the west.⁷⁵ It has been suggested that the naval-base under the command of a certain Athenaios, mentioned in a letter of Antiochus I and transmitted to Ilion, may have been located at Tenedos. In any case, as C.B. Welles notes, “The reference serves to remind us that something of a navy was maintained under the early Seleucids.”⁷⁶ Certainly by 276 BC the Tenedians were back in cordial contact with Athens⁷⁷ and, perhaps around the same time, a Tenedian dedicated a statue on Delos of the Seleucid princess Phila, possibly on the occasion of her marriage to Antigonos Gonatas.⁷⁸

However, in the following years it seems that the northern Aegean saw a period of Ptolemaic control that has left no trace on Tenedos, but can be clearly felt on Lesbos to the south,⁷⁹ and at Aenus, Maroneia and Samothrace to the north. In all probability, this extension of Ptolemaic power northwards came in the course of the Third Syrian War (c. 246–241 BC).⁸⁰ From Samothrace we have an honorific decree for a Ptolemaic “*strategos* of the Hellespontine and Thracian regions,” a district that might plausibly have contained the island of Tenedos, passed sometime between c. 240 and 221 BC.⁸¹

At the same time, the reign of Eumenes I (263–241 BC) seems to have seen the creation of an Attalid fleet, probably based at Elaia. How early in his reign this might have become a significant force remains unclear, particularly if, as seems likely, control of Elaia and its environs was only formally ceded to him by Seleucus II in the 240s. In any case, it is unlikely that this force was capable of much more than defence in the face of the more powerful navies of the Seleucids and, especially, the Ptolemies.⁸²

On the other hand, while the 240s may have seen the ceding of some authority to the Attalids, and central Seleucid control in the region of northwestern Asia Minor may have been weak in the middle part of the third century, Antiochus Hierax was a strong presence in the Troad and on the Hellespont in the third quarter of the century. Ilion, on the coast opposite the island, was one of Hierax’s mints, and Tenedos may have found itself in an uneasy buffer position in these years.⁸³ Moreover, while there is little specific evidence for activity of the usurper Achaeus in the region, Mysia and the Troad are likely to have been part of the territory contested by him with Attalos I. By 216 BC, Ptolemaic influence may have been on the wane, and in this year Antiochus III launched a major offensive into Asia Minor to depose Achaeus. This clearly led to the reassertion of Seleucid control over areas in northwestern Asia Minor, certainly in

75. So Tarn 1920, p. 151. Lemnos: “as a way of expressing their gratitude to the descendants of Seleucus and Antiochus, since when they were suffering at Lysimachus’ hands, Seleucus not only eliminated him, but restored both cities to them, the Athenians on Lemnos built not only a temple dedicated to Seleucus, but one in honour of his son Antiochus as well. They also refer to the ladleful of wine poured out at their parties as belonging to Seleucus the Savior.” (Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 6. 254f–255a)

76. *Ilion* 33d, ll. 53–4 ~ RC 12, ll. 4–5 for assignment of land Ἀθηναίωι τῶι ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυστάθμου. Welles *ad loc.* (p. 67) for the Seleucid fleet. For the suggestion of Tenedos as the location of the base, see Reinach, p. 180, n. 1. For other possibilities, see Ellis-Evans 2017, p. 38, n. 43.

77. IG II³ 1. 892, and honorific decree in honour of the people of Tenedos; the occasion is unclear, but the decree notes the long-standing friendship between the two cities (ll. 8–13): ἐπ[ι] [ειδῆ] ὁ δ[η]μος ὁ Τενεδίω]ν ἐν τε τοῖς ἔ[μ]προσθ[ο]ν[ε]ν χρόνο[ι]ς διατετέλεκε]ν εὐνους ὄ[ν]ν καὶ φ[ί]λλ[ο]ς τῶι [δ]ή[μ]ωι τῶι Ἀθηναίω]ν καὶ πολ[λ]ὰς καὶ | [μ]εγ[ά]λας [χρ]ε[ί]ας παρέσχηται ἐν ἅπα[σι] τοῖς] [κ]αιροῖς, ...

78. IG XI.4.1098: [βασίλισ]σαγ Φύλαν | [βασιλέω]ς Σελεύκου, | [βασιλέ]ως δὲ Ἀντιγόνου [γυ]να[ῖ]κα | [—ο]φάγης Δημ[—] | [Τ]ενέ[δ]ιω[ς]. | Παρθενοκλής Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησε. The date is quite unclear. Tarn 1913, p. 389, n. 60, and Tarn 1920, p. 151 assumed it was c. 246. More plausible, perhaps, is the occasion of the royal marriage c. 277/6 BC, when other dedications may have been made on Delos to mark the occasion. See Kosmetatou, p. 219.

79. For a summary of the evidence see Meadows 2013c, p. 29.

80. For an overview see Meadows 2013a.

81. IG XII.8.156, with improved text as Fraser, pp. 39–40. For date and context, see the discussion of Gauthier. For Maroneia, where there was a Ptolemaic *tetagemnos*, see Gauthier, pp. 88–89. Aenus was still subject to a Ptolemaic *tetagemnos* in 200 BC: Livy 31.16.4.

82. For the existence of the fleet, on the basis of the apparent mention of ships in OGIS 266, see Hansen, p. 23; Savalli-Lestrade, p. 226. On Elaia, see Pirson and the summary in Blackman et al., pp. 567–68. For the growth of Attalid power in the region, see Savalli-Lestrade and, with more recent evidence, Chrubasik, pp. 93–96.

83. For Hierax broadly on the Hellespont, see Boehringer; for the mint of Ilion, Ellis-Evans, p. 35.

Mysia, and quite possibly also in the Troad, including, again, Ilion. There is some evidence to suggest that a Seleucid royal mint was briefly opened either in Mysia or the Troad.⁸⁴

Although Ptolemaic presence in the Aegean certainly did survive beyond the reign of Ptolemy IV, it is probable that the Rhodians and Attalids were already building their own naval power in this region before the end of the third century. In 220, the Rhodians went to war against Byzantium and we learn from Polybius that they sent a squadron of ten ships north to blockade the Dardanelles at the southern end.⁸⁵ This will have had at least short-term repercussions for Tenedos. Certainly, when the island emerges once more in the literary record it is as an Attalid and Rhodian naval base. In 200 BC the Rhodians and the Attalids had allied in the face of their common enemy Philip V of Macedon, who had begun to attack Ptolemaic possessions in the northern Aegean. He had taken Maronea and Aenus, and was besieging Abydos when Attalid and Rhodian forces sailed to try to stop him. As Polybius tells us, “king Attalus, having heard that Abydos was being besieged, sailed through the Aegean to Tenedos”;⁸⁶ while Livy, critical of the allied attempt to relieve the siege summarises, “This siege delayed Philip a long time, and the people could have been quickly relieved of the siege if Attalus and the Rhodians had not delayed. Attalus sent only three hundred soldiers for the garrison, the Rhodians one quadrireme from the fleet, although it was lying off Tenedos. Later, the city being by that time scarce able to resist the siege, when Attalus in person arrived there, he gave only the hope of aid from nearby, but did not help the allies by either land or sea.”⁸⁷ From these combined accounts it seems that the Rhodians already had a small force standing off-shore at Tenedos, before the Attalid king met them there with his naval forces.

Attalid control cannot have survived for long, however. The arrival of Antiochus III at the head of a massive land and sea force in 197 BC brought Attalid expansionism to a crashing halt. Antiochus laid claim to the whole of Asia Minor, as well as Thrace, and his decision to establish a provincial capital at Lysimachia will quite simply have required control of the Hellespont and Tenedos.⁸⁸ But by 188 BC, the Seleucids were gone and there can be little doubt that the vacuum at Tenedos will have been filled by the Roman decision to give the Troad to the Attalid kingdom.

The island would again be the focal point of conflict between the Rhodians and the Macedonian king, this time Perseus, during the Third Macedonian War. In 171 BC, the Rhodians (narrowly) voted to send naval assistance to Rome: “Straightaway, six quadriremes were prepared, five of which were sent to Chalcis under the command of Timagoras, and the other under the command of †Timagoras† to Tenedos. This latter commander fell in at Tenedos with Diophanes, who had been despatched by Perseus to Antiochus, and captured both him and his crew.”⁸⁹

Later, in 168 BC, the island was again being used as a base by the Rhodian and Attalid navies before a superior Macedonian force arrived and ejected them: “Perseus sent Antenor and Kallippos, his naval commanders, with forty *lemboi* —there were five *pristes* added to this number—to Tenedos, in order to protect from that base the ships scattered through the Cyclades islands on their way to Macedonia with grain. The ships were launched at Cassandrea, and after crossing first to the harbours under Mount Athos and

84. For an overview see Ma 1999, pp. 59–63. The question of Ilion hangs on the date assigned to *Illion* 32 (OGIS 219): see the discussion of Ma 1999, pp. 254–59. For the Seleucid royal coinage of “Mint 53,” replicating a small stylistic feature characteristic of Alexandria Troas, see SCI, p. 368.

85. Plb. 4.47–52. The ships are described (4.50.6) as “anchored off Sestos” (περὶ Σηστῶν).

86. Plb. 16.34.1: Ἀτταλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας πολιορκεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς, δι’ Αἰγαίου ποιησάμενος τὸν πλοῦν εἰς Τένεδον.

87. Livy 31.16.6–8: *ea oppugnatio diu Philippum tenuit, eripique ex obsidione, ni cessatum ab Attalo et Rhodiis foret, potuerunt. Attalus trecentos tantum milites in praesidium, Rhodii quadriremem unam ex classe, cum ad Tenedum staret, miserunt. eodem postea, cum iam vix sustinerent obsidionem, et ipse Attalus cum traecisset, spem tantum auxilii ex propinquo ostendit neque terra neque mari adiutis sociis.*

88. On the reconquest of 197 BC, see Ma 1999, pp. 82–94, with pp. 86–87 on the Hellespont campaign.

89. Plb. 27.7.14–15: καὶ παραυτίκα καταρτίσαντες τετρήρεις ἕξ, πέντε μὲν ἐξαπέστειλαν ἐπὶ Χαλκίδος, ἡγεμόνα συστήσαντες ἐπ’ αὐτῶν Τιμαγόραν, τὴν δὲ μίαν εἰς Τένεδον, ἐφ’ ἧς ἄρχων ἐπέπλει Τιμαγόρας. ὃς καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐν Τενέδῳ Διοφάνην, ἀπεσταλμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Περσέως πρὸς Ἀντίοχον, αὐτοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἐγενήθη κύριος, τοῦ δὲ πληρώματος. For the confusion concerning the names of the Rhodian commanders, see Walbank, *HCP ad loc.*

thence on a calm sea to Tenedos, they sent away unharmed and even with kind addresses some undecked Rhodian ships which were at the port with Eudamus their commander. Then Antenor discovered that on the other side of the island fifty of their freight ships were blockaded by warships of Eumenes, under command of †Damius†, which were stationed at the mouth of the harbour. Antenor promptly sailed around and by threat caused the enemy ships to retreat; the freight ships were sent to Macedonia under convoy of ten scout-ships, which were instructed to return to Tenedos after seeing them safe.”⁹⁰

It is clear, therefore, that Tenedos served as a naval base for both the Rhodians and the Attalids from at least c. 200 BC down to the Third Macedonian War. It is conceivably to this period that we might date the tenure of the priesthood of the Dioscuri on the island of the Rhodian Philiskos son of Agesander.⁹¹ Rhodian use of the island may have ceased at this point, but Attalid control seems to have continued into the reign of Attalos II, who dedicated a statue of a supporter there.⁹² However, with the demise of the Attalid kingdom, there followed also a humbling of Tenedos’ fortunes. During the 50s BC, the islanders seem to have petitioned the Roman Senate for free status. Cicero and others spoke in support, but to no avail: “And so, the freedom of the people of Tenedos has been chopped off by the Tenedian axe, since no one defended them except myself, Bibulus, Calidium and Favonius.”⁹³ At some point between the reign of Augustus and the time of Pausanias in the second century AD, their reversal was complete and the island had been absorbed into the territory of Alexandria Troas.⁹⁴

Whereas political independence may have departed the island, its geographical importance had not. Four more episodes may serve as an illustrative coda. In 85 BC, in the last stages of the First Mithridatic War, L. Licinius Lucullus arrived in the Aegean at the head of a powerful Greek fleet, and began detaching the coastal cities from Mithridates’ control. The Mithridatic fleet gathered and waited for Lucullus at Tenedos and, while the king retreated into the Black Sea, it fought there the final naval engagement of the war in the Aegean.⁹⁵

Fourteen centuries later, Tenedos would again serve as the mustering point for another imperial navy—that of the nascent Ottoman Empire. “The Sultan Othman seized the place in the year 1302, and made it the rendezvous of the fleet with which he afterwards subdued many islands of the Archipelago...”⁹⁶ Tenedos would serve one more time as marshalling point for invasion of the Troad, bringing the story full circle. In winter and spring 1915, in support of Winston Churchill’s master plan for the defeat of the Turkish military, the island became the mustering point and supply depot for the combined French and British fleets. Some 30,000 troops were disembarked there, and an aerodrome established. When the British ship *Canopus* arrived on February 15, its captain, Heathcoat Grant, noted “There was a crowd of shipping of all sorts there, colliers, ammunition ships, battleships etc.—and I found myself the S.N.O. with no idea of who they all were.” Contemporary photographs (e.g., Pl. IX, C) provide a vivid impression of the amount of shipping lying off the island, which had slipped once more into a role that would have been familiar to Homer.⁹⁷

90. Livy 44.28.1–5.

91. IG XII.2.640: ἐπὶ ἱερέως τῶν Διοσκούρων Φιλίσκου | τοῦ Ἀγησάνδρου Ροδίου Εὐνομος καὶ οἱ | σύνσκανοι Διοσκούροις. For the possibility that this inscription was set up by sailors from the Rhodian fleet, see Van Gelder, pp. 350–51, 467, no. 109, followed by Reinach, p. 185, n. 1.

92. IG XII.2.639: βασιλεὺς Ἀττάλος βασιλέως Ἀττάλου Εὐάκην | Παναρέτου ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἦν ἀπε|δεί<ξ>ατο τῶι τε ἀδελφῶι βασιλεῖ Εὐμενεῖ | καὶ αὐτῶι.

93. Cicero *Ep. Qu. frat.* II.11.2: Tenediorum igitur libertas securi Tenedia praecisa est, cum eos praeter me et Bibulum et Calidium et Favonium nemo defenderet (February 54 BC).

94. Pausanias, *Perieg.* 10.14.4: Τενέδιοι δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας προσεχώρησαν τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐν τῇ ἡπειρῶ τῇ Τρωάδι ἔχουσιν. Still autonomous in the reign of Augustus: see Reinach, p. 300 on the basis of *RPC* 1. 2319. Cf. Constantakopoulou, pp. 252–53; Ellis-Evans 2019, p. 178.

95. Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 3.7–10, and singled out by Cicero *Pro Murena* 33.

96. Broughton, ii, pp. 78–79, cited by Leaf, p. 215. On the subsequent struggle for the island between the Venetians and the Genoese in the fourteenth century, of which “possession était un atout capitale pour les maîtres du commerce de la Romanie et de la mer noire,” see Thiriet.

97. For the troop figures, see Baudoin, p. 25. For the *Canopus*: Grant, ch. 7.

The military significance of the island as a mustering place for fleets thus persisted for centuries; but so did its place on the grain route; interestingly, however, with the rise of the city of Byzantium, this route reversed polarity. Procopius explains in some detail:

And on our neighbouring island of Tenedos [the Emperor Justinian] made provision for the welfare of the imperial city and of those who labour on the sea, which I shall describe immediately, with the following introductory observation. The sea at the Hellespont flows in a very narrow channel, since the two continents at that point approach very close to each other and form the beginning of the strait at Sestus and Abydus; and when ships which are holding a direct course for Constantinople reach that point, they cast anchor. And it is impossible for them to go further unless they have a wind blowing from the south. So when the grain fleet from Alexandria reaches that point, if the wind blows favourably for them, those having this business in charge bring their ships into the harbours of Byzantium in a short time; then, after discharging their cargoes, they depart with all speed, so that before the winter season they may complete a second or even a third voyage. And those of them who wish to do so, also take on a return cargo of merchandise from that place before they sail back. If, however, the wind blew against them at the Hellespont, it came about that both the grain and the ships had to lie there rotting. The Emperor Justinian took this situation under consideration, and made a clear demonstration that nothing could prove impossible for man, even though he have the greatest difficulties to contend with. For on the island of Tenedos, which is very close to the strait, he contrived a granary large enough to allow the whole fleet to unload, in breadth not less than ninety feet and in length two hundred and eighty feet, and rising to a very great height. And since the time when this was built by the Emperor, whenever the carriers of public grain reach that point and are impeded by adverse winds, they deposit their cargoes in this storehouse, and bidding a happy farewell to the north wind and the west, and to any other wind that might impede them there, they make ready for the next voyage. And they for their part go straightway about their business, and at a later time, when the voyage from there to Byzantium comes to be practicable, those who are assigned to this office convey the grain from Tenedos in other ships. (Procopius, *On Buildings*, 5.1.7–16. Tr. Dewing).

VI. THE COINAGE OF TENEDOS

During the fourth century, Tenedos struck what appears to be a substantial silver coinage, with the consistent epichoric types of Janiform male and female heads on the obverse and a double-headed axe on the reverse. As we learn from Aristotle (above n. 43), these designs had become famous by the mid-fourth century BC. With the arrival of Alexander the Great, if not before, this coinage ceased and would not be revived probably until the 160s or 150s BC.⁹⁸

As we have seen above, when the production of coinage did return to the city in the interim, it was in the form of royal coinage in the names of both Lysimachus and Alexander the Great.⁹⁹

We may present an overview of this coinage and the dates suggested above, as follows:

98. The earlier coinage was studied by Specht 1968 in her doctoral thesis. For the archaic issues, see Babelon *Traité*, II.i, cols. 365–74; for the fifth and fourth century, id. II.ii, cols. 1305–10. For the revived coinage, which continued into the first century BC, see de Callataÿ, with Meadows and Houghton, p. 185 on the chronology.

99. It is worth noting also the negative picture that seems to emerge from recent considerations of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic royal coinages. As yet no coinage in the names of kings of either dynasty has been attributed to the mint of Tenedos.

c. 300–280 BC	Alexander Group 1 drachms and AU stater
c. 280 BC	Lysimachus Group A tetradrachms
c. 280–275 BC	Alexander Group 2 tetradrachms
c. 270–260 BC	Lysimachus Group B tetradrachms
c. 270–235 BC	Alexander Group 3 tetradrachms
c. 235–210/05 BC	Alexander Group 4 tetradrachms
c. 205–195 BC	Lysimachus Group C tetradrachms
c. 210/05–190 BC	Alexander Group 5 tetradrachms
c. 200–195 BC	Lysimachus Group D tetradrachms
c. 175–160 BC	Lysimachus Group E tetradrachms

We may also plot the approximate sizes of these phases of production, to give a broad impression of their relative values (Fig. 9). And for illustrative purposes, we can show approximate values for those coinages in Talents, assuming a production rate of 15,000 coins per die (Fig. 10).

The first point to emphasise about this production is its sporadic nature. Tenedos was not a continuous producer of coinage through the third and second centuries. In that sense, the coinage does not correlate to the geographical importance and economic significance of the island alone. Other factors are at play. This is evident too in the posthumous form of these coinages, and their oscillating nature. This coinage did not look local (epichoric), nor did it cleave to a single choice of design. Simply put, this looks opportunistic. The second point we might note is the fact that this coinage existed at all. Civic silver coinage largely disappears from Asia Minor and the islands in the third century BC.¹⁰⁰ Tenedos is unusual in the continued, if sporadic, production that does occur. The explanation for this, we might suggest, does lie in the geographic and strategic importance of the island. The earlier and later history of Tenedos demonstrates its potential role as a naval base for forces operating in the area of the Dardanelles and Propontis. Through the third and second centuries too, as we have seen, this area was a regular focal point for military activity. As a working hypothesis, we might suggest that these posthumous Alexander and Lysimachus coinages were, as other such coinages seem to have been, produced by royal authorities to fund specific military campaigns. In the case of Tenedos it seems highly likely that this activity was naval, and that we might think of these issues as “fleet” coinage, struck to meet the needs of sporadic naval presence in the region.

The date ranges and size estimates assigned to the coinages catalogued above are broad and approximate, but we may tentatively suggest some historical circumstances and agencies behind them. The drachm and stater coinage of Alexander Group 1 belongs to the period of the growth of Lysimachus’ power in the region at the expense of the Antigonids. Given that this period saw first the application of his own name to the Alexander coinage by Lysimachus, and second the introduction of coinage of his own types, it is perhaps likely that the drachm coinage belongs at the earlier end of the range proposed. The gold stater of group 1c, which shares a control with the small production of Lysimachi of Group A may form the bridge between these coinages in the 290s.

If the date proposed for Group 2 by Martin Price is correct, then this brief and small production of Alexanders seems to be paralleled at a number of other mints in western Asia Minor which all begin to use the badge of the city where they were produced in the period around the Seleucid victory at Corupedium.¹⁰¹ As we have noted above (n. 000), there is fragile evidence for the existence of a naval base in the Troad under Antiochus I, and it is possible that this was at Tenedos. The commander of this

100. For an examination of this phenomenon see Meadows 2021.

101. See Meadows 2019, pp. 79–83 for discussion of this phenomenon at the mints of: Cyzicus (Price 1339–41); Lampsacus (Price 1444–56); Parium (Price 1458–66); Pergamum (Price 1470–72); Alexandria Troas (Price 1588–90); Tenedos (Price 1611); Clazomenae (Price 1740–42); Erythrae (Price 1887–89); Magnesia (Price 2004ff.); Miletus (Price 2150–63); Priene (Price 2231–39); Smyrna (Price 2246); Chios (Price 2316–30); Samos (Price 2446A).

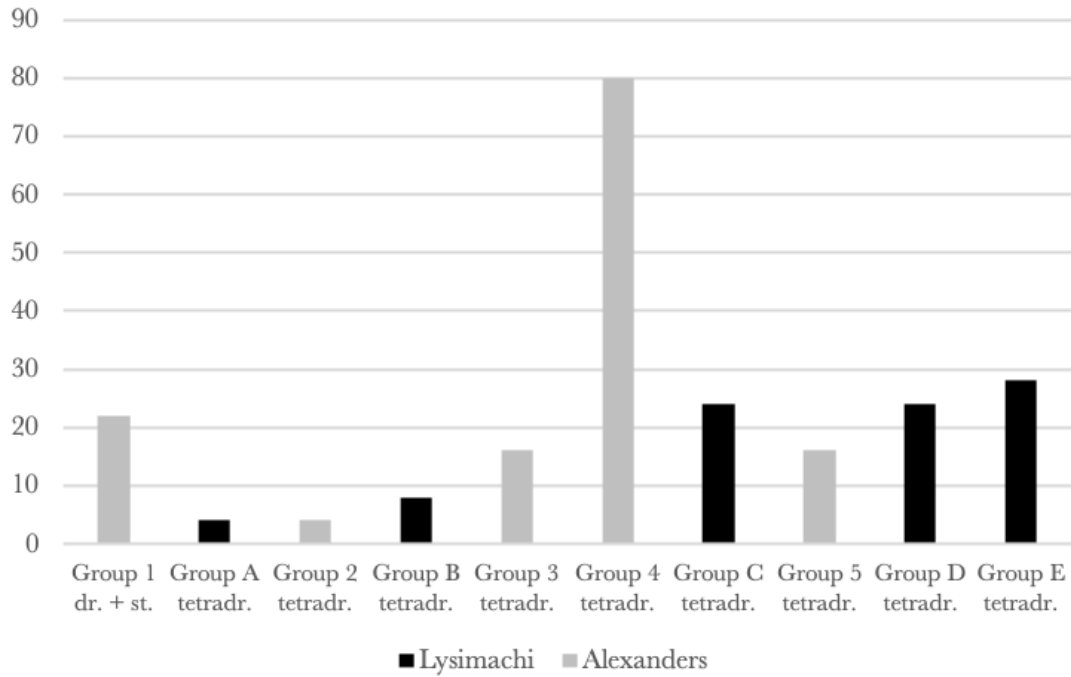


Figure 9. Relative sizes of Tenedian coinages (D from Tables 3 and 6) in drachm dies.

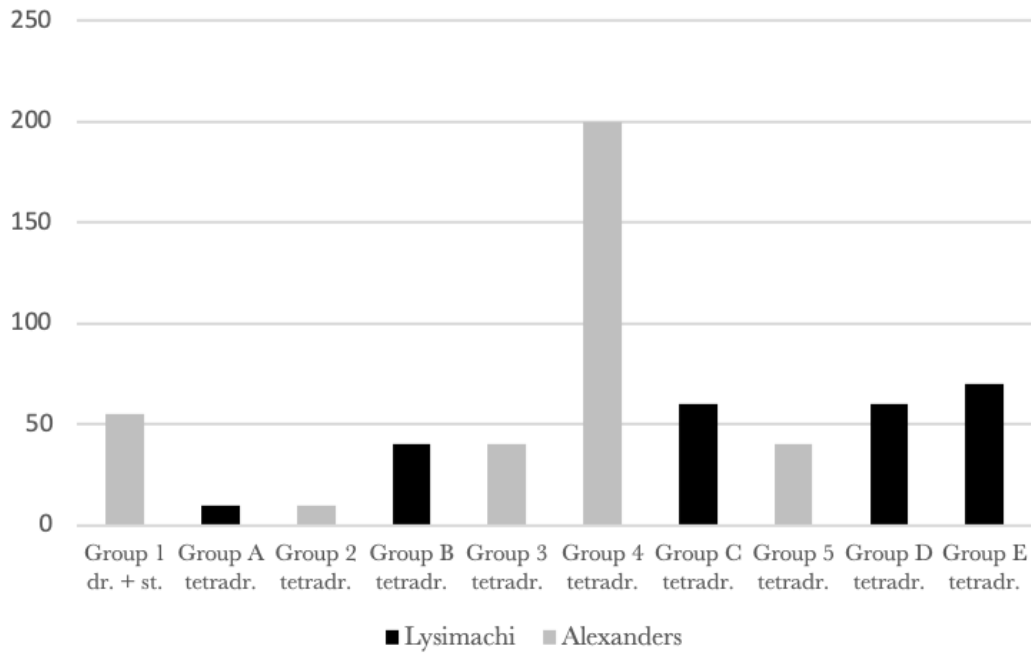


Figure 10. Approximate sizes of Tenedian coinages (from Fig. 9) in Talents (15,000 coins per die).

base was named Athenaios, and this is certainly one possible resolution of the monogram \triangle that appears on group 2.

The relatively small production of Alexanders of group 3 cannot be dated any more precisely than c. 270–235 BC. During this period, as we have seen, it is likely that Tenedos remained notionally in the Seleucid realm at least until the Third Syrian War (246–241 BC), at which point it probably entered the Ptolemaic sphere of influence. There is no evidence for Ptolemaic production of Alexandrine coinage elsewhere in their overseas possessions, and so it seems most likely that we should consider group 3 as a Seleucid coinage, possibly struck in the context of the Second (c. 260–253 BC) or Third Syrian Wars. Within this period too, it seems we must place the production of the Group B Lysimachi. The circumstances of this production remain completely obscure.

Thereafter, we enter a complex period of production with oscillation between Alexanders and Lysimachi. The large production of group 4 Alexanders has the earliest *terminus ante quem* of the coinages that follow, provided by the N.W. Asia Minor hoard of c. 210 and the Gordion V hoard of c. 217–210 BC. The context for their production is unclear, but may be connected to Seleucid attempts to reassert control in this part of the world, such as the campaigns of Achaeus early in the reign of Antiochus III.¹⁰² We should also note that the 220s saw the expansion of Rhodian naval activity northwards, notably in its blockade of the Dardanelles in 220. But it is also possible that we are looking here at the beginning of Attalid naval presence in the region. If this coinage was not Seleucid, then this may be the first Attalid production on the island. The question of the potentially alternating Seleucid and Attalid control of Tenedos raises the interesting question of whether we should read the alternation of coin types along similar lines. On the one hand, there is no need to seek specific political resonance in the decision to produce posthumous coinages of this sort: as we have already noted, both had value within the international world of the third-century fleets for which they may have been intended. But equally, we do need to explain why there was such an oscillation in type.

If we pursue this line of reasoning, and assume that the Alexander coinages like others in western Asia Minor, were produced by Seleucid powers, and that the Lysimachi were Attalid fleet coinages, then the various phases of coinage fall into place well enough. The group C Lysimachi become the coinage of the period of Attalid influence in the last few years of the third century attested to by Attalus I's use of the island during the siege of Abydos in 200 BC. The group 5 Alexanders, if struck c. 215–200 BC could be the coinage connected with Antiochus III's crushing of the rebellion of Achaeus, which we know to have involved the retaking of northwestern Asia Minor. What is perhaps surprising is that there is no Alexander coinage that we can connect with the campaign of 197 BC and continued Seleucid control of the region until 191, unless we opt for the possible later dating of group 5 noted above. The final two coinages both consist of Lysimachi. Group D cannot be more closely dated than c. 200–195 BC and could be regarded as brief Attalid expenditure in preparation against Antiochus' campaign of 197 BC.

However, with the group E Lysimachi we seem to be on somewhat firmer footing. Belonging plausibly to the period the Third Macedonian War c. 171–168 BC, this coinage could quite possibly have been struck for the use of the Attalid and Rhodian fleets that based themselves there during the conflict. In fact, there is one detail of this coinage that might push us in that direction. Among the control marks that appear in the exergue on this coinage is a rose, the symbol, of course, of Rhodes.

Much is uncertain in this reconstruction, and it should be stressed that it is offered here only as one possible set of explanations. But if the basic premise is correct, then the Alexander and Lysimachus coinages struck on Tenedos, arguably like many other posthumous royal coinages of the same period, are not to be regarded as a civic coinage at all, but rather as a series of imperial coinages. We can perhaps attribute the Tenedian issues to Lysimachus, the Seleucids and the Attalids in turn. However, it feels fitting to end this paper in honour of the greatest interpreter of Rhodian coinage, by suggesting that we might perhaps

102. See Ma 1999, pp. 54–57, with p. 56 n. 12 on the uncertainty concerning Achaeus' activities in the Troad.

have identified the Rhodian imperial power as one of the last of these producers, and thus to have a new coinage of Rhodes.¹⁰³

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A. Detail of decoration at the top of bronze plaque bearing *Inschriften von Olympia* 39.



B. Bronze half-mina weight of Tenedos. BnF, Paris. Babelon and Blanchet (1895), p. 678, no. 2241.



C. Débarquement à Ténédos (marins marchant sur la plage de l'île grecque près des Dardanelles, Bozcaada en turc). Agence Rol. BnF, Paris, Rol 45646. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b69089844>.



D. Reverse of didrachm of Tenedos, late 5th century BC. Berlin (*Traité*, pl. 16.6).