

Iranica Antiqua, vol. XXIV, 1989

EARLY ACHAEMENID COINAGE: PERSPECTIVES FROM THE HOMELAND

BY

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From the time that B. V. Head brought out his pioneer study, *The Coinage of Lydia and Persia*, more than one hundred years ago¹ the 'regal' coinage of the Achaemenids has inspired a wide range of conflicting views. The publication of a comprehensive new work on the chronology and circulation of this coinage² now provides, however, an inviting foundation for a fresh examination of many points; and in this tribute to Pierre Amiet, who has illuminated so many separate aspects of the art and archaeology of Iran and the Near East as a whole, it may not be out of place to take a further look at these much discussed coins from, not least, a specifically Achaemenid viewpoint³.

Introduction

For many years it has been recognised that the gold and silver royal-archer coins, with a circulation pattern that was based on western Anatolia, were representative of a distinctive coinage that was owed to the Achaemenid Persian kings. Of these coins, the gold pieces are conventionally known as *darics* and the silver pieces as *sigloi*⁴. The fact

¹ B. V. Head, *The Coinage of Lydia and Persia from the Earliest Time to the Fall of the Dynasty of the Achaemenids*, London, 1877.

² I. Carradice, 'The "Regal" Coinage of the Persian Empire', *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires* (ed. I. Carradice), BAR International Series, 1987 (hereafter *RCPE*), pp. 73-93.

³ I would like to express my thanks to the Director of the Cabinet des Médailles for permission to use the illustrations in Pl. I, 3 and 4 and Pl. III, 1 and to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to illustrate the remaining coins shown in Pls. I and II. I am also grateful to Ian Carradice for providing an advance copy of the article cited in n. 2, to Clive Foss, Bernadette Dremière and Antigone Zournatzi for generous assistance in checking references, and to Jane Becker for the line drawings which appear in Figure 1.

⁴ The Greek word *σίγλος* is etymologically the same as the Hebrew *sheqel* and the Babylonian *šiqḷu*. Long before the introduction of coinage the term 'shekel' was used in the ancient Near East to refer to a weighed quantity of silver; only later did it come to

that the former coins were known to the Greeks as *Dareikoi* has also long fortified the view — a view since confirmed by other considerations — that the series was introduced by Darius I (522-486 B.C.).

It is in fact with the ‘archer’ coins (and especially with the motifs to be found in their early obverse types) that we will be most concerned in the present paper. Nevertheless the latest available chronological evidence for the time span of another distinctive series of coins from western Anatolia — namely the gold and silver lion-and-bull pieces (Pl. I, 1 and 2) which are conventionally known as *croeseids* — cannot but call for comment in the present context.

On the chronology of the croeseid coinage

Those coin hoards which, over the years, have yielded ‘croeseids’ together with other coins of more certain date, no longer make it possible to hold, for example, that King Croesus of Lydia (c. 561-547 B.C.) was responsible for all croeseid coin types⁵ or even to agree with a more recent thesis that, while Croesus’ coinage certainly included the ‘early’ (or heavy standard) lion-and-bull coins, Cyrus the Great (559-530 B.C.) and Cambyses II (530-522 B.C.) were the likely authors of the ‘later’ (or light standard) lion-and-bull issues⁶. Indeed, since presently available hoards only point to the cessation of the ‘early’ croeseids (Pl. I, 1) at some date not too long before 520 B.C., and to the first appearance of the ‘later’ croeseids (Pl. I, 2) at a date possibly near 505 B.C.⁷, a number of scholars have started to ask if *any* croeseids were struck before the fall of the Lydian royal house⁸. At all events, the lion-and-bull issues that have so

refer to a denomination of silver coin. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 76; also A. D. H. Bivar, ‘Achaemenid coins, weights and measures’, *The Cambridge History of Iran* 2, 1985, p. 617.

⁵ Cf. E. Babelon, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Les Perses achéménides*, Paris, 1893, pp. ii-iii.

⁶ Cf. G. F. Hill, ‘The Coinage of the Ancient Persians’, in A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I, Oxford, 1938, p. 397; and E. S. G. Robinson, ‘The beginnings of Achaemenid coinage’, *Numismatic Chronicle* (hereafter *NC*) 1958, p. 188.

⁷ *RCPE*, pp. 80 f.

⁸ Cf. M. J. Price, ‘Croesus or pseudo-Croesus? Hoard or hoax? Problems concerning the sigloi and double-sigloi of the Croeseid type’, in *Studies in Honor of Leo Mildenberg* (ed. A. Houghton *et al.*), Wetteren, Belgium, 1984, pp. 211-21. For a proposal that coins of the croeseid type were only introduced by Darius, see also M. Vickers, ‘Greek coinage, a reassessment’, *NC* 1985, pp. 8-9, and *idem*, ‘Persépolis, Athènes et Sybaris: Questions de monnayage et de chronologie’, *Revue des Études grecques* (hereafter *REG*) 99, 1986, pp. 248-53.

far come to light in 'datable' hoards must without doubt be counted — notwithstanding an apparent gap in the production of such coins during an approximately fifteen year period — as an integral part of the late sixth and early fifth century royal coinage of the Achaemenids.

At the same time it need hardly be stressed that it could be premature — especially at a time when the excavations at Sardis have begun to produce a wide new range of mid-sixth century materials⁹ — to insist on a strictly minimalist view of the contribution of Marmnad Lydia to the evolution of early coinage. It is worth remembering, not least, that Greek sources refer to a gold coin that was known as a 'croeseid'¹⁰; that Herodotus, in his all too brief reference to coinage in Lydia (i. 94), very possibly intended his audience to understand that the Lydians were the first to develop a bimetallic currency¹¹; and that the Sardians 'of the time of Croesus' were already converting electrum into gold and silver on a major industrial scale¹².

When Herodotus reports, moreover, that Croesus gave 'two gold staters' to each of the citizens of Delphi (i. 54), the use of the term 'stater' is striking. It implies that Croesus was distributing what he, Herodotus, specifically took to be 'coinage'. And since Herodotus is at pains in a closely preceding passage (i. 50) to distinguish between objects made of 'white gold', i.e. electrum, and items made of 'refined' gold, it may well be that he sought to underscore, in i. 54, both the importance of pure metallic currency and the significant role that Croesus played in its introduction¹³.

⁹ Cf. C. H. Greenewalt, jr., M. L. Rautman and N. D. Cahill, 'The Sardis campaign of 1985', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Supplement 25, 1988, pp. 62-70.

¹⁰ Pollux, *Onomasticon* iii. 87; ix. 84.

¹¹ See J. G. Milne, 'Herodotus I. 94: ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ', *Classical Review* 63, 3-4, 1949, pp. 85-87 and, most recently, R. W. Wallace, 'The origin of electrum coinage', *American Journal of Archaeology* 91, 1987, p. 391.

¹² S. M. Goldstein, 'Goldworking installations and techniques: Lydian gold industry at Sardis' in G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times. Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958-1975*, Cambridge, Mass., 1983, p. 38. Note also that Goldstein is willing to recognise a fragment of a croeseid in a figured gold fragment from Sardis which appears to derive, at the latest, from a late sixth century context. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹³ For a penetrating review of Herodotus' statements on coinage, to which the observations in the foregoing paragraph are substantially indebted, see Neel Smith, *Herodotus and the Archaeology of Asia Minor: A Historiographic Study*, University

On the chronology of the royal-archer coinage

With dies which show few typological changes and which do not carry inscriptions, the royal-archer coins of the Achaemenids have always been difficult to date in anything other than approximate terms. Indeed, while stylistic analysis can sometimes help to determine the relative position of given coins within the life span of an individual coin type¹⁴, it has long been recognised¹⁵ that the overall chronology of the different types in the series would only emerge through a systematic review of the chronological indications from hoards that also contained other, more closely datable coins. In this last respect S. P. Noe¹⁶ and E. S. G. Robinson¹⁷ were able, in the 1950's, to use the evidence of certain then freshly recovered coin hoards in order to arrive at a sequence for the series which was at once broadly acceptable and at once substantially different from any that had been proposed before¹⁸. Furthermore, as I. Carradice has indicated — on the basis of a study which takes account of the widest possible range of evidence from extant hoards — each of the last two types in Robinson's sequence of four types is capable of being broken down into two or more subdivisions¹⁹.

Altogether, then, the chronological sequence of types and subtypes within this long-lived series can now be defined by the following seven major categories (Fig. 1, 1-7), in each of which an isolated figure — best defined, at least in strictly neutral terms, as a 'royal archer' — faces right and carries a bow:

Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1987 (forthcoming). On the possibly contrasted functions performed by electrum issues and separate gold and silver issues, see M. J. Price, 'Thoughts on the beginnings of coinage' in *Studies in Numismatic Method presented to Philip Grierson* (ed. C. N. L. Brooke et al.), Cambridge, 1983, pp. 1-10, and R. W. Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 385-397.

¹⁴ Cf. C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, Berkeley, 1976, p. 33 and *idem*, "The Asyut hoard: some comments on chronology", *NC* 1977, pp. 193-4.

¹⁵ Cf. G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (*British Museum Catalogue* 28), London, 1922 (hereafter *BMC* 28), p. cxxxii.

¹⁶ *Two Hoards of Persian Sigloï*, *ANS* (American Numismatic Society) *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, New York, 1956.

¹⁷ *NC* 1958, pp. 187-93.

¹⁸ For earlier proposed sequences, see especially E. Babelon, *op. cit.* and *BMC* 28; also, conveniently, *RCPE*, p. 77.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 78 f.

Obv.

Type I (Fig. 1, 1 and Pl. I, 3-6) shows a half-figure who holds a bow in the left hand and two arrows in the right hand.

Type II (Fig. 1, 2 and Pl. I, 7 and 8) depicts a 'kneeling' figure who draws a bow — and who carries (in a precedent then set for all subsequent issues) a quiver on his back.

Type IIIa (Fig. 1, 3 and Pl. II, 1) shows a 'kneeling-running' figure who holds a bow in the left hand and a spear in the right hand. Coins of this variety are distinguished from all other type III coins by the inclusion of two small pellets beside the beard.

Type IIIb (Fig. 1, 4 and Pl. I, 2). The same in all respects as type IIIa, but without the addition of pellets beside the beard²⁰.

Type IIIc (Fig. 1, 5 and Pl. II, 3 and 4). The pose remains the same as in types IIIa and b, but the lower part of the robe is distinguished by a different set of conventional folds: instead of being partly folded over the advanced left knee in a relatively naturalistic fashion, the whole lower edge of the costume now describes a broad semi-circular sweep from the left knee back to the right ankle.

Type IVa (Fig. 1, 6 and Pl. II, 5) shows a 'kneeling-running' figure who holds a bow in the left hand and a dagger in the right hand.

Characteristic is a 'stiff' shapeless body with no visible waist.

Type IVb (Fig. 1, 7 and Pl. II, 6 and 7) depicts a figure in a pose that is essentially the same as that found in type IVa. The costume, which contains new features, is rendered in a softer style; in addition, the lower edge of the costume describes a broad semi-circular sweep from the left knee back to the right ankle.

Rev.

Rectangular incuse. (This description applies to all issues.)

As far as the provision of approximate dates for these various types is concerned, not a few problems remain. Apart from the fact that the date that is ascribed to any hoard of this age can be subject to substantial revision²¹, it is notable that there is a dearth of coin hoards that can be

²⁰ For one frequently noted, 'exceedingly rare' variation within this subtype, in which a beardless figure is depicted, see now *ibid.*, p. 77 and pl. XIII, 29. For other rare variants, cf. Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. xv and pl. III.

²¹ *RCPE*, pp. 80 and 90.

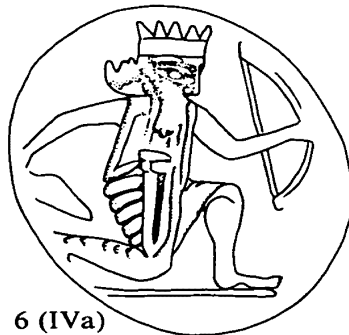


Fig. 1, 1-7. Select examples of coins of types I-IVb. Scale 3:1.

dated with any confidence to the years between 520 and 500 B.C.²². Thus the hoard testimony which appears to indicate that the minting of types I and II only began *c.* 500 B.C. could be deceptive: in theory, at least, one or other or both types could have been introduced at a somewhat earlier point in the reign of Darius (Fig. 2). At the other end of the scale type I is not attested after the 480's and type II, while it does last for a longer period, is still only represented by occasional, single finds between 480 and 450 B.C.²³.

Coins of types IIIa and IIIb appear to have been introduced more or less simultaneously in the course of the 480's²⁴. But while examples of the former variety only seem to have remained in circulation for some thirty years²⁵, examples of type IIIb continued in use well into the first quarter of the fourth century²⁶. Type IIIc is first found in the important Durasalar hoard of *c.* 390 B.C.²⁷ and this same obverse design can be seen to have remained in use down to the period when double-darics were struck at Babylon under Alexander (Pl. II, 4). Finally, while coins of type IVa may have been in circulation as early as the middle of the fifth century²⁸ and would appear to have continued in use for more than seventy-five years, examples of type IVb are known to have been in circulation during an exclusively late period: from say, the 380's²⁹ down to *c.* 300 B.C.³⁰.

Notes on motif and meaning in the croeseids and the royal-archer issues:

a) The croeseids. Before we turn to consider the motifs that are to be found on the royal-archer coins, it may be appropriate to point out that

²² Ibid., p. 79, table A.

²³ Ibid., loc. cit.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 83.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 79, table A.

²⁶ See, for example, the Babylon hoard, which contains several examples of type IIIb, and which is dated by the presence of non-Persian coins to 'about the middle of the first quarter of the fourth century' (E. S. G. Robinson, 'A "silversmith's hoard" from Mesopotamia', *Iraq* XII, 1950, p. *49). Cf. also J. Reade, 'A hoard of silver currency from Achaemenid Babylonia', *Iran* 24, 1986, pp. 79 f. and pl. I, 17-21.

²⁷ *RCPE*, p. 85.

²⁸ C. M. Kraay and P. R. S. Moorey, 'A Black Sea hoard of the late fifth century B.C.', *NC* 1981, p. 9.

²⁹ Cf. *RCPE*, p. 86.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 79, table A, and p. 88.

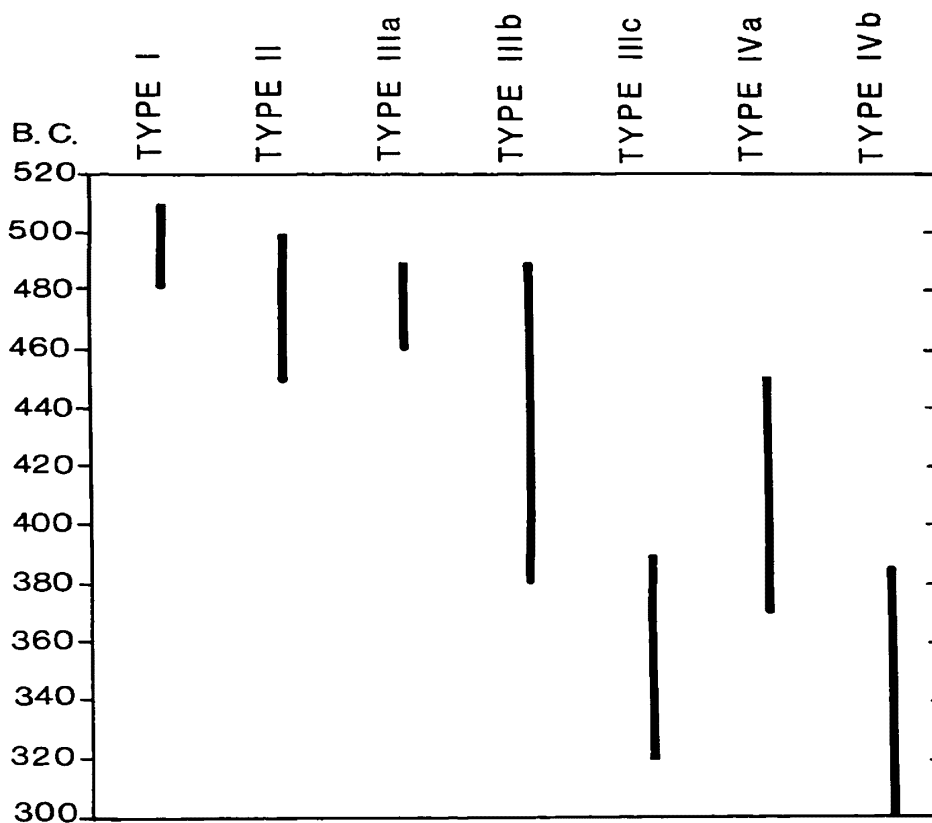


Fig. 2. Table showing the duration of the principal varieties of the royal-archer coinage.

the croeseid issues do not necessarily depict (as has recently been implied) a design of Persian, rather than Lydian, origin. On the basis of the dates supplied by currently known hoards which contain croeseids, M. Vickers has of course put forward (a) the view that *all* croeseids were produced during the reign of Darius and (b) the view that this monarch's full authorship of this same coinage is in keeping with his introduction of a prominent lion-and-bull motif in the friezes which decorate the staircases of the Apadana at Persepolis³¹.

First, with reference to the supposition that Darius' reign could have

³¹ NC 1985, pp. 8-9. For relevant illustrations from Persepolis, see in particular, E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I, Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*, Chicago, 1953 (hereafter *Persepolis I*), pls. 19 and 20.

encompassed the entire period in which croeseid coins were produced, it has to be remarked that the 'S.W. Turkey' hoard — a hoard dated to c. 520 B.C.³¹ does very little to suggest that croeseid coinage only came into existence a year or two before this date of deposition. As Carradice has stressed, the 77 croeseids from this important hoard are not in any sense uniform. Not only do the 'early' croeseids from this context subscribe to more than one weight standard (something which would seem to point to more than a very brief period of production), but the style in which the design of the types was executed can be 'quite varied'³³. And secondly, with reference to the validity of the connection that has been drawn between the design that marks the obverse of all croeseid coins and the celebrated lion-and-bull scenes from Persepolis, it is important to note that the latter motif does *not* occur in the early palatial art of Darius. In the monumental art of the Achaemenid homeland, the motif of the lion attacking the bull appears to be an innovation of Darius' later years³⁴.

Direct observation confirms that the croeseids and the 'archer' coins share a number of characteristics. Both can be distinctly oval rather than round in shape³⁵, both can be struck partly off-flan, and both show a plain incuse pattern on the reverse. Notwithstanding the fact that the royal-archer coins fill the oval flan with a vertical (Pl. I, 3) rather than a horizontal obverse motif (Pl. I, 1), and the fact that they possess a single rather than a double incuse pattern, the overall similarities are sufficient

³² *RCPE*, p. 79, table A.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

³⁴ While the Persepolitan lion-and-bull motif has been aptly defined as 'primarily a sign of royal authority, temporal and supernatural' (P. R. S. Moorey, 'The iconography of a stamp-seal acquired in the Lebanon', *Iran* XVI, 1978, p. 152), the early fifth century date that is now tentatively proposed for the foundation of the Apadana (cf. M. Roaf, *Sculptures and Sculptors at Persepolis, Iran* XXI, 1983, p. 139 and D. Stronach 'The Apadana: a signature of the line of Darius I', in *De l'Indus aux Balkans, Recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes*, Paris, 1985, pp. 442-4), could provide one major reason why this long-lived Near Eastern motif (M. C. Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art (Acta Iranica 19)*, 1979, fig. 11) was suddenly selected for exceptionally prominent display. In brief, such a symbol may not only have been intended to signify the effective triumph of the royal line of Darius, but it may also have been just possibly intended — in the more or less direct wake of the Ionian revolt of 499 B.C. — to provide a compelling reminder of the long arm of the Achaemenid king.

³⁵ *RCPE*, pls. X-XII.

to suggest that they and the croeseids derive from a common, or at least a strongly related, minting tradition³⁶.

At the same time the unrelated nature of the obverse dies in these two series would seem to show that, if the Mermnads were not responsible for the initial lion-and-bull die type, there were still strong local influences inherent in this last motif. That is to say that, even if an early beginning for the croeseids in the first half of the sixth century cannot in the end be affirmed, it will still be necessary to suppose that Cyrus or Cambyses II came to authorize an obverse die which echoed an existing, West Anatolian predilection for part-figure animal designs³⁷.

b) Type I. As far as coins of type I are concerned, Carradice has already observed that these coins, and those of types II and IIIa, could have been produced — on the available hoard evidence — in those years that were contemporary with the suppression of the Ionian Revolt and Darius' subsequent invasion of Greece³⁸. Thus, just as the Persepolitan motif of the lion attacking the bull may have been intended, in the aftermath of the Ionian Revolt, to send appropriate messages to any who doubted the resolve of the monarch (and his capacity to being superior power to bear)³⁹, so too might certain of the early royal-archer coin types point to a parallel interest, after the attack on Sardis, in the projection of an additional, undisguisedly militant message — not least in those areas where coins were in regular circulation, i.e. in the westernmost, Greek-bordered regions of the Empire.

As we have seen, however, hoard evidence is lacking for the years immediately before 500 B.C., at a time when Darius, a master of propaganda and an innovator of rare talent, might well have seen fit to introduce a coin type of his own. Above all, it is coins of type I which deserve closest consideration in this regard.

In terms of the possible priority of this issue, it is the one variety for which no darics are so far known. Furthermore, the half-figures in the known sigloi reveal conspicuous differences in detail which could well point to a not negligible period of experiment and evolution. The faces in particular are far from uniform (Pl. I, 3-6) and the crowns either consist

³⁶ Cf. Noe, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 f.

³⁷ Cf. G. K. Jenkins, *Ancient Greek Coins*, Fribourg, 1972, figs. 6, 10, and 17.

³⁸ *RCPE*, p. 92.

³⁹ See note 34, above.

of a tall polos with a low dentate top (Pl. I, 3 and 6) or of a less tall cylinder capped by relatively long spikes (Pl. I, 4 and 5). It is apparent in addition that Type I coins went out of circulation at a markedly early date (Fig. 2) and that, apart from all else, they bear a design that is quite distinct from those that are to be found in the remaining royal-archer issues. As Robinson has put the matter, it is typologically easier to put 'the grave, dignified half-length figure, recalling that of Assur in an oval frame on Assyrian and early Persian gems and sculpture, at the beginning, followed by three variants of the full length figure in increasingly rapid motion' rather than to start the series with a full-length figure and to then 'break the continuity' with a single half-length one⁴⁰.

Robinson's observations find direct support in the extent to which the designs in certain of the type I coins appear to recall specific details in the Bisitun relief of Darius — a carving which dates from 520-519 B.C.⁴¹. Special note may be taken of both the plain, i.e. unpleated, near sleeve (Pl. III, 1), which is a consistent feature in all coins of type I and the similarly unpleated sleeves which are common to all figures in Persian dress at Bisitun⁴², and of a possible resemblance between the diagonal pleats which emerge from the front of the near, hanging sleeve in coins of type I (Pl. III, 1) and those short pleats which occur on each side of the near sleeve of Darius at Bisitun (Pl. III, 3)⁴³. Last but not least, with special reference to the face, certain physical correspondences are to be noted between the appearance of the royal archer in one of the more carefully drawn coins of type I (Pl. III, 1) and the appearance of the winged figure at Bisitun (Pl. III, 2)⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ NC 1958, pp. 188-9.

⁴¹ See, for example, Root, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁴² H. Luschey, 'Studien zu dem Darius-Relief von Bisitun', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran N.F.* (hereafter *AMI*) 1, 1968, pls. 26 and 34.

⁴³ On the more or less naturalistic appearance of these last pleats, see D. Stronach, *Pasargadae. A report on the excavations conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963*, Oxford, 1978, p. 96.

⁴⁴ Compare, in each instance, the line of the shoulder and the treatment of the face, including the way in which the eye, the nose and the moustache are represented. At the same time important indications of something other than exact contemporaneity come, in the case of the coin, from: the disappearance from view of the ear; the presence of both a distinct Persian crown and a typical Persian hairstyle (in which the main mass of the hair emerges almost at once from under the crown); and from the final abandonment of a 'rectangular' beard of direct Assyrian inspiration in favour of a beard that is drawn in true profile.

Whether or not the above correspondences will one day be matched by more secure chronological indications affirming say, some ten years of production within the sixth century is, for the present, a moot question. On the one hand the presence of a type I siglos in the Bairakli hoard — a hoard ascribed to ‘the early years of the fifth century’ —⁴⁵ can hardly be said to oppose such a raised date of introduction; but on the other hand the absence of any type I coinage at Persepolis would appear, at least at first sight, to count against some such appreciable period of prior circulation. In this last respect, however, it should not be forgotten that darics of type I are not yet known from any source — and that examples of ‘late’ croeseid silver are themselves absent from Persepolis⁴⁶. There is, therefore, no compelling reason to suppose that coins of type I should have been numbered among the finds from either the Persepolis Treasury or the early fifth century foundation deposits of the Apadana⁴⁷.

For many years the royal-archer obverse type was taken by almost every commentator to represent the Persian king. Only the ‘gallant attempt’ by Babelon to attribute certain issues to given Achaemenid sovereigns ‘on grounds of portraiture and style’ was seen to call, on various occasions, for adverse notice⁴⁸. Then, in 1959, H. Seyrig stimulated a lively degree of debate by asserting that there was nothing to prove that the Great King was represented in the long familiar ‘archer’ issues — and that the form of the crown was enough in itself to place the matter in doubt⁴⁹. Since these assertions were intended to buttress a claim that the commanding figure with a sometimes dentate crown in the Achaemenid coinage of Sidon⁵⁰ was Ba’al rather than the Persian ruler, they no doubt also encouraged a parallel contention that the figure in the ‘archer’ coinage was not to be identified with the Great King, but with a god. However this may be, P. Naster volunteered just such a suggestion

⁴⁵ E. S. G. Robinson, ‘Two Greek coin hoards’, *NC* 1960, p. 31.

⁴⁶ E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis II, Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*, Chicago, 1957 (hereafter *Persepolis II*), pp. 111 f.; *RCPE*, p. 81.

⁴⁷ While the intent behind the deposition of the Apadana coin hoards remains a matter for speculation, M. Vickers has recently advanced the conjecture that the Cypriot coins from the S. E. deposit could have been ‘intended to recall the firm and uncompromising way in which the Persians put down revolt in the island between 499 and 496’. *NC* 1985, p. 6; *REG* 99, 1986, p. 246.

⁴⁸ Cf. *NC* 1958, p. 187.

⁴⁹ Seyrig, ‘Antiquités syriennes’, *Syria* XXXVI, 1959, pp. 52-56, and especially n. 5.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. XI, 1 and 2.

with reference to the two oldest issues in the 'archer' series⁵¹. In his estimation the Neo-Assyrian depiction of the god Assur — represented as a bust emerging from a winged disc, and shown armed and sometimes with a drawn bow —⁵² could have served as the prototype for the half-length and 'kneeling-shooting' figures in these initial issues.

In the wake of Seyrig's article it has been argued that the anomalies in the 'archer' crowns are to be attributed, at least in part, to the constraints of scale — and that there is therefore no compelling reason to question the identity of the 'royal archer' with the Great King⁵³. Moreover, where Naster's proposal is concerned, it deserves to be stressed that the figure in the type I coinage never draws a bow, is not associated with any winged disc, and has no feathered tail. Indeed, in scouting the possibility in more recent years that the figure in the 'archer' coins might still be a god, it is notable that Calmeyer⁵⁴ has preferred to base such a supposition on the half-length pose of the Achaemenid 'encircled male bust' — a device which is commonly found in seals and jewellery and which is not rarely presumed to represent a divine being⁵⁵. It is at once apparent, however, that this last figure is invariably *pacific* in its attributes (holding, very often, a single lotus blossom); and that, although the exact form of the seemingly important circle round the bust 'is not always clear', its lower edge 'is normally thickened to form a crescent'⁵⁶.

The type I archer does in fact most clearly adhere — in all but his half-length appearance at least — to a traditional Mesopotamian royal pose in which the ruler is depicted with a bow and two arrows in his grasp. Prototypes for this durable symbol of royal authority are to be found, at

⁵¹ P. Naster, 'Les sicles persiques à la demi-figure dans leur contexte numismatique et archéologique', *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique* 17/6, 1962, pp. 170-1: idem., 'De la représentation symbolique du dieu Assur aux premiers types monétaires achéménides', *Comptes-Rendus des Rencontres Assyriologiques internationales* XI, 1964, pp. 10-11.

⁵² Cf. H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Harmondsworth, 1954, pl. 84.

⁵³ D. Schlumberger, 'La coiffure du grand roi', *Syria* XLVIII, 1971, pp. 375-383.

⁵⁴ P. Calmeyer, 'Zur Genese altiranischer Motive: VI. Toxotai', *AMI* 12, 1979, pp. 307-8.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Iran* XVI, 1978, p. 148 and fig. 7.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

least in Assyrian sculpture, in scenes which celebrate the king's martial or hunting successes⁵⁷.

At this remove only tentative suggestions can be made as to why a former full-length motif came to be converted into a half-length one. An existing East Mediterranean penchant for the use of part or half figures in locally struck coinage could have been influential. This convention allowed, after all, for the magnification of specific, characteristic details. Thus, if the Achaemenid artist wished to reserve almost half the height of each type I coin for the depiction of such features as the crown, face and beard, he could do so without leaving the proportions in the rest of his design too visibly distorted⁵⁸. It is also not impossible that the notion of creating a new half-length image was inspired in part by the compact, circular surface that was offered by a coin flan. On a small scale such a surface would have carried echoes of the circular, central part of a winged disc within which, in many separate contexts, the outline of all, or part, of a pre-eminent half-length figure would have been not unfamiliar⁵⁹.

At all events, we must now take up the task of attempting to define the various ways in which the image in the coins may have been intended to represent the Achaemenid king — whether we see him drawn as a half-length figure or a full-length figure. As the overall chronology of the 'archer' coinage clearly demonstrates, individual coin types were not intended to be associated with particular monarchs. Indeed, as Root has commented in this context, it was 'the concept of the Achaemenid king as archer' that was of significance, rather than 'the person of any specific king'⁶⁰. That is to say that, in keeping with a larger prescription in

⁵⁷ For typical examples of the motif, as it was used from the ninth to the seventh centuries B.C., see H. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pl. 88, P. Amiet, *Art of the Ancient Near East*, New York, 1977, pls. 122 and 124, R. D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of... Tiglath Pileser III (745-727 B.C.)*, London, 1962, pl. LIX, and R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and Their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia*, Batchworth Press, n.d., pl. XV.

⁵⁸ On the norms of proportion used in Achaemenid art (in particular in the context of Achaemenid monumental sculpture), see G. Azarpay, 'Proportional guidelines in ancient Near Eastern art', *JNES* 46, 1987, pp. 183-203.

⁵⁹ For a lexical and philological study of the winged disc in Mesopotamia, Arabia and Syria in the second and first millennia B.C., see now S. Dalley, 'The god Šalmu and the winged disc', *Iraq* XLVIII, 1986, pp. 85-101.

⁶⁰ M. Root, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

Achaemenid art, the portrayal of the king in this long-lived coinage was given a dynastic, not a personal character.

While this dictum remains true for the series as a whole, it deserves to be recognised that the first issues are bound to reflect something of the early aims and purposes of Darius himself. Thus, in minting the first 'archer' coins — coins which Robinson saw to be examples of a 'new national type'⁶¹ — Darius may not only have found a way to signal his determination to introduce monetary reforms⁶² but, following the tumultuous revolts at the beginning of his reign, he may have sought (through this and other means) to emphasise both a more assertive 'Persian identity' in the character of Achaemenid kingship and, by the same token, a somewhat less tolerant policy towards the subject peoples of the empire⁶³.

Furthermore, if it is recalled that the past authority of the Assyrian kings held a certain fascination for the early Achaemenids⁶⁴, and that, from the start of his reign, Darius called on iconography in order to 'confirm his claim to power'⁶⁵, there is more than a chance that the embattled Darius turned, in areas that were by no means only related to monumental art, to the rich reservoir of royal motifs which could be culled from Late Assyria. Seen in this light, the motif in the type I siglos emerges as one further vehicle through which Darius may have sought to link his own rule with the once unrivalled condition of Assyrian royal power.

Finally, the regal identity of the type I figure finds a not inconsiderable measure of support in the manner in which Darius chose to have himself represented in his great rupestral reliefs at Bisitun and Naqsh-i Rostam. In each of these commanding reliefs Darius, 'the first Bowman of his people'⁶⁶, can be seen (even at the distance from which each carving must be viewed) to hold the bow — the Iranian national arm — as a salient emblem of kingship.

⁶¹ *NC* 1958, p. 188.

⁶² Compare Bivar's view that 'the inauguration of the daric coinage anticipated by a short period the metrological reform'. *Op. cit.*, p. 617.

⁶³ For thoughtful comments on these last two points, see D. Graf, 'Medism: The origin and significance of the term', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* CIV, 1984, pp. 28-9.

⁶⁴ Cf. C. B. F. Walker, 'A recently identified fragment of the Cyrus cylinder', *Iran* X, 1972, pp. 158-9.

⁶⁵ E. Porada, *Ancient Iran*, London, 1965, pp. 159-60.

⁶⁶ Aeschylus, *The Persians* l. 536.

c) Type II. As might be expected, the type II obverse dies appear to document a certain measure of experiment and evolution. The crowns in question vary in height and form (Pl. I, 7 and 8) and the hair at the back of the head can be rolled at the neck in a style reminiscent of the Assyrian convention⁶⁷ or bunched (as is usually the case) directly below the crown. The size of the head ranges from small to disproportionately large, and both minute 'beady' or pellet-shaped eyes (pl. I, 7 and 8) and large 'frontal' eyes are represented. Among more consistent features, the bow is usually marked by duck-head finials of exaggerated size⁶⁸.

While the crowned figure in the type II coinage is still equipped with the means to shoot with a bow, he now appears as a full-length 'kneeling' figure who holds the bow at full draw and carries a well stocked, open quiver on his back⁶⁹. As if to emphasise the urgency of the pose, both sleeves are thrown clear of the arms and the full pleated skirt is apparently drawn up (through an unseen belt) in such a way as to bare the knee of the leading leg — and to leave a triangular 'overhang' of material near the middle of the body (Fig. 1, 2).

This treatment of the dress of the archer could be thought to be merely appropriate to the act of kneeling and shooting. Almost certainly, however, more was implied. In particular, the sleeves of the 'royal hero' in the doorway reliefs of the palace of Darius at Persepolis⁷⁰ are similarly bunched up towards the shoulders while the skirt is hitched up above the knee of the leading leg⁷¹.

As far as the wider background of the type II die is concerned, the motif of an 'isolated' kneeling archer is decidedly rare in any Iranian context that falls near the middle of the first millennium B.C.⁷². Thus where a kneeling archer is represented in seals of either Neo-Elamite⁷³ or

⁶⁷ G. P. F. Van den Boorn, *Oud Iran: Pre-Islamische Kunst en voorwerpen in het Rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden*, 1983, fig. 133.

⁶⁸ Although Achaemenid reliefs follow Assyrian ones in regularly illustrating such finials, they are not often met with (Pl. I, 4) in dies of type I.

⁶⁹ An open quiver may well have been intended to indicate preparedness for battle; those quivers which find a place in Achaemenid monumental art are invariably closed at the top by a tall cylindrical cap.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Persepolis I*, pls. 144-6.

⁷¹ Cf. *AMI* 12, 1979, p. 307, for similar observations with reference to coins of type III.

⁷² L. Vanden Berghe, 'Le relief rupestre de Gardanah Galumūshk (*Qir*), *Iranica Antiqua* XXI, 1986, pp. 141 f. and especially n. 8.

⁷³ P. Amiet, *Glyptique susienne, des origines à l'époque des Perses achéménides (MDP*

Proto-Achaemenid date⁷⁴ he is invariably supplied with a target. In one case, however, an Achaemenid sealing from the western provinces provides a striking exception. In a seal impression from Shechem (Pl. III, 4) the seemingly complete design shows a shooting, kneeling-running figure with a probable winged disc in the left field, but with no specific target in view⁷⁵. To judge, moreover, from the archaeological context of the find⁷⁶, as well as from the 'archaic' arrangement of the hair, the design could well date from no later than the middle years of the reign of Darius.

Support for the view that contemporary Achaemenid sealings could have provided early Persian die cutters with suitable models for emulation (or adaptation) also comes from Persepolis. In this context we find that, while the earliest *reliefs* of the 'royal hero' were probably only carved after 490 B.C.⁷⁷, seal impressions with a parallel motif can be found on certain of the Fortification tablets as early as the nineteenth year of Darius' reign⁷⁸.

While we may never know exactly what forces shaped the norms of seal production in the early Achaemenid empire, it is certainly true that the corpus as a whole reflects both direct echoes of Neo-Assyrian royal art and yet other echoes of an older, more explicitly 'heroic' Mesopotamian substratum. At a guess at least, the famed lion hunt cylinder seal which carries a trilingual inscription in the name of 'Darius the Great King'⁷⁹ is representative (like the type I coin die) of an early official style. This early style depended closely on austere Neo-Assyrian models and it appears to

LIII), 1972, no. 2186, and F. de Miroschedji, 'Notes sur la glyptique de la fin de l'Élam', *Revue d'Assyriologie* 76, 1982, fig. 1.

⁷⁴ B. Teissier, *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection*, Berkeley, 1984, no. 288.

⁷⁵ Unless a wing-like object (?) at the extreme left-hand edge of the impression should be representative of some opposing, or fleeing, creature. In view, however, of the evident edge of the impression in front of the archer's bow, and E. Stern's opinion that the impression is from a stamp seal (personal information; cf. also *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 B.C.*, Warminster, 1982, p. 197), there appears to be no reason to suppose that any kind of quarry was represented.

⁷⁶ G. E. Wright, *Shechem, The Biography of a Biblical City*, New York and Toronto, 1965, pp. 167 f.

⁷⁷ Roaf, *Iran XXI*, 1983, p. 157.

⁷⁸ Personal information from M. Root.

⁷⁹ R. Ghirshman, *Persia, from the Origins to Alexander the Great*, Thames and Hudson, 1964, fig. 323.

have been effectively overtaken, at some date close to 500 B.C., by a new, more relaxed, more consciously 'heroic' style.

This second, essentially fifth century style concentrates on portraying the Persian king as a super-hero. The monarch now prevails over not only lions (one of the habitual quarries of the Assyrian king)⁸⁰ but also over the kind of supernatural creatures that would normally find a divine opponent in the art of Neo-Assyria⁸¹. Indeed, when it is remembered that Darius, in keeping with the imaginative stroke of an earlier usurper, Sargon II, chose to commission certain full-scale reliefs with a design reminiscent of the ancient and heroic 'Gilgamesh motif'⁸², there can be little doubt that it was he and no one else who expressly ordered this sudden and markedly archaistic change in seal design. In so doing he appears to have initiated — if we take a series of important documents into account — a highly visible, not undramatic, longterm iconographic programme. At one and the same time he took care to present himself as a remote, enthroned king⁸³; as a 'royal hero' capable of guarding the realm against the forces of chaos⁸⁴; and as the quintessential, battle-trained 'Persian man'⁸⁵. Through the medium of his new official seals, moreover, he gave ample notice that the Persian 'royal hero' was none other than the crowned and invincible Achaemenid ruler.

It is as one integral part of such a carefully orchestrated iconographic programme, then, that the new motif of a crowned archer would seem to have made its first appearance on both seals and coins within the bounds of the western provinces. And by the same token the *prime* meaning of the new motif should probably not be sought in terms of local, provincial priorities: instead it should almost certainly be looked for within the context of certain more 'universal' concepts that were beginning to be attached to the central role of Achaemenid kingship⁸⁶.

⁸⁰ A. R. Millard, 'The Assyrian royal seal type again', *Iraq* XXVII, 1965, pl. 1.

⁸¹ Cf. E. Porada, 'Achaemenid art, monumental and minute', *Highlights of Persian Art* (eds. R. Ettinghausen and E. Yarshater), Boulder, Colorado, 1979, pp. 82 f.

⁸² *Persepolis* I, pl. 147.

⁸³ *Persepolis* I, pl. 121.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 145.

⁸⁵ R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar Texts Lexicon*, New Haven, Connecticut, 1950 (hereafter *Old Persian*), p. 138. Cf. also, F. Vallat, 'Les textes cuneiformes de la statue de Darius', *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran* (hereafter *DAFI*) 4, 1974, pp. 162 f.

⁸⁶ In other words, whether or not coins with this motif were used on numerous

d) Type III. The type III obverse die, which shows a 'kneeling-running' figure with a bow in one hand and a spear in the other, can be compared, at least in its early IIIa and IIIb forms (Pl. II, 1 and 2 and Fig. 1, 3 and 4), to the design of an oval seal impression from Persepolis (Pl. IV, 1) which is known to have been in use at any rate late in the reign of Xerxes (486-464 B.C.)⁸⁷. The impression in question has been described as follows: 'Persian archer in left profile. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; tucked sandals, right leg bare to knee. Kneeling-running position (right leg almost kneeling; left leg, balancing on toes, in running position). Right arm, slightly bent, extended forward, hand holding bow... Left arm flexed at side, hand holding spear, which slants backwards across near shoulder'⁸⁸.

Schmidt refers to this design as 'the only illustration of a daric pattern from Persepolis'⁸⁹. Further, by emphasising that the fast moving Persepolitan figure (Pl. IV, 1) should be associated with the far more crouched, spear-carrying 'royal archer' (Fig. 1, 3), he fortifies, I believe, the conjecture that the shooting and running Shechem figure (Pl. III, 4) could well represent an 'uncompressed' counterpart of the type II shooting and 'kneeling' king (Fig. 1, 2).

The middle years of Darius appear to witness, in any event, the emergence of 'rapid movement' as a new and unexpected *leitmotiv* for power, not least in minor art from the western marches. In this connection attention has long been drawn⁹⁰ to a certain similarity between the kneeling-running 'royal archers' and the partly contemporary Greek motif which depicts an isolated, kneeling-running, bow-carrying Herakles. Where the possible transfer of influences from east to west is concerned, we may note in particular that the figure of Herakles in a gold

occasions to pay mercenary troops, the device upon them should not be taken — the seeming appeal of such a solution notwithstanding — as a straightforward token of this function.

⁸⁷ *Persepolis* II, p. 17 and pp. 20-1. For evidence that seals dating from the time of Darius were also used to endorse documents up to twenty years after that king's death, see *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14. Cf. also *AMI* 12, 1979, p. 306.

⁹⁰ Cf. A. Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen: Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst in klassischen Altertum* III, 1900, p. 98 and A. Moortgat, *Hellas und die Kunst der Achaemeniden*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 16.

stater from Kyzicos⁹¹ not only holds the customary bow and club, but also, in a gesture which could owe something to the powerful imagery of the type I die (Pl. III, 1), two vertical arrows as well. And with reference to the passage of influences in the reverse direction, it certainly has to be allowed that most of the 'archer' dies reflect an interest in the elements of speed and menace which are inherent in the Herakles design.

Yet, even if power is only rarely found to translate into speed of movement in early Achaemenid art, it should not be automatically assumed that the unusual running pose in the 'archer' coins is directly derived from the well known Greek Archaic Running Motif⁹². Apart from the fact that the ultimate origins of the latter motif are presumed to stem from the Near East⁹³, it is notable that one of the early hallmarks of the running pose in the Persian coins — namely a short leading thigh which is often seen to slope sharply downwards (Fig. 1, 2 and 3) — is also to be seen in a number of sixth century gem devices which reveal a combination of Greek and Phoenician motifs⁹⁴.

The point may also be made that the distinctive Persian running convention could have contributed to the relatively brief life of the type II design. That is to say that, even if the intent of the type II die cutter may have been to show the king 'rushing to battle' (or advancing, in Robinson's phrase 'in increasingly rapid motion')⁹⁵, it is not easy to read the end product (Fig. 1, 2) in this way; and of course a king, in the existing conventions of imperial art, would not normally have been represented in a kneeling pose as he prepared to 'give battle'⁹⁶.

No such misunderstanding of the cramped Persian running pose is likely to have obtained with reference to the 'bow and spear' format of

⁹¹ Jenkins, *op. cit.*, no. 47.

⁹² On which see G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven, 1950, p. 62.

⁹³ P. Calmeyer, 'Knielauf' in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* VI, 1/2, 1980, p. 38. Cf. also the range of kneeling-running poses in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Elamite art. R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs*, London, 1970, pl. VI; D. Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, London, 1987, no. 691.

⁹⁴ J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, Evanston, Ill., 1968, pp. 27 f., pl. II, 31, 32 and especially 37.

⁹⁵ See note 40, above.

⁹⁶ On the one occasion, for example, that an Assyrian king is shown in a kneeling, shooting position (J. Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture*, London, 1983, figs. 89-90) he kneels within a sunken hide, strictly in the role of a huntsman.

the Type III issue⁹⁷. Furthermore, there are not a few documents which help to account for the introduction of this new motif — and for its long-term appeal.

While neither the king nor the 'royal hero' would appear to so much as hold a spear in any of the early Achaemenid reliefs, this same weapon is depicted, along with the bow, as a conspicuous part of the equipment of the king's picked guards⁹⁸. More than this, the spear figures prominently in the martial imagery which Darius found it politic to employ in his personal monuments. At Bisitun⁹⁹ the spear bearer of Darius can probably be understood to stand just behind the king, shoulder to shoulder with the royal bow bearer; and at Naqsh-i Rostam the inscriptions on the tomb of Darius include the following lines:

1. 'If now thou shalt think that 'How many are the countries which King Darius held?' look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne, then shalt thou know, then shall it become known to thee: the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to thee: a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia'¹⁰⁰.
2. 'Trained am I both with hands and with feet. As a horseman I am a good horseman. As a bowman I am a good bowman both afoot and on horseback. As a spearman I am a good spearman both afoot and on horseback'¹⁰¹.

Given these separate visual and textual statements, there is perhaps no reason for surprise that the new obverse die took on the form that it did. On the one hand we can discern a determination not to sacrifice the main lines of the now familiar design depicted in coins of type II (the continuity of a standard type always having its own practical value) and, on the other hand, the type III dies would seem to bear witness to an instruction not to give anything less than equal emphasis to the two most favoured weapons of Darius (and, as it would now appear, to the two preferred weapons of his immediate successor)¹⁰².

⁹⁷ As S. P. Noe has put the matter (op. cit., p. 13), 'a kneeling ruler would hardly have needed both bow and spear'.

⁹⁸ R. Ghirshman, op. cit., fig. 190. Cf. also A. Sh. Shahbazi, 'Army. i Pre-Islamic Iran', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* II, fasc. 5, 1986, pp. 492-3.

⁹⁹ H. Luschey, op. cit., pl. 26.

¹⁰⁰ DNa 38-47. *Old Persian*, p. 138.

¹⁰¹ DNb 40-45. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁰² Cf. B. Gharib, 'A newly found Old Persian inscription', *Iranica Antiqua* VIII, 1968, pp. 54-69.

e) Type IV. Just as the motifs for the two preceding coin types can be related to the designs of seals which came into use during the time of either Darius or Xerxes, so also can the motif in type IVa (Pl. II, 5 and Fig. 1, 6) be said to find a complement, if not exactly a parallel, in a number of Persepolis sealings. Of most interest is an impression which shows a royal hero preparing to dispatch a winged lion (Pl. IV, 2). As Schmidt notes, the hero is depicted in the kneeling-running pose with his right arm drawn back, dagger in hand, and with his left hand extended in order to grasp the forelock of the monster¹⁰³. A second relevant motif comes, perhaps significantly, from a context in N. W. Anatolia. Here, in a number of sealings from Daskyleion which bear the name of Xerxes and which can probably be associated with the period of that monarch's invasion of Greece¹⁰⁴, we see a standing royal figure (Pl. IV, 3) who grasps the recurved horn of a horned and winged griffin with his left hand while he holds a broad-bladed dagger in his right hand¹⁰⁵.

The age-old popularity of the motif in which a king vanquishes a lion in personal combat needs no emphasis. In the Neo-Assyrian period it was a pre-eminent mark of royal valour, finding a reflection in both reliefs¹⁰⁶ and sealings¹⁰⁷. As such it appears to have found equal favour with the Achaemenids, although the perceived status of the Achaemenid ruler duly called for a degree of innovation. That is to say that the king (or more explicitly the king-as-hero) could now be shown in combat not only with a lion or a bull but also with a supernatural monster¹⁰⁸. In the case of the 'archer' coins, of course, no opponent, natural or supernatural, is in view. But in a scene that is unrelated to any direct action, the king's supreme power is again beyond question.

Two points of interest remain to be noted. First, it is evident that various details in the face of the crowned figure in Pl. IV, 3 bear

¹⁰³ *Persepolis II*, p. 37.

¹⁰⁴ K. Balkan, 'Inscribed bullae from Daskyleion-Ergili', *Anatolia IV*, 1959, p. 127. Cf. also A. D. H. Bivar, 'A Persian monument at Athens, and its connections with the Achaemenid state seals', *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* (eds. M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch), London, 1970, p. 53.

¹⁰⁵ The treatment of the unfinished right arm merits notice. For a comparable unfinished arm in a fifth century cylinder seal design, cf. Stronach, *Pasargadae*, p. 179 and pl. 162a.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. J. Reade, *op. cit.*, fig. 87.

¹⁰⁷ A. R. Millard, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *Persepolis I*, pls. 114, 116, 145 and 196.

comparison with some of the more stylized faces to be found in 'archer' coins of similar date. Among other parallel traits, the lips in such coins can also be represented by short double lines which serve to give them undue prominence¹⁰⁹. More than ever, therefore, it may be reasonable to suppose that the dies of the coins in question were cut by local seal cutters (of either Persian or Anatolian origin) who were already employed at such major administrative centres as Sardis and Daskyleion. And secondly, it now seems valid to seek a specific identification for the kind of strongly tapered dagger which is traditionally represented in coins of type IV.

The weapon in the right hand of the 'archer' can hardly be taken to be the slim, nearly parallel-sided *akinakes*¹¹⁰. Instead, it would appear to be the tapered 'Elamite' dagger (or short sword) which, if it attracted little notice in Classical literature, is nonetheless well represented in monumental Achaemenid art. Prominently displayed in the statue of Darius (Pl. IV, 4)¹¹¹, this patrician weapon also appears at Persepolis both as a customary accessory in Persian noble dress¹¹² and as one of the principal gifts carried by the Elamite delegation¹¹³. It is in addition the weapon of choice of the 'royal hero'¹¹⁴.

f) The final phases of the royal-archer coinage. Even if the coins of the two latest varieties (namely types IIIc and IVb) can show clear evidence of Greek influence in the treatment of such features as the face (Pl. II, 3 and Fig. 1, 5) or the dress (Pl. II, 6 and Fig. 1, 7), they are possibly most remarkable for the extent to which they preserve the character of two substantially older designs. In order to account for this last circumstance reference is often made to the advantages of an 'unchanging' coin type. It should not be forgotten, however, that the innate conservatism of the

¹⁰⁹ So Noe. *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Persepolis* I, pl. 120; also P. R. S. Moorey, *Cemeteries of the First Millennium B.C. at Deve Huyuk*, BAR International Series 87, 1980, fig. 9, 149-53.

¹¹¹ D. Stronach, 'La statue de Darius le Grand découverte à Suse', *DAFI* 4, 1974, pp. 64-5.

¹¹² *Persepolis*, I, pl. 52.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pl. 28.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 147. Especially diagnostic is the lateral, assymetrical extension at the top of the scabbard of this S. W. Iranian weapon. In the absence of supporting cords such an extension served to hold the scabbard in place when it was thrust through the belt. It is probable, moreover, that the scalloped underside of the extension helped to prevent the scabbard from riding past the central, frontal knot on the wearer's belt (Pl. IV, 4).

later Achaemenids would have militated against any major change — and that a pattern of intense invention, followed by little subsequent modification, is not difficult to parallel in other areas of Achaemenid endeavour.

In a development which at all events underscores the acceptable place of archaizing tendencies in fourth century coin production, the 'archer' motif came to be revived, not a little remarkably, in the early years of the Macedonian administration. Evidence to this effect is provided by various issues of double darics, a number of which attest Greek monograms¹¹⁵, but all of which otherwise adhere more or less closely (Pl. II, 4 and 7) to the long familiar IIIc and IVb die types.

Conclusion

The diverse motifs which occur in the royal-archer coinage are drawn in large measure from concepts and images which stem from either prior Near Eastern, or contemporary Iranian, sources. As such, the designs offer a not to be neglected resource for any study of the Achaemenid world view. It is possible to presume, moreover, when due weight is given to this last perspective, that the 'archer' coins may have sought to depict the king (in line with an ethical message which has been recognised in the Achaemenid royal inscriptions)¹¹⁶ as a constant warrior in defence of the values of 'order-truth' (*arta*). In full accord with other echoes of the steadfast 'royal hero', therefore, the distinctive motif of the isolated royal bowman could owe some part of its genesis to the perceived cosmic role of the Achaemenid king.

¹¹⁵ *BMC* 28, p. cxliii; pp. 176-9.

¹¹⁶ See most recently, A. Kuhrt, 'Usurpation, conquest and ceremonial from Babylonia to Persia' in *Rituals of Royalty* (eds. D. Cannadine and S. Price), Cambridge, 1987, p. 53.

Catalogue: Plates I-II

All coins are shown enlarged to three times their natural size

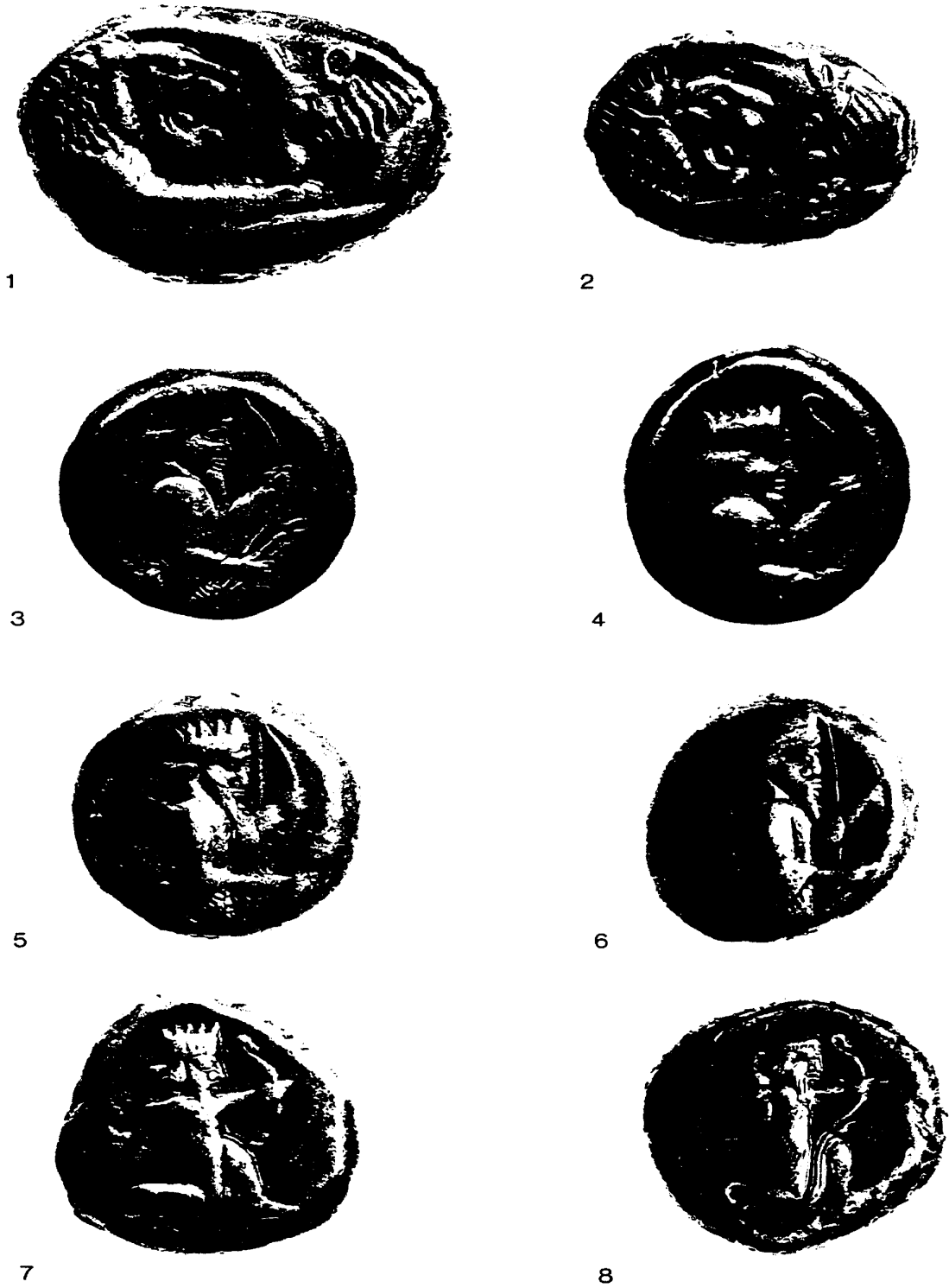
AR = ◊ AV = ◆

Pl. I.

1. ◊ Stater. 10.69 g. Photograph on file in British Museum. *RCPE*, pl. X, 2.
2. ◊ Half-stater. 5.38 g. BM 1904-8-3-23. *RCPE*, pl. XI, 9.
3. ◊ Siglos. 5.35 g. Cabinet des Médailles 25.5.R.2843. *NC* 1958, pl. XV, 19.
4. ◊ Siglos. 5.35 g. Cabinet des Médailles 25.3. Babelon, op. cit., 111.
5. ◊ Siglos. 5.36 g. BM 1948-7-12-15. Jenkins, op. cit., no. 117.
6. ◊ Siglos. 5.33 g. *BMC* 28, Persia 197.
7. ◊ Siglos. 5.37 g. BM 1948-7-12-18. *RCPE*, pl. XI, 13.
8. ◊ Siglos. 5.40 g. *BMC* 28, Persia 185.

Pl. II.

1. ◊ Siglos. 5.34 g. *BMC* 28, Persia 198.
2. ◊ Siglos. 5.23 g. *BMC* 28, Persia 56.
3. ◆ Daric. 8.32 g. *BMC* 28, Persia 84.
4. ◆ Double Daric. 16.68 g. *BMC* 28, Alexandrine Empire of the East 4.
5. ◆ Daric. 8.28 g. *BMC* 28, Persia 109.
6. ◊ Siglos. 5.36 g. *BMC* 28, Persia 176.
7. ◆ Double Daric. 16.47 g. *BMC* 28, Alexandrine Empire of the East 1.



Pl. I. 'Early' and 'later' crosses (1 and 2) with examples of 'royal archer' coins of types I (3-6) and II (7 and 8). Scale 3:1.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7

Pl. II. 'Royal archer' coins of types III (1-3) and IV (5 and 6) with double darics of post-Achaemenid date (4 and 7). Scale 3:1.



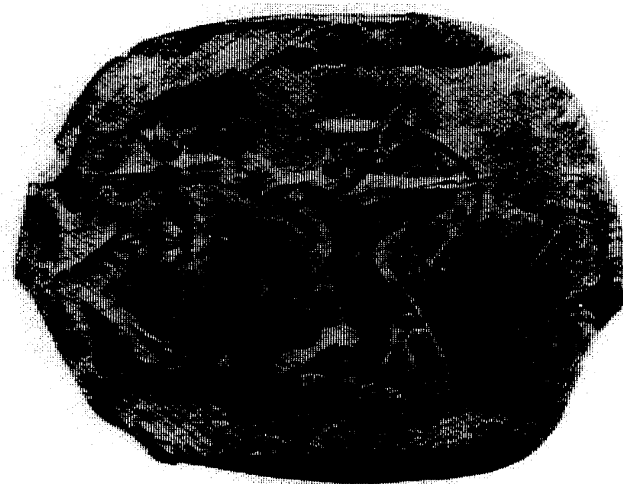
1



2



3

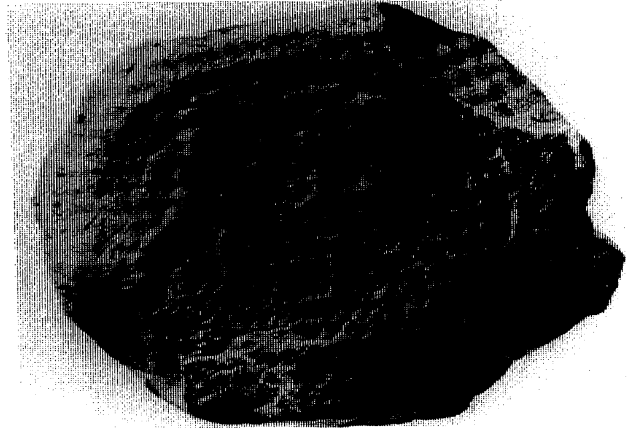


4

1: A further enlargement of the type I siglos in Pl. I, 3; 2: Bisitun relief: Detail of the winged figure (after H. Lushey, *AMI* I, 1968, fig. 4); 3: Bisitun relief: Detail of the skirt and lower sleeve of Darius (D. Stronach, *Pasargadae*, Oxford, 1978, pl. 189d); 4: Seal impression from Shechem (E. Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 B.C.*, Warminster, 1982, fig. 317).



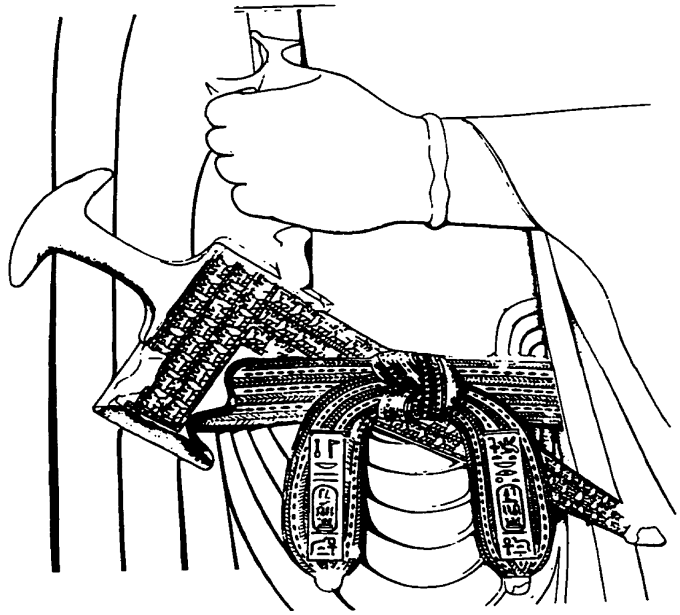
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2



3



4

1: Seal impression from Persepolis (E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, Chicago, 1957, pl. 13, PT6 22); 2: Seal impression from Persepolis (*Persepolis II*, pl. 13, PT4 501); 3: Seal impression from Daskyleion (C.G Starr, *Iranica Antiqua XII*, 1977, pl. 1b); 4: Statue of Darius I: Detail of dagger and belt.(D. Stronach, *DAFI 4*, 1974, fig. 24a).