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The Coinage of Hyssaldomos, Dynast of Mylasa

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The Coinage of Hyssaldomos, dynast of Mylasa*

Koray Konuk

In many ways, not least in their coinage, the fourth century¹ satraps of Caria were the forerunners of Hellenistic kings. They were unique in that period in issuing a regular and prolific dynastic coinage, which remained practically unchanged until the arrival of Alexander the Great². Other satraps struck coins, but none of them were either native, or more significant, hereditary, and there was no continuity of coinage from one family member to another as was the case with the Hekatomnids. Their coinage is often described as satrapal, but it would be more appropriate to label it dynastic since it was not issued in the framework of their official duties as satraps; the Hekatomnids wore a double hat as official satraps and as hereditary dynasts. As a matter of fact, Mylasa, the ancestral seat of the dynasty, had been a fairly active mint prior to Hekatomnos' rule and struck large numbers of small silver denominations. This article argues that some of these issues bearing letters in the Carian script may be attributed to Hekatomnos' father: Hyssaldomos.

* I am delighted to offer this study on some tiny coins to Prof. Dr. Andreas Furtwängler, whose knowledge and interest in fractional coinage have always been an inspiration for me. I have followed the current publication guidelines of the German Archaeological Institute and have used the following abbreviations:

CLC	K. Konuk, <i>Coin Legends in Carian</i> , in: I. J. Adiego, <i>The Carian Language</i> (Leiden - Boston 2007) 71-92.
SNG Kayhan	K. Konuk, <i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Turkey 1, The Muharrem Kayhan Collection</i> (Istanbul - Bordeaux 2002).
SNG Keckman	U. Westermark - R. Ashton, <i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Finland, The Erkki Keckman Collection in the Skopbank, Helsinki, part 1 Karia</i> (Helsinki 1994).
Troxell	H. A. Troxell, <i>Carians in Miniature</i> , in: A. Houghton et al. (eds), <i>Studies in Honor of Leo Mildenberg</i> (Wetteren 1984) 249-257.

¹ All ancient dates are BC.

² For a detailed study of the coinage of the Hekatomnids, see K. Konuk, *The Coinage of the Hekatomnids of Caria*, unpublished D.Phil. dissertation (Oxford 1998). This article is a revised version of its section dealing with Hyssaldomos; a number of new coins have allowed to strengthen some of my arguments. Question of attributions were also discussed in CLC, but only very briefly for lack of space.

Apart from his name and his paternity to Hekatomnos and his sister Aba, we know nothing about Hyssaldomos³. On the grounds of an incomplete inscription from Mylasa, however, some scholars follow Louis Robert in believing that Hyssaldomos was the first satrap of Caria at some time between 395 and 392/1⁴; but the inscription can be completed in a different way to support the orthodox view that the first satrap of Caria was Hekatomnos⁵. As far as the administration of Caria is concerned, the 395-392/1 interval is unaccounted for and these years may have indeed witnessed the rule of Hyssaldomos over Caria which did not exist as a separate satrapy until the fall of Tissaphernes in 395 who had been appointed satrap of Ionia and Lydia, Caria being part of the Lydian satrapy, following the battle of Kunaxa in 401. The creation of Caria, as a separate satrapy, occurred in troubled times, marked by the entanglement of the eastern Greeks in the struggle between the Spartans and Persians for the control of western Asia Minor. After 395, following Tissaphernes' execution, there is no record of any satrap in charge of Caria until 392/1, when the Great King ordered Hekatomnos, 'dynast of Caria' and Autophradates, satrap of Lydia, to make war on Evagoras I, rebel king of Salamis. This is the first reference to Caria as a separate entity, and the earliest dated event to involve Hekatomnos. Even though 392/1 is the most likely year for the creation of a separate satrapy of Caria⁶, a short tenure for Hyssaldomos in the immediately preceding years cannot be ruled out. Numismatic evidence would support a possible rule of Hyssaldomos, though not necessarily as satrap.⁷

³ Three inscriptions found respectively at Sinuri, Labraunda and Kaunos reveal the name of Hyssaldomos, spelt as Hyssallomos in the Kaunos inscription: L. Robert, *Le sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa I, les inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1945) 99, no. 76 and 100; J. Crampa, *Labraunda, Swedish Excavations and Researches, III:2. The Greek Inscriptions* (Stockholm 1969) no. 27; G. E. Bean, *Notes and inscriptions from Caunos*, *JHS* 73, 1953, 20, no. 20. See also S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (Oxford 1982) 36.

⁴ L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes* (Paris 1937) 571; Robert, *op. cit.* (note 2) 100; G. Bockisch, *Die Karer und ihre Dynasten*, *Klio* 51, 1969, 136; O. Picard, *Les Grecs devant la menace perse* (Paris 1980) 261. The inscription from Mylasa reads 'Υσσ]αλδωμου ἐξαιθρ[απεύοντος].

⁵ Hornblower, *op. cit.* (note 3) 36 proposes: 'Ἐκατόμνω τοῦ 'Υσσ]αλδωμου ἐξαιθρ[απεύοντος].

⁶ Strouthas was appointed to the separate satrapy of Ionia in 392/1. Like the satrapy of Caria, it was a new creation, and there is a good chance that both were established at the same time. See *Xen., Hell.*, 4, 8, 17; Hornblower *op. cit.* (note 3) 38.

⁷ P. Debord, *L'Asie Mineure au IV^e siècle* (Bordeaux 1999) 134 rejects the idea of Hyssaldomos ruling as satrap and prefers to view him as dynast of Mylasa.

Hekatomnos' coinage is better known and derives partly from the earlier civic issues of Mylasa.⁸ It would appear that his coinage was more sophisticated than previously thought with several coin types, two weight-standards, and a large array of denominations.⁹ Recent evidence also suggests that under Hekatomnos, Mylasa continued to issue tiny fractions which throw light on the fractions attributable to his father Hyssaldomos. No coinage issued under Hyssaldomos has been identified as yet, but there exists a group of silver fractions which might bear his initial in the Carian script. Until recently, these fractions were rare and no certain provenance could be given. Over the past two decades or so, a number of specimens have surfaced and have entered private and public collections. The known provenances point to the immediate vicinity of Mylasa, the hometown of the Hekatomnids¹⁰. These fractions fall into two distinct groups (Type 1 and Type 2), each divided into anepigraphic issues and those with Carian and Greek legends. Some of these letters allow now for a certain attribution of both types to the mint of Mylasa. All these fractions are united by a common obverse type which evidently derives from the Milesian prototype showing not simply a head, but a forepart of a lion with its head turned back and one foreleg underneath; a linear outline of its back is depicted between its jaws on earlier issues. The attribution of these fractions had always been problematic. Grose catalogued one anepigraphic specimen in Cambridge under Hekatomnos on the basis of the similarity existing between the lion's legs on this fraction and the regular issues of Hekatomnos of Milesian type¹¹. A hoard published in 1961¹² included eight anepigraphic specimens of Type 2 as well as nine 'Milesian' obols and two fractions with Carian legends that I believe to have been possibly struck in Kasolaba¹³.

⁸ See K. Konuk, *The Early Coinage of Mylasa*, NumChron, forthcoming.

⁹ Until recently, fractions issued in the name of Hekatomnos and Maussollos were extremely rare, but the past few years have even seen the appearance of new types which have somehow modified the view that under the Hekatomnids '...the provision of small change was left to lower authorities' in P. Kinns, *The Coinage of Miletus*, NumChron 146, 1980, 249.

¹⁰ Information on the find-spots of these coins has been provided by two metal detectors active in these parts of the Carian coast.

¹¹ S. W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, III (Cambridge 1929) no. 8517.

¹² K. Welz, *Kleinmüzen aus Milet*, SchwMüBl 40, 1961, 99-101; M. Thompson - O. Mørkholm - C. M. Kraay, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (New York 1973) 1199.

¹³ Welz regarded all three types as Milesian, but B. Pfeiler, *Zur Münzkunde von Milet*, SchwMüBl 46, 1962, 20-1 rightly rejected the attribution to Miletos of our Type 2 and the

The obols, attributed to late sixth century Miletos by Welz, were in fact issued at least a century later. Similar hoards, or parts of hoards, are preserved in the archaeological museums of Milâs and Bodrum, and there is little doubt that the ‘Milesian’ coins of the hoard are in fact Carian with some issues attributable to Mylasa, and the concealment date can safely be dated to the reign of Hekatomnos.

Type 1 has been known for a long time and fractions of this group depict on the obverse a forepart of a lion with head turned back to right and foreleg underneath; the reverse shows a facing head of a lion flanked its forelegs on either side within a square or round incuse; various letters in the Carian script are sometimes on the reverse and in one case on the obverse. Most extant specimens are either anepigraphic or the inscription is sometimes off-flan, but for our purposes only the inscribed varieties are listed here. Type 1 fractions are all Milesian standard hemiobols (c. 0.45g-0.50g).

Type 1.1 (CLC M3)

This seems to be the earliest inscribed series with the letter \aleph on the upper right side of the lion's scalp within a square incuse. Only two specimens are known to me, both are in the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology (hereafter: MUA): (a) 3-26-91 (0.35g; 07H; Pl. ?, 1); (b) 10-7-91 (0.45g; 06H).

Type 1.2 (CLC M5)

As last, but Ψ NE below the facing head of a lion; square incuse. Three specimens are known to me: (a) European private collection (0.48g; 11H; Pl. ?, 2); (b) European private collection (0.40g; 06H); (c) SNG von Aulock 7807 (0.42g).

Type 1.3 (CLC M6)

As last, but Ψ below the facing head of a lion; round incuse: (a) Pfeiler op. cit. (note 13) 20, no. 2 (Pl. ?, 3); (b) European private collection (0.46g; 10H); (c) Hirsch 166 (1990) 408 (0.49g); (d) Hirsch 169 (1991) 460 (0.54g); (e) Hirsch 167 (1990) 458 (0.48g); (f) Hirsch 163

coins with Carian legend. For the attribution to Kasolaba, see K. Konuk, Kasolaba, a New Mint in Karia?, in: S. Drougou – E. Ralli (eds.), *Essays in Honour of Ioannis Touratsoglou* (Athens 2009).

(1989) 407 (0.45g); (g) Lanz 54 (1980) 217 (0.42g); (h) Elsen FPL 126 (1990) 71 (0.49g); (i) Lanz 131 (2006) 11 (0.49g; 10H); (j) Lanz 131 (2006) 13 (0.44g; 03H).

Type 1.4 (CLC M7)

As last, but M below the facing head of a lion: (a) European private collection (0.51g; 09H; Pl. ?, 4); (b) European private collection (0.48g; 10H); (c) Bodrum MUA 4-24-90 (0.49g; 09H); (d) Bodrum MUA 1201 (0.42g; 09H); (e) Hirsch 171 (1991) 295; (f) SNG Keckman 840 (0.37g; 07H); (g) SNG Keckman 837 (0.55g; 05H); (h) SNG Keckman 838 (0.49g; 01H) = Troxell no. 1B(a); (i) SNG Keckman 839 (0.44g; 01H); (j) MMAG FPL 431 (1981) 48 (0.49g); (k) Ariadne (1982) 113 (0.51g); (l) Hirsch 189 (1996) 257 (0.44g); (m) Müller 68 (1991) 88 (0.41g); (n) Müller 73/1 (1993) 50; (o) D. Symmons - K. Sugden, Greek Silver Coins from the Finney Collection, Numismatic Circular 103/10, 1995, 31; (p) Künker 133 (2007) 8175 (0.41g; 04H); (q) Gorny 138 (2005) 1419 (0.41g; 07H); (r) Forum Ancient Coins 82115 (2009) (0.51g; 06H); (s) Ebay 1356107151 (2002) (0.40g); (t) Lanz 131 (2006) 12 (0.47g; 02H); (u) MMG 17 (2005) 1219 (0.53g); (v) Seen in trade.

Type 1.5 (CLC M8)

As last, but M on the obverse above the lions's muzzle; the reverse is anepigraphic with a round incuse. Three specimens are known to me: (a) Muharrem Kayhan collection MK1231 (0.50g; 03H; Pl. ?, 5); (b) Peus 326 (1989) 210 (0.45g); (c) Seen in trade.

Thanks to the efforts of John Ray and Ignacio Adiego, the decipherment of Carian has advanced considerably¹⁴. M and N are the same letter in the Carian alphabet and have the value M. The letter M on Type 1.1 evidently represents the initial of the mint in Carian: Mylasa which is confirmed by Type 1.2. In addition to N , Type 1.2 has the letter E which is a problematic letter. Adiego suggests that E was H in the alphabet of Mylasa with the value Y. If that is the case the occurrence of both letters in the same legend calls for an explanation. Even though the new inscription found near Mylasa (Kırcağız) does not include the letter E , Type 1.2 proves that it was part of the city's alphabet. Two explanations spring to mind: either these letters are not the same and therefore have different values, or H is not a letter but trident as suggested by Troxell. When the trident explanation was proposed (Troxell considered NE to be Greek letters), it seemed the most probable solution, as the Carian letter H was unknown in

¹⁴ See now I. J. Adiego, *The Carian Language* (Leiden - Boston 2007).

that shape (apart from the rare occurrence of 'I' at Sinuri and Kildara) and no evidence existed at that time that it was part of the alphabet of Mylasa. However, tridents are not normally depicted on coins in such a simple way with mere strokes (as with a letter): there is usually some ornamentation (arrow-like tips of the tines, often volutes departing from the base of the shaft) even when the size is minute. Moreover, the occurrence of Ψ and Ω on Type 1.3 and 1.4 (and also Type 2.2 and 2.3 below) in the same position on the reverse strongly suggests that Ψ is a letter, for Ω is definitely a Carian letter, even though it is not attested on the new inscription from Kırcağız¹⁵. I would be tempted to suggest that Ω is a variant of Ψ , the former being perhaps an earlier form of the latter. If so, the value of Ω (W) would represent the same value for Ψ . Finally, what is the value of E which is also absent from the new inscription? The suggestion that E and Ψ are the same letters cannot be maintained on the basis of Type 1.2. Adiego gives E, a rather common letter, the value Y. The two letters NE (MY) would thus represent the first two letters of the Carian ethnic of Mylasa¹⁶. On Type 1.5, the position of Ω on the lion's muzzle reminds one of the Milesian-type tetrobols, diobols and obols of the Carian satrap Hekatomnos which have on the lion's muzzle the Greek letters EKA, EK and E respectively. This link between the fractions with Ω and those with the name of Hekatomnos is discussed below and strengthens the view that Ω was the initial of Hyssaldomos in its Carian form.

Type 2 fractions share the same obverse type with Type 1, but the lion's forepart changes into a simple head with the outline of the lion's back becoming a tongue; the foreleg is no longer depicted on the specimens I have collected. The reverse is a different type with a facing or a three-quarter facing head of a young male slightly turned to the right or left with either a Carian letter, two or three Greek letters or no letters at all. The same Carian letters are attested, namely Ω , E and Ψ , but as is the case with Type 1, the bulk of extant specimens are anepigraphic, or the inscribed edge is off-flan. The fractions with the facing head are all Milesian standard tetartemoria (1/4 obols) of c. 0.25g. The fractions with the head in profile are hemitetartemoria (1/8 obols).

¹⁵ W. Blümel - A. Kızıllı, Eine neue karische Inschrift aus der Region von Mylasa, *Kadmos* 43, 2004, 131–138.

¹⁶ Konuk, *op. cit.* (note 2) 23.

Type 2.1 (CLC M4)

This seems to be the earliest inscribed issue of which four specimens are known to me. The letter **И** stands either to the right of the facing head: (a) Künker 62 (2001) 129 (0.20g; Pl. ?, 6); (b) SNG Kayhan 838; or to his left: (c) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (0.28g; 06H).

Type 2.2 (CLC M10)

As last, but the facing head is turned slightly to the left; in the lower left field, **У**. A single specimen is known to me: New York, ANS, 1983.53.464 (0.23g; 12H; Pl. ?, 7) = Troxell no. 2a(1).

Type 2.3 (CLC M11)

As last, but the letter **Ш** either to the right of the chin of the facing head: (a) European private collection (0.23g; 12H; Pl. ?, 8); (b) SNG Keckman 847 (0.23g; 05H) = Troxell no. 2A(2); (c) Hirsch 189 (1996) 258; (d) Bodrum MUA 2231 (0.24g; 11H); (e) Bodrum MUA 38-15-85 (0.21g; 09H); (f) Baldwin's 34 (2003) 73 (0.20g; 11H); or placed just under the chin of the facing head: (g) New York, ANS 1980.23.5 (0.22g; Pl. ?, 9); (h) New York, ANS ; (i) Lanz 131 (2006) 16 (0.23g; 12H).

Type 2.4

As last, but EK below the chin; lion head with tongue and no foreleg: (a) European private collection (0.24g; Pl. ?, 10); (b) European private collection (0.22g; 05H); (c) Bodrum MUA 22-9-85-G (0.20g; 05H); (d) Bodrum MUA 22-9-85-R (0.22g; 05H); (e) Owl 5 (1985) 49 (0.23g); (f) Sternberg 10 (1980) 124 (0.26g); (g) Peus 321 (1988) 173 (0.23g).

Type 2.5

As last, but EKA below the chin; lion head with tongue and no foreleg: (a) Cambridge, CM.69-1995 = Annual Report of the Fitzwilliam Museum 1995 (Cambridge 1996) 18 (0.21g; Pl. ?, 11); (b) European private collection (0.22g; 03H); (c) European private collection (0.24g; 03H); (d) Bodrum MUA 16-3-78 (0.19g; 12H); (e) Bodrum MUA 19-15-85 (0.19g; 12H); (f) Hirsch 196 (1997) 315 (0.23g); (g) CNG 79 (2008) 379 (0.26g; 01H). Variant with EK-A: (h) SNG Kayhan 867 (0.22g; 06H) = CNG 50 (1999) 859; (i) Bodrum MUA 13-7-91 (0.21g; 03H); (j) Bodrum MUA 3437 (0.23g; 02H); (k) CNG 72 (2006) 810 (0.23g; 04H); (l) AAA (30-02-75) 1814 (0.25g); (m) Peus 380 (2004) 518 (0.19g; 06H).

Type 2bis (CLC M11)

This is a variant which depicts the male head looking in profile to the right; Σ to the right of his neck: (a) Private collection (0.14g; 10H; Pl. ?, 12); (b) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (0.13g; 11H); Five specimens in the Bodrum MUA: (c) 30-15-85 (0.10g; 06H); (d) 31-15-85 (0.10g; 03H); (e) 53-15-85 (0.11g; 12H); (f) 1-8-88 (0.10g; 03H); (g) 6-7-96 (0.12g; 12H).

Type 2ter

This is a parallel issue to the previous one with a similar profile male head on the reverse but with the Greek legend EK and a head of a ram to the right on the obverse. A unique specimen is known to me: Muharrem Kayhan collection MK1629 (0.12g; 01H; Pl. ?, 13).

With Type 2, Greek letters EK and EKA are introduced, which clearly stand for the beginning of Hekatomnos' name¹⁷. These Greek legend issues provide a helpful link with the earlier Carian legend fractions which they replace. Style is not always the best of evidence, and can be at times ambiguous, but in this case there are good reasons for believing that the fractions with the Carian letters must come before those with EKA/EK¹⁸. Square incuses are only used for Carian legend reverses, whereas Greek legend reverses are round. In addition, there is a stylistic evolution which can help to put the series into a sequence. Whilst the earliest series closely follow the Milesian model in depicting a lion forepart with the head clearly showing the outline of the back between the jaws and of the elbow below the lower jaw, the Greek legend series has the line of the back of the lion progressively turning into a tongue and the foreleg is no longer depicted; what is depicted is no longer a forepart of a lion but simply its head. This stylistic evolution can be used for determining the sequence of issues. Those fractions depicting the lion head with its tongue protruding come later than those with the

¹⁷ In a similar fashion as on his better known Milesian type coins where smaller denominations (obols and diobols) have respectively: E and EK, and larger ones (tetrobols and staters): EKA.

¹⁸ A similar change from Carian to Greek occurred on the early bronze coins of Keramos, c. 400. The Carian ethnic KBO was replaced by the Greek ethnic KE without a change of types: see K. Konuk, Coin Evidence for the Carian Name of Keramos, *Kadmos* 39, 2000, 159-164 and R. Ashton, "Keramos", in: R. Ashton et al., *Some Greek Coins in the British Museum*, *NumChron* 158, 1998, 46-49. A similar and contemporary switch from Carian to Greek also happened at Kaunos, but with a change of types, see K. Konuk, *The Early Coinage of Kaunos*, in: R. Ashton - S. Hurter (eds), *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price* (London 1998) 219. It is interesting to note that this language change occurred at about the same time at Mylasa, Keramos and Kaunos, c. 400-390.

outline of the back – this being the rendering closer to the Milesian prototype which goes back to the first half of the sixth century. Again with Type 2, the carian letters Ψ and Ω stand on the reverse of some of these fractions. It would appear that Ψ was used on earlier issues. This can also be observed with Type 1.2 where this letter stands within a square incuse which is the earlier form for reverses than those with a round shape. As we have seen, these letters might simply be the same, the shape having evolved in time. Another explanation would be to consider Ψ as a different letter (Y?) and standing for the initial of an issuing dynast at Mylasa preceding the dynast whose initial is Ω . As far as Ω is concerned, its value is W and this would fit perfectly the initial of Hyssaldomos in Carian. A parallel can be drawn with the Carian form of the name Hyssollos which starts with the same Carian letter and is transcribed "wśoλ-" on a stela from Memphis¹⁹. In addition, the direct link between these fractions with Ω and those in the name of Hekatomnos strengthens the case for regarding these fractions with Ω as issues of Hyssaldomos. In case Ψ and Ω were not actually the same letter, than we might perhaps entertain the idea that Ψ stands for the initial of Hyssaldomos' predecessor, perhaps his father or brother, whose name might one day be revealed by a new inscription or coin. All in all, the origins of the Hekatomnid dynastic coinage were more complex than we previously thought. Hekatomnos' Milesian type issues struck in large numbers along with his Rhodian weight tetradrachms depicting a lion and Zeus Labraundos constituted important steps in establishing a dynastic coinage, but his lesser known fractions followed the old practice of striking small denominations at Mylasa which goes back several generations. It is therefore not surprising that his father Hyssaldomos should have struck his own fractions. The dynastic coinage of the Hekatomnids now covers a longer period than was assumed, certainly going back to Hyssaldomos, perhaps even earlier.

Abbreviations of sale catalogues

AAA	American Auction Association, Long Beach (USA).
Ariadne	Ariadne Galleries, Inc., New York.
Baldwin's	A. H. Baldwin & Sons, Ltd., London.
CNG	Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster (USA) – London (UK).
Elsen	Jean Elsen SA, Brussels.
Forum Ancient Coins	www.forumancientcoins.com .
Gorny & Mosch	Gorny & Mosch. Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH, Munich.

¹⁹ Adiego, op. cit. (note 14) 44, 195. Hyssollos with its variant Hyssoldos is a common Carian name.

Hauck & Aufhäuser	Hauck & Aufhäuser Privatbankiers, Munich.
Hirsch	Münzhandlung Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Munich.
Künker	Fritz Rudolph Künker Münzhandlung, Osnabrück.
Lanz	H. Lanz Numizmatik, Munich.
MMAG	Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel.
MMG	Münzen und Medaillen GmbH, Weil am Rhein.
Müller	Heinz W. Müller, Solingen.
Owl	Owl Ltd, Henniker, New Hampshire (USA).
Peus	Dr. Busso Peus Nachf., Münzhandlung, Frankfurt a. M.

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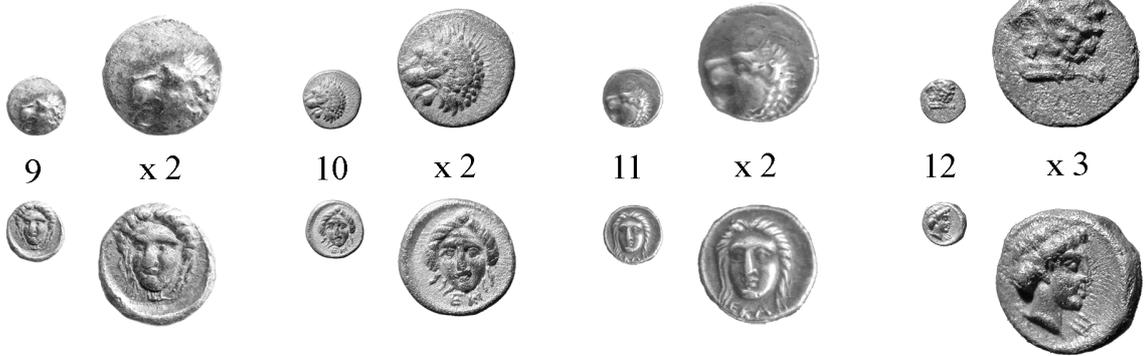
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