UNIVERSITY OF TURIN

ISLAMIC AZAD UNIVERSITY OF VARAMIN
PISHVA BRANCH, TEHRAN

Luristan during the Hellenistic period.
An interdisciplinary study of the numismatic collection at Falak-ol-Aflak Museum in Khorram Abad, Luristan (Iran).

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeological, Historical and Historical-Artistic Sciences in Department of Historical Studies

Cycle: XXXII

BY
Soheila Hadipour Moradi

Supervisors
Prof. Vito Messina_ Prof. Bita Sodaei

UNIVERSITY OF TURIN
02/09/2020

Settore Scientifico Disciplinare L-OR/16

ABSTRACT

The Hellenistic period is one of the most important periods in Iran, but it received little attention until nowadays. The lack of archaeological and numismatic studies made the Hellenistic era a dark period in Iran and Luristan. Well-documented excavations and surveys in Fars province, the accidental discovery of Laodicea Temple in Nihavand, Greek inscriptions on stone from Susa, Greek inscription on the rock at Karafto, Heracles statue in Bisotun Kermanshah and some other scattered findings are all of our knowledge from this period.

However, a large number of Hellenistic coins found all around Iran. These issues can help to improve the knowledge concerning this period in the west of Iran and specifically in Luristan. A numismatic collection at the treasury of Falak-ol-Aflak museum, Khorram Abad- Luristan, is the backbone of this study. The coins were divided into two groups: Ancient Greek (Classical Period 480-323 BC) and Hellenistic coins (3233- 31 BC). Ancient Greek coins were subdivided into Syracuse (decadrachm and Pegasus) and Athenian owl groups. Hellenistic coins were subdivided into four groups: Alexander's lifetime, Alexander's posthumous, Seleucid issues and foreign currency (Miletus, Ephesus, Thrace, Paphlagonia, Macedonian, Athenian New-Style, and Greco-Bactrian issues); from these, all Classical issues were forgery. Furthermore, Miletus, Thrace, Paphlagonia, Macedonian and Greco-Bactrian issues were identified as forgery coins. All of the genuine issues, but three, were sliver drachm and tetradrachm; the other three coins were bronze. This collection is one of the most significant numismatic acquisition regarding Alexander III drachms in Iran. The author discovered some of the Seleucid coins were unpublished. Coins from Kermanshah, Malek, Elam and Hamedan Museums and Sadigh Gallery were used to compare with the forgery and genuine coins.

The present study tried to draw a general overview of the Hellenistic Period in Luristan, the monetary circulation during the Hellenistic period in Luristan and to attempt a brief synthesis based on the reflections. On the other hand, this research identified the inhabitants in Luristan during this period; for this, the Assyrian texts and inscriptions, Babylonian texts, ancient Greek and Roman sources were used. According to these sources, an ethnic group lived in the Central Zagros Mountains, Luristan. Kassites were the inhabitants of Luristan during the Assyrians. Later during the Achaemenides, Cissians were identified as the people in Luristan. The ancient sources narrate the Cossaeans as the inhabitants of Luristan. It is probable that they were the same people with several different variants of one and the same name from different periods. They were warrior people with a great ability to war. They were among the Persian kings' army. Later, they joint to Alexander army and Seleucid's army.

These issues identified the presence and domination of Alexander and his successors in Luristan and it could justify the existence of these coins in this area. A large number of Alexanders can be connected with the military activities of Antigonus. However, it is hard to accept Cossaeans were in the side of Antigonus. Perhaps the coins arrived in Luristan at the moment that Cossaeans' land was a part of the Seleucus army. The west of Iran was one of the centers of Seleucid's power. Their reign stands out more than a century in this area. As a whole, the discovered issues may be in relation to militaries or the Cossaeans' presence in the military service for Alexander and his successor, Seleucus I. They could receive the coins as payment.

Luristan was the southern area of the satrapy of Media and was under the control of the Seleucid kings. Seleucus IV, Demetrius I and Alexander Balas issues demonstrate the domination of Seleucids in Luristan these coins were issued in war and peacetime.

All of the Seleucid coins were discovered in Luristan were minted at Ecbatana mint. It seems Ecbatana produced coins for Luristan. On the other hand, no issue from Susa was found in Luristan.

The Seleucids allowed foreign currencies on the Attic standard to circulate freely and a large number of such issues arrived in the satrapy of Media as well. Several foreign coins, Athenian New Style, Ephesus, and Miletus, were discovered in Hamedan (Ecbatana); the same issues were discovered in Luristan. It should be noted that such a variety of foreign currency did not find in Susa. The most interesting point is that the monetary system of Luristan was strongly similar to Ecbatana and Media.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I was only able to complete this research with the gracious support of many individuals. In the beginning, I would like to say this work would not have been possible without the support of the University of Turin. Without the support of my university, I could not have imagined studying the presented subject.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my tutors: Profs. Vito Messina and Bita Sodaei for their continuous support of my Ph.D. study. Their knowledge, motivation and guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing my thesis.

I am especially grateful to Professor Stefano De Martino Director of the Doctoral School at the University of Turin when I attended the university, for his generous support and help during my study.

My sincere thanks also go out to Professor Luigi Provero and Professor Massimo Vallerani the next directors of the Doctoral School at the University of Turin for their help.

I wish to thank all of the staff of the Tabbacco Library, University of Turin, to provide me with a unique resource that enabled my studies and for that, I would like to thank them.

I would also like to thank my committee members, Professor Bruno Jenito and Professor Pierfrancesco Callieri for serving as my committee members. Undoubtedly their brilliant comments and suggestions improved my knowledge and this study.

Besides my tutors, I would like to thank Arthur Houghton and Cathrine Lorber for their stimulating discussions, questions and comments, regarding Seleucid coins, which incented me to widen my research.

I am grateful to Professor Olbrycht, Professor Rémy Boucharlat and Professor Potts who helped me and introduced me to much research as references that could help my research. They also provided me an opportunity to use their works.

I would also like to thank Professor Bopearachchi, Professor François de Callataÿ and Joe Cribb who their scientific guidance helped the presented thesis.

My sincere thanks also go to Mr. Rouhoddin Pourzarin, the treasury Keeper of Falak-ol-Aflak museum, who gave me access to the collection whenever I needed it. Without their precious support, it would not be possible to conduct this research.

I also want to thank Mrs. Afkari the treasury keeper of Kermanshah Museum, Mr. Rouzfarakh, the treasury keeper of Ilam Museum, Mr. Seyed Tabar, the treasury keeper of Hamedan Museum. It wouldn't have been possible to conduct this research without their precious support and help. They all really mean a lot to me.

I am also pleased to say thank you to Dr. Ahmad Parviz, Mr. Fahimi, the head of Doroud Cultural Heritage Organization, Mrs. Rashidpour, Mr. Mohammad Mahdi Goudarzi, Mrs. Rashipour, and who gave access to the libraries and research facilities.

Most importantly, I would also like to thank my friends Dr. Ata Hasanpour and Professor Abbas Motarjem who also supported me well throughout the entire research program.

Last but not the least; I am grateful to all of those with whom I have had the pleasure to work during this thesis.

Dedicated to Luristan (my province)

PUBLICATIONS (Based on the Thesis)

1- Hadipour, M. S., & Sodaei, B. (2019). Iconography of Seleucid's Issues Minted in Iran; National Biennial Conference on Archeology and Art History of Iran. https://www.civilica.com/Paper-AAHI01-AAHI01_223.html
COI: AAHI01_223

2- Hadipour, M. S., & Sodaei, B. (2019). Cossaeans from Alexander Conquest to Seleucid Period Based on Greek and Roman Sources (5th BC. - 2nd A.D.). *Journal of Iran's Pre-Islamic Archaeological Essays*. 4(1): 63-77.

3- Hadipour, S. (2019). "Luristan during the Hellenistic Period". *Phd seminar on ancient numismatic,* University of warsaw, Poland.

4- Hadipour, M. S., & Sodaei, B. (2020). An Introduction to Alexanders' Mints at the Falak-Ol-Aflak Museum (Khorram Abad-Luristan), *Pazhohesh-ha-ye-Bastanshenasi Iran*,10 (24), 61-80. doi: 10.22084/nbsh.2019.18796.1922.

5- Hadipour, M. S., & Sodaei, B. (2020). Two Bronze Coins of Alexander Balas Recently Discovered in Luristan (Iran). *Iran*, 1-7.

LIST OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

LIST OF PLATES

ABBREVIATIONS

Afyon	Ashton, R., Üyümez, M., & Hoşcgören, U. (1966). Five Alexander Hoards in Afyon Museum. The Numismatic Chronicle, 156, 259-268.
Agrinion	Thompson, M. (1968). The Agrinion hoard: Numismatic notes and monographs.
Armenak	Thompson, M. (1986). The Armenak Hoard (IGCH 1423). American Numismatic Society, 31, 63- 106.
Baseri	Baseri, Z. (2011). Seleucid Coins from the National Museum of Iran. In *Seleucid dissolution: the sinking of the Anchor, Edite by* Erickson, K., & Ramsey, G. C. Harrassowitz.
Bishop & Holloway	Bishop, J. D., Holloway, R. R., & Holloway, R. R. (1981). Wheaton College collection of Greek and Roman coins: Ancient coins in North American collections.
Bopearachchi	Bopearachchi, O. (1991). *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques: catalogue raisonné*. Bibliothèque nationale.
Buxton	Buxton, R. F. (2009). The northern Syria 2007 hoard of Athenian owls: Behavioral aspects. *American Journal of Numismatics (1989-)*, 1-27.
Cavalla	Thompson, M. (1981). The Cavalla Hoard (IGCH 450). American Numismatic Society, 26, 33-49.
CBM	Head, B. V. (1889). *Catalogue of Greek coins: Corinth, colonies of Corinth, etc*. order of the Trustees [of the British Museum].
Corinth	Noe, S. P. (1962). The Corinth Hoard of 1938. American Numismatic Society, 10, 9- 41.
De Callatay	De Callatay, F. (2004). *Le premier monnayage de la cité d'Amastris (Paphlagonie)* (No. 2013/115415). ULB--Universite Libre de Bruxelles.
Delrieux	Delrieux, F. (2000). Le rôle militaire des monnaies au monogramme [.] dans la Carie de Pleistarchos?. *Revue numismatique*, *6*(155), 35-46.

Gardner 1	Gardner, P. (1913). Coinage of the Athenian empire. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *33*, 147-188.
Gardner 2	Gardner, P. (1883). *The types of Greek coins: an archaeological essay*. University Press.
Godrion	Cox, D. H. (1966). Godrion Hoards III, IV, V, AND VII. American Numismatic Society, 12, 19-55.
Grose	Grose, S. W. (1923). Fitzwilliam Museum: Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins.
GSBM	Gardner, P. (1886). *The coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* (Vol. 3). order of the Trustees.
Iraq	van Alfen, P. G. (2000). The" owls" from the 1973 Iraq hoard. *American Journal of Numismatics (1989-)*, *12*, 9-58.
Lampsacus and Abyadus	Thompson, M. (1991). Alexander's Drachm Mints II: Lampsacus and Abyadus (Vol. 19). New York: ANS.
Ma'aret En- Nu'man	Mattingly, H. B. (1993). The Ma'aret En- Nu'man Hoard 1980. In A. B. Martin Price, Essay in teh Honor of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins (pp. 69- 86). London.
Mamroth	Mamroth, A. (1928). *Die Silbermünzen des Königs Perseus*.
Mesopotamia	Jenkins, G. K. (1967). A HELLENISTIC HOARD FROM MESOPOTAMIA. *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)*, *13*, 41-56.
Muller	Muller, L. (1855). Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand, Suivie d'un Appendice Contenant les Monnaies de Philippe II et III . Copenhagen.
Mylasa	Thompson, M. (1981). The Alexandrine Mint of Mylasa. NAC (QT), 10, 207 - 17.
NABM	ARENA, V. (2003). New Acquisitions at the British Museum: additions to Price, Alexander, and to the 1870 Larnaca Hoard. *The Numismatic Chronicle (1966-)*, *163*, 49-

57.

Near East — Anderson, L., & Van Alfen, P. G. (2008). A fourth century BCE hoard from the Near East. *American Journal of Numismatics (1989-)*, 155-198.

New Style — Thompson, M. (1961). The new style silver coinage of Athens.

Newell — Newell, E. T. (1929). Alexander Hoards IV. OLYMPIA. American Numismatic Society, 39, 1- 27.

Newell — Newell, E. T. (1937). *Royal Greek portrait coins*. Whitman Publishing Company.

Nicolet-Pierre — Nicolet-Pierre, H. (1999). Les cratérophores de Naxos (Cyclades): émissions monétaires d'argent à l'époque hellénistique. *Revue numismatique*, *6*(154), 95-119.

Price — Price, M. J. (1991). The Coinage in the Nmae of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus (Vol. I and II). Zurich-London: The Swiss Numismtic Society in Assocoiation with British museum Press.

Proche-Orient — Davesne, A., & Lemaire, A. (1996). Trésors hellénistiques du Proche-Orient, I-IV. *Revue numismatique*, *6*(151), 51-76.

Prokesch-Osten — Prokesch-Osten, V. (1869 [1870]). Liste des Alexandres de ma Collection Qui ne se Trouvent pas dans le Catalogue de Mr. L. Muller. NZI, 31- 64.

Sardes and Miletus — Thompson, M. (1983). Alexander's Drachm Mints I: Sardes and Miletus (Vol. 16). New York: ANS.

SNG Cop — Breitenstein, N., Schwabacher, W. (1943). The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum [9] Macedonia 2: Alexander I- Alexander III. Copenhagen.

SNG Spaer	Houghton, A., & Spaer, A. (1998). *[Sylloge nummorum Graecorum/Israel]; Sylloge nummorum Graecorum. Israel. 1. The Arnold Spaer collection of Seleucid coins*. Vecchi.
Suse	Le Rider, G. (1965). *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes: les trouvailles monétaires et l'histoire de la ville* (Vol. 38). P. Geuthner.
Thompson-Bellinger	Thompson, M., & Bellinger, A. R. (1955). Greek Coins in Yale Collection IV. a Hoard of Alexander drachm. YCS, 14, 3-35.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1-1- Overview

The present thesis has been written in five chapters. The first chapter was devoted to introducing generally the thesis. It began with the questions which occupied the mind of the thesis' author. It was followed by the aims that were created based on the raised questions. The author encountered some problems during the research; she tried to resolve the problems or at least to find a solution for the uneven problems. The literature review is divided into three parts. The first two parts are devoted to archaeological research in Luristan in general view and the third part presents the archaeological research regarding Iran Seleucid.

Hellenistic coins are the core of this research. The methodology of the study is described in a brief paragraph as well. The thesis is concentrated on materials that keep at the museum of Khorram Abad, the capital city, in Luristan province. The Museum is an ancient fortress back to the Sasanian Period. Due to its features, the museum is presented in this study. The

research is based on various studies. The majority of the work is according to numismatic studies. Applying ancient sources and study of historical events can bring to light the vague points regarding the cause of issuing and the presence of coins. The last chapter paid to the outcomes of the studies' results and finally got a whole conclusion.

The second chapter introduced the area; the first part proposed the short geography of Luristan. In continue historical Geography of Luristan was discussed during the First Millennium BC. This section was written based on Assyrian texts, Greek and Roman sources. Two different groups of peoples were identified in Luristan; their land and lifestyle were proposed. Their events concerning Alexander Campaigning, Diadochi and Seleucids were discussed.

Kings, rulers and usurpers' reign and their events were presented in the third chapter. Alexander the Great, his Successors, and Seleucids kings are the kings and rulers who mentioned in the thesis. The issues of these rulers are among the collection of Falak-ol-Aflak.

The fourth chapter paid to Luristan coin types and diffusion. The coins were identified from the Classical Period to the Hellenistic period. Some of the issues were recognized as counterfeit. The author described the counterfeit coins and argued her opinion concerning them (as counterfeit). In the second part, all the characters and features of the genuine coins were explained in detail. This chapter was completed in the discussion section. The fifth chapter, last chapter, was a conclusion of the thesis.

1-2- Research questions

The lack of archaeological and numismatic studies made the Hellenistic era a dark period in Luristan and Iran. Several important questions that must be addressed when arguing that the presented coins cover a period more than 140 years, from Alexander's arrival to the conquest of Parthian. The existence of a collection of ancient coins, Alexander's lifetime,

Alexander types (posthumous), Seleucid and some civic issues at Falak-ol-Aflak museum raised some questions about this period in Luristan: who were Luristan's inhabitants? what was the scope of domination and authority of the Hellenistic rulers in Luristan? And how was the role Luristan as a strategic route between west and east, or north and south? Besides, what was the economic situation of Luristan and its relationship with neighboring regions? The final question and main subject of this thesis is: why were found these various coins in Luristan?

1-3- Aim of the research

Although there are scanty archaeological remains of the Hellenistic period, different coins were found all around of Iran. These issues can help to improve the knowledge of this period in the west of Iran and specifically in Luristan. The effort was to draw a general overview of the monetary circulation during the Hellenistic period in Luristan and to attempt a brief synthesis based on the reflections.

The diversity and geographical extent of Alexander reign, Diadochi period and later Seleucid Empire, the evolution of its borders make the study of its monetary circulation complex. There is no comprehensive and precise study regarding the inhabitants of Luristan during the First Millennium BC. Following the events in Central Zagros,[1] Luristan can lead to the origin of people in this area. According to ancient sources, people in Central Zagros Chains were autonomous during the Achaemenid kings but they joint to Achaemenid army in battles during the Achaemenides' military activities. The presented study tried to find out the domination and the authority of Alexander III and his successors in Luristan. Ancient sources and numismatic studies, on the other hand, can reveal the role of Luristan as a

[1] In considering political borders, the Central Zagros region includes part of Hamadan province to the east and large areas in Kermanshah province to the center and west. Northwards, it partly includes Kurdistan province and southwards includes Lorestan and Ilam provinces. The phrase "Central Zagros" was adopted by archaeologists studying the pre-history of Iran, primarily American and Canadian researchers. Some assume that the region extends beyond Kermanshah, Kurdistan, Hamadan, Ilam, and Lorestan provinces (see Young 1963; 1967).

connecting point between south-north of Hellenistic Iran. The latter aim may demonstrate the relation of Luristan with upper and lower satrapies, Media and Susa.

1-4- **Research problems and Problem's solution**

During the research, generally, a researcher encounters some uneven problems and obstacles. The most problematic obstacle for the present thesis was using ancient and modern sources in libraries. The research was based on Hellenistic studies. No data, library, study, and research have been done yet in Iran. As a result, the author on behalf of the "University of Turin" could finish her research.

To begin, one of the aims of this study was the X-ray fluorescence method (XRF). The Cultural Heritage Organization's laboratory claimed they cannot examine the issues due to the lack of equipment; on the other hand, the author had to consider the time. She ought to do the examinations and analysis in another laboratory. It means the coins should send to the laboratory but the organization did not permit to transfer the issues.

Considering the time that the author had to complete the work; she took permission to visit the collections at the other museums. The aim was to interpret the circulation of issues in the area. Some museums permitted in the last year of the study. Nevertheless, she finally succeeded to visit these collections and used the information of the coins she. The results of these observations are discussed.

1-5- **Literature Review**

The Study of Archaeological researches in Luristan (Pish-Kouh) is divided into two parts. The first part begins with the first studies that have been done in Luristan in 1891 and conclude with the last research before 1978. The second part pays special attention to researches has been done after 1981 to the last recent studies until 2010.

1-5-1- Archaeological research in Luristan (Pish-Kouh) from 1891 to 1978

Luristan is in the mountainous area in western Iran. It is situated in the western part of the Zagros Chains which separates the Iranian plateau from the Mesopotamian plain.

Until the 19th- century Luristan contained both Ilam and Luristan Provinces. As a result in an archaeological context, it includes the provinces Ilam and Luristan. The Kabir Kouh range separates the eastern zone, known as Pish-Kouh (front of the mountain) or Luristan, from the western zone, Posht-Kouh (back of the mountain) or Ilam. Pish-Kouh or Luristan will be the subject of this research.

The looting of archaeological sites in Luristan has been the main problem of archaeology in this province form the first of the 20th century. For a long time, clandestine excavations in Luristan continued on a massive scale and escaped all control of the official archaeological services. Many thousands of tombs were looted and the finds were rapidly dispersed among museums and private collections.

However, some explorers and archaeologists, such as Henry Rawlinson and Jacques de Morgan, had already travelled through Luristan in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Jacques de Morgan made major contributions to the archaeology, geology, geography, natural history and languages/dialects of Iran. He visited Khorramabad Valley in 1891 and claimed the south of Valley could be the Khaidalu of Assyrian texts (de Morgan 1895).

The second half of the 19th century coincides with the intense desire for the Luristan bronze objects. Luristan bronze objects came to the notice of the world art markets from the late 1920s and were excavated in considerable quantities by local people. They took through networks of dealers, latterly illegally, to Europe or America (Overlaet 2006). Nearly 1928-1930, a set of bronze and iron objects appeared in the antiquities

markets of Tehran, London, Paris and other cities. These objects were called “bronze of Luristan”. By appearing these objects André Godard travelled to northern Luristan and was able to catalogue the un-provenance collections of the plundered graveyards in his “Les bronzes du Luristan” (Godard, 1931).

In 1928 Herzfeld visited east of Luristan and identified a grave from the first millennium BC in Gilvaran near Khorramabad. He also read the inscriptions of Khorramabad Inscription (Sang Neveshte) and Kalhor Bridge (Meryar et al 1999).

In 1932 Freya Stark travelled in Luristan. Although he did not excavate any tombs with Luristan bronzes he gathered some hearsay information (Stark, 1932: 498-505).

Since 1938 several scientific excavations have been conducted by American, Danish, British, Belgian, and Iranian archaeologists at the cemeteries in Luristan.

In 1936 Aurel Stein visited the Seimareh valley around Darreh shahr. Then he arrived in Pish-Kouh. He surveyed Kouhdasht, Aleshtar, Khaveh and Delfan Towns (Vandenbergh 1995). After visiting several sites specially Ghale Gouri, Stein excavated Chiapahn (Chogha pahn) mound. Furthermore, he visited several ancient bridges such as Pol-e Dokhtar on Kashkan River, Khosrow Bridge on Seymareh (Stein, 1969: 255-273).

In 1938 an American expedition has done the first major scientific excavation in the Pish-Kouh. The American expedition or the “Holmes expedition” was directed by Erich Schmidt. He was able to excavate a sanctuary at Sorkh Dum-e Lori in Luristan (Pish-Kouh). The building had already been partially looted, but it was still possible to make important discoveries. He excavated for 17 days at Surkh Dum, discovering a sanctuary with a massive amount of ex-votos. The building at Sorkh Dum-e Lori was a sanctuary, probably dedicated to a goddess. He excavated several Iron Age tombs at the cemetery site of Khatunban and Domaviz in Pish-Kouh, These sites produced the bulk of finds. Ex-votos such as pendants, seals, beads and a vast number of decorated pins, many with large heads

were found from this site. Schmidt, furthermore, excavated several sites in Kouhdasht and Nourabad towns (Schmidt et al 1989).

Henry Filed an American anthropologist visited Khorramabad before World War II, in 1950 publishing his results a year later. His objectives were to record anthropometric data on Bakhtiari tribesmen and Lurs and to search for Palaeolithic sites in Luristan. He recorded Konji rock shelter seven miles southwest of Khorramabad, Sareb-Doureh northwest of Khorramabad, two rock shelters overlooking Khorramabad, Tepe Zagheh forty-two miles south of Khorramabad in Luristan toward Dizful; and Tepe Bahrain near Doroud in Luristan (Field, 1951: 91-92). He was perhaps the earliest researcher to identify Palaeolithic sites in Luristan.

From 1959 to 1967 Frank Hole and Kent Flannery concentrated their research on Khorramabad Valley. Numerous prehistoric caves in Khorramabad attracted their attention to the study of Palaeolithic in Khorramabad. This area due to natural caves, rich sources of water, numerous springs and thick wood was a proper place for Palaeolithic settlements. They found 17 human settlements from the Palaeolithic period. They reported the Mousterian Industry at 5 caves, Baradoustian Industry at 6 caves and Zarzian Industry at least at 2 caves. The result of their study was published as a preliminary report of the prehistory of south-western Iran in 1968 (Hole & Flannery 1968).

Luristan was undertaken by John Speth as part of his doctoral program at the University of Michigan. During the spring and summer of 1969, he excavated a substantial surface area in Konji Cave (Speth 1971). In the mid-1980s Speth, in collaboration with Mark Baumler (then at the University of Arizona), reanalyzed the disturbed 1969 collections and those produced by Hole and Flannery (Baumler & Speth 1993). They not only confirmed the finds of Hole but also discovered a grave at the cave back to the prehistory as well (Wright et al 1975). The early 1960s collections from Konji were also studied by James Skinner, who

created a typology of Southwest Asian Middle Palaeolithic assemblages as part of his Ph.D. dissertation research (Skinner 1965).

In 1961 Young visited Kermanshah and also continued his research in the north of Luristan. He identified 27 sites and mounds from Boroujerd to Aligoudarz towns and 8 from Boroujerd to Khorramabad (Young, 1969: 228-238).

In 1962 a Danish expedition by the direction of Meldgard had a preliminary visit of Kouhdasht Town, Luristan. Subsequently, in 1963-64, the members of the expedition (Maldegard, Mortensen, Thrane) re-visited the Bolouran, Sartarhan and Keshmahour valleys, Kouhdasht, Shah Bodagh and Holilan. The visit was based on the aerial surveys of Schmidt. Finally, regarding the Neolithic period, the Danish expedition excavated the Gouran Tepe in Holailan Valley. Excavations at Tepe Guran revealed a series of occupations, representing a small Neolithic village with an economy based on dry-farming, herding, and hunting, and strongly dependant on the nearby rivers and hills. A unique sequence of a-ceramic and early ceramic levels covering a period of more than a thousand years (c. 6700-5500 BC) was uncovered (Meldgard et al 1963).

In the years of 1973 and 1974, the Danish expedition by the direction of Mortensen surveyed again the Holailan Valley for two seasons. As a result, 161 sites were registered in an area of 140 km^2. Moreover, Mortensen found 7 Mousterian sites at Pal Barik site and several caves and rock shelters in Holailan Valley (Mortensen 1975).

An English expedition, 1963-1967, visited Luristan from Kabir Kouh to Garrin Mountains. Goff, the director of the expedition, concentrated her research on the nomadic paths, Korramabad-Bala Gerivah- Khouzestan and Nourabad- Kouhdasht- Seimareh- Kabir Kouh, in Luristan to create a layout for Luristan during the ancient time (Goff 1971). She finally, excavated Baba Jan Tepe for three seasons. The site is located in Nourabad on the southern edge of the Delfan plain at approximately 10 km from Nourabad, in north-eastern Luristan

and consisted of two mounds. The East Mound yielded a series of first-millennium BC. buildings (Baba Jan III-I) above the Bronze Age (Baba Jan IV) graves. Excavation at the Central Mound, concentrated on the Baba Jan III or Manor House. It provides a partial late fourth- to mid-second-millennium BC sequence. Her excavations presented valuable finds from Luristan during the second and the first Millennium especially during the Iron Age I to III (Goff 1968, 1976).

In 1969 Charles McBurney (University of Cambridge) excavated four newly discovered rock shelters at high elevations in the Kouhdasht Mountains of western Khorramabad (Mir Malas, Barde Spid, Humian I and II). The Paleolithic remains form Humian I were published (McBurney 1969a, b). A decade later one of McBurney's students, Robert Bewley, used the results obtained from Humian I as the basis for his Ph.D. dissertation (1980), and she published an account of McBurney's excavations in the Kouhdasht area (Bewley 1984).

Judith Pullar visited Tepe Abdul Hosein in Nourabad about 1969 and several years later in 1976. Her excavations filled the chronological gap in the Neolithic sequence of Western Iran. The earliest occupation of the site which was the principal occupation of the site belonged to the beginning of the 7^{th} millennium BC (Pullar 1981; Hole 1992).

Kleiss was another archaeologist who visited Luristan in 1973. His research was more concentrated on architectural remains of bridges, caravanserais, religious sanctuaries in Luristan. He visited, particularly, Khorramabad Bridge, Shapouri Bridge, Kalhor Bridge, Kashkan Bridge, Pol-e Dokhtar Bridge, Gavmishan Bridge and Si Pelle Bridge. He also visited the Baba Zeid Shrine in Pol-e Dokhtar and Zahed Shir Shrine in Khorramabad (Kleiss 1994; 1995).

In 1978 Judith Bermann had surveyed Khorramabad Valley to complete her doctoral project. She registered 148 sites and historical monuments in this area (Bermann 1978).

It should be noted that from 1840 to 1920 some non-archaeologists such as Bode and Sir Austen Henry Layard have visited the west of Iran and have written some records regarding historical monuments and remains in this area. A Russian team under the direction of Cherikov in 1850 prepared a map of the ancient cities. They mentioned the remains of an ancient city encircled the Falak-ol-Aflak Castle in Khorramabad city (Mehryar et al 1999).

In 1969 Iranian archaeologists began their archaeological research and studies in Luristan. This year Mohammad Rahim Sarraf visited Dousheh Cave, Chogha Bal Tepe and Zagheh site. He recorded Choghabal Tepe (Sarraf 1969). Later, 1971-1974, Izadpanah used the results of Saraf's research and wrote a book concerning the ancient sites and remains in Luristan. Hamid Izadpanah was an Iranian researcher. He had studied different areas of Luristan from 1967 to 1969. The result of his studies has been published as several books. Perhaps "Ancient and Historical Remains of Luristan" can be considered as his major work. It was published in three volumes (Izadpanah 1997).

Ali Akbar Sarfaraz was another Iranian archaeologist who focused his study on Luristan in 1974. He excavated Sartakht Cemetery in Khatunban, Nourabad; he claimed the cemetery back to the millennium BC (Sarfaraz 1974).

1-5-2- Archaeological research in Luristan (Pish-Kouh) from 1981 to 2010

After the revolution, significant research has been done in Luristan. The majority of scientific studies were concerning survey reports. Several excavations from looted sites as emergency excavations have been done as well. Nearly, all of the excavations in this area have been done after a report of an illegal excavation from a site; as a result, the archaeological teams arrived in sites when they had already been partially looted. Unfortunately, large scale plunders, for acquiring the artefacts, is the greatest problem for

the archaeology of Luristan. Indeed few objects from Luristan were found during controlled excavation. It is ascertained that the majority came from tombs and sanctuaries.

Esmaeil Yaghmaei was one of the archaeologists, who visited Luristan after the revolution in Iran. He visited Mikaeil Tepe in Nourabad before 1981; he claimed the site was disturbed due to the illegal excavations. Later, in 1981 Mansour Seyed Sajjadi excavated this site. According to his report, the site was settled from the end of the fourth millennium to the early of the First Millennium (Seyed Sajjadi and Samani 1999).

In 1983 Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Handicrafts Organization of Luristan reported the discovery of several objects in a village, Venay, in Boroujerd town. The organization sent a team by the direction of Yahya Kosari to excavate this site. The architectural remains indicated the site was a place for burying the objects (Kosari 1983).

Tepe Masour can be considered as one of the significant sites in Khorramabad. Mir Abedin Kaboli excavated this site in 1984 for the first time. The chronology of the site was from the fourth millennium to the Sasanian and Islamic periods (Kaboli 1984).

Motamedi excavated Chogha Sabz and Kamtarlan cemetery in Roumeshkan. He found the architectural remains similar to Sorkhdom-e Laki (Motamedi1989). In the fall of 1989, the Kalmakareh cave was accidentally discovered. The Kalmakareh cave is about 20 km to the northwest of Pol-e Dokhtar, Luristan Province. Kalmakareh is an enormous cave; it consists of 4 main rooms with heights of up to 15 meters. Its total surface is estimated to be about 4,300 m^2, the equivalent of 16 to 17 tennis courts. In 1992 When the Cultural Heritage Department of that time became aware of this cave; sent Nasrollah Motamedi to excavate the site. Unfortunately, the treasure was mostly looted and the cave was almost disturbed. Therefore he could find 12 graves and some shreds. The cave does not seem to have been inhabited. Probably it was a hiding place for the treasuries in the first millennium BC (Motamedi 1993).

Cultural Heritage Department discovered several materials from a clandestine excavation at Sorkhdom-e Laki in Khouhdasht. Motamedi by an authorization excavated this site in 1998. The architectural remains indicated the site was mainly occupied in the Iron Age (Motamedi 2000). Later, Arman Shishehgar excavated Sorkhdom-e Laki for 5 seasons from 2000 to 2004. She was trying to find the trace of Ellipi in Sorkhdom-e Laki. Architectural remains and pottery were the majority of finds. Shishehgar claimed the site was occupied during the Iron Age II and III and after a gap; it was re-occupied during the Parthian Period (Shishehgar 2006). In the same year, a bronze coffin was discovered at Choubtarash site. After excavation in this site, Shishehgar considered the Parthian Period for the site and coffin (Shishehgar 2006).

Sangtarashan is located in the southern part of Luristan province. Three archaeological expeditions in 2005 and 2006, directed by Malekzadeh and his assistant Hasanpur brought to light at least 400 bronze and Iron objects (Malekzadeh 2006). The objects were associated with a big circular architectural structure. The objects generally belong to the Iron Age II and III. After three years of interruption, Malekzadeh in 2009 re-started his excavation in Sangtarashan (Malekzadeh 2009). The excavation in Sangtarashan was the Ph.D. project of Zahra Hashemi in January 2018.

In 2005, the University of Li`ege and the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research (ICAR), focused on the Palaeolithic of the Zagros. They re-analysed lithic assemblages from earlier excavations and re-examined the potential of many sites, leading to new test excavations at the site of Yafteh Cave in Khorramabad Luristan (Otte 2004; Otte & Biglari 2004). Their project also includes research on the Lower Palaeolithic (Otte et al. 2004) as well as, in particular, the magnificent corpus of protohistoric rock art in the Houmian region (Adeli et al. 2001; Otte et al. 2003). The team found Holocene and late Pleistocene deposits

from Yafteh Cave. This cave provides a large and undisturbed assemblage relating to the earliest phases of the activity of early modern humans outside Africa (Otte et al. 2007).

In 2006 a rescue excavation was done by Adeli, an archaeologist of the Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, at Tepe Deh Shahi Site in Aligoudarz, Luristan (Adeli 2006). He also excavated the surrounding of Khorramabad Minaret in 2006-2007. He found Early Islamic architectural remains (Adeli 2007).

Excavation in Baba Jilan site was another rescue excavation in Luristan. The Baba Jilan graveyard is situated west of Nourabad town, Luristan. The excavation followed after the site was looted in 2005. The site had been severely plundered by looters before the controlled excavation of Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Handicrafts Organization of Luristan. The excavation was directed by Ata Hasanpur from 2006-2008 (Hasanpur 2008). He found two different cist tombs and jar burials from the graveyard. The burial goods from the tombs indicate that the graveyard was used from at least the late Iron Age II onwards with a strong presence of Iron Age III material. Furthermore, the site was used as a burial ground during the Seleucid and Sasanian periods (Hasanpur et al 2015).

After passing nearly 70 years, Kamyar Abdi excavated Sorkhdom-e Lori again in 2009. He found a complex architectural structure. These structures were as units of the building which were in connection. The results of the excavation indicate that the Sorkhdom-e Lori was not an isolated building, but around the sanctuary was surrounded by other structures and buildings (Abdi 2009).

In 2007 the survey of the basin of Seymareh Dam was finished and several significant sites were excavated. Abbas Moghaddam paid his attention to Cheshmeh Rajab and Chahar Arou sites. He, after several sounding, tried to identify the stratigraphy of the sites. He also excavated a prehistoric site of Cham Gholeh in Seymareh Dam Basin (Moghaddam 2008-2009). Hojjat Darabi excavated another prehistory site, the so-called Chia Sabz. He claimed

Chia Sabz was a Neolithic site (Darabi 2009). In 2010 Abdolreza Mohajer could excavate Ghaleh Pirouz site. Archaeological and architectural remains revealed historical settlements in the site (Mohajer 2010). Ghaleh Gabri was another important site in this basin. It was excavated by Ata Hasanpur in 2010. The architectural features of the buildings and the stucco decorations demonstrated Ghaleh Gabri was an important manor house during the Sasanian period (Hasanpur 2010). Excavation of Barzghawaleh site was another important rescue excavation in Seymareh Dam Basin. The site covered an area of about 10 hectares. The excavation was directed by Arash Lashkari and Kamyar Abdi in 2010. During the first season of excavation, several structures were discovered. The complex was made of mud-brick, rubber-stone and mortar of plaster; also, the structures were decorated by vegetative and animal stuccos (Abdi 2010).

In 2010 Ahmad Parviz visited Tepe Kakou in Doroud Town. After several sounding at this site, he claimed the site was a Post-Achaemenid settlement (Parviz 2010).

Many archaeologists had tried to survey the different areas of Luristan as well. In 1996 Abdolmotaleb Sharifi Holaei focused his study on Caravanserais from Boroujerd to Khorramabad. He found several Caravanserais and identified the communication routes between them (Sharifi 1996). In 1997 Sajjadi, form the Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Handicrafts Organization of Luristan concentrated on the route from Susa to Hamedan (Ecbatana). He claimed some bridges and ancient routes are concerning the Achaemenid period. He prepared a map of the Susa-Ecbatana Route. According to Sajjadi, the route started from Susa, after passing Pol-e Dokhtar it arrived in Khorramabad and then Nourabad and after Nourabad in arrived in Hamedan (Sajjadi 1997).

But, from 2006 to 2009 a series of archaeological surveys have been done to create an archaeological map for Luristan. 25 expeditions were in charge of visiting and registering the archaeological sites of all regions in Luristan. The recent research can be considered as

one of the main archaeological studies in Luristan. The research led to registering at least 3000 archaeological sites.

The surveys in Kouhdasht for three seasons were one of the most important surveys in Luristan. As a result of these surveys, 55 Caves, rock-shelters and open-areas from Palaeolithic were identified and registered (Moradi 2008).

In 2008 a team was direct by Mohammad Boroujeni surveyed the Seymareh dam Basin in Tarhan region, Kouhdasht town. The survey brought to light 130 sites from prehistory, Historical and Islamic periods (Boroujeni 2008).

Survey reports of archaeological sites in Silakhor Plain by Ahmad Parviz in 2006-2007; Aleshtar town by Davoud Davoudi in 2006; Azna town by Mostafa Abdollahi in 2006, Pol-e Dokhtar by Aliakbar Vahdati in 2007 and Survey at Paleolithic sites in Luristan by Kourosh Roustaei are among the significant surveys have been done in Luristan.

1-5-3- Hellenistic studies in Iran

The period between the end of the Achaemenid Empire and the rise of the Sasanian dynasty can be considered one of the "dark ages" in the history of Iran. Archaeological research on this period has been neglected for decades and only in recent years, some comprehensive projects have been dedicated to this period (Callieri & Askari-Chaverdi, 2013). Consequently, our historical and archaeological knowledge of the Hellenistic period is really poor in Iran. The scanty sources mostly record occurrences such as military campaigns, royal accessions and the like (Yarshater 1983: 3). However no important settlements of the Seleucid period have yet been identified in Iran (Askari-Chaverdi & Callieri 2007a: 24–8), according to Appian, Seleucus I found cities throughout the length of the whole empire and named sixteen of them Antioch for his father, five Laodicea for his mother, nine for himself, four for his wives, three Apamea and one Stratonicea (App.Syr.57). However the Seleucid

kings did little new building in the Babylon or Susa palaces[2] and Ecbatana (Bernard 1976: 256-7; Boucharlat 1990: 151; Polyb. 10.27); Seleucid reign, especially in the western part of Iran, stands out more than a century and they built several cities and refounded several others in Iran. According to the ancient written sources, Media received great attention from the Seleucid kings. Archaeological researches, even scatter, brought to light several Seleucids' remains in Media (Callieri & Askari-Chaverdi, 2013). In Media, a major population centre existed at the satrapal capital, Ecbatana. New cities were founded in the remoter areas of Media. Tcherikover argues, relying on Diodorus; a settlement of Antigonus' soldiers in Media founded the four cities in eastern Media bearing Greco-Macedonian names- Laodicia, Apameia, Heraclea, and Europus (Diod.19.44.4; 46.1.15; Plut.Dem. 46.4; Tcherikover 1927). The existence of Greco-Macedonian colonies in Media structured exactly like other Hellenistic poleis is attested by the important Greek inscription from Nihavand, ancient Laodicea[3]. Archaeological excavation at Nihavand was one of the rare studies that has been done for finding the place of Laodicea after the accidental discovery of Antiochus III inscription about Laodicea Temple, in Nihavand town in Hamadan province. Later, onother findings were found from this city such as some bronze figurines of Greek gods, architectural remains, and Greek inscriptions, Pedestal, and a stone altar in Nihavand town (Robert 1949; Rougemont 2012; Robert 1967; Rahbar, 1976; Rahbar & Alibaighi 2011). The discovery of Laodicea at Nihavand, by the find of a royal inscription, for Antiochus III, were identified the place as a Greek Polis in 193 BC (Robert 1949;

[2] This is probably because the region was already urbanized to a considerable degree and available land must have been somewhat at a premium.

[3] A second and third, fragmentary versions of the same text were found in Kermanshah and Phrygia (Robert 1967).

Rougemont 2012).[4] The polis was founded in the Media heartland, some fifty miles from Seleucid sites in Luristan has cast important new light on Seleucid's presence in the area.

In media, there are some monumental rock-cut tombs (Ghizghapan, Dukkan-e Da'ud, Fakhrika), attributed to the post-Achaemenid period (Callieri & Askari-Chaverdi, 2013). A Greek dedication to Heracles incised on the rock at Karafto, in Kurdistan, was discovered which dated between the fourth and third centuries BC (Robert 1946–47: 364). Furthermore, near to the rock relief of Darius I, Bisotun Kermanshah, is a relief depicting Heracles recumbent on a lion skin, accompanied by a Greek inscription dated to 148 BC (Hakemi, 1958; Robert 1963: 76; Bonanno Aravantinos, 1991: 170; Luschey, 1996b). Some scholars have identified several other structures as Seleucid remains, such as an architectural complex at Khorheh, southeast of Qom in north-central Iran (Herzfeld 1941).

Susa was among the first conquests of Seleucus when he seized the upper satrapies. He took it by 311 BC, along with Media and other nearby regions (Martinez-Sève 2015). Susa except for the city itself had no increase in the Seleucid period. Presumably Hellenistic Susa was not significant until the end of the 3rd century BC, when there was strong commercial activity (Boucharlat 1985: 79).[5] Seleucids refounded the city and did receive the dynastic name Seleucia-Eulaeus but the date of this refounding by the Seleucid kings is not known with certainty.[6] However, It is believed that this reestablishment took place at the beginning of the reign of Seleucus I (Le Rider 1965:280) or Antiochus I (Capdetrey 2007: 365) and the refounding might date to the reign of Antiochus III (Tarn, 2010) or another of the Seleucids who was active in the 3rd century. The Achaemenid settlement area was about 141 hectares

[4] In 1946 a stone stele was found near Nihavand bearing an inscription of the Seleucid Emperor Antiochus III (r. 223-187 BCE) instituting the cult of his wife Queen Laodice (Robert 1949).

[5] This can be associated with the opening up of the Persian Gulf trade by Antiochus III (Aperghis 2004:38).

[6] The earliest attestation is no earlier than 205 BCE. Seleucia of the Eulaios appears in a list of cities in the region that, at the same time as Antioch of Persia, observed the games of Artemis Leucophryene celebrated at Magnesia on the Meander (Dittenberger (OGIS), 1903, no. 233; Rougemont, 2012, no. 53).

in Susa. But the Achaemenid palaces do not seem to have been reused by the Seleucid administration (Boucharlat, 1990). They fell into ruin, were abandoned, and were only reoccupied by squatters. Greek Settlement in Susa was established as a regular city by the beginning of the Seleucid era. The garrison was indeed integrated into the life of the new city (Bar-Kochva, 1976:35). Abundant epigraphic information has survived about Seleucia Eulaeus (Susa)[7], the capital of Susiana from Seleucids, as records officers, soldiers, and a person belonging to a cavalry unit (Walbank 1957). The documents may be identified with the soldiers-settlers or it is probable that official buildings were located there (Boucharlat 1985:75; Boucharlat 1990: 447). [8] The Seleucid finds in Susa, by French mission's excavations in the 1970s, including many terracottas, some of the Hellenistic inspiration, as well as architectural remains (Martinez-Sève 2002a, Labrousse and Boucharlat 1972: 95–96; Martinez-Sève 2002b: 41, 51).

The sanctuary of Shami, north of modern Izeh (Mālamīr) in Khuzestan Province, was excavated and surveyed by Stein in the 1930s (Stein, 1940). It is considered as one of the most important sanctuaries of the region in the Hellenistic and Parthian periods (Messina & Kian, 2019). The discovery of some fragments from bronze images of Greek divinities and a naturalistic head of a ruler indicated the existence of the sanctuary in the Seleucid period (Cumont, 1936; Sherwin-White, 1984; Callieri, 2001).

Excavations at two cult complexes Masjed-e Solayman and Bard-e Neshanda, so-called sacred terrace, in the territory of Elymais suggested the first phase of the Masjed-e Solayman and Bard-e Neshanda complexes dates, on the evidence of archaeological

[7] Perhaps the first settlers of Susa were the 1000 Macedonian veterans left by Alexander to garrison the citadel (Curt.5.2.16).

[8] In Susa, Most of the people mentioned have Greek names, including those during the Parthian period, except for the administrative staff of the Arsacids (Le Rider, 1965: 280-87). The bureaucratic organization of the city and its civic life were no different from those of traditional Greek cities. The citizens embraced a set of shared values that led them to serve their community and to recognize the most worthy by voting them honors (Martinez-Sève 2015).

remains, to the post-Achaemenid period (Haerinck, 1983). Some scholars believed the lack of sufficient evidence does not allow dating the temples were constructed in the Seleucid period (Hannestad and Potts, 1990: 115).

Pierfrancesco Callieri has been working in Fars province for several years. His book "L'archéologie du Fars à l'époque hellénistique" provides well-documented and often firsthand information during pre-Sasanian centuries, specially the post-Achaemenid period, in which the region was subject to Macedonian, Seleucid, and finally Parthian domination (Callieri, 2007). The author brings a wealth of unpublished or largely inaccessible archaeological material from Fars. His book offers four distinct chapters. The first chapter concentrated on Ancient habitats and Hellenistic foundations of the Iranian plateau: Literary, epigraphic and archaeological testimonies concerning the Fārs region; the second chapter concerning Religious buildings and cults of Iran during the Hellenistic period; the third chapter pays attention to The Hellenistic contribution to the artistic and artisanal production of Fārs, from the Achaemenids to the Sassanids; and finally the fourth chapter: The Fars under the reigns of local rulers: Archaeological and epigraphic evidence (Callieri, 2007). Callieri was the head of Italian mission, University of Bologna, of the Joint Iranian-Italian Archaeological Mission in Fars started its activities in 2005, within the framework of the Sivand Dam Archaeological Rescue Project organized jointly by the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research (ICAR), and the Parse-Pasargad Research Foundation (PPRF) under the supervision of Alireza Askari-Chaverdi.

The team was invited for the study of the Post-Achaemenid period. This period, of which so little is known in Fars[9], in Iran as well, is nevertheless extremely important, as phenomena of great cultural significance developed: the impact of the Achaemenid heritage and of the

[9] Apart from art historical and numismatic evidence, there were few sources on Fars from the fall of the Achaemenides and the rise of the Sasanids (Askari Chaverdi 2002)

incoming Hellenistic culture in the Seleucid period, with the interaction between the two civilizations; the cultural tradition of the local kingly dynasties of Fars, who claimed in their ideology their descent from the Iranian kings, preparing the way for the Sasanian dynasty; and the social and cultural environment of Fars, which made the ascent of the Sasanian possible (Askari-Chaverdi & Callieri, 2009). New material brought to light by the Iranian-Italian excavations at Tang-e Bolaghi, Pasargadae, and Persepolis confirms the remarkable continuity of pottery production during the Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid periods (Callieri & Askari-Chaverdi, 2013).

On the Tall-e Takht, Pasargadae, the imposing Achaemenid platform on a hilltop which Darius I transformed into a proper citadel, the extensive British excavations of the 1960s demonstrated substantial continuity in occupation from the fifth century BC to the Macedonian conquest. According to Stronach's dating, four phases were mentioned at Toll-e Takht. The second Phase was considered as Achaemenid and Seleucid periods, from 500 to 280 BC, and the third phase back to the Post Achaemenid and Frataraka periods (Stronach, 1978). Recent excavation of a trial trench on the north side of the Tall-e Takht was carried out by the Joint Iranian-Italian Mission, in 2006 and 2007. The team searched for a reliable stratigraphic sequence continuing through the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid periods on the Toll-e Takht of Pasargadae, intending to provide sufficient material to define a ceramic sequence. Their results have revealed a much more complex sequence with nine stratigraphic phases. Iranian-Italian team's excavations added five more phases to the four phases of Stronach (Askari-Chaverdi and Callieri 2007a, 2010). The presence of post-Achaemenid sherds on the surface of the Tall-e Takht suggests that the settlement there could have been occupied after the end of the Achaemenid period (Callieri & Askari-Chaverdi, 2013).

Between Persepolis and Pasargadae lies the Tang-e Bolaghi, a valley in which the joint Iranian-Italian team excavated for three seasons, 2005- 2006, at sites TB76 and TB77. It revealed a reliable stratigraphic sequence continuing through the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid periods. TB 76 is a small, rural settlement where occupation began in the Achaemenid period and continued through the post-Achaemenid period with no evident interruption in the sequence. Full evidence of a settlement with structures at Sites TB 76 comes from the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid periods, amply attested in almost all the excavated trenches (Askari-Chaverdi & Callieri 2007b, 2009).

In 2003, the Iranian Center of Archaeological Research (ICAR) and the University of Sydney initiated a collaborative research project focusing on the Mamasani district of western Fars. Stratigraphic soundings at Tol-e Nurabad and Tol-e Spid revealed a sequence of occupation extending from c. 6000 BC to the post-Achaemenid/Parthian period, supported by 33 AMS and conventional radiocarbon dates (19 from Tol-e Nurabad, 14 from Tol-e Spid). Phases B5 and B4 at Tol-e Nurabad have been dated to the Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid period and phases B2–B1 are considered post-Achaemenid (Potts and Roustaei 2006: 77). At Tol-e Spid the post-Achaemenid Phase 3 is C14 dated to between 370 and 50 BC (Roustaei and Potts 2004; Potts et al 2005; Potts and Roustaei 2006; Weeks et al 2006; Petrie et al, 2006).

The so-called "frataraka temple," a monumental complex, c. 200 m to the north-northwest of the main terrace of Persepolis, was excavated by E. Herzfeld. He found five limestone plaques, each bearing the name of a Greek deity in Greek, (late 4th or early 3rd century AD) typical of inscriptions on altars (Herzfeld 1935; 1941; Robert, 1967). Unfortunately, the exact location(s) in which these were found is unknown. The surveys at the so-called 'frataraka temple' by Iranian-Italian team, revealed two groups of structures: the surveys on a four-hectare field north of the Frataraka Temple complex revealed the plan of an adjacent

building, which was in use in the post-Achaemenid period(Callieri 2007). Herzfeld identified the function of the structure as a fire temple advanced (Herzfeld, 1935; 1941). But according to Callieri, the rectangular, two-stepped molded base situated in the center of the rear wall in the square hall (Kleiss, 1981) bears traces of a socket for the tenon of a stone statue (Callieri, 2003). The building was probably one of those temples for cult images that proliferated in Iran during the Hellenistic period. Therefore, the "frataraka temple" at Persepolis is definitely post-Achaemenid in date (Callieri, 2007).[10]

Several scholars agreed on the post- Achaemenid occupation in Persepolis. But they had proposed various suggestions concerning the inhabitants. Schmidt found the remains of a post-Achaemenid building on the site of the so-called Palace H, in which materials from destroyed Achaemenid palaces were recycled (Schmidt, 1953). Bernard has proposed, Persepolis was probably the seat of the Seleucid satraps of Persis, the last of whom is mentioned in connection with the rebellion of Molon (222–220 BC), and later of the frataraka dynasts (Bernard, 1995). Tilia attributed the post-Achaemenid architectural phases to the independent rulers of Fars, about thirty years after the fire that destroyed Persepolis (Tilia, 1972). Shahbazi also attributed the post-Achaemenid occupation of Persepolis to the fratarakas (Shahbazi, 1977).

The parallel grave goods from the terrace of Persepolis was found at a necropolis so-called "Persepolis Spring cemetery," along the foothill of the Kuh-e Rahmat, which dated to the late and post-Achaemenid period (Schmidt 1953: 56; 1957: 123; Boucharlat 2006: 454–5). According to Callieri and Askari-Chaverdi the site must also be considered in any evaluation of occupation in the Persepolis area after 330 BC (Callieri & Askari-Chaverdi, 2013).

[10] According to Callieri, The local aristocracy appeared, in Fars with the Frataraka dynasty, not at the beginning of the 3rd BC; but a century later. This political change does not signify the independence of Fars at this time, nor later under the Parthians, contrary to popular belief (Callieri 2007).

During his survey of the Lamerd valley, Askari-Chaverdi discovered twelve sites attributed to the post-Achaemenid period, eight of which were new foundations (Askari-Chaverdi and Azarnoush, 2004). A fragment of a white marble statue representing Marsyas, found in 1988 at Tol-e Khandagh, near Borazjan, in an architectural complex as a religious building. It has been attributed to the Hellenistic period (Rahbar, 1999).[11] The major evidence of the post-Achaemenid period occupation is represented by Tal-e Zahak. A series of bell-shaped, stone column bases of Achaemenid type were found at this site which is datable to the Achaemenid and/or post-Achaemenid periods, as well as another group of bases with a thick torus (Callieri, 2007; Pohanka, 1983). These are similar to Greek models and comparable to the toruses of bases discovered in Media, the late or post-Achaemenid period (Huff, 1989). Excavations of an Achaemenid building at Qaleh Kali (Jinjun) have revealed occupation dated by C14 to the Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid periods. The multiple architectural phases at the site date to between the sixth/fifth and fourth to mid-second centuries BC (Potts et al. 2007).

Seleucus refounded Apameia-Rhagae, which took advantage of eastern Media's fertile plain. It is attributed by Appian with the foundation of Hecatompylus, possibly to be identified as the site of Shahr-I Qumis, (Strab. Geog.11.9.1; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993: 20; Aperghis 2004:91). The locations of the main Greek foundations recorded in the sources, Antioch-in-Persis, Laodicea-in-Persis and Seleucia-on-the Persian Gulf, are uncertain evidence of a Greek presence (Askari-Chaverdi & Callieri, 2007a). Antioch-Persis (during the reign of Antiochus IV, when the eastern trade had become important, in southern Mesopotamia) were established along the coast of the Persian Gulf (Mørkholm 1970: 44;

[11] However, the use of a drill and the emphasis on light and shadow argue against the first century BC date proposed for the sculpture, which should rather be dated to the Roman Imperial age, the Flavian period or better yet the third century AD (Callieri 2007: 108).

Matheson 1972). But there are no proper archaeological studies, but Laodicea, concerning these cities.

Between 1946 and 1956 M. R. Ghirshman discovered Greek coins in the excavations of Susa. Le Rider, then, concentrated his study on all Greek coins found from the beginning of the excavations, in 1897 to Girshman's excavations. His work finally was published "Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes (Paris, 1965)", as a complete collection of Hellenistic coins. His valuable volume suggested how the numismatic is one of the essential sources for the knowledge of the political history of a region and the neighbouring regions; and how monetary finds can reconstruct the economic history, furthermore, he could give an overall picture of the activity of the Oriental Seleucid workshops at this time, and finally, he showed that currencies are historical documents which, associated with other sources (literary, epigraphic), make it possible to clarify or renew the history of a region. Le Rider renewed the image of bronze emissions from the eastern workshops of the kingdom. Chronologically, the currencies are divided into three groups: before the beginning of the reign of Seleucus I (311) between the advent of Seleucus I and the end of the Seleucid domination in the East (140), between the arrival of the Parthians in Susa (140) and the end of the Arsacid dynasty (beginning of the c. AD). However, the book does not contain the precise description of the archaeological context in which they were found.

Jenkins published the coins discovered at Pasargadae. The Hellenistic coins found in 1962 and 1963 during the excavations on the Tall-i-Takht or Citadel Hill at Pasargadae. The two main groups of coins are Hoard I (1962) found with miscellaneous jewelry in room 82, and Hoard II (1963) from the corridor near room 187. These two hoards each comprise (a) coins of the type minted for Alexander the Great both during his life and posthumously, and (b) coins of Seleucus I of a type minted principally at Persepolis/ Susa (Jenkins, 1965). Houghton has studied on "Tarik Darreh Hoard"; the coins were a group of the fourth and

third century BC was found in Iran in 1974, reportedly near Tarik Darreh, a small village in the south of the town Kangavar in Hamadan Province. The hoard apparently numbered approximately 60 coins. Of these, some 25 were described as Alexandrine staters; two were said to have been staters of Cyrene and Carthage; one coin was described as having been an octodrachm of Ptolemy III; and at least 34 were staters of Seleucid origin struck between the reigns of Seleucus I and II of Syria (Houghton, 1980). Apart from these work, some other scatter studies has been done on Hellenistic coins in Iran.

As a matter of fact, the influence of Hellenistic culture can be seen until Parthian and even early Sasanian emperors but what remained of Hellenistic period and its culture, whether architectural remain or inscription, statuette and sculpture, were found in the western part of Iran consisting, Ionic Pedestal, Greek inscription in Creafto cave (Bernard, 1980), Nahavand inscription (Hakemi, 1959), a bronze statuette of Greek god and goddess (Rahbar, 1976), Ouraman leather inscriptions (Mackenzie, 1923; Nyberg, 1989), Heracles sculpture Greek inscription on Mithradates II and Gotarzes rock relief in Bisotoun (Bivar, 1983), and stoneware in Dinvar (Girshman, 1350).

1-6- Research Materials, Methodology and Institutional frame

Falak-ol-Aflak museum treasury with several thousand various ancient objects, from different periods in Luristan, is among one of the richest museums in Iran. All the issues were unpublished. This collection is one of the most significant numismatic acquisition regarding Alexander III drachms in Iran. The collection has the major part of Alexander drachm in the western part of Iran, which is in-depth the richest of any such group of drachm yet reported in Iran.

The presented coins were acquired by the museum for a long period, about 50 years. Two drachms, inventory numbers nos.KH4082, KH4083 were denoted to the museum.

Nos.KH3881, KH3882 were found during a scientific excavation. The rest of the coins were acquired by the museum by the time. The exact find-spot of these coins is uncertain and there is no documentary evidence from which area or site they were discovered. However, they had been found in Luristan province during illegal trades.

The coins are divided into two groups, Classical and Hellenistic periods. All Classical coins were forgery and some Hellenistic coins, Thrace, Paphlagonia, Bactria, Miletus and Macedonia coins, were forgery. The genuine issues cover a period from Alexander's return to Babylon, 325 B.C, to Alexander Balas, 147 B.C, the Seleucid king. 39 coins are genuine and 48 specimens were considered as forgery. 12 coins from Kermanshah, Malek, Elam and Hamedan Museums were used for comparison. These issues were unpublished.

To have a general view regarding the circulation of coins in the area, the author has visited Kermanshah, Malek, Elam and Hamedan Museums. The visits were under the permission of the Director of Museums of Iran in the Cultural Heritage Organization. It let to the author to visit and compare other Hellenistic coins from other museums.

Assyrian texts and inscriptions, ancient Greek and Roman sources, Babylonian texts were the vital material to the historical part of the thesis. Furthermore, according to ancient sources, the chronology of kings and following the trace of coins in Luristan could be more feasible.

Several major catalogues were studied to compare the issues of the present thesis. Most of the issues are drachms, thus, Margaret Thompson's two works on the drachm mints of Alexander[12] and Price's book[13] were the principal catalogues. The latter book was studied for tetradrachms of Alexander's type. Some other significant catalogues were utilized (see

[12] Thompson, M. (1983). Alexander's Drachm Mints I: Sardes and Miletus (Vol. 16). New York: ANS and Thompson, M. (1991). Alexander's Drachm Mints II: Lampsacus and Abyadus (Vol. 19). New York: ANS.

[13] , Price, M. J. (1991). The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus (Vol. I and II). Zurich- London: The Swiss Numismatic Society in Association with British Museum Press.

abbreviation). For the Seleucid issues, the catalogue of "Seleucid Coins"[14] was the main reference for comparison.

Attributions, dates and catalogue conventions are taken from M. J. Price, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus* (Zurich- London1991). The museum's number is given in brackets after each coin's number. The letter "AR" indicates silver metal, while "AE" refers to bronze metal. For the denomination of silver coins, "4dr" (Tetradrachm) and "dr" (drachm) are used. Monograms, letters and symbols are shown with the abbreviated indication of their position in the design. "LF": in the field to left, "RF" in the field to right, "TH" under the throne, "EX" in exergue, "obv" for obverse, and "rev" for reverse.

The museums' name followed by two first letters of their name, for example for Khoramm Abad Museum "KH" is written before the inventory number of each issue.

Institutional Frame (Falak- Ol- Aflak Fortress or Museum)

Falak- Ol- Aflak Fortress stands atop hill at the centre of the city of Khorramabad. This historic building is bounded by Khorramabad River on two sides (fig.1).

Historically, the fortress has gone by many different names: Shapur Khast, Sabar Khast, Dez Bar, Dez Baz, Khormabad (Khorramabad) and Davazdah Borji (12 Towers). It was named Falak- Ol_ Aflak in the Qajar Dynasty. Falak- Ol- Aflak means "sphere of spheres" or "ninth firmament" (Sajjadi & farzin, 2003: 18).

[14] Houghton, A., Lorber, C., & Hoover, O. (2008). Seleucid Coins (A Comprehensive Catalogue. Part. 2. Seleucus IV through Antiochus XIII. Vol. I–II.

Falak- Ol- Aflak's exact date of construction and the name of its architect are not known. The original building is attributed to the Shapur the First Sasanian Empire, in the third century A.D., the fortress is a monument from the ancient city of Shapur Khast.

Architecture

The fortress was built a top of a stony hill in the centre of the valley of Khorramabad. Golstan Spring on the north slope of the hill supplies the building with fresh water.

The present structure is the result of additions from several periods. Most of the changes were made during Safavid and Qajar dynasties. According to the old photos, about 100 years ago, the fortress consisted of a rampart with 12 towers. Now just a trace of one of those towers is visible on the northwest side of the fortress (Sajjadi & farzin, 2003; Dalvand 2009).

Currently, the building has eight 5300 meter tall towers, two courtyards and 300 parapets (shelters). The tallest wall is 25 meters from the hill level. The fortress is made of stone, brick, mud brick and mortar. The fortress is entered through a south-western tower and arrived in the first courtyard (Sajjadi & farzin, 2003: 24; Dalvand 2009). The fortress constructed into the first and second courtyards with their different sections (fig.2 above).

The first courtyard

The first courtyard measures 31* 22.5 meters and has a north_ south orientation (fig.2 middle). There are four towers on its perimeter. The old Bath, fortress well, cistern and underground canals are in the first courtyard (Sajjadi & Farzin 2003: 24- 26).

Second courtyard

The first courtyard with a vaulted corridor connected to the second courtyard (Fig. 2 below). The second courtyard is 29* 21 meters and has an east-west orientation. Like the first courtyard, this courtyard has four towers on its perimeter. It contains the large halls, two small rooms and cellars. Other notable features are a hidden passage and a hidden exit of the citadel on the southern side (Sajjadi & farzin, 2003; Dalvand 2009)

Past and present usage

Important past uses of the fortress included a treasury for the Badr dynasty in the 11th century, the seat of government for the regional Atabag and Vali rulers during the Safavid and Qajar dynasties, and a military base and political prison during the first and second Pahlavi regimes.

In 1970 A.D, the army noted Falak- ol- Aflak fortress to the Art and Culture (now called Cultural Heritage) Organization. It has registered as national monument number 833. In 1975 A.D., the fortress was converted to the museum of Luristan anthropology (fig.3 above). More recently, the fortress was repaired, the exhibits were expanded and a repair laboratory was established (Sajjadi & Farzin, 2003: 18).

Falak-ol- Aflak Museum consists of two different parts: Archaeological and Anthropological sections.

The Archaeological section is the second courtyard; the majority of ancient objects regarding, Iron Age, the Bronze of Luristan, Sasanian and Late Islamic Periods came from the different scientific excavations or captured from illegal transition or clandestine excavations (fig.3 middle & below).

The Anthropology section is one of the richest museums in Iran, is placed at the second precinct of Falak-ol- Aflak Fortress. This part is an exhibition of the designed scenes as well as objects related to people's native life in Luristan, having been gathered from rural,

nomadic, and urban areas in years, along with an arrangement proportional to this worthwhile historical building's internal architecture in 12 sections consisting birth and beliefs, wedding ceremony, traditional crafts, mourning ceremony, movies and slides showing, tombstones, spinning, native hand-woven materials, nomadic dwelling (black tents), Luristan music, hunting and bread- making (fig.4).

1-7- The structure of this thesis

The research was based on three major studies: numismatic evidence, Historical and Archaeological studies. Various materials were applied for each study.

1-7-1- Numismatic Studies

The present research is a numismatic study. A collection of Hellenistic coinage at Falak-ol-Aflak Museum is the material of this study. The author carefully observed, examined and drew all the issues, these led to establishing data for the issues and for the study. The issues were from c. 405 to 147 BC. The variety of issues convinced the author to visit the other collection from the museums of Hamedan, Kermanshah and Elam. Luristan is bordered by these provinces. The results of the authors' observation were discussed in the thesis.

Catalogues and hoards were visited to compare the issues of the collection. The issues were from mints in Athens, Syracuse, Macedonia, Asia Minor cities, Mesopotamia and Iran. The compared materials were limited to these mints. Form these to Alexander issues The "Alexander's Drachm Mints I: Sardes and Miletus", "Alexander's Drachm Mints II: Lampsacus and Abyadus" by Tompson, Five Alexander Hoards in Afyon Museum, and "The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus" by Price were the principal sources for this research.

The study of Seleucid coins has a long history involving many distinguished numismatists: Newell, Mørkholm, Le Rider, and Houghton, to name only a few. Their work of collecting and cataloguing has proved fundamental to Seleucid numismatics.

In the 1940s, Newell's pioneering work created the basic framework for discussions of the provenance and chronology of Seleucid coinage. His work has been re-examined and updated by Houghton and Lorber, this has resulted in a new "comprehensive catalogue of Seleucid coinage". These studies and individual mint studies have provided the background for this thesis' iconographic analysis.

All the hoards were used for the comparison were found far from Iran. From these Suse, Pasargade and Tarikhaneh hoards were acquired in Iran. These issues were observed during the comparison.

1-7-2- Ancient sources

Along with numismatics this thesis also uses the existing literary sources and epigraphic evidence. All nine kings and rulers, who are the subject of the present study, are mentioned in literary Greek and Roman sources. But Cossaeans were mentioned in relation to the events of two kings. The authorities of the kings are known only from their coins in this area. It is immediately clear from what follows just how difficult the interpretation of the period will be.

The details of Macedonian campaigns are complex and frequently unclear. Alexander's campaign was extensively reported by his courtiers and peers, but contemporaries and near-contemporaries narrate have been lost. We possess no narrative earlier than book 17 of Diodorus Siculus. Diodorus' Bibliotheca Historica is the only continuous ancient account that we have. Form 40 books, books XVII-XX deal with the events of this period. However, he could not present simultaneously simultaneous events he fairly harmonious for the events

of this period. Two books of Arrian, "the Anabasis of Alexander" and "Indica", are more reliable sources for the lifetime of Alexander. He wrote the books in the 2nd A.D. Arrian's Anabasis (named in imitation of Xenophon: second century A.D.) is based on the accounts of Ptolemy and Aristoboulos, who took part in Alexander's campaign. Although his subject was more limited than that of Diodorus the majority of reliable ancient sources regarding Cossaeans are acquired from his books. Quintus Curtius' "The History of Alexander" is another source for Alexander's lifetime. The book is a Latin work of uncertain date, while it gives more extended accounts of many episodes. It was written in ten volumes while the first two volumes are lost. "Parallel Lives" of Plutarch, Pompeius Trogus/Justin (books 11–12), life and short essays by Plutarch, Pliny's "Natural History", and the "Geography" of Strabo are other two valuable sources which are used here. Plutarch narrated some significant facts about the lives of Alexander, Eumenes and Demetrius Poliorcetes which not given elsewhere. Various other extant sources, such as Alexander's Letters, his Royal Diary, and the Alexander Romance are of limited use for historical reconstruction (Kosmin 2013).

The Alexandro-centric nature of both the primary and secondary Classical sources tends to cast a shadow over the documentation of the Diadochi, and the one contemporary writer and participant who did cover the aftermath in detail, Hieronymus of Cardia, is lost (Wheatley 2009). For the reign of Philip of Macedon Diodorus' account (book 16) is the only narrative apart from the summary by Justin (variously dated between the second and the fourth century A.D.) of the Philippic History of Diodoros' younger contemporary Pompeius Trogus (in Latin: books 7–9). This transitional forty-year period, after the death of Alexander, is without doubt one of the most curious and fascinating in ancient history. It is marked by the utter chaos of the historiographical tradition, the choreography, the prosopography, and the received historical narrative, and yet it is crucial to our

understanding of all the succeeding major events (Wheatley 2009). Diodorus, during the first years after Alexander, focused mainly on the wars between Eumenes and Antigonus in the west.

The most complete narrative literary account of the Seleucid Empire comes from the last nineteen sections of Appian's *Syrian Wars*, which contains a summary of the dynasty appended to an account of Rome's war with Antiochus III. For the second most complete summary of the Seleucid history, we must turn to Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus. This summary of the Augustan historian is difficult to evaluate given its nature as a summary and the lack of the original text. Polybius also covered much of Rome's war with Antiochus III and with Antiochus IV but much of his history after Book 5 is fragmentary and we lack his reflections on the earlier Seleucids. The Roman historian Livy supplies more evidence particularly for the campaigns of Antiochus III against the Romans. The Jewish writer, Josephus, the author of I and II Maccabees provides some information. It is focused narrowly on Judea which only became part of the Seleucid empire especially during the reign of Demetrius I and Alexander Balas.

Historical research into the Seleucid Empire has always been impeded by a scarcity of sources. The study of Babylonian conuiform evidence is necessary to understanding of the history of the Hellenistic period. There are a lot of administrative documents from the temples, which is unique in ancient history, namely the monthly reports on prices in the so-called Babylonian astronomical diaries. The Babylonian astronomical diaries provide an invaluable source for the history of the Seleucid Empire (and Hellenistic successors after Alexander).[15] These diaries contain more than 3000 price quotations over the entire Hellenistic period (Van der spek 2004).

[15] The term "diary" for these texts was first coined by Sachs in his "Classification of the Babylonian Astronomical Texts of the Seleucid Period (Sachs 1948).

Scholars worked on the documentary material from Mesopotamia. The publications such as the Astronomical Diaries and fragments the wider dispersion of the Babylonian documents suggest a high level of sophistication in the edition of ancient sources and historical reconstructions are written explicitly through these documents regarding the Hellenistic period.[16] The material increased awareness of documentary material from the Hellenistic East and it is not being feasible to do Seleucid history without consideration of the Babylonian material.[17] Some events can be of great historical importance, such as the death of Alexander the Great, Battels, military expeditions, the change of reigns, and the overthrow of the Seleucid Empire by the Arsacids are all recorded in astronomical diaries

[16] See Sachs, A. (1948). A classification of the Babylonian astronomical tablets of the Seleucid period. *Journal of cuneiform studies*, *2*(4), 271-290; Sachs, A. J., & Wiseman, D. J. (1954). A Babylonian king list of the Hellenistic period. *Iraq*, *16*(2), 202-211; Sachs, A. (1974). Babylonian observational astronomy. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series A, Mathematical and Physical Sciences*, *276*(1257), 43-50;Sachs, A. J., & Hunger, H. (1988). *Astronomical diaries and related texts from Babylonia* (Vol. 1). Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Van der Spek, R. J. (1997). New evidence from the Babylonian astronomical diaries concerning Seleucid and Arsacid history. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 167-175.

[17] See Wheatley, P. (2009). The Diadochi, or Successors to Alexander. *Alexander the Great: A New History*, 53-68; Wheatley, P. (2002). Antigonus Monophthalmus in Babylonia, 310-308 BC. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *61*(1), 39-47; Jakobsson, J. (2016). Dating of Timarchus, the Median Usurper A Critical Review. *Ancient History Bulletin*, *30*; Gera, D., & Horowitz, W. (1997). Antiochus IV in life and death: evidence from the Babylonian astronomical diaries. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 240-252; Boiy, T. (2004). *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon* (Vol. 136). Peeters Publishers; Boiy, T. (2010). Royal and satrapal armies in Babylonia during the Second Diadoch War. The Chronicle of the Successors on the events during the seventh year of Philip Arrhidaeus (= 317/316 BC). *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *130*, 1-13; Burstein, S. M. (1978). *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*. Malibu: Undena Publications; Geller, M. J. (1990). Babylonian astronomical diaries and corrections of Diodorus. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, *53*(1), 1-7; Rutten, M. (1935). Contrats de l'époque séleucide conservés au Musée du Louvre. *Babyloniaca*; Stolper, M. W. (2006). *Iranica in post-Achaemenid Babylonian texts*. Na; Van der Spek, R. J. (2004). Palace, temple and market in Seleucid Babylonia. *2004 [2005]), Le roi et l'économie. Autonomies locales et structures royales dans l'économie de l'empire séleucide. Actes des rencontres de Lille (23 juin 2003) et d'Orléans (29–30 janvier 2004) Topoi, Suppl*, *6*, 303-32; Van der Spek, R. J. (1993). The astronomical diaries as a source for Achaemenid and Seleucid history. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, *50*(1), 2.

(Sachs 1974).[18] However, though these texts are extremely significant, they must be interpreted with an awareness of their narcissistic nature: events are recorded from an entirely Babylonian domestic perspective, with little thought for the wider historical picture (a criticism that can also at times be levelled against the Classical sources). Therefore, while they do provide precise dates, and even times, for some nodal events, there are often difficulties in meshing these events with other types of source material (Wheatley 2009).

Information about Seleucid Iran in the literary sources is scant and uneven. What material exists is predominantly written from a Mediterranean perspective and rarely pays attention to Seleucid affairs beyond Asia Minor and the Levant. These inscriptions are particularly useful in attempting to determine the origins of Seleucid ruler cult; such as an inscription of Antiochus III was discovered in Nihavand near Luristan. The inscription suggests a temple was dedicated to Laodice by Antiochus III.

1-7-3- **Modern sources**

A fragmentary and incomplete corpus may be supplemented by material from other genres, especially ancient sources and epigraphy. Many scholars focused on episodes and passages of ancient sources to reconstruct the events of the Hellenistic period, such as Tarn, Bosworth, Errington, Kosmin and Grainger. Others, Newell, Thompson, Le Rider, Houghton, Hoover, De Callatay, and Kinns, concentrated on the numismatic evidence to supply the blanks or incomplete of the history in the period. These scholars created a rich modern source for the study of the Hellenistic Period. The author used these modern sources alongside ancient sources.

[18] The Babylonian astronomical diaries for the years 169- 163 BC., relating to Antiochus IV Epiphanes are preserved in astronomical diaries from the city of Babylon and imporoved our knowledge of the period (Gera & Horowitz 1997).

CHAPTER 2: INTRODUCING THE AREA

2-1- The Geography of Luristan

Luristan Province is a province of western Iran in the Central Zagros Mountains. The name Luristan means "land of the Lurs". It covers an area of 28,392 km[19]. The major cities in this province are Khorramabad, Borujerd, Dorud, Aligudarz, Kuhdasht, Azna, Selseleh, Delfan, Dowreh and Pol-e Dokhtar. Khorramabad is the capital city of the province. Luristan is bordered to the north by Markazi and Hamedan provinces, to the south by Khuzestan province, to the east by Isfahan and Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari provinces and the west by Kermanshah and Ilam provinces (Fig. 5).

The terrain consists chiefly of mountains, with numerous ranges, part of the Zagros chain, running northwest to southeast. The area is dominated by three main parallel mountain chains, the Kabir Kuh, Sefid Kouh and Garrin Mountains. The central range has many summits that almost reach the line of perpetual snow, rising to 4000 m and more. The Kabir Kouh range separates the eastern zone, known as Pish-Kouh (front of the mountain) or Luristan, from the western zone, Posht-Kouh (back of the mountain) or Ilam. On the other

[19] "Sub-national HDI - Area Database - Global Data Lab". *hdi.globaldatalab.org*. Retrieved 2018-09-13.

hand, the Sefid Kouh Mountain divides the Pish-Kouh into two climate zones so-called, Sardsir (cold area) and Garmsir (warm area) quarters. The north-eastern high valleys referred to as the Sardsir or summer quarters. It provides a cooler climate in summer; Boroujerd, Doroud, Azna, Selseleh and Delfan experience cold winters and moderate summers. In the central region, the spring season begins from mid-February and lasts till mid-May. The township of Khorramabad is in this realm. In the south-west, the lower valleys are known as Garmsir or winter quarters. This area provides a milder climate in winter. The areas such as Pol-e-Dokhtar and Papi are under the influence of the warm air currents of Khuzestan, have hot summers and relatively moderate winters.

2-2- The Historical Geography of Luristan during the First Millennium B.C

Luristan is located in Central Zagros Chains. We, probably, should follow the history and archaeology of Luristan about Zagros events during the First Millennium BC; but, how was the historical geography of Luristan? Who were the inhabitants of Luristan? What happens for the inhabitants of Luristan during the First Millennium BC? How was the role of Luristan in the area? To answer these questions, Assyrian texts, inscriptions and annals, Greco-Roman sources and archaeological studies give us some information.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the historical geography, it is useful to draw in broad outline a picture of the area with which we shall be concerned. The Zagros Mountains are among the most striking features on the landscape of the Near East. Its range begins in north-western Iran and roughly follows Iran's western border while covering much of south-eastern Turkey and north-eastern Iraq. From this border region, the range roughly follows Iran's coast on the Persian Gulf and ending at the Strait of Hormuz. As such, the Zagros occupies a strategic position in the international affairs of this region with the lowlands of Mesopotamia on the west and the Iranian plateau on the east; these mountains serve as one

of the great natural boundaries in this part of the world (see Levine 1973). The Zagros Mountains have a total length of 1,600 km (990 miles). As it said before, Luristan is situated in Central Zagros Mountain Chains (fig.6). The area is dominated by three more or less parallel mountain chains, the Kabir Kouh, Sefid Kouh and Garin Mountains, which run from NW to SE. In reference to the Kabir Kuh, Luristan is divided into the Posht- Kouh (over the mountain) and the Pish- Kouh (before the mountain). It is only with the central part of this great sweep that the present study deals, as it was only here that the Assyrian texts mentioned several times.

In this work, we have limited the genres of texts used for the location of ancient toponyms. The most important genre is that which describes the route of military campaigns; especially those of Assyrian kings and later Alexander campaign.

2-3- Luristan inhabitants in Assyrian documents

Although scatter references to the people of the Central Zagros, Luristan region, are available for almost the whole First Millennium BC the Neo-Assyrian documents indicate the source of information concerning the Zagros Mountain and its inhabitants.

Within the general scheme that we propose here, we have set ourselves two further points. Firstly, we have not attempted to deal with all of the Zagros' place names. Only those about which something definite can be said using the method described have been treated. Secondly, there has been no attempt to locate specific sites and tie them to places named in the historical records. Indeed, our understanding is as yet so primitive that even names of regions and large political units can only be placed in approximate settings.

Annals and royal inscriptions introduced us at least two different groups of inhabitants, Ellipi and Kassite, in central Zagros. All we have regarding Ellipian is Assyrian texts[20] and some scatter Archaeological evidence. Ellipi's name is also mentioned in letters, vassal treaties, and oracle texts, but for the most part, these are too general nature to be useful for purposes of historical geography (Levine 1974: 104).

The Ancient Toponyms Ellipi "the land of Ellipi" is mentioned in the cuneiform sources from the time of Ashurnasirpal II to Esarhaddon (866- 639 BC.). Assur Nasirpal II in his 18th year (866 B.C) named Ellipi for the first time (King & Litt 1915: 6- 5). However, references cover almost the entire span of the neo-Assyrian empire, the bulk of the material about Ellipi comes from the reign of Sargon II when Ellipi attained prominence and became a significant factor in Assyria's military policy as it affected the east.

Assyrian texts repeatedly referred to the borders of Ellipi with Elam (Luckenbill, 1927:52 – 51). We postulate for the sake of the argument, that the order of places mentioned in the account of a campaign reflects the true course of that campaign. Where this assumption can be tested it has generally proven true (Levine 1973: 2). Sargon's inscriptions help us to identify the position of Ellipi because he repeatedly described the same passage in several inscriptions[21]: "*KUR mādāi rūqūti ša pāt šad bikni adi KUR ellipi Kur rāši ša itē elamtu…..*" As can be noticed, the crucial point is Ellipi is said to have bordered Elam. Probably Assyrian in their campaigns to Elam passed from Posht-e- Kouh (Mollazadeh & Goudarzi 2016: 87). According to Ashurpanipal's inscription two Elamite cities, Madakto and Hamano were the northern cities of Elam (De Miroschedji 1986 & Vallat 1993). New studies suggest northwest of Karkheh River for Madakto and Hamano (Potts, 2001: 24); the

[20] Schrader, 1878: 174 ; Streck 1900: 376; Billerbeck, 1893: 72; Wiseman, 1959: 13; Cameron, 1936: 149; König, 1938: 357; Saggs, 1958: 210; Young, 1967: 13

[21] Winckler, Sargon, p. 98, I I. 17-18; also repeated on four of the five portal slabs (I: I1; 11:9; III: iI; V: I8. all in Winckler, Sargon).

mentioned area is the southern parts of Luristan and Elam. On the other hand, in the mid-first millennium BC, there were Elamite-speakers, with Elamite personal names, using Neo-Elamite, around Pol-e Dokhtar in the southern Luristan (Potts 2006: 114). Neo-Elamite inscriptions c.6th century BC on some objects found in the Kalmakareh Cave near Pol-e Dokhtar testified the presence of a group or groups with Elamite names (Valleat 1996; Mahboubian 1995). Some of these inscriptions are similar and refer to the king of Samati/Samatura (Valleat 1996). Moreover, Kialan Mountain in Pol-e Dokhtar creates a natural barrier and border between Luristan and the south. It separates Luristan from the south (Elam). Following archaeological and linguistic evidence, inscriptions and the topography of the area, Probably, Roumeshkan- Pol-e Dokhtar strait was a political and cultural border with Elam. But it is not clear if Ellipi territory was stretched close to the border of Elam.

The position for Ellipi is further reinforced by one of Shalmaneser III's campaigns. In the year 843 BC Shalmaneser ended his campaign by collecting tribute from the king of Ellipi in the passes of Tugliyash (WO I/6 (I952), p. 472, 11. 21-22.). Tugliyash has been located in the area around Eshnunna in the Diyala, perhaps extending as far south as Der (Iran XI, p. 23, n. Io9.), and the mountainous region of Tugliyash must be the Zagros area to the east. Thus, we would expect Ellipi to lie in the Zagros to the east of Tugliyash, in north-western Luristan[22] (Levine 1974: 106).

Assyrian document recorded Ellipi was the neighbour of Harhar in the north (Knudtzon 1893: 183 – 181). According to neo-Assyrian stelae from Kangavar Sargon II, 716 BC conquered Harhar and changed to an Assyrian province (Levine 1972: 25). For the location of Harhar province, Levine suggests the Great Khorasan Road Basin in the east of

[22] Since Ellipi is never invaded by Shalmaneser III, the tribute mentioned is likely to have been brought in a successful attempt to forestall such an invasion by the Assyrians. If this were the case, then Tugliyash and Ellipi would have had to be neighbouring territories.

Mahidasht (Levine 1974: 117), but recent research suggests Kangavar for the location of Harhar (Daems 2005: 82; Medvedskaya 1999: 55).

Sennacherib's reign, 704-681 BC, is characterized by a remarkable decline in Assyrian military activities in the Zagros. In 702 BC, he led Assyrian troops against Ellipi. The reason for further Assyrian inventions against Ellipi was their alliance with Elam against Assyrian. After defeating the dangerous enemy alliance, Sennacherib punished Ispabara by destroying many Ellipian towns and finally seizing Bît-Barrû, an Ellipian town, to the territory of Assyria (Grayson & Novotny3, 2012, Sn.3: 27-31). Bît-Barrû can be located northeast of the central core of Ellipi, on the border of the Assyrian province of Harhar (Maniori 2008: 254-256). For the location of Bît-Barrû, Overlaet suggests Nihavand in the north of Luristan (Overlaet, 2013: 384). Besides, Ellipi was the neighbour of Bît- Hamban, in Mahidasht, in the north (Medvedskaya 1999:59-60; Wilson 1962: 113).

Garrin Mountain is considered a natural boundary between the north of Luristan and south of Hamedan (Nihavand). The "Luristan Genre" pottery is characterized as the "Pottery of Ellipi"[23]. This pottery has not been discovered beyond the Garrin Mountain and Delfan District (Goff 1968; Garazhian 2001). It should be noted that the distribution of "Luristan Genre" pottery has been disappeared near to Bît- Hamban. This kind of pottery was identified by Goff as "Luristan Genre" (fig.7). She discovered Luristan Genre during the excavation of Baba Jan Tepe in Nourabad (Delfan), north of Luristan in Pish-Kouh. Later Hasanpour found the same pottery in Baba Jilan graveyard west of Nourabad (Hasanpour 2012, Hasanpour et al 2015). The repertoire of designs of this pottery was limited. The three most often occurring are the line of "kites ", often combined with the Kassite cross, rosette; the pendant triangle (Goff 1968: 119).

[23] Private communications with Dr. Ata Hassan pour.

Only a few episodes related to the western border of Ellipi are mentioned in the Assyrian document that cannot be useful. Following the geographical and archaeological evidence, Kabir Kouh was the approximate western border of Ellipi (Mollazadeh & Goudarzi 2015: 89). Kabir Kouh stretched from northwest to southeast. It divided Luristan into two parts so-called Pish-Kouh and Posht-kouh. Luristan is situated in frontier land and Ilam is situated in posterior land. Kabir Kouh was a natural barrier for Luristan in the west. It separated Luristan from Posht-Kouh and Mesopotamia. Probably it can explain why the potteries, settlements patterns and metal objects were found in Pish-Kouh are differ from Posht-kouh materials (Overlaet 2013: 382). Furthermore, Shikaft-i Gulgul and Mishkhas Assyrian rock reliefs demonstrated Assyrian military campaigns passed from Posht-Kouh (Reade 1977; Alibaigi et al. 2012).

Silakhor Plain is the widest plain in Luristan. It situated behind the Garrin Mountain in the northeast of Luristan. The plain is divided into Western and Eastern parts. Archaeological excavation and survey reports indicate the lack of cultural materials from Ellipi in Silakhor Plain (Parviz 2006; Moghdas & Sharifi 1996& Young 1966). On the other hand, the presence of Median materials from Silakhor Plain can refer to the Median settlements in this area (Parviz 2006). Furthermore, Pa Tepe (Gounespan) Site near Boroujerd city, in Silakhor Plain, is another important Median site (Malekzadeh & Naseri 2014: 108). Probably the western part of Silakhor Plain was Median. Archaeological evidence from the Eastern part of Silkhor Plain represented the Iron Age III materials and Median remains (Abdolahi & Sardari 2012; Abdolahi et al., 2014: 72). Consequently, it can suggest Silakhor Plain was a part of Median territory.

In summary, Ellipi occupied a position intermediate between the Elamite and the Assyrian spheres of influence in the western Zagros (fig. 8). Indications at present are that Pish-Kouh, northern Luristan, is the area that best fits the evidence for Ellipi. The mountains in Luristan

as a natural border separated Ellipi territory.[24] Perhaps the southern border of Ellipi lay somewhere in the parallel valleys of the Zagros closes to Seymareh River Basin near to Roumeshkan- Pol-e Dokhtar. To the north and northeast, it bordered Harhar, which was located on the Great Khorasan Road; Garrin Mountain lay in north and northeast of Ellipi, behind of this Mountain Median settlements were discovered. The Shalmaneser reference seems to indicate that Ellipi's western border lay along the modern Iraq-Iran frontier, where the mountains of Luristan blend into the lowlands; Kabir Kouh was as a natural border for Ellipi in this area (Levine 1974; Mollazadeh & Goudarzi 2015).

2-3-1- Assyrian references to Kassites and Cissians

In Assyrian documents, we encounter another group of people so-called "Kassite" who lived in the Zagros Mountains and seem not far from the Land of Ellipi.

The origins of Kassites, who first appear around the eighteenth century, are unclear. Kassites ruled Babylonia almost continuously from the seventeenth or sixteenth century to c.1155 BC and individual Kassites occupied important positions in the kingdom of Babylonia or rather Karduniash (Brinkman 1968; Brinkman 1976). The Elamites conquered Babylonia in the 12th century BC and Kassite ruling was over there. For over a century[25] scholars on Kassite origins have tended to target the Zagros Mountains as their original homeland (Potts 2006: 113). Eilers, for example, noting that the name of one of the tributaries of the Seimareh River, the Kashkan River, can be etymologized as "Kassite River," (Eilers 1982: 37) and Sommerfeld suggested that the Kassites emigrated from Iran over the Zagros Mountains into Babylonia. Their original home and the route they took are unknown to us, however (Sommerfeld 1995: 917). Levine suggested that the Kassites of this

[24] Even nowadays the mountains of Luristan are nearly the borders of this province.

[25] Beginning with F. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer: Linguistisch-historische Funde und Fragen* (Leipzig, 1884); K. Balkan, *Kassitenstudien 1: Die Sprache der Kassiten* (New Haven, 1954).

time were located closer to the eastern borderlands of Babylonia, on the eastern side of the Lower Zab (Levine 1973: 22). Zadok has undertaken an exhaustive study of the personal names in Neo-Assyrian sources associated with the toponyms of the western Zagros and found that Kassite names constitute the second largest group after Iranian ones in what might be called “greater Media” (Zadok 2002: 70). Thus, it is possible that in the First Millennium there were Kassite-speaking communities in the western Zagros. The Kassite language, to the extent that it is known from Kassite personal names, is distinct from Elamite and unrelated to any other known language family.

The geographical proximity of the Kassites and Elamites, well documented in the post-Kassite era and hypothesized for the earlier periods, has rarely been commented upon. The location of at least some Kassites in the southern and perhaps central Zagros suggests that the two groups may well have had close ties for centuries. Because in the mid-first millennium BC there were Elamite-speakers, with Elamite personal names, using Neo-Elamite, around Pol-e Dokhtar in southern Luristan, it may be justifiable to characterize the southern Zagros as a “contact zone” between Elamites and Kassites (Potts 2006: 114). Moreover, Neo-Assyrian sources confirm that Kassites were living in the western Zagros during that period. In Sennacherib's second campaign, after concluding his business in the land of the Kassites and Yasubigalli, he turned to Ellipi (Grayson & Novotny3, 2012, Sn.3: 20-26). While the text does not specify that Ellipi, Kassites and Yasubigalli were contiguous to each other. If the campaign followed a logical progression we can locate Ellipi, Kassites and Yasubigalli as neighbouring countries.

2-4- Luristan in Greek and Roman sources (Kassites and Cissians)

Although the original homeland of the Kassites is not well-known, we considered Kassites as a distinct ethnic group living in the Zagros Mountains. Later in Greek and Roman

sources, we meet another group named “Cissian” or “Kissian” who has been located in the Zagros Mountains.

The Cissians have frequently been identified with the Kassites (Kaššu). It should be noticed that Greek -i- sometimes became -a- in Akkadian (e.g. Gr. Laodike= Akk. Ludake). Hence, Cissia (in Greek) may correspond, if it reproduces an Akkadian name or a name transmitted via Akkadian, to Kaššu, the Akkadian term for the Kassites (Lehmann 1892: 333; Potts 2004). Furthermore, it has been argued before the name of the Kaššu (Kassite) is preserved in the name of the “Kashkan River” or “Kashko; Kashku” in Lori dialect, in Luristan (Eilers 1982). It is better to have a glance at the meaning of Kaššu to have a more clear perception: Kaššu, generally, has been translated as massive and strong and for the rivers is applied as flood-waters, destructive flooding, massive, strong and powerful (Black et al. 2000: 152-3; Gleb et al. 1964: 158); the explanations remind us Kashkan River. Since overflowing of Kashkan River left many damages every year during the heavy rainy seasons. The River is considered as the most devastating river in Luristan.[26] Accordingly, it is plausible to consider two different ideas. First, if we accept the Kassites turn back to the Zagros Mountains in the Luristan region long after they lost Babylonia. They might have been preserved their name and perhaps they transferred their name to the region they settled. If they chose the bank of Kashkan River to live, therefore, it is feasible the name of River drove from Kassite. Second, Kaššu, on the whole, was a term that was applied to identify “massive, strong and powerful” human, geographical matters, or events. As a consequence, the name of Kashkan was a significant feature of the river. Obviously, in the latter case, the Kassites and their location could not be concerning the Kashkan River. Regarding the meaning Kaššu, Kassite, probably, Babylonians chose the name “Kassite” for new

[26] The last devastating flood by Kashkan River happens in April 2019. It destroyed all the towns in its bank such as Pole- Dokhtar town and left plenty of damages.

mountainous people, arrival from the Zagros Mountains, since they were vigorous and powerful, and they had a great ability in war.

Back to Cissians who were mentioned by several Greek authors; the earliest of whom Aeschylus was after him, Herodotus provided many details on the Cissians. Furthermore, Diodorus, Strabo and Polybius sometimes referred to their region.

The Cissians and the toponym Cissia are attested several more times in Herodotus. He speaks of 'Susa and the other Cissian's land. In the tribute list from the reign of Darius I "Susa and the other parts of Cissia" are identified as the eighth nomós, which paid 300 talents of silver each year:

> *[…] The Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadicae, and Aparytae paid together an hundred and seventy talents; this was the seventh province; the eighth was Susa and the rest of the Cissian country, paying three hundred talents (Herod.3. 91).*

It can be implying two different significances, "Susa and the rest of Cissian" perhaps Susa and Cissian can be considered as a single satrapy or Susa was a part of Cissian. But what is certain Susa and Cissian could not be the same place because he made a distinction between Susa and Cissians.

But another passage, of Herodotus speaks about the distance of some places. In this passage, he separates the land of Cissians from Susa by the Choaspes River.

> *[…] When this country is passed, the road is in the Cissian land, where are eleven stages and forty-two and a half parasangs[27], as far as yet another navigable river, the Choaspes, whereon stands the city of Susa […] (Herod.5.52).*

These references make it clear that while Susa lay in Choaspes, Cissia was not coterminous with Susiana but began well north of it in the Luristan's mountains (Nöldeke 1874: 174).

27 Parasang is an ancient Persian unit of distance, equal to about 3.5 miles (5.6 km).

Herodotus assigning Susa and the river Choaspes on which it lay to Cissian territory, furthermore he too says us the location of Cissian:

> *[…] Next to the Cilicians, here are the Armenians, another people rich in flocks, and after the Armenians the Matieni, whose country I show you; and you see the Cissian land adjoining theirs; therein, on the Choaspes (yonder it is), lies that Susa where lives the great king, and there are the storehouses of his wealth[…](Herod.5.49)*

In describing the Royal Road, he notes that after entering Cissia, on the bank the Choaspes of which the city of Susa is built:

> *[..] When this country is passed, the road is in the Cissian land, where are eleven stages and forty-two and a half parasangs, as far as yet another navigable river, the Choaspes, whereon stands the city of Susa (Herod.5.52).*

As it passed, the Choaspes River lay between the Cissians' land and Susa. The river now is called "Karkheh". The Karkheh or Choaspes has two upper courses, called "Kashkan" and "Seymareh", which come together near Pol-e Dokhtar in the south of Luristan. Hence, Cissians have been located somewhere north of Choaspes in the Luristan area.

Almost all of our knowledge concerning Cissian comes from the battles they participated in. Their manner of fighting made them famous warlike people. Herodotus of the battle of Doriscus lists a people called the Cissians among the army of Xerxes. Cissian cavalry wore the same dress and equipment as the Persians, except for a fillet[28] (mítra) instead of the Persians' felt cap:

> *[…]The Cissians in the army were equipped like the Persians, but they wore turbans and not caps. Their commander was Anaphes son of Otanes (Herod.7.62).*

Herodotus was not the sole historian wrote about Cissians; Diodorus at the battle of Thermopylae mentioned the Cissians among the army of Xerxes:

[28] Even nowadays Luristan's nomadic do not wear felt cap or hat; they use of a special cover like turban, so-called Golvani, and turn it around of their head.

> *[…] But since the Greeks were superior in valour and in the great size of their shields, the Medes gradually gave way; for many of them were slain and not a few wounded. The place of the Medes in the battle was taken by Cissians and Sacae, selected for their valour, who had been stationed to support them; and joining the struggle fresh as they were against men who were worn out they withstood the hazard of combat for a short while, be as they were slain and pressed upon by the soldiers of Leonidas, they gave way (Diod.11.7.1).*

During the Seleucid period, we too hear "Cissians" from Plutarch during Molon's rebel and Raphia Battle. Both events happen during the reign of Antiochus III.

Polybius named the Cissaious or Cassious during the rebel of Molon:

> *[…] range which has an ascent of a hundred stades, and consisting as it does of different branches meeting at various points, contains in the intervals depressions and deep valleys inhabited by the Cossaei, Corbrenae, Carchi and other barbarous tribes with a high reputation for their warlike qualities […] (Polyb.5.44.7).*

By this passage, Nöldeke considered Cissian and Cossaean as two different variants of the same name. Here he dismissed Antiochus' Cissians as an error for Cossaeans (Nöldeke 1874: 178).

According to Polybius, Cissians were present, along with Persian, Karmanians, Cadusians and Medes, among the 'subjects' who fought on Antiochus III's side at the battle of Raphia in 217 BC at which Ptolemaeus IV defeated Antiochus III during the Fourth Syrian War (Bar-Kochva 1976: 50).

> *[…] There were Agrianian and Persian bowmen and slingers to the number of two thousand, and with them two thousand Thracians, all under the command of Menedemus of Alabanda. Aspasianus the Mede had under him a force of about five thousand Medes, Cissians, Cadusians, and Carmanians […] (Polyb.5.79).*

A passage of Polybius is the only post-Alexander reference to Cissians which does not go back to Herodotus:

[…] On his (Antiochus) extreme left wing he posted two thousand horse under the command of Themison, next these the Gardacian and Lydian javelineers, then three thousand light-armed troops under Menedemus, after these the Cissians, Medes, and Carmanians, and finally, in contact with the phalanx, the Arabs and neighbouring tribes. His remaining elephants he placed in front of his left wing under the command of Myiscus, one of the young men who had been brought up at court (Polyb.5. 82.9-12).

2-5- Cossaeans in Greek and Roman Sources

We generally realized, as it passed, Kassites and later Cissians were warrior peoples. Their land was somewhere north of Choaspes River in Zagros Mountain (Luristan). During the Alexander conquest, we encounter another group of people from this area so-called Cossaeans (Kossaeans). They such as Kassites and Cissians had a great ability to battle. Perhaps the Cossaeans of Greek and Roman sources were the Cissians who have frequently been identified to the Kassites (Kaššu).

Cossaeans lived in the Zagros Mountains during the Persian Empire. The Empire included many areas inhabited by mountainous tribes, which frequently controlled important mountain crossing, especially in the Zagros Mountains. According to ancient writers Cossaean's land can embrace within the Central Zagros Mountains Chains[29] between Media on the north and Susiana in the south. Several ancient Greek and Roman sources such as Herodotus (Histories), Diodorus of Sicily's (Literary of History Book 17), Quintus Curtius Rufus (History of Alexander the Great), Arrian of Nicomedia (Anabasis of Alexander and Indica), Plutarch (Life of Alexander 7), Strabo (Geography books 15-18), Pliny (Natural History 6) and Polybius (The Histories 5) recall several names, Cissia, Cossaean, Kossaean, Cossaea, Cossiaei and Cossaei, of such inhabitants and their territories.

[29] Luristan is located in Central Zagros.

Although Cossaeans are frequently mentioned in classical sources, ancient ethnographers, geographers, and historians had only a limited knowledge of their land, customs, lifestyle, and culture.

2-5-1- Cossaeans' land

Where was located the Cossaeans' Land? Strabo gives us some scatter information. He, relying on Nearchus[30], enumerates several predatory tribes of southwest Persia:

> *[…] Nearchus says that there were four predatory tribes and that of these the Mardi were situated next to the Persians; the Uxii and Elymaei next to the Mardi and the Susians; and the Cossaei next to the Medians; and that whereas all four exacted tribute from the kings, the Cossaei also received gifts at the times when the king, after spending the summer in Ecbatana, went down into Babylonia*[31] *(Strab.Geog.11.13. 6).*

He also mentioned:

> *[…] After the Zagrus there follows, above Babylonia, the mountainous country of the Elymaei and that of the Paraetaceni, and also, above Media, that of the Cossaei […] (Strab.Geog.11.12.4).*

In another segment of the Geography, Strabo informs us of another borderline for Cossaeans' land:

> *[…] Now Carmania in encircled on the north by Persis, which is a large country; and bordering on this country are Paraetacenê and Cossaea as far as the Caspian Gates, which is inhabited by mountainous and predatory tribes. And bordering on Susis is Elymais, most of which is rugged and inhabited by brigands (Strab.Geog.16.1.17).*

In both recent passages, Strabo stressed Paraetacene is in neighbouring Cossaean.

Arrian in his Anabasis and Indica referred to the land of Cossaeans:

> *[…] he [Alexander] made an expedition against the Cossaeans, a warlike race bordering on the territory of the Uxians. [...] (Arr. Anab. 7.15).*

[30] He was the first Greek to provide first-hand knowledge of Cossaeans.
[31] Weissbach suggested that Babylonia is an error for Susa (Weissbach 1922b: 1500).

[…] I have already stated that the next neighbours to the Susians are the Uxians, just as the Mardians, who are a set of robbers, are neighbours to the Persians, and the Cossaeans to the Medes […] (Arr. Ind. 40.6-8).

Arrian, as Strabo, considered the land of Cossaeans next to the land of Uxians and Median.

Pliny concerning the Cossaeans' land mentioned:

[…] The nearest people to the Susiani on the east side are the Cossiaei, and beyond the Cossiaei to the north is Massabatene, lying below Mount Cambalidus, which is a spur of the Caucasus range; from this point is the easiest route across to the country of the Bactri […] (Pliny. 6.31.134).

His passage reminds us of the borders of Cissia with Susa in the book of Herodotus.

Polybius is another historian mentioned Cossaeans. But his narrates do not come back to Alexander's campaigns. After a gap, more than 90 years for which there is little documentation, information about Luristan inhabitants, Cossaeans, in the battlefield becomes available again with Polybius account of the decisive battle of Molon against Antiochus III, which opens a series of battle accounts covering Antiochus III's reign. Molon declared himself king in 222 BC. The passage is belonging to Molon's march to Babylonia. He had crossed from Media into Babylonia and had taken control of the former Seleucid territories[32] (Polyb.5. 48. 10–16). He had the help of his, barbarous tribes, mercenaries of Zagros. If it is correct, Cossaeans were among Molon's army during the Babylonia conquest. But is not sure if they were in the army of Molon till his death or they return to their land.

[…] Its (Media) southern portion extends as far as Mesopotamia and the territory of Apollonia and borders on Persia, from which it is protected by Mount Sagrus, a range which has an ascent of a hundred stades, and consisting

[32] He won more than one battle against the armies that the Seleucid king had sent to the East, and he minted his own coinage with his own royal portrait. However, only one silver tetradrachm of Molon is known (Chrubasik 2016).

as it does of different branches meeting at various points, contains in the intervals depressions and deep valleys inhabited by the Cossaei, Corbrenae, Carchi and other barbarous tribes with a high reputation for their warlike qualities […] (Polyb.5.44.6-7).

Although the boundaries between tribal and ethnic identities may be hazy at times according to Greek and Roman historians, the Cossaeans' land should be in the Central Zagros Mountains. Their land can embrace within the Central Zagros Mountains Chains. It was bordered to the north by Media, to the south by Uxians, Susians and later Elymaeans, to the east probably by Paraetacenê; all indicated the Cossaeans were the inhabitants of Zagros Mountains in Luristan, between Media in the north and Susiana in the south. Therefore, their land must have been situated along the route Susa- Ecbatana (Media) (Hadipour & Sodaei 2019) (fig. 9).

Perhaps the term "Cossaean" can be considered as of the single ethnical group. We should highlight that the Cossaeans were speaking approximately the same language, with but slight variations. It is somehow similar to Lur and Lak who are ethnic groups residing in the central and southern Zagros. They speak Luri and Laki, languages closely related to Persian and Kurdish, (Curtis and Hooglund 2008: 94) but with some differentiation in dialect. Their distribution covers south of Hamedan, Malayer, the whole Luristan, north of Khouzestan, Andimeshk and Dezfoul, and south-east of Ilam as Abdanan, Dehloran and Darreh Shahr. Also, I prefer to use the term "tribe" for Cossaeans. Because we, the Zagros inhabitants, have a tribal life even nowadays and we use the term "tribe" for identification with each other. Each tribe has a function as "Tribal or Ethnic Tree", with a large number of branches. Sometimes the branches of a tribe distributed from the north to the south of the area[33].

[33] It should be noticed what we are concerning is the "Lur-e-Kuchik" (Lesser Lur). Their language (called Luri or Lurish language) is closely related to Persian, and there are two distinct dialects. "Lur-e-Bozourg" (Greater Lur) is spoken by the Bakhtiaris, and "Lur-e-Kuchik" (Lesser Lur), spoken by the Lurs themselves. People in Borujerd speak in Borujerdi Dialect, a local Lori Persian dialect extracted from Luri. Northwest of Luristan

The situation of their land and lifestyle of Cossaeans is another subject to discuss. Strabo gives us some information:

> *[…] Now the Cossaeans, like the neighbouring mountaineers, are for the most part bowmen, and are always out of foraging expeditions; for they have a country that is small and barren, so that they must live at the expense of the other tribes. And they are of necessity a powerful people, for they are all fighters […] (Strab.Geog.16.1.18).*

Arrian also mentioned these people:

> *[…] he [Alexander] made an expedition against the Cossaeans, a warlike race bordering on the territory of the Uxians. They are mountaineers, inhabiting strong positions in separate villages. [...] (Arr. Anab. 7.15).*

> *[…] This is a people outstanding in valour which occupied the mountains of Media; and relying upon the ruggedness of their country and their ability in war, they had never accepted a foreign master […] (Diod.17.111.4).*

According to Strabo, Arrian and Diodorus, Cossaeans were powerful with great ability in the war that lived in the mountains. However, Strabo mentioned Cossaeans' land was almost deserted. It is somehow odd and unacceptable. The Zagros Mountains are covered by heavy fruit trees, especially oak trees. Perhaps it was an error from Strabo or he referred to more deep valleys and less plain regions for agriculture in this area. Furthermore, Strabo gave us another hint to know the land of Cossaeans which may confirm the land of Cossaeans was not barren. In a part of Geography he explained Alexander attempt to build the boats:

> *[…] from the cypress trees in the groves and the parks; for there is a scarcity of timber in Babylonia, although there is a moderately good supply of timber in the countries of the Cossaei and certain other tribes (Strab.Geog.16.1.11).*

Province is dominated by Laki speakers. Professor Richard N. Frye wrote that "the Lurs and their dialects are closely related to the Persians of Fars province, and naturally belong to the south-western branch of the Iranian peoples (Frye, Richard N. (1983). *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Part 3, Volume 7*. Beck. p. 29).

The Zagros Mountains are covered deeply with oak trees. It is interesting to point Luristan is known as "the Land of Oaks". This area is heavily covered by oak trees. What made it more notable was a passage of Diodorus:

> *[…] These men (Cossaeans), who have been independent from ancient times, live in caves, eating acorns and mushrooms, and also the smoked flesh of wild beasts (Diod.19.19.3).*

According to Napier, many parts of Iran suffered famine during World War I. in that condition; bread made from acorns of the scrub oak was the principal food of the villagers in Luristan (Napier 1919).

2-5-2- Alexander Campaigning against Cossaeans

Arrian's Indica and Strabo's Geography referred to the inhabitants of Zagros and their situation during the Persian Empire.

> *[…] Nearchus says that there were four predatory tribes and that of these the Mardi were situated next to the Persians; the Uxii and Elymaei next to the Mardi and the Susians; and the Cossaei next to the Medians; and that whereas all four exacted tribute from the kings, the Cossaei also received gifts at the times when the king, after spending the summer in Ecbatana, went down into Babylonia; but that Alexander put an end to their great audacity when he attacked them in the winter time (Strab.Geog.11.13.6).*

Diodorus reports the same event:

> *[…] Alexander launched a campaign with a mobile force against the Cossaeans, for they would not submit to him. This is a people outstanding in valour which occupied the mountains of Media; and relying upon the ruggedness of their country and their ability in war, they had never accepted a foreign master, but had remained unconquered throughout the whole period of the Persian kingdom, and now they were too proudly self-confident to be terrified of the Macedonian arms. The king, nevertheless, seized the routes of access into their country before they were aware of it, lay waste most of Cossaea, was superior in every*

engagement, and both slew many of the Cossaeans and captured many times more[…] (Diod.17.111.4-5).

Strabo and Diodorus point out a similar narrative. Cossaeans[34] asked for tribute from the kings as Mardians and Uxians; Cossaeans received another kind of tribute or maybe we can call it "Safe road tax" when the Persian kings from Ecbatana went down into Babylonia[35].

Persian kings know well their lands and their peoples. Many parts of their territories were Quasi-independence or autonomous but, concurrently, recognised the supremacy of the Achaemenid Kings and maintained their allegiance to the Empire. Perhaps the Persian kings ruled on each area according to the lifestyle of its inhabitants. It appears that the relationship of the Persian court with various mountain peoples in the empire must have been more of a balance between autonomy and oversight (Brunner 2006: 331). In practice, there must have occurred a process of mutual accommodation by the royal and tribal parties, with either side having its perception of the ultimate status of the people concerned. Whatever status terms were used; they did not preclude the practice of gift-giving by either side (Marciak 2017: 243). Furthermore, the voluntary annual gift-giving was a practice of the Persian kings in return for a state of peace and the provision of troops (Briant 1982: 81–94). On the one hand, mountainous peoples enjoyed a great deal of autonomy and received occasional gifts from the Persian court, on the other hand, they acknowledged the authority of the Achaemenid kings by paying tributes and enlisting in the military service (Briant 2002: 730-731). That is what Alexander did not regard. His harsh treatment toward the mountainous people demonstrated he only compelled himself to capture all the territories of Persian Kings even those parts, in his idea, the Achaemenid Empire could not to overcome completely. In this way, his potent, even, was more than the Persian Kings. His

[34] This tribe was called Cossaeans by Ptolemy using the Greek spelling (Yenne 2010: 181).

[35] Probably it was an error. The route of Ecbatana to Susa passed from the land of Cossaeans.

comportment toward the mountainous tribes was more as a conqueror than a king, as it was. They were rather Alexander's enemy than his people (Hadipour & Sodaei 2019).

Diodorus enlisted Cossaeans in the military service of the Persian king on the occasion of the battle of Gaugamela in 331 BC, in which the Persian Empire fell to Alexander the Great:

> *[…] The cavalry first joined battle, and as the Macedonians were on the right wing, Dareius, who commanded his own left, led his kinsman cavalry against them. These were men chosen for courage and for loyalty, the whole thousand included in one squadron. Knowing that the king was watching their behaviour, they cheerfully faced all of the missiles which were cast in his direction. With them were engaged the Apple Bearers, brave and numerous, and in addition to these Mardi and Cossaei, who were admired for their strength and daring, as well as all the household troops belonging to the palace and the best fighters among the Indians […] (Diod.17.59.3).*

However, when Alexander arrived in this area he could not accept their lifestyle. In the winter of 324-323 BC, he and his army left Ecbatana (fig. 10). The campaigning happened after, Alexander's closest friend, Hephaestion, died. Plutarch can represent the episode as mass slaughter, a blood offering at the tomb of Hephaestion, and the campaign is described as a royal hunt, with human quarry:

> *[…] making war a solace for his grief, he (Alexander)went forth to hunt and track down men, as it were, and overwhelmed the nation of the Cossaeans, slaughtering them all from the youth upwards. This was called an offering to the shade of Hephaestion […] (Plut.7.72.4).*

what he believed is a rhetorical exaggeration, but there can be little doubt that the invasion was costly in Cossaean lives. However, for the historians of Alexander, the killing had ample justification (Bosworth 1996, 147).

Alexander civilized the Cossaeans, in his way, making honest agriculturalists and city-dwellers out of shiftless nomads, and the campaign was a reprisal for their earlier brigandage (Bosworth 1996, 147). Arrian and Diodorus reported the event. As Arrian

narrates, Alexander even chose rulers over them. He did not mention if Alexander identified one of his officers as the satrap in their land.

> *[…] I have already stated that the next neighbours to the Susians are the Uxians, just as the Mardians, who are a set of robbers, are neighbours to the Persians, and the Cossaeans to the Medes. and all of these tribes Alexander subdued, falling upon them in the winter, when they considered their dominions were inaccessible; and he founded cities with a view to mean them from roving habits and attract them to the plough and agricultural life, and put rulers over them to deter them from inflicting injuries on each other […] (Arr. Ind. 40.6-8).*

In Indica, he gives us the same scene:

> *[…] he made an expedition against the Cossaeans, a warlike race bordering on the territory of the Uxians. They are mountaineers, inhabiting strong positions in separate villages. Whenever a force approached them, they were in the habit of retiring to the summits of their mountains, either in a body or separately as each man found it practicable; and thus they escaped, making it difficult for those who attacked them with their forces to come near them. After the enemy's departure, they used to turn themselves again to marauding, by which occupation they supported themselves. But Alexander subdued this race, though he marched against them in the winter […] (Arr.Anab. 7.15).*

Diodorus suggests that Alexander completed his conquest of the Cossaeans in forty days; moreover, the city foundations are also attested by him, as well:

> *[…] So the Cossaeans were utterly defeated, and, distressed at the number of their captives, were constrained to buy their recovery at the price of national submission. They placed themselves in Alexander's hands and were granted peace on condition that they should do his bidding. In forty days at most, he had conquered these people. He founded strong cities at strategic points and rested his army (Diod.17.111.4-6).*

As Arrian and Diodorus narrated, after a campaign lasting 40 days, the Cossaeans were forced to submit to Alexander. The terms of surrender were that they give up their nomadic

way of life and settle in the cities Alexander had founded at strategic points within their territory[36]. They were now to become farmers instead of brigands.

Alexander did not march to Cossaeans' land before his visit to the Nisaean Plain, form his way to Ecbatana. It can be plausible Cossaeans' subjugation was a project more than a royal hunt or an offering at the tomb of Hephaestion. In about October of 324 BC, Alexander led his reconfigured army eastward from Opis to spend a few weeks in the wealthy city of Ecbatana before continuing to Babylon. He visited a place in the route where there were many thousands of horses. Perhaps the trip involved logistical planning for future military campaigns (Yenne 2010: 181). Alexander was determined to break the tribe's resistance and end its continual brigandage. It is also quite possible that he held the tribesmen responsible for the massive theft of Darius' Nisaean horse herd, whose numbers had diminished from the 150000 known to have existed during Darius' reign to only 50000 during Alexander's campaign (Ashley 2004: 355).

But who were the tribesmen close to Nisaean Plain? The discovery of Nisaean Plain's location can help us to identification these looter neighbours. It seems the Nisaean Plain was neighbouring the Cossaean's land, which is what makes the recent hypothesis more plausible. Information regarding the plain can give us some direction. In two episodes, Herodotus pointed to the Median horse called Nisaean breed:

> *[…]In India, which, as I observed lately, is the furthest region of the inhabited world towards the east, all the four-footed beasts and the birds are very much bigger than those found elsewhere, except only the horses, which are surpassed by the Median breed called the Nisaean […] (Herod.3. 106).*
>
> *[…] In front of the king went first a thousand horsemen, picked men of the Persian nation – then spearmen a thousand, likewise chosen troops, with their*

[36] If he established the cities, they had a short life. However, we do not have found the remains of the cities he founded for Cossaeans, if he constructed the cities more archaeological excavations can brighten it to light it in the future.

spearheads pointing towards the ground - next ten of the sacred horses called Nisaean, all daintily caparisoned. Now, these horses are called Nisaean, because they come from the Nisaean plain, a vast flat in Media, producing horses of unusual size […] (Herod.7. 40).

Arrian narrated the situation of Nisaean Plain as follows:

[…] In this journey (the march from Opis to Media) Alexander is said to have seen the plain which was devoted to the royal mares. Herodotus says that the plain itself was named Nisaean, and that the mares were called Nisaean; adding that in olden times there were 150,000 of these horses. But at this time Alexander found not many above 50,000; for most of them had been carried off by robbers […] (Arr. Anab.7.13.2-3).

[…] The country (Armenia) is so very good for "horse-pasturing," not even inferior to Media, that the Nesaean horses, which were used by the Persian kings, are also bred there […] (Strab.Geog.11.14.9)

Diodorus more in details reported us concerning Nisaean Plain:

[…] After a stay of some days he resumed his march at length and diverging from the main road for the purpose of sight-seeing he entered the region called Bagistanê, a magnificent country covered with fruit trees and rich in everything which makes for good living. Next, he came to a land which could support enormous herds of horses, where of old they say that there were one hundred and sixty thousand horses grazing, but at the time of Alexander's visit there were counted only sixty thousand. After a stay of thirty days he resumed the march and on the seventh day came to Ecbatana of Media […] (Diod.17.110.5-6)

All four historians provide interesting details about the location of Nisaean Plain. According to historians, it seems not to have been difficult to identify the Nisaean Plain. It should be in an area between Mesopotamia and Media, on the way of Alexander. Moreover, Diodorus mentioned the location of Nisaean Plain after Baghestan (Bisotun in Kermanshah) and before Media. For the localization of Nisaean Plain, we have to keep in mind in the north of Garrin and Oshtoran Kouh Mountains, two high mountains on the north and east of

Luristan, there are main plains of Nahavand and Silakhor which thus stretch in a continuous line from one point to another along the southern frontiers of Media. Alexander probably visited the westernmost of these pastures which stretch from Bisotun to Esfahan along with the mountain range; that is exactly north, northeast and east of Luristan. Thus it is feasible that Alexander attacked Cossaeans who were the robbers in the vicinity of Nisaean Plain (Hadipour & Sodaei 2019).

The Cossaeans appeared a while after their subjugation and concerning Peucestas' Persian army. Peucestas was a trusted candidate for Alexander for the satrap of Persis (Wiesehofer 1994, 45-49). Alexander appointed him as the "viceroy of Persis". He probably was the most powerful satrap in Iran. He gained the support of native Iranian populations. Ostentatiously supported by the king, Peucestas quickly won recognition among the Persians for holding their tradition above Macedonian ones. He learned to speak Persian, wore Persian dress, and in all matters followed Persians' ways (Arr. Anab. 6.30.3; 7.6.3; Diod. 19.14.5).

A passage of Anabasis of Arrian follows the Cossaeans presence among the Persian army:

> *When Alexander returned to Babylon(after Cossaeans' subjugation) he found that Peucestas had arrived from Persis, bringing with him 20,000 Persians, as well as many Cossaeans*[37] *and Tapurians, because these races were reported to be the most warlike of those bordering on Persis […] (Arr.Anab.7.23.)*

Diodorus gives us the same narrative, but he did not mention Cossaeans among the Peucestas' Persian army:

> *In this year Alexander secured replacements from the Persians equal to the number of these soldiers whom he had release, and assigned a thousand of them to the bodyguards. Stationed at the court. In all respects, he showed the same*

[37] According to Nearchus, the Cossaeans were capable of mobilizing a force up to about 13000 archers (Nearchus. FGH 133 F 1c).

confidence in them as in the Macedonians. At this time Peucestas arrived with twenty thousand Persian bowmen and slingers […] (Diod.17.110.2).

The passage of Diodorus referred to the Peucestas' arrival in Susa. Arrian has mentioned Peucestas arrived in Babylonia. It is probable Arrian's passage is more reliable and Diodorus wrongly assigned to Susa. Since the presence of Cossaeans among the Persian army, they were brought by Peucestas, were after their subjugation by Alexander. So far the evidence has indicated that Alexander kept Iranians and Macedonians in both cavalry and infantry and that he used the two races to counterbalance each other. However, in this case, he combined the force of Persians and Macedonians. Shortly before Alexander's death, Peucestas arrived in Babylon with a force of 20,000 Persians, reinforced with mountaineers from the Zagros and Alborz (Bosworth 1980: 18). Recruiting Persians by Alexander may be concerning Greek and Macedonian veterans and mercenaries who were returning to their homes in 324 and 323 BC. This implies that Alexander was thinking of leaving a moderate departure of Craterus' veterans, an army comprising 13000 infantry and 2000 cavalry. There is no statement of how many Macedonian remained in Asia, but what is sure the number of Iranian was raised in the army of Alexander (Diod.17.109.1; Diod.18. 16.4; Arr. Anab.7. 12.1; Thompson 1984; Bosworth 1980: 19). He must have selected Iranian tribes with a high reputation for their warlike qualities, such as Cossaeans. According to Diodorus, Alexander in forty days at most had conquered Cossaeans. This is probable that he saw the ability of Cossaeans for war, so he accepted them as his new soldiers in his army when Peucestas with Cossaeans arrived in Babylonia in the early of 323 BC.

But Both Arrian and Diodorus agree in distributing the Persian soldiers by Alexander.

According to Diodorus:

[…] Alexander placed these in units with his other soldiers, and by the novelty of this innovation created a force blended and adjusted to his own idea […] (Diod.17.110.2).

Relying on Arrian if Cossaeans, indeed, were among the Peucestas' army, Alexander distributed them among the Macedonian ranks, and he paid them as soldiers.

[…] He (Alexander) distributed these foreign soldiers among the Macedonian ranks in the following way. Each company was led by a Macedonian decurion, and next to him was a Macedonian receiving double pay for distinguished valour; and then came one who received ten staters, who was so named from the pay he received, being less than that received by the man with double pay, but more than that of the men who were serving as soldiers without holding a position of honour. Next to these came twelve Persians[38], and last in the company another Macedonian, who also received the pay of ten staters; so that in each company there were twelve Persians and four Macedonians three of whom received higher pay, and the fourth was in command of the company. The Macedonians were armed in their hereditary manner; but of the Persians some were archers, while others had javelins furnished with straps, by which they were held […] (Arr.Anab.7.23).

The details of this reorganisation are given, for once, and they are interesting. The number of Persian in the army of Alexander now has been raised. This new composite infantry was organised into files of sixteen, twelve Persians to four Macedonians. Each file was commanded by a Macedonian, backed by two other Macedonians in second and third place.

[38] Clandestine excavation is the biggest problem of Luristan's archaeology. Many arrested people, who found and sold the coins of Alexander, claimed they smuggled Alexander's stater, tetradrachms and even decadrachm (personal communication with Luristan Cultural Heritage Organization). Unfortunately, proving the presence of such Alexander's in Luristan is not simple. We, except several tetradrachms, do not have any stater or decadrachm of Alexander at the collection of Falak-ol-Aflak Museum.

The Persians then filled out the centre of the phalanx and a Macedonian brought up the rear. But it did not take much time and after several months Alexander died (Bosworth 1980: 19).

2-5-3- Luristan at the time of Diadochi

We do not know if the Cossaeans remained in the Macedonian army after the death of Alexander; and if they remained how long they participate in the Macedonian military and if they obey one of Alexander's successors.

After the death of Alexander the Great in June 323 BC, his generals and member of his royal family fought for several decades to acquire control of Alexander's empire. After the murder of Perdiccas in 321 BC the regent of Alexander, a conflict broke out between Antigonus and Eumenes of Cardia. Eumenes, as Perdiccas, followed the unity of Empire under the legitimate king Philip III; while Antigonus supported the idea of the tripartition of Empire under his control (Anson 2015).

Arrian argues Peucestas gathered a Persian army for Alexander. He was responsible for recruitment for Alexander's new army. Peucestas was respectful among the Persians. He had held the satrapy of Persia for many years and had gained great favour with the inhabitants. Probably his influence among Persians had a significant role for the enlistment of Persians. It might be considered the Persians and the Cossaeans as well, left the army or joint Peucestas after the death of Alexander. Alexander forced Cossaeans to submit several months before his death. The subjugation of Alexander, however, was not well received by the Cossaeans. Perhaps after the death of Alexander, even before, they came back to their mountainous life. Their dissatisfaction was still evident when Antigonus entered the area in c.316 BC. We do not hear about Cossaeans until Antigonus met them before the Battle of Gabiene.

In c.316 BC, Antigonus by the support of Peithon and Seleucus, the satrap of Media and Babylonia, conquered Susa and proceeded toward Persis. However, the march of his army

was stopped by Eumenes and Antigonus was forced to retreat; then he decided to move to Ecbatana in Media.

Less than 10 years after the Cossaean subjugation by Alexander we again encounter Cossaeans when Antigonus decided to proceed north of Ecbatana. There were two routes from his current location to his destination. One route was along a royal road, but was a forty-day journey through the hot plain; the other was short and cool, but mountainous and through territory occupied by the hostile Cossaeans. Antigonus choose the more direct route through the mountains (fig.11). It was not easy for an army to proceed, however, without the consent of the Cossaeans (Diod.19.19.3). In continue Diodorus explained the events during the Battles with Cossaeans:

> *[…] As for the troops led by Antigonus, whenever they came to these difficult passes, they fell into dangers in which no aid could reach them. For the natives, who were familiar with the region and had occupied the heights in advance, kept rolling great rocks in quick succession upon the marching troops; and at the same time, sending arrows thick and fast, they wounded men who were able neither to turn aside the missiles nor to avoid them because of the difficulties of the terrain. Since the road was precipitous and nearly impassable, the elephants, the cavalry, and even the heavy armed soldiers found themselves forced at the same time to face death and to toil hard, without being able to help them. Caught in such toils, Antigonus regretted that he had not heeded Pithon when he advised him to purchase the right of passage with money; nevertheless, after losing many men and endangering the entire undertaking, he came with difficulty on the ninth day safe into the settled part of Media (Diod.19.19.6- 8).*

This passage confirmed the Cossaeans were not on the side of Antigonus. The satraps of Persia and the Persians were besides Eumenes. Antigonus was alone in the land of Iranians, except in Media and Babylonia on behalf of their satraps; he had to be cautious during his march toward Eumenes. He could not march through the inhabited country because the route was long and easily observed by the enemy[39] (Diod.19.37.2).

2-5-4- Luristan during the Seleucid Period

Unfortunately, considering the small number of written sources concerning the Seleucid East, not much is known about the Seleucid rule in Central Asia. Although Seleucus, Alexander's generals, in 312 BC create an empire extended from most of the Near Eastern to the Asian territories of the Persian Empire, we do not hear Cossaeans during his reign.

It is not certain whether the Seleucids ever exercised full control over the area, or even wished to do so, given its relative economic unimportance, as long as the roads remained open and contingents of tribesmen could be called upon to serve in the royal army when required (Aperghis 2004: 41). Seleucus took control over the Persis and Media. Thus, by taking control of the west of Iran, he extends his authority to the Zagros Mountains region and its inhabitants. It is probable that the arrangement under the Achaemenid was probably confirmed by the Seleucid kings (Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993: 17). Since, it was the western Iranians who made up the core of Seleucus' troops. Seleucus too gained military and political success. One of the main reasons for the military and political success of Seleucus was his ability to find common ground with the native people (Olbrycht 2013: 168). His Iranian force enabled him to dislodge Antigonus' and Demetrius' armies from Babylonia- one of the most unexpected victories of the period. It can be safely assumed that

[39] Although he took the journey through the waterless desert Iranians who lived near the desert saw his army movement and sent men to report it on the same day to Eumenes and Peucestas (Diod.19.37.6).

Seleucus could recruit at least 35000 western Iranians, including superior cavalry, excellent light infantry (archers and slingers), and pantodapoi (phalanx soldiers) (Olbrycht 2013: 169). Grainger, according to the Babylonian texts, believed that by 311/310 BC Seleucus was negotiating with the Cossaeans[40], for the right to march through their territory from Susiana into Media. In 311 B.C, Seleucus attacked Nicanor, the satrap of Media. Nicanor escaped and Seleucus thereupon recruited Nicanor's troops as many as possible into his own army[41] (Grainger 2014b). Median army dislikes Antigonus and no doubt Seleucus knew of their attitude towards Antigonus, who, not for the first or last time in his career, was shown to be unpopular with his own troops (Diod.19.92.3–5; App.Syr. 55). The Median army contained many soldiers from four famous warrior tribes. Cossaean was one of these tribe. It is not strange if we considered them among Median troops that Seleucus recruited. Thus we can consider Seleucus may have received help from Cossaeans in 311 BC., during Antigonus' invasion to Babylonia, (Grainger 2014a) however; it did not register in historical books.

Throughout the Seleucid period, there are only two episodes regarding Cossaeans (Cissians). Both episodes occurred during the reign of Antiochus III. The first when Antiochus III faced the revolt of Molon, satrap of Media. We know little in detail about the principality Molon organized (c.222 B.C), as our sources are Mediterranean-centered, and therefore less cognizant of or concerned with the regions further east. The Median and Persian lands sustained this rebel. Control of this country gave Molon plenty of supplies to support the considerable army he had brought out of the Media. The soldier-settlers of Media, presumably bolstered by those of Persia, gave him something of a phalanx, and his Iranian subjects provided numbers of the best horsemen (Roberts & Bennett 2012).

[40] Cossaeans called by the Babylonian Chronicler by the old name of 'Guti' (Grayson, 10, rev. 9–12).

[41] They encountered more than a time in the battlefield and Seleucus was the victorious Satrap. Seleucus recruited Median troops at least two times during the battles.

Polybius narrated the Cissaious or Cassious during the rebel of Molon:

> *[…] range which has an ascent of a hundred stades, and consisting as it does of different branches meeting at various points, contains in the intervals depressions and deep valleys inhabited by the Cossaei, Corbrenae, Carchi and other barbarous tribes with a high reputation for their warlike qualities […] (Polyb.5.44.7).*

As Molon crossed the Zagros he also recruited the savage tribesman of these rugged mountains. The Cossaeans, who has troubled both Alexander and Antigonus the one-eyed in their time, the Corbrenae and the Carchi were some of these; all of whom are known as exceptional warriors with such martial resources and his enemies handing him the initiative, Molon took the advantage, moving towards the eastern capital of the Seleucid kingdom (Roberts and Bennett 2012).

Polybius in another part of his Histories two times mentioned Cossaeans (Cissians) among the army of Antiochus III during the battle of Raphia:

> *[…] There were Agrianian and Persian bowmen and slingers to the number of two thousand and with the two thousand Thracians, all under the command of Menedemus of Alabanda. Aspasianus the Mede had under him a force of about five thousand Medes, Cissians, Cadusians, and Carmanians […] (Polyb.5.79).*

A passage of Polybius is the only post-Alexander reference to Cissians which does not go back to Herodotus. These narrate were the last hints which referred to The Cossaeans (Cissians):

> *[…] On his (Antiochus) extreme left wing he posted two thousand horse under the command of Themison, next to these the Gardacian and Lydian javelineers, then three thousand light-armed troops under Menedemus, after these the Cissians, Medes, and Carmanians, and finally, in contact with the phalanx, the Arabs and neighbouring tribes (Polyb.5. 82.9-12).*

Seleucid Luristan remains an almost obscure region today; the literary and archaeological sources are poor to trace the history of this area. Probably, Cossaeans played their role as warlike people during the Seleucid Period as Achaemenid and Diadochi periods.

CHAPTER 3: KINGS, RULERS, AND USURPERS

By Alexander's conquest, the history of Iran and Macedonian followed the events of Macedonian campaigns to Iran. The details of the campaigns are complex and frequently unclear. Although Alexander's campaign was extensively reported by his courtiers and peers (including Ptolemy I of Egypt), book 17 of Diodorus Siculus' "Bibliotheca" is our earlier narrator. Arrian seven-volume "Anabasis", and his "Indica", Plutarch's Life of Alexander, Quintus Curtius Rufus' ten-volume history, Strabo's "Geography", books 15-18, Pliny's "Natural History", Polybius' Histories and Justin's "Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus", books 11-12 are other sources regarding Alexander life and the historical events during his campaign.

Books 18–20 of Diodorus Siculus are a very important source of information for the chronology and history of Diadochi. It considered the most complete extant account of the years 323-301 BC. Plutarch's relevant Parallel Lives, and Arrian's Events after Alexander are another literary accounts we do have for the Successors. Outside of the Greek and Roman

sources, the Babylonian astronomical diaries provide some scatter information regarding Alexander's time, Diadochi and the Seleucid kings in Babylonia.

3-1- Alexander the Great

After submitting and defeating the Thracians and Illyrians, in autumn 335 BC, Alexander of Macedon prepared his army for the invasion of Persia (Tarn 1933: 357). Alexander appointed Antipater as the regent of Macedon in his absence in 334 BC, and crossed the Hellespont and began his invasion of the massive Persian Empire[42]. He swept along the entire east Mediterranean coastline of the Achaemenid Empire, from Hellespontine Phrygia to Egypt (Diod.17.17.1; Kosmin 2013: 672). At this point in Persian territory, Alexander's conquest falls into three main battles that led to defeating the Achaemenids. Alexander faced the Persians on the banks of the River Granicus as the first encounter in 334 BC; the battle ends with the victory of Macedonians (Diod.17.17.1- 17.21.6; Arr.Anab.13-16; Plut.Alex.16.1-11). Alexander continued his campaigns in western Asia Minor; many states came over voluntarily, while others were prevented by the presence of Persian forces from declaring for the Macedonian conqueror except Mithrenes, the hyparchos of Sardis, who surrendered the city despite its superb natural defenses (Briant 1993: 14–17; Heckel 2008: 564). In 324 BC, Alexander paid his attention to Miletus and Halicarnassus, the largest city in Caria, where resistance continued; finally, he seized both cities and gained the control of

[42] This campaign was a continuation of the initiative launched in spring 336 but postponed by Philip's murder and the unrest in Greece (Heckel 2008: 563). The army that crossed the Hellespont comprised 12,000 Macedonian heavy infantry, along with 7,000 allies and 5,000 mercenaries; the light infantry was supplied by Odrysians, Thracians and Illyrians (to the number of 7000 as well as thousand archers and the Agrianes) for a total of 32000. There were eighteen hundreds Of Macedonians cavalry, commanded by Philotas son of Parmenion; eighteen hundred Thessalians, commanded by Callas son of Harpalus; six hundred from the rest of Greece under the command of Erigyius; and nine hundred Thracian and Paeonian scouts with Cassander in command, making a total of forty-five hundred cavalries (Diod.17.17.3–4); but other estimates range from 34,000 to 48,000 in all).

Caria[43] (Diod.17.22-24; Plutarch, Alexander, 17.1; Arrian, 1.18-23; Fuller 1960: 200–6; Romane 1994: 69–75). Over the winter of 334/3 BC, Alexander campaigned in Lycia and Pamphylia to gain command of the coast-land, and by that means to render the enemy's fleet useless (Diod.17.27.6; Arr.Anab.1.24). In 333 BC, he advanced the great Phrygia. Alexander, after seizing the Phrygia, appointed Antigonus Monophtalmus (the "One-Eyed") [44] viceroy of Phrygia and then directed his march to Gordian[45]. In 333 BC, the Macedonian army moved towards Cappadocia. He subjugated all that part of it which lies on this side of the river Halys and much of that which lies beyond it. Having appointed Sabiotas viceroy of Cappadocia, he advanced to the Gates of Cilicia (Arr.Anab.2.4, Curt.3.11). By now, Darius marched out of Babylon in the direction of Cilicia (Diod.17.31.2). Alexander met Persians on the Gulf of Issus in 333 BC. Alexander broke the Persian line and advanced directly upon Darius. Darius escaped to Mesopotamia, intent upon saving the heart of the empire and rebuilding his army (Seibert 1987: 450–1). Alexander occupied Issus and the family of Darius was captured (Diod.17.32.4-36-2; Curt.3. 27; Arr.Anab.2.7-10). Alexander in continues of his campaigns siege Tyre[46], 322 BC, for seven months and finally captured it[47]. The siege and capture of Tyre were one of the king's greatest achievements (Diod.17.46.5; Arr.Anab.2.19-24; Plut.Alex.24.3; Heckel 2008: 566). In the same year, he advanced to the south of Gaze. He sieged and captured Gaze in two months. Gaza represented the final

[43] Arrian mentioned that Alexander sent Parmenio to Sardis. He ordered him to take the wagons to Sardis and to advance from that place into Phrygia (Arr.Anab.1.24).

[44] Antigonus, called the One-eyed, was the father of Demetrius Poliorcetes. On the division of Alexander's Empire, he received Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphylia (for Antigonus see this chapter: 3-1-Alexander's Successors).

[45] Gordian is in the Phrygia which lies near the Hellespont and is situated upon the river Sangarius, which takes its rise in Phrygia (Arr.Anab.1.29).

[46] The chief cities of Phoenicia were Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Byhlus, Berytus, Tripolis, and Ake or Ptolemais.

[47] After the capture of Tyre Darius offered one of his daughters and all the territory west of the Halys River or sharing his kingdom (Just. 11.12.3-4;Curt, 4.5.1-8).

obstacle to the Macedonian strategy (Curt.4.6.7-30; Arr.2.25-27; Plut.Alex.25.3-4; Diod.17.46.5, 17.48.7).

In 322 BC, following his campaign, Alexander moved toward Egypt. In Egypt, the Macedonian army faced no resistance, since Persian authority in the satrapy had collapsed[48]. Egyptians welcomed Alexander as liberator and Alexander recognized as Pharaoh of Egypt. In 331 BC, Alexander found a great city, named Alexandria (Diod.17.49.2, 17.52.1; Curt. 4.7.1- 4.8.1-6; Arr.Anab.3.1-2; Plut.Alex.26.2-6; Briant 2002: 861; Burstein 1991).

In 331 BC, Darius and his army left Babylon and crossing it south of Arbela, and then encamped near to Gaugamela.[49] In the beginning, the Persians had some successes but in the end, Darius turns and flee[50] (Arr. Anab.3.11-14; Curt.4.58-59; Diod.17.60.1-4). By the victory at Gaugamela, Alexander gained the heart of the empire and the Achaemenid capitals.

Alexander advanced straight towards Babylon after the battle. Mazaeus, who fled to Babylon, now surrendered the city and its treasures to Alexander. Mazaeus was confirmed as satrap in conjunction with a Macedonian troop commander[51]. He then marched away to Susa. In twenty days the king arrived at Susa[52] (Arr.Anab.16; Diod.17.64.5;17.67.1). In Susa, Alexander confirmed the Persian satrap Abulites, as viceroy of Susiana and Xenophilos, Macedonian, as commander of the garrison in the citadel of Susa (Arr.Anab.16;

[48] Since the Persians had committed impieties against the temples and had governed harshly, the Egyptians welcomed the Macedonians.

49 Alexander made across northern Mesopotamia toward the Tigris. Darius sent Mazaeus with about 3,000 cavalries, 2,000 of which were Grecian mercenaries to march up the Tigris to oppose Alexander (Arr.Anab.3.6-7). Alexander proceeded directly to Babylon.

[50] Immediately after the battle, Darius marched through the mountains of Armenia towards Media, accompanied in his flight by the Bactrian cavalry for this reason, because he thought Alexander would take the road to Susa and Babylon immediately after the battle (Arr.Anab.16).

[51] Alexander appointed Mazaeus viceroy of the Babylonians, Apollodorus the Amphipolitan general of the soldiers who were left behind with Mazaeus, and Asolepiodorus, son of Philo, collector of the revenue (Arr.Anab.16). Mazaeus, According to numismatic evidence, quite exceptionally was granted by Alexander the right to coin.

[52] In Susa, Alexander took possession of the money, which amounted to 50,000 talents, as well as the rest of the royal property.

Heckel 2002). Then he advanced to Persepolis. On his way, Alexander subjugated the Uxian[53] tribe and defeated Ariobarzanes[54], the viceroy of Persis, and successfully passed the Persian Gates and arrived in Persepolis in 331 BC (Arr.Anab.17-18; Diod.17.67.4-5, 17.68). He captured the money which was at Pasargad in the treasury of the first Cyrus, and appointed Phrasaortes viceroy over the Persians (Diod.17.71.5; Arr.Anab.3.18; Plut.Alex.38; Curt.5.7.1-9).

In spring 330 BC, Alexander marched north into Media and occupied its capital. Darius retreat to Central Asia through Caspian Gates in 330 BC. Alexander appointed governor of Media and was in charge of the royal treasures in Ecbatana, amounting to one hundred and eighty thousand talents (Diod.17.80.3; Arr.Anab.3.19).

Alexander marched against Darius but the Persian king had not authority for setting a battle against Alexander. Many of those who were Darius' companions surrendered to Alexander. Bessus, the satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana, Nabarzanes and Barsaentes, satrap of Arachotia and Drangiana, arrested Darius and put their king in death in 330 BC[55] (Arr.Anab.3.20-21; Diod.17.73.1-4; Curt.5.8.3). By the death of Darius, no obstacle left to Alexander's claim to be the Great King. He advanced into Hyrcania and acquired Hyrcania and the tribes which were its neighbours in 330 BC (Diod.17.75.1; 76.1; Arr.Anab.3.23.7-9; Curt.6.6-10; 6.8-14). He then marched forward against the Mardians and subjugated them, and then he appointed Autophradates as viceroy over Mardians. He, then, marched to Zadracarta[56], the seat of the Hyrcanian government. After which he began his march towards Parthia. He captured Areia,

[53] During his campaign, Alexander faced brigandage of the mountain-dwelling who lived in Zagros Mountains Chains, such as Uxians, Mardians, and Cossaeans. Alexander subjugated all of them. Diodorus, Arrian and Strabo dedicated several passages regarding these tribes (Strab.Geog.11.13.6; Arr. Ind. 40.6-8). For Cossaeans' subjugation see chapter 2.

[54] According to Arrian, Darius dead in July 330 B.C. (Arr.Anab.3.22); Bosworth argues that the event happens in August (Bosworth 1980).

[55] He offered sacrifice to the gods according to his custom and celebrated a gymnastic contest (Arr.Anab.3.25).

Susia[57] and Satibarzanes[58]. Here, Alexander, now the Persian "King of Kings", starts acting as a great king; he adopted Persian dress and mannerisms (Arr.Anab.3.24-25; Curt.6.16-17; Diod.17.76.3).

In the winter of 330 BC, Alexander marched to Drangiana[59] and then toward Arachosia. In this city, the king founded yet another Alexandria (Heckel 2008: 572). Alexander advanced his army towards Mount Caucasus. The Macedonians then entered Bactria[60]. Bessus was now in Bactria, he was arrested and Alexander sent him back to Ecbatana, where he was executed [61] (Arr.Anab.3.29-30; Diod.17.83.1-9).

In 329 BC, Alexander campaign to Maracanda and the Iaxartes. There he established Alexandria Eschate[62], to replace the old outpost of Cyroupolis, threatened the old patterns of life and trade in Sogdiana[63] (Holt 1988: 54–9). Meanwhile, Spitamenes had raised all Sogdiana in revolt behind him but the Macedonians were victorious, the Sogdians as well as most of the Bactrians, deserted Spitamenes in the flight and finally the Scythians cut off the head of Spitamenes and sent it to Alexander in 328 BC (Arr.Anab.4.17). [64]

[57] Susia is the modem Tus.

[58] Not much later, Satibarzanes was killed in single combat with Erigyios.

[59] Alexander reduced Drangians and Gadrosians' to subjection on his march. He also reduced the Arachosians to subjection and appointed Menon viceroy over them (Arr.Anab.3.28).

[60] In the same year Alexander executed Philotas, the son of Parmenion, on a charge of treason. He too sent orders to Media for the assassination of Parmenion (Arr.Anab.3.26; Curt.6.25-44).

[61] After the assassination of Darius, Bessus proclaimed himself king but soon after he was arrested and put in death. Quintus Curtius Rufus, says he was crucified in the place where Darius had been killed, Arrian states that he was tortured and then decapitated in Ecbatana, and Plutarch suggests that he was torn apart in Bactria by recoiling trees after a Macedonian trial.

[62] Alexander founded numerous ‘cities’ throughout the east. Plutarch mentioned more than seventy cities, but many of these involved either the resettling of old cities or the establishment of military colonies (katoikiai), though some twelve to eighteen Alexandrias deserve serious attention (Fraser 1996; cf. Tarn 1997: 2 232–59).

[63] Hence the local dynasts, Spitamenes, Sisimithres, Oxyartes, Arimazes, took up the fight, and two years of guerrilla warfare followed before the political marriage of Alexander and Oxyartes’ daughter, Roxana, could bring stability to the region (Heckel 2008: 572).

[64] In a passage Curtius says that the wife of Spitamenes murdered him and carried his head to Alexander (Curt.8.11-12).

In 327 BC, Alexander advanced towards the rock in Sogdiana, to which he was informed many of the Sogdians had fled for refuge; but he captured the rock. Here, he married the daughter of Oxyartes (Arr.Anab.4.19).

In 327 BC, Alexander re-crossed the Hindu Kush and began his invasion of India[65]. In the spring of 326 BC, Alexander crossed the Indus. He gained control of the former Achaemenid satrapy of Gandhara, including the city of Taxila (Diod.17.86.4; Arr.Anab.4.22). Alexander advanced into Punjab, where he found himself in a battle against the regional king Porus (Tarn 2003: 92). In 326 BC., Alexander fought his last great battle on the left bank of the Hydaspes and the Macedonians defeated Porus. Alexander allowed Porus to continue governing his kingdom as a satrap and Porus became his ally (Diod.17.89.1-6; Arr.Anab.5.17-19; Connolly1981: 66). After his victory over the Indians, Alexander founded two cities (Strab.Geog.15.1.29; Arr.Anab.5.19; Diod.17.95.5). From this point, he turned back in 326 BC, and after passing Gedrosia[66], Cermania and Pasargad he returned to Susa in winter 325/4 BC.

During Alexander's campaigns in Central Asia and India, most of Persia faced with the disorder. A Median named Baryaxes had proclaimed himself king of the Medes and Persians; Cyrus the Great's mausoleum at Pasargad[67] and the Achaemenid royal tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam had been looted; the temple of Susiana and Persepolis were despoiled; Orxines, who traced his descent from Cyrus, from summary execution to rape, had gone unchecked (Arr.Anab.6.27-30; Diod.17.1084-6; Curt.10.1.1-5, 23, 30-5). On the other hand, Alexander's second, briefer visit opened with a bloody purge of Persian nobles and

[65] He invaded India with an army of from 27,000 to 30,000 men (Tarn 2003:84).

[66] Alexander's march through Gedrosia proved disastrous; waterless desert and shortage of food and fuel caused great suffering, and many, especially women and children, perished in a sudden monsoon flood while encamped in a wadi (Strab.Geog.15.2.6). According to Plutarch, during the 60 days march through the desert, Alexander lost three-quarters of his army to the harsh desert conditions along the way (Plut.Alex. 66.1-7).

[67] Alexander reverently repaired the tomb of Cyrus after his return in 325/4 BC (Arr.Anab.6.29; Curt.10.1.32).

governors convicted, whether correctly or not, of disloyalty (Arr.Anab.6.27; Plut.Alex.63.3-4; Curt.10.1.22-24). Greek and Macedonian with no connection to the land or its population were appointed in place of Persian satraps. But, in the same year, Alexander publicly expresses regret for his burning of Persepolis (Arr. Anab.6; Curt.5.7.11).

In 324 BC, Alexander as master of the largest empire the ancient world returned to Susa. He conducted in the Persian manner a mass wedding of Macedonian officers to noble Iranian women at Susa. His bride in this wedding was Darius daughters, Stateira (Arr.Anab.7; Plut.Alex.70.3; Diod.17.107.6).

In Susa, Alexander received thirty thousand Persians (Diod.17.108.1; Arr.Anab.7.6; Plut.Alex.71.1-4; Curt. 8.5.1). In the same year, Alexander had proclaimed that all exiles should return to their cities, at the Olympic festival, and paying off of his soldier's debt (Diod.17.109.1-2, 18.8.2-6; Curt.10.2.4-7; Just.13.5.2-5; Zahrnt 2003). After this, he marched with his army from Susa crossed the Tigris in his way he visited the Nisaean plain and then arrived in Ecbatana. In Ecbatana he refreshed his army and staged a dramatic festival, accompanied by constant drinking parties among his friends. In the course of these, Hephaestion, Alexander's closest friend, drank very much, fell ill, and died (Strab.Geog. 11.13.6, 11.14.9; Diod.17.110.3-7; Arr. Anab.7.13-14). Alexander and his army left Ecbatana in the winter of 324/3 BC, toward Cossaean's land[68]. Alexander completed his conquest of the Cossaeans in forty days and Cossaeans finally surrendered to Alexander[69] (Arr.Anab. 7.15; Diod.17.111.4-6). Probably Cossaeans was the last Iranian Mountain-dwelling who Alexander subjugated them. In early 323 BC, after the conclusion of his war with the Cossaeans, Alexander turned his thoughts to funeral monuments, a hero-cult for

[68] Plutarch can represent the episode as mass slaughter, a blood offering at the tomb of Hephaestion. He slaughtered Cossaeans all from the youth upwards and the campaign is described as a royal hunt, with human quarry. (Plut.Alex.72.4).

[69] For his battle with the Cossaeans see chapter 2.

Hephaestion, and a demand for his divine recognition (Habicht 1970: 28–36). So, he set his army in motion and marched towards Babylon. As he was entering Babylon, Peucestas had arrived from Persis, bringing with him 20,000 Persians, as well as many Cossaeans and Tapurians[70] (Arr.Anab.7.19-20, 23; Plut.Alex.73.1; Diod.17.112.1). In June 323 BC, Alexander, in the meantime was preparing his army for his next anabasis to Arabia, died of illness in Babylon.[71] He died after having reign just over twelve and a half years without designating an heir.

3-2- Alexander's Successors

When Alexander died at Babylon in summer 323 BC, there was no heir and no obvious successor. For most of his decade in Asia, Alexander had been a conqueror on the move, with limited opportunity for a meaningful reconfiguration of Iranian landscapes, society, language, or material culture. Although it had been said he founded many cities, no colonies were founded in Persia (Kosmin 2013: 676). Alexander failed as an empire builder because he neglected to create a central power base for his kingdom and because of his physical absence from potential power centres. Thus, the division of his empire after his death was the inevitable result of his actions (Bosworth 2002).

Within months two major revolts against the Macedonian hegemony would erupt in opposite corners of the empire: Greek mercenaries garrisoned in Bactria would attempt to march back to Europe, and the Athenians tried again to shake off the Macedonian yoke from Greece in the revolt which became known as the Lamian War[72]. A constitutional crisis

[70] Because these races were reported to be the most warlike of those bordering on Persis.

[71] Astronomical diaries noted of Alexander's death in Babylon. It confirms the exact date of his death on June 10/11 323 BC. The tablet is kept at the British Museum (Museum number 45962, found in Babylon): https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1881-0706-403 (van der Spek 1993).

[72] The war ended with the victory of Macedonian in 322 B.C.

ensued among the Macedonians, with no hope of an untroubled transmission of power[73] (Diod.17.99.5-6, 17.111, 18.8-19; Wheatley 2009:53; Errington 2011:16). After the death of Alexander, there were two candidates from his family; Arrhidaeus the brother of the dead king and Roxana's baby. Loyal commanders of Alexander and Persian satraps mainly Perdiccas, Peithon, Eumenes, Lysimachus, Leonnatus, Atropates and Phratapherenes did support the claim of Roxana's unborn child, Alexander IV, to the throne. Other officers, on the other hand, such as Ptolemy, Craterus, Seleucus, Neoptolemus, Polyperchon and Menander believed that Roxana's son would be unsuitable to rule a Greek kingdom. They supported Arrhidaeus or Heracles (son of Alexander) as the qualified successors of the king. Finally, Arrhidaeus became king under the name of Philip III, and Roxana's baby became King Alexander IV, and Perdiccas was appointed as the regent.[74]

Alexander who chooses the practice of the Persian Empire preferred to use satrapies in Iran. After him, during the Diadochi, Perdiccas do not try to change this solution[75] (Diod.18.3.1-5). Perdiccas had to confront some troubles as well. The first, regarding Arrhidaeus' marriage with Adea, the grandchild of Philip II, who after marriage she took her famous great-grandmother's name, Eurydice (Arr.Succ. 1.22-23). The couple from the royal house was a serious threat to his authority as the regent. The second was Antigonus Monophtalmus' disobedience. Antigonus, governor of Phrygia, had refused assistance to Perdiccas and Eumenes while they were operating in Cappadocia in 322 BC, and

[73] Books 18-20 of Diodorus Siculus is the most complete extant account of the years 323-301 B.C., for the Diadochi.

[74] Both Philip Ill and Alexander IV were recognized at Babylon as reigning between Alexander the Great and Seleucus I (Burstein 1978; Stopler 2006).

[75] Perdiccas gave Egypt to Ptolemy, Syria to Laomedon of Mitylenê, Cilicia to Philotas, and Media to Peithon. He gave Paphlagonia and Cappadocia and all the lands bordering on these to Eumenes; to Antigonus, he gave Pamphylia, Lycia, and what is called Great Phrygia; then to Asander, Caria; to Menander, Lydia; and to Leonnatus, Hellespontine Phrygia. Thrace and the neighbouring tribes near the Pontic Sea were given to Lysimachus, and Macedonia was assigned to Antipater. Perdiccas, however, decided not to disturb the remaining satrapies in Asia but to permit them to remain under the same rulers (as Porus); in his opinion, they should be masters of their kingdoms as Alexander himself had arranged (Diod.18.3.1-5; Curt.10.10.1-4).

alternatively, he abandoned his satrapy and joint Antipater and Craterus (Errington 2011: 19). Perdiccas had the absolute power, which is not in the favour of others. Antipater, Craterus, Antigonus and Ptolemy formed a coalition against him. The coalition led to the First War of Successors. In 321 BC, Perdiccas had decided not to allow Alexander's body to get into Ptolemy's hands. He decided to make a campaign against Egypt with most of the army. Perdiccas had been assassinated by his commanders at the Pelusiac branch of the Nile in 321 or 320 B.C[76]. He died because of inadequate leadership in the Egyptian campaign (Diod. 18.29.1, 33.1–36.5; Arr. Succ. 1.28–9; Just. 13.8.1–2; Plut.Eum.8.2–3; Strab.Geog.17.1.8).

In 320 BC, the generals of Alexander, after the death of Perdiccas, at the treaty of Triparadisus appointed Antipater as the regent and he, then, returned to Macedon with the kings; Antigonus became the General of Asia, Ptolemy remained as the satrap of Egypt and Seleucus, commander of royal cavalry, was appointed to govern the vastly populous and hugely wealthy satrapy of Babylonia. Antigenes, commander of the infantry guard unit, the "Silver Shield", was rewarded with the satrapy of Susa. Those who already possessed satraps, such as Peithon and Peucestas, were confirmed in post. In this way, the satraps who operated in the provinces of the empire all formally acknowledged their dependence and subordination to the Argead monarchy (Errington 2011: 21).

Less than a year Antipater died in 319 BC. Antipater appointed Polyperchon as the guardian of the kings and his successor. Polyperchon asked Olympia to assume the care of Alexander's son, who was still a child and to live in Macedonia with regal dignity. Appointing Polyperchon inflamed Cassander, the son of Antipater, who was a thirst for the regency. His coveted to regency originate the Second War of the Successors, between 319 -

[76] Perdicass sent Eumenes to the Hellespont to prevent Antipater and Craterus from crossing into Asia. Craterus was killed in the first confrontation with the army of Eumenes of Cardia. Antipater and Antigonus led part of the joint army and navy on towards Syria (Just. 13.8.1-9; Plutarch, Eum. 4-7).

316 BC. He established a coalition with Ptolemy and Antigonus against Polyperchon; and Polyperchon allied himself with Eumenes and placed Olympia in his side (Diod.18.47.4; 18.48.4; 18.49.4; Habicht 1988). Polyperchon supplied his manpower and income from the southern Greek cities[77], but he was not sure he would have their support, and since Antigonus supporting Cassander he could expect nothing from Asia.

Polyperchon decided to replace Antigonus with Eumenes. In this way, Eumenes could occupy Antigonus in Asia and at the same time far from Macedonia and Polyperchon. Due to Eumenes' activities in Asia, Polyperchon had some successes against Antigonus in Asia, what he couldn't gain in Europe. In 317 BC, his fleet was destroyed by Antigonus and Cassander arrived in Macedonia. Polyperchon fled to Epirus, where he joined Olympia, Roxana, and infant son Alexander IV. Cassander, alternatively, took the control of Philip Arrhidaeus and his wife Eurydice. An alliance formed between Olympia and Polyperchon. Olympia advanced an army to Macedon and she put Philip Arrhidaeus and his wife in death in the same year (Diod.19.11.1-8).

Eumenes went into the upper satrapies to gain access to regional treasuries and collected the satraps and their armies in Persia. Eumenes was successful in his mission he could collect money and men from the Iranians (Billows 19997: 85-88). But Antigonus was completely dependent on the financial resources of Asia; he could not allow Eumenes to cut him off from them. Eumenes, as Perdiccas, followed the unity of Empire under the legitimate king Philip III; while Antigonus supported this idea but for himself. Then the fire of battle set between Antigonus and Eumenes and Diadochi's war arrived in Iran. Two battles of Paraitecene and Gabiene between Antigonus[78] and Eumenes took place in Iran. It engaged

[77] Polyperchon proclaimed Greeks cities' freedom in this way he could control their cities.

[78] Peucestas who was the most powerful satrap in Iran refused an alliance with Antigonus during the two battles. His remarkable stance implies that he was a staunch defender of his Persian realm's interest (Olbrycht 2013: 166) but later, reasoning with himself, he admitted that should Antigonus be victorious the result would

Iranians on both sides of Eumenes and Antigonus (Diod.18.53, 58-59, 19.12-15; Plut.Eum.13; Schober 1981: 79-90; Bosworth 2002: 98-168; Anson 2004: 147-90). Antigonus, by the support of Peithon and Seleucus, the satrap of Media and Babylonia, conquered Susa and proceeded toward Persis. However, the march of his army was stopped by Eumenes and Antigonus was forced to retreat during the battle of Coprates (Diod.19.17.3, 19.18.2); then Antigonus decided to move to Ecbatana in Media. Antigonus choose the more direct route through the Cossaeans' land. Although it was not easy for an army to proceed, however, without the consent of the Cossaeans, Antigonus after losing many men he came with difficulty on safe into the settled part of Media (Diod.18.6-8, 19.19.3). In Ecbatana, he reorganized his army for the next confrontation. Two armies finally met in southern Media and fought the indecisive battle of Paraitacene in 316 BC. At the end of the Battle of Paraitacene, Antigonus claimed victory, even though he lost some 3,700 men, and a further 4,000 were wounded. Eumenes came off with a loss of only 540 men and some 1,000 injured (Diod.19.30.1, 19.31.5; Billows 1997: 95-98). Less than two months, the two diadochs met in Gabiene. During the battle, Antigonus dispatched the Median cavalry and an adequate force of Tarentines against the baggage of the enemy. They took the baggage, children, wives and many other relatives of Eumenes' army (Diod.19.42.1-3). This was the main reason for Macedonians at the army of Eumenes to betray their commander. They secretly entered into negotiations with Antigonus, seized and surrendered Eumenes, recovered their baggage and wives, and after receiving pledges were enrolled in Antigonus' army. In the same way, the satraps and most of the other commanders and soldiers deserted their general, thinking only of their safety. Antigonus put Eumenes to death in 316/315 BC; he deprived Peucestas of his satrapy (Diod.19.43.7-8,

be that he would lose his satrapy and also be in danger of his life, and he stayed in the side of Eumenes and supported him (Diod.19.17.5, 19.18.1).

19.44.2; Plut.Eum.17-19; Just.14.3-4). Antigonus was in Media in winter. He was informed that Peithon was winning the support of many of the soldiers in the winter quarters by promises and gifts and that he planned to revolt, he concealed his intentions and execute him. He appointed Orontobates, a Median, satrap of Media, but he made Hippostratus general with an infantry force of thirty-five hundred mercenaries (Diod.19.46.1-5).

In Europe, Cassander learned of the return of Olympia to Macedonia and the murder of Eurydice and King Philip. She also slew Nicanor, the brother of Cassander and eliminated some hundred prominent Macedonian who was in the side of Cassander. He returned from the Peloponnesus and captured Olympia and put her in death in 315 BC; he then took the widow of Alexander and her son Alexander IV[79] and immediately sent them to Amphipolis, where he was kept out of sight and under guard to prevent his becoming a focus for traditionalist opposition elements. Cassander had already married another daughter of Philip II, Thessalonica[80]. By marrying Thessalonica Cassander gave his regime a sort of legitimacy[81]. He had hopes of becoming king of the Macedonians. Cassander also excluded Alexander IV and his mother Roxana of their royal attendants and gave royal burials to Adea-Eurydice and Philip-Arrhidaeus (Diod.19.51.1-4, 19.52.1-4, 19.52.6; Just. 14.6.13; Hammond 1989).

[79] Polyperchon, giving up the cause of the kings as hopeless, fled to Aetolia, believing that he could wait there with the greatest safety and observe the changes in the situation. Later a friendship was established between Antigonus and Polyperchon. As a result, Polyperchon was appointed as the general of the Peloponnesus (Diod.19. 52.6, 19.60.1). Antigonus authorized him to bring back to his father's kingdom Heracles, the son of Alexander and Barsine. Cassander tired, by many great promises, to make a secret compact with Polyperchon. Finally, Polyperchon turned to Cassander and slain the young Heracles as Cassander requested (Diod.20.28.1-2).

[80] The sons of Cassander and Thessalonica would eventually hold the strongest legitimate claims to the Argead royal title, until 294, when Cassander's dynasty disappeared.

[81] When Philip III and Alexander IV had both been killed, in 317 and 309, and the Argead house had become extinct in the patriline, there was a possibility for each of the Successors to found an imperial dynasty of his own, preferably by marrying an heiress of Philip and thus bring his inheritance — the title King of the (Strootman 2013: 313).

Antigonus, after a shabby victory over Eumenes, became the undisputed master of all the Asian provinces and seems to have received royal honours from the inhabitations of Persis and he was already regarded as a king in the Iranian satrapies (Diod.19.48.1; 19.55.2; Bosworth 2002: 98-168; Kosmin 2013: 676; Wheatley 2009: 57). In 315 BC, he set out for Babylonia with the army. Seleucus feared that Antigonus would someday seize a pretext and undertake to destroy him so he escaped to Egypt. The ambitions of the Antigonus was always centripetal – to re-establish a centralized hegemony over the Greco-Persian possessions. Ptolemy Soter, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus formed a coalition against Antigonus and his ambitions which led to another Diadochi War (Diod.19.55.1-5; 19.57.1; App.Syr. 53). In 312 BC, Ptolemy and Seleucus advanced to Demetrius, son of Antigonus, they met in Gaza. Demetrius was defeated by the more experienced Ptolemy and Seleucus and lost many men and his elephants. Ptolemy sent off Seleucus with a small force of around 1,000 troops to Babylonia, his old province, in 312 BC (Diod.19.83.1-3, 19.86.1-5; Diod.19.90-91; Just.15.1.6-9; Plut.Dem.5; App.Syr.9.54). From 315 to 311 BC., five marshals had fought each other to exhaustion, and the only real winner was Seleucus, who had successfully retaken his satrapy of Babylonia in the aftermath of the battle of Gaza in 311 BC (Wheatley 2009: 57, Van der Spek 1992).[82]

With the strong support of the indigenous population[83], Seleucus faced down an eastern invasion from the Antigonus-aligned governors of western Iran and seized Susiana, Media and Persia (Diod.19.92. 1-5). Seleucus could capture eastern satrapies of the former

[82] The date was confirmed by Babylonian texts (see Van der Spek, R. J. (1992). Nippur, Sippar, and Larsa in the Hellenistic period. In Ellis ed. *Nippur at the Centennial*, 235-260; Stolper, M. W. (2006). *Iranica in post-Achaemenid Babylonian texts*. na.).

[83] Seleucus perhaps was most successful in gaining acceptance for this claim. One of the main reasons for the military and political success of Seleucus was his ability to find common ground with the native populations in Babylonia and Iran (Olbrycht 2013: 168). Seleucid universalistic propaganda resonates in Appian's account of the conquests of Seleucus: He conquered Mesopotamia, Armenia, Anatolia, the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Arabs, the Tapouri, the Sogdians, the Arachosians, the Hyrcanians, and all the other peoples that had before been conquered by Alexander, as far as the river Indus (App. *Syr*. 55).

Achaemenid Empire. He too had the support of the eastern aristocracies. His marriage to Apame, an Iranian princess from Sogdia, presumably helped to structure negotiations with these local aristocracies.

Antigonus had tried to extend his control beyond Asia Minor. In 311/310 BC, he concluded a treaty with Cassander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy[84], and Seleucus was left out of this treaty. Probably Antigonus was concluding a war against Seleucus. Since, during his campaign to the East, Seleucus was far from Babylon. Meanwhile, Antigonus tried to attack there.[85] Babylonian document refers to Antigonus's victory in 310/9 BC and his plundering of Babylon. It is probable that Seleucus had returned from Media and points further east to counter the invasion, although it is nowhere recorded that he had regained Babylon in the interval departure in 311 BC and Antigonus' arrival[86] (Diod.19.100.4-7; Smith 1925: 192-3, Wheatley 2002: 40-41; Geller 1990).

In 310 BC, Cassander had ordered the murder of Young Alexander IV and his mother Roxana, the widow of Alexander the Great. The kingdom of Macedonia was now without a king (Diod.19.105.3). After the death of Alexander IV, some changes happen. As long as Philip III and Alexander IV were alive the idea of the unity of the Argead Empire remained alive as well. Several generals, including Perdiccas, Craterus, and Leonnatus, aimed at usurping power over the whole, inter alia by contemplating marriage with one of Philip II's daughters. When Philip III and Alexander IV had both been killed, in 317 and 309, Antigonus aimed at gaining control of Alexander's Empire. But other Successors, Ptolemy,

[84] Seleucus was Ptolemy's protégé. The reason Ptolemy did not make peace in 311 till after Cassander and Lysimachus had done so was probably that he was trying to get terms for Seleucus But when he found Antigonus was invading Babylonia he had no option in honour but to declare war again (Smith 1925: 192-3).

[85] However the political situation of the early Hellenistic period is of course very different from the Seleucid period, the *Chronicle of the Successors* mentions satrapal troops from Babylonia, and royal troops are attested for Perdiccas in 320 BC, and Antigonus in 311 BC (Boiy 2010).

[86] Seleucus spent some time consolidating his hold on the satrapies to the east. He seems to have been absent during Demetrius's partial capture of Babylon in 311 and, indeed, may not have returned until shortly before Antigonus invaded (Wheatley 2002: 41).

Seleucus, Cassander and Lysimachus had more limited aims, they were trying to found an imperial dynasty of their own (Strootman 2013: 313).

Cassander, Lysimachus, Antigonus and Ptolemy wished to marry Cleopatra[87], Alexander's dynastically important sister, hoping that the Macedonians would follow the lead of this marriage, was seeking an alliance with the royal house in order thus to gain supreme power for himself; held in custody by Antigonus, became an even more attractive spouse than before. When she tried to escape to marry Ptolemy in 308 BC, Antigonus killed her in Sardis since he, who rose from private station to high power and became the mightiest king of his day, couldn't permit Ptolemy to create an alliance with the royal house and consequently to gain the control of the whole empire (Diod.20.37.4-6).

Seleucus, unlike Antigonus, showed much interest in the affairs of the East (Billows 1990, 159). Like Ptolemy, he was more concerned about Mediterranean affairs (Strootman 2013:317). From 310 to 308 BC, Seleucus successfully resisted renewed assaults on Babylonia by Antigonus and his son Demetrius. Then, c. 308-305/4 BC, he launched his long campaign to the east to subordinate the east Iranian and Central Asia provinces. He may have been welcomed as a bulwark against threats of nomadic form north (Tarn 1940: 91; Wolski 1960) or Mouryan expansion from the south (Capdetrey 2007: 44). In 305/4 BC, he moved to India and could set a peace treaty with Chandragupta, exchanging the most easterly satrapies of the Macedonian Empire for a force of five hundred war elephants for territorial concessions (Just.15.4.12, 20-21; App.Syr.55).

Since Antigonus lost the revenues from Babylonia and Iran, on behalf of Seleucus' successes, decided to seek a favourable alternative source of income. He paid his attention to Ptolemy's territories, and led to the Battle of Salamis, in 306 BC. The forces of

[87] In 326 BC, Cleopatra married Leonnatus (Plut.Eum. 3.5), and on his death in 322 BC, she took as her third husband Perdiccas who died in 321 B.C.

Antigonus, led by his son Demetrius, smashed the Ptolemaic fleet at Salamis and gained a decisive triumph. Ptolemy lost 120 warships and another 100 transports, in addition to several thousand soldiers captured or surrendered. All of Cyprus was lost, and Ptolemy returned ignominiously to Egypt (Plut.Dem.15.3., 15-16; Diod.20.47-53; Just.15.2.6; Seibert 1969: 190-206). Antigonids now deemed the time for assuming the royal title. Antigonus' basileia[88] signified his ambition to become the sole ruler of the empire (Hauben 1974: 105). Then Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Cassandra, and Agathokles too took the title of "basileus".[89] It was probably a reaction concerning the act of Antigonus. Diadochi would have to subject them to him lest they are regarded as usurpers or rebels (Diod.20.53; Plut.Dem.18; Muller 1973: 88-104). Among all, four, kings only Cassander could call himself "King of Macedonians". The loyalty and connections of Diadochs to the old ruling house, Argead house, remained an important claim throughout the period (O'Neil 2000: 120; Hauben & Meeus 2014: 3).

In 305/4 BC, Demetrius moved toward Caria and summoned the Rhodians for the war against Ptolemy. Demetrius besieges Rhodes, but he failed in his assaults by sea and King Ptolemy dispatched to the Rhodians a large number of supply ships in which were three hundred thousand measures of grain and legumes[90]. The Rhodians who, after they had been besieged for a year, brought the war to an end with the help and support of Ptolemy, declared Ptolemy a god for his part in the victory. Demetrius' attack on democratic Rhodes occupied him more than a year and brought him the ironic epithet "The Besieger"

[88] Gruen argued, the title of basileus as it was used by the Successors indeed carried no territorial or national meaning (Gruen 1985).

[89] It has long been known from Babylonian texts that 7 Seleucid Era (henceforward SE) S.E. - 305/304 B.C. is the Babylonian year when Seleucus officially became king. The date of his assassination fell in month VI of 3I S.E., between August 25 and September 24, 281 BC (Sachs & Wiseman 1954).

[90] Cassander also sent to the Rhodians ten thousand measures of barley, and Lysimachus sent them forty thousand measures of wheat and the same amount of barley (Diod.20.96.3).

(Poliorcetes), for the siege, was a strikingly waste of sources and time, and in the last resort a failure (Diod.20.46.6, 20.91.1; 20.96.1; 20.99.1-3, 20.99.1-3, Plut.Dem.21-22).

Nearly two years later after the siege of Rhodes, Demetrius turned to Cassander and Polyperchon territories in southern Greece. By 302 BC, Demetrius had freed many cities that he had took the initiative in organizing them into a common League[91], he believed that the freeing of the Greeks would bring him great honour. Now, most of the southern and central cities were on the side of Demetrius, thus he began his attack Cassander in Thessaly, much nearer home. In Thessaly, Demetrius received a message from Antigonus to take his army across into Asia as swiftly as possible. Before his departure, Demetrius agreed with Cassander; due to the conditions in the agreement that the Greek cities were to be free, not only those of Greece but also those of Asia (Diod.20.102.1- 4; 20.103. 1-7; 20.110.1-6; 20.111.1-3; Errington 2011:50).

The constant attacks of Antigonids to the territories of other kings, Cassander and Ptolemy, and their victories, terrified the kings, the successors. In 302 BC, Cassander invited Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy to a new coalition against the Antigonids. The Seleucus moved from Mesopotamia with his Iranian army and his Indian war elephants. Lysimachus and Cassander sent their troops across to Asia. Their united army met Antigonus and Demetrius at Ipsus in Phrygia in the summer of 301 BC. Cassander, Seleucus and Lysimachus defeated Antigonus and Demetrius[92]. The death of Antigonus, Demetrius' flee and division of his territories was the result of this battle (Diod.20.112-113). After the battle of Ipsus, Cyprus, the Aegean islands, and some harbour cities were all that remained of the

[91] His League was based on the Corinthian League which Philip II had formed after the battle of Chaironeia to fight the Persian War.

[92] During these same days King Ptolemy, setting out from Egypt and subjugated all the cities of Coelê-Syria, Ptolemy believed a false report that Lysimachus and Seleucus had been defeated at the battle of Ipsus and Antigonus was advancing with an army against Syria. Thus he secured with garrisons the cities that he had captured, and went back to Egypt with his army (Diod.20.113.1-2).

kingdom for Demetrius. But the rest of the dominions of Antigonus Monophtalmus were divided. Lysimachus took the western part of Asia Minor; Seleucus the remaining lands from Syria to Babylon. Pleistarchus, Cassander's brother, received a smaller territory in Cilicia, and Cassander retained Macedonia and what he could control of the rest of Greek Europe. Ptolemy, who did not participate in the battle, but by the absence of Antigonus attacked in Syria, conquered all the cities of Coelê-Syria (Diod.20.113.1).

The creation of four kingdoms was the consequence of the Ipsus Battle. The kingdom of Seleucus included all the countries of Asia from the frontiers of India to the Mediterranean littoral. The kingdom of Ptolemy I comprised Egypt and neighbouring regions. The kingdom of Cassander was Macedonia, most of Greece, and parts of Thrace. The kingdom of Lysimachus[93], the past bodyguard of Alexander, consisted of Lydia, Ionia, Phrygia, and other parts of present-day Turkey. After the Battle of Ipsus, Lysimachus too began building an empire. Before Ipsus, Lysimachus did not have a strong foundation for his claim to kingship other than the services he had rendered to Alexander during the Asian campaign[94] (Bosworth 2002: 274–8). He had gradually taken control of the area he had officially won in the war; however, he had some difficulties in some cities. The defeat of Antigonus seems to have satisfied the Coalition, and the Diadochi in the west returned to petty bickering among them (Wheatley 2009: 58).

Between June 323 BC and the death of Antigonus Monophtalmus (the "One-Eyed") at the battle of Ipsus in 301 BC, the Aegean world and beyond was a restless battlefield for the ambitions of the "diadochs" (De Callatay 2012: 179). Ipsus is often considered the definitive

[93] Lysimachus, even if he never put his portrait on his coin, provides another example of the kind of gradual typological changes that occurred during the diadochs' reigns. Although his reign started in 306 B.C., it was not before Ipsus that he added his badge, a minute lion's forepart, in the field of the reverse, and not before around 299/298 B.C. (De Callatay 2012: 181).

[94] That his kingship was accepted nonetheless shows once more how strong the effect of a connection to Alexander was (Bosworth 2002: 274–8).

end of any hopes to reunite Alexander's empire, but Demetrius still entertained such plans, and the Antigonid defeat can only have fired the ambitions of the others. Demetrius who escaped and lost severely the war was rejected by the Athenians; they even didn't admit him into their city. Demetrius didn't lose his hope and ambitions; in 299 BC, he formed a marriage alliance[95] with Seleucus. The alliance was an unexpected piece of good fortune for Demetrius, and then he made a friendship with Ptolemy (Plut.Dem.31-32). He also reconquered significant parts of Greece. Now Lysimachus became a serious opponent in Asia Minor since he had deprived Demetrius of his cities in Asia, and next, Ptolemy had taken Cyprus (Plut.Dem. 34.1-5, 35-3; Errington 2011: 56). After Cassander's death in 297 BC, a quarrel between his sons allowed Demetrius to gain Macedonia. But it didn't take much and he lost them again. Ptolemy captured Tyre and Sidon and recovered Cyprus from Demetrius, c.294 BC, while Lysimachus and Pyrrhos attacked Macedonia and Demetrius' Macedonian troops deserted him. Lysimachus and Pyrrhos, then, divided up Macedonia between themselves in 255/4 BC (PLut.Dem.36, 42-45; Just.16.2.1-4). Athenian rebelled against Demetrius' garrisons by the support of Ptolemy. Eventually, Demetrius was chased from Macedonia and left for Asia, 286 BC, and retreated to Miletus. Demetrius after all misfortune went to Seleucus and put himself at his disposal. Seleucus sent Demetrius to the Syrian Chersonese. Finally in 282 BC, Demetrius, after imprisonment of three years in the captivity of Seleucus in Syria and surfeit of food and wine, fell sick and died (Plut.Dem.49-52).

A year after the death of Demetrius, Lysimachus executed his son Agathocles, another of his sons, Alexander, fled to the court of Seleucus. Seleucus invaded Asia Minor in 282/1 BC, against Lysimachus. The campaign began when Seleucus left his base in Syria and crossed

[95] Lysimachus also was taking one of Ptolemy's daughters for himself and the other for, his son, Agathocles (plut.Dem.31.3).

the Taurus Mountains (Strabo 13.4.1). Seleucus marched to Couropedion and met the army of Lysimachus. Lysimachus was defeated and lost his life in battle (Just.17.2.4). It was the last battle between the Diadochi. Seleucus gained Asia Minor and the Macedonian kingship. Not long after the Couropedion Battle, Seleucus was assassinated by Ptolemy Keraunos the estranged son of Ptolemy who had lost the Ptolemaic succession to his younger half-brother Ptolemy II. It seems certain that after taking Macedonia and Thrace, Seleucus would have tried to conquer Greece. He had already prepared this campaign using the numerous gifts presented to him. He was also nominated as a honorary citizen of Athens (Grainger 1997: 57). But what is sure, by the time of Seleucus' murder in 281 BC his empire extended from the Central Asian steppe to European Thrace (Kosmin 2013: 678).

The supposed exclusiveness of Antigonus' universalism is quite peculiar because it was Seleucus rather than Antigonus who attempted to reconstruct Alexander's empire. Seleucus was the most successful of the Successors. He did conquer most of Alexander's empire and he passed on his conquests more or less intact to his son. After all, it was not the Antigonid dynasty but in the end, the two most successful were Seleucus and Ptolemy, who both founded large kingdoms that survived them for two centuries and Seleucus' offspring that would eventually hold the title of Great King (Strootman 2013:317; De Callatay 2012:179).

3-3- Seleucids

The Hellenistic period is one of the most controversial in the history of Iran. The Greek or Macedonian dynasties were never fully accepted as more than occupants, and in hindsight, their reign has been neglected. Seleucus was the most successful Diadoch. He obtained the largest portion of Alexander's empire. All the countries of Asia from the frontiers of India to the eastern coastal sides of the Mediterranean Sea were under his rule. Seleucus founded a large kingdom that survived them for two centuries. Literary sources, archaeological and

numismatic evidence constructed the history of the Seleucid Empire. Since the Seleucid's issues in this thesis are belong to Seleucus IV, Timarchus, Demetrius and Alexander Balas; the historical events in this chapter belong to the reign of these kings. Although information about the Seleucids in the literary sources is scant and uneven, the majority of information gained through literary sources. Outside of the literary, the Babylonian astronomical diaries are precious sources. The fragmentary and incomplete corpus may be supplemented by coinage. Whenever the literary sources gave vague or uncertain information, numismatic evidence could remove the uncertainty.

3-3-1- SELEUCUS IV PHILOPATOR (187-175 B.C)

Seleucus IV was the second son of Antiochus III.[96] By the death of his elder brother Antiochus in c. 193, He became the sole future king of Seleucid (Livy. 35.13.4-5). Probably, he was the governor of the Thracian Chersonesus after its capture in 196 BC (Polyb.18.51.8). In the Battle of Magnesia[97], Seleucus commanded the left flank (Livy. 37.41.1; App. Syr. 33). Antiochus III had appointed him co-ruler (Sachs and Wiseman 1954). Seleucus' issues in his name from Seleucia on the Tigris can indicate his co-reign with his father (Messina, 2001). His later epithet Philopator claimed that the succession indeed had been peaceable and legitimate on the death of Antiochus III in 187 BC (Sachs and Wisemann 1954: 207-208).

Seleucus' twelve-year reign is poorly documented[98]. His reign was consisting of Syria (including Cilicia and Palestine), Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and nearer Iran (Media and

[96] The reign of Seleucus IV (187-175 BC) is still virtually undocumented in Babylonian texts, the source material on the reigns of Antiochus III and IV is abundant enough to have provided modern scholarship with data for rather detailed biographies(see Will 1982).

[97] Antiochus III was defeated by Rome and Pergamum in 190 B.C.

[98] Regarding the reign of Seleucus IV, see 2 Maccabees; World History of Polybius of Megalopolis; Livy's History of Rome; Appian's Syrian Wars.

Persia). Seleucus IV is generally considered as a weak king. The defeat of his father by the Romans, and the ignominious Treaty of Apamea which followed it, had greatly diminished his power (App.Syr.66). He tries to restore the Seleucid Empire by diplomatic means. His attempts to re-establish Seleucid power in the west, including negotiations with the powerful Achaean League in Greece in 185 BC, Pontus in Asia Minor, in 181/180 BC (Polyb.22.7.4; Diod. 29.17.1), and the marriage of his daughter Laodice to the Macedonian king Perseus in 178/177 BC, as a striking sign of solidarity between the two houses in 177 BC (Polyb.26.7, Livy 42.12, Just. 35.1.2). He perhaps maintained his cooperative relations with Athens and Rhodes (Polyb.25.4.8; Meritt and Pritchett 1940). Furthermore, Seleucus, leading an army of considerable size, advanced as if intending to cross the Taurus in support of Pharnaces; but on taking note of the treaty that his father had made with the Romans, he chose not to take a risk (Diod.29.24.1). His attention also was probably to the east of his empire. New mints in Persia and Media attest to concern the security of the Eastern of the kingdom (Houghton 2002:1). Seleucus is recorded in two important inscriptions from Seleucia-in-Pieria, one which reveals the methods by which the Seleucids Controlled their cities, and the other revealing details of the royal cult (Grainger 1997: 65). He had presided over the substantial recovery of his kingdom, and his successor was able to make use of its resurgent power.

Temple rubbery by Seleucid kings was relatively usual in the Seleucid period. The main reason was the financial exhaustion; in the case of Antiochus III, his campaign to East and Seleucus IV, falling to pay annual payment to Rome. Two attempts of Antiochus III to plunder the Anahita Temple in Ecbatana and Bal/Zeus Temple in Elymais (Diod.28.3; 29.15; Strab.16.1.18) and the attempt of Seleucus IV to pillage the treasury of a Jewish temple (2 Macc.3.5-40) were attested the habitude of the Seleucid kings. Seleucus ordered

his commander Heliodorus to obtain money in the temple of Jerusalem, but Heliodorus encountered opposition and returned.

Seleucus gave his son Demetrius as a hostage in place of his brother Antiochus. According to Appian, Antiochus arrived at Athens on his way home; Seleucus IV ruled 12 years and was assassinated in Antioch in September 175 BC, as the result of a conspiracy of a certain Heliodorus, one of the court officers (App. Syr. 45; Sachs & Wiseman 1954: 208).[99] On the death of his father his c. five-year-old son Antiochus, also known as Antiochus the Child, was made king after Rome refused to release his older brother Demetrius (Pol 31.12). Seleucus' widow Laodice IV was very briefly regent for her son, striking coins in his name (Hoover, 2002) until Antiochus IV married her in October 175 BC, and took over the regency (Mittag 2006: 44-45).

3-3-2- Timarchus Basileus Megas (C.164-161 B.C)

In the peace of Apamea in 188 BC, which followed the disastrous defeat of Antiochus III against Rome, the Seleucid Empire was forced to pay war indemnities and send Antiochus IV as a hostage to Rome. Timarchus of Miletus served Antiochus IV as ambassador to the Roman senate (Diod.31.27a, App.Syr. 45). By the death of Seleucus IV, Antiochus, the son of Antiochus the Great, ascended the throne of Syria. He appointed Timarchus as satrap of Media[100] and Heraclides, Timarchus' brother, as treasurer, two brothers, both of whom had been his favourites (App.Syr.45, Diod.31.27a).

[99] According to Babylonian astronomical diaries, Seleucus IV ruled I2 years. First year: I26 S.E. Death: I37 S.E. (Sachs & Wiseman 1954).

[100] Timarchus is called satrap of Babylonia by Appian (App.Syr. 47), satrap of Media by Diodorus (Diod.31.27a) and 'king of the Medes' by Pompeius Trogus (Prol. 34). Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 2.194, translates the decree: "As far as Rome was concerned Timarchus was King". Appian says that Antiochus had appointed Timarchus satrap of Babylon, and Heracleides treasurer (App. *Syr.* 45). Bengtson, *Die Strategie in d. hellenist. Zeit*, 2.87, follows Bevan in considering Timarchus not only satrap of Media but a general commander of the eastern provinces.

Antiochus IV Epiphanes died (164 BC); his nine years old son, Antiochus V Eupator, becomes king and Lysias acts as regent.[101] Demetrius I, was as a hostage in Rome secretly escaped and arrived in Syria (App.Syr.46). Demetrius ordered that Antiochus V be killed, 162/161 BC (I Maccabees 7.10). The killing of the Antiochus V did give at least one governor, Timarchus of Miletus in the eastern provinces, an excuse to rebel on his behalf. Timarchus refused to recognize Demetrius I as king of Syria[102]and took the royal title in opposition to him; besides, he gained some sort of recognition from Rome (Grainger 2010: 320). He issued coins with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ, at Ecbatana Mint, in the centre of his power Media (Houghton, 2002: 141). The Babylonian tablet has listed Babylonian king of the Hellenistic period; however, Timarchus' name is not mentioned (Sachs & Wiseman 1954: 202-212; BM 35603 = Sp. III 113)[103]. Timarchus' hold of Babylonia probably lasted less than a year, perhaps only a few months. His only undisputedly Babylonian coinage was a prestige issue of tetradrachms, which could have been struck within weeks of his conquest of Seleucia on the Tigris (Jakobsson 2016: 22).

Houghton argues that the lack of Antiochus V issues at Ecbatana indicates that Timarchus began his independence earlier than reported by literary sources, perhaps soon after the accession of the Antiochus V (Houghton 2002).

Timarchus raised an army of considerable size in Media; he also entered into an alliance against Demetrius with Artaxias, the king of Armenia, and marched against Zeugma

[101] Only a limited amount of cuneiform texts provide information on the short reign of Antiochus V (Boiy 163)

102 Diodorus and Appian discussed the late 161– 160/159 B.C. is for the rebellion of Timarchus in Media and Babylonia against the Seleucid king Demetrius I. while cuneiform evidence shows that Demetrius I was recognised as king in Babylonia as early as 161 B.C., and Demetrius' first Babylonian coins celebrate the defeat of Timarchus. Demetrius may have been recognised as king in Babylonia before Timarchus' brief invasion but only issued coins thereafter Timarchus' defeat. Jakobsson suggests that, unless new evidence appears, it is best to suggest that Timarchus invaded Babylonia in 160 BC, and was driven out either the same year or in 159 B.C (Jakobsson 2016).

[103] R. van der Spek and I.L. Finkel, 'Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period', online on www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html.

(Diod.31.27a). He briefly held Seleucia on the Tigris in 161 BC (Houghton 1979: 212-216). In the same year, Demetrius marched against Timarchus probably near Babylonia; A tablet of the Astronomical diaries from 163/162 BC mentions a violent conflict in Babylonia, which included a reference to Medians. These Medians could have been troops under Timarchus' command. Demetrius defeated Timarchus and killed him (App.Syr.47; Jakobsson, 2016: 18).

During his satrapy, Timarchus lost a part of Media to Parthian. From 161 to 155 BC, Mithradates waged a long war with Media, the success of which was long unsure. The best account appears to be that Timarchus. He lost some territory in the area of Rhagae and farther east, to Mithradates I, while the Seleucid re-conquest did not recover this land but did recapture Ecbatana (Frye 1984).

3-3-3- Demetrius I Soter (162-150 B.C)

Afterward, on the death of Antiochus the Great, his son Seleucus IV succeeded him. He, due to the treaty of Apamea, gave his son Demetrius as a hostage in place of his brother Antiochus IV (App.Syr. 45; Polyb. 31.12). On the death of Antiochus IV in 164 BC, in Iran, his son, Antiochus V, became king of Seleucid (Polyb. 31.9). Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV, twenty-three years old, was a hostage at Rome at this time, asked that he should be installed in the kingdom as belonging to him rather than to the boy; the Senate would not allow it. Since a mature and capable adult Seleucid king was alarming than Antiochus V, an immature boy (App.Syr.46).The Senate refused permission twice, so he escaped secretly with the help of his friends (App.Syr.47; Polyb.31.12). One of those involved in this was the historian Polybius, who was a client of the powerful Scipionic family and faction (Grainger 2010: 318).

Despite the Senate's formal refusal of permission for him to leave, and he had the agreement of Ptolemy Philometor that it would be better for Demetrious to be in power in Syria than Lysias (Polyb. 31.2; App. Syr. 46-47; Just. 34.3.6-9; 1 Macc. 14.1-2).

Demetrius succeeded rather more quickly in establishing himself as king in Antioch. He landed at Tripolis, in northern Phoenicia, in 162 BC and found that the news of his arrival brought instant support (2.Macc.14.1). The Syrians received him gladly. The soldiers in Antioch arrested Lysias and the boy Antiochus V and sent to Demetrius. He ascended the throne after having put Antiochus V and Lysias to death before he saw them (App.syr.47; 1 Macc.7.1-4). His accession to the throne must have taken place in winter 162/161 BC (Bringmann 1985). The earliest contemporary cuneiform date for his reign is 18 January 160 BC (Van der Spek 1997: 167).

At the early of his reign, he had to cope with the revolt of two officers, who were appointed there by Antiochus IV, Heraclides, the treasurer, and his brother Timarchus, who called satrap of Babylonia by Appian (App.Syr. 47), satrap of Media by Diodorus (Diod.31.27a) and "king of the Medes" by Pompeius Trogus (Prol. 34). Timarchus claimed himself as king by Rome. He was initially successful, reached Zeugma on the Euphrates, but was soon defeated by Demetrius. Demetrius I became king and removed Heraclides from his office; he then killed Timarchus, who had rebelled and mistreated the government of Babylonia (App.Syr.47; Diod.31.27a).

Cuneiform tablets are the best sources to date Timarchus's action and the beginning of Demetrius' reign in Babylonia. Timarchus governed Babylon badly and the Babylonians were so pleased with his death that they awarded the new king the title Soter "the saviour" (App.Syr.47). According to Babylonian astronomical diaries, the "Šaknu of the king" brought terror to Babylon and its surroundings might be Timarchus. If this is correct Appian's description of Timarchus's bad reign is exact (Boiy 2004; Houghton 1979).

Another historical passage of the astronomical diaries also provides a date for Timarchus' defeat: according to AD 3-160A: a sacrifice was offered in Babylon during the month Tašrītu of the year 151 S.E. (October/ November 161 BC) "… to the great gods and for the life of the king Demetrius", implying that Demetrius was accepted as king in Babylon (Boiy 2004). The offer to the Babylonian gods on behalf of Demetrius seems to indicate that at that time Timarchus was already defeated by Demetrius and that the offerings were performed to celebrate this event. Another text describes the phenomena of the planet Mars for the year 151 S.E. (161/60 BC) and mentioned the royal name of Demetrius. This date, 9 September 161 BC, is accepted as the first attestation of Demetrius's reign in Babylonia (Van der Spek 1997).[104]

Following the period of unrest in the eastern regions of the Seleucid Empire occasioned by the actions of the rogue satrap of Media, it would have been in the best interest of Demetrius to show to his subjects that he was now firmly in control and that he had restored stability to the land. The wedding of Demetrius with his sister Laodice, who had returned to Syria after the fall of her previous husband, Perseus of Macedon, in 167 BC, and the prospect of heirs would have been a sign of renewed order and seems to have been recognized as such by his regime. It is no accident that the bulk of Demetrius tetradrachms and drachms at Ecbatana and striking many of the tetradrachms issued by Timarchus were overstruck with types depicting the jugate busts of Demetrius and his wife, on the other hand, a clear symbol of triumphing Seleucid stability over the chaos of the usurper (Hoover 2000: 108).

When he was firmly established in the kingdom he sent a crown valued at 10,000 pieces of gold to the Romans as the gift of their former hostage, and also delivered up Leptines, the murderer of Octavius. Demetrius also took the government of Cappadocia away from

[104] But Demetrius probably was already Seleucid king on 25 March 161 BC. The eldest cuneiform document dating to Demetrius, is Ct 49 138 from Babylon dated on 4 Tebētu of the year 151 S.E. (18 January 160 BC) (Boiy 2004).

Ariarthes and gave it to his brother Olophernes. The dispute went to Rome, where the Senate instructed that the kingdom be divided between them. King Eumenes of Pergamum then took a hand and restored Ariarathes by force and Orophernes was given refuge in Antioch (App.Syr.47; Diod.31.32.b; Polyb.32.22.4, 24-25.Just.35.1.2). In another adventure attempt, c.154 BC, Demetrius tried to take over Cyprus from Ptolemies, when the governor of Cyprus, Archias, plotted rebellion Demetrius tried to bribe him. But the plan was detected and Ptolemaic enmity was aroused (Polyb.33.5.1-4).

Demetrius I had to cope with new trouble of Jewish rebellion. He had a new series of conflicts with Judaea. The settlement arranged by Lysias broke down, and the situation again developed into fighting. Demetrius appointed a new governor, Bakchides, and sent an army, under the command of Nicanor to put down the new rebellion. But Judas' men were victorious and Nicanor died in the fighting, so Judaea had gained time to turn back to Jerusalem where he asserted his Control. He sent another army presumably by reinforcing the troops formerly under Nicanor—and Bakchides now took direct command. Bakchides was succeeded and killed Judas Maccabaeus in the battle; nevertheless, Seleucid control of Jewish and defeating them needed many campaigns (1 Macc.7.1-50; 2 Macc.14.1-15; Jos AJ. 12.391-412; 13.36; Just.35.1.5). He had been unable finally to stamp out the Jewish revolt, though it had been reduced to Jonathan's minor banditry and at least one minor governor, Ptolemies of Commagene, was more or less independent (Grainger 2010: 238).

Demetrius' policy gradually created several foreign enemies, Attalus II of Pergamum, Ariarathes V of Cappadocia and Ptolemy VI of Egypt, and a conspiracy was formed. Milesian Heraclides, the treasurer of Antiochus IV and the brother of Timarchus found a man called Balas. This man resided in Smyrna and stoutly affirmed that he was a son of King Antiochus IV. The king of Pergamum supports his claim (Diod.31.32a). Demetrius' enemies gave Balas the name Alexander and presented him in Roman Senate in 153 BC.

The senate thereupon gave them authority to go home to regain their father's throne, and it was decided to grant their request for help. In 152 BC, Alexander Balas advanced to the Seleucid throne (Diod.31.32a; Polyb.33: 18.6-14). He landed at Ptolemais-Ake with the support of Ptolemy VI. He took the control of garrison and the city (1 Macc.10.1; Jos AJ 13.35). Demetrius, who had become less popular at this moment sent his two sons to a friend in Cnidus and moved out of Antiocheia to live in a fort (Just.35.2.1- 35.1.5; Jos AJ.13.36). Alexander Balas with support of Ptolemy VI and Attalus and a sufficient army advanced against Demetrius in 150 BC[105]; and Demetrius died in the battle (Just.35.1.6-11; App.Syr.47-67; Jos AJ 13.58-61; 1 Macc.10.48).

3-3-4- Alexander Balas (152-145 BC.)

Late Seleucid history saw many attempts to usurp royal power or to establish a personal rule over a city or a limited territory within the Seleucid kingdom (Engels 2011:187). Although Alexander Balas was not the first to attempt to seize the throne, he can be considered the first successful usurper in Seleucid history. Enthroning Alexander Balas as the Seleucid king was the result of foreign policy of Demetrius I. Demetrius enemies' alliance led to presenting Alexander Balas. This man resided in Smyrna and stoutly affirmed that he was a son of King Antiochus IV. His original name was "Balas," a Greek form of the Semitic epithet "Ba'al", the Lord (App.Syr.67; Diod.31.32a; Just. 35.1.6–7).

King Eumenes, grieved at the expulsion of Ariarathes (by Demetrius I) and being eager for reasons of his own to check Demetrius, sent for a certain youth who in beauty of countenance and in age was exceedingly like Antiochus IV. Attalus II, the king of Pergamum, supports his claim. Attalus II brought Alexander to his court and tricked him out with a diadem (Diod.31.32a). Heraclides, brother of the usurper Timarchus and official of

[105] For the date of Alexander's advance see Houghton 2002: 152.

Antiochus IV, came as an envoy to Rome in 153 BC; the Senate recognized Alexander as the son of Antiochus IV and legitimized his royal pretensions. Ptolemy VI of Egypt, as Ariarathes V of Cappadocia, who was enemy of Demetrius I, supported Alexander's claim (Polyb. 33.18.6–14; Just. 35.1.6; Savalli-Lestrade 1998: 55- 76; Will 1982).

Alexander landed in Ptolemis-Ake with the support of Ptolemy VI, an important supporter for him, in 152 BC, and suborned the Seleucid garrison and began his career as a Seleucid king (Jos. AJ 13.35–6; 1 Macc.10.1). At this moment for two years the Seleucid Empire had two kings.

Alexander had an alliance with the Jews and recruited the mercenaries (Jos. AJ 13.37-58). He conquered Apamea, a military centre, in 151/0 BC (Mørkholm 1983: 57–63). Alexander avoided a direct confrontation with Demetrius until early June 150 BC; at this year he met Demetrius in battle. At the end of battle Demetrius was defeated and killed (1 Macc.1-.48-50; Jos. AJ 13.59-61; Van der Spek 1997: 168-9). By the dead of Demetrius, Alexander became the sole king of the Seleucid Empire. Babylon and Babylonia were not involved in these political changes and no information is known from Babylonian sources regarding the short reign of Alexander Balas. No historical notes are preserved on the astronomical diaries. Only AD 3- 144 gives some historical information regarding a king called Demetrius (Boiy 2004). It should be noted that Alexander Balas was recognized as king in Babylonia before he had defeated and killed Demetrius (Rutten 1935).[106]

Then Alexander sent envoys to Ptolemy, king of Egypt. He proposed a marriage alliance with Ptolemy VI for a friendly relation. Ptolemy arrived in Ake and gave his elder daughter Cleopatra in marriage to King Alexander. The Seleucid king, then, celebrated her wedding

[106] The last Babylonian tablet dated to Demetrius is a real estate sale from Uruk 1 June 151 BC (Rutten 1935) and the first dated to Alexander is a prebend sale from 23 April 150 BC; Thus two months before our astronomer in Babylon heard about Demetrius' death, Alexander was already accepted as king in Uruk, and probably also in Babylon (Van der Spek 1997).

at Ptolemais with great pomp, as kings do. Through this alliance, Ptolemy VI controlled the Seleucid kingdom (1 Macc.10, 51-58, 11:1–12). Alexander perhaps, on the other hand, was an ineffective king. His ministers occupied for the affair of his empire. During his reign Mithradates I had to fight many times in Media (Just.35.2, 41.6) and just two years later, Ecbatana was conquered by the Arsacid Empire (Jenkins 1951: 16; Le Rider 1965: 339). The advance of Mithradates against Ecbatana has been dated to 148 or 147 BC, a chronology supported by the Greek inscription associated with the figure of Heracles discovered at Bisotun in Kermanshah province c. 148 BC. Probably Seleucids held only the city and the lowlands to the west of Ecbatana at the time the relief at Heracles was carved, (Frye 1984; Bickerman 1983: 33); while the kingdom of Elymais too conquered Susa c.147 BC (Le Rider 1965).

In 147 BC, Demetrius II, the exiled son of Demetrius I campaigned against Alexander. He landed in Cilicia with the help of Cretan mercenaries and took possession of Ptolemais (Jos. AJ 13.86–7; 1 Macc.10.67–8). Ptolemy VI entered Syria to support Alexander on the grounds of kinship. But on discovering the man's downright poverty of spirit, he changed his intention; he transferred his daughter Cleopatra to Demetrius (Diod.32. 9c; 1 Macc.11.1-12). Ptolemy invaded southern Coele Syria did desire to add there to his realm, and privately arranged with Demetrius a joint plan, whereby Ptolemy was to rule Coele Syria and Demetrius his ancestral domains (Diod.32. 9c; Jos. AJ 13.114-115). Meanwhile, the people of Antioch revolted against Alexander Balas who fled to Cilicia (Jos. AJ 13.111-112). In 145 BC., Alexander Balas returned with an army from Cilicia but was defeated by Ptolemy (Jos. AJ 13.116; 1 Macc.11.15).[107] Ptolemy deeply injured in the battle and died a few days later (Jos. AJ 13.117-119; 1 Macc.11.18) and Alexander fled with five hundred of his men

[107] Several political intrigues preceded this victory, but Babylonian texts did not provide further information since any of it has anything to do with Babylon it will not be treated any further (Will 1982).

to Abae in Arabia, to take refuge with a local sheikh. The two officers, who were with Alexander Balas, for their safety and voluntarily put Alexander to death (Diod.32.9d-32.10.1; 1Macc.11.16.17); just after the rebellion of people in Coele Syria and putting to death the garrisons of Ptolemy Demetrius II became the sole king of Seleucid Empire and began his reign at Antioch (Houghton 2002: 210).

CHAPTER 4: LURISTAN COIN TYPES AND DIFFUSION

4-1- Coin types and Classifications

The making of an issue of coins[108] involves several different reproductions. The first reproduction is iconographic: the die-sinker multiplies the obverse and reverse types, with varying degrees of accuracy (Stannard & Fischer-Bossert 2011: 5). On the other hand, ancient coins were sometimes produced in one single process, by casting in a mould[109] ; but this process was properly reserved for larger pieces, and the usual method was to strike them with a sledge hammer, the blank, however, prepared, being placed between engraved dies on which the hammer was brought down by hand (Hill 1922:2). Coins presented in this thesis are not large. So the coins were produced by the striking method. The issues were categorized into two periods, Classical and Hellenistic periods. The Classical period issues were subdivided into two groups, Syracuse and Athenian coins. Two types of Syracuse

[108] That is, a group of coins with the same technical specifications, the same types with almost common controls, die axes and weights.

[109] Pliny speaks of certain siliceous stones, unaffected by fire, from which moulds were made for casting bronze coins (Pliny. 36.49, 168).

issues were identified. The first type was two issues of Syracuse decadrachm signed by Euainetos and an issue of Pegasus type. The issues of the Hellenistic period were subdivided into four groups: Alexander's Lifetime, Alexander's Posthumous, Seleucid Issues, and Foreign Currency. From these, foreign issues were classified as Miletus, Ephesus, Athenian New Style, Macedonian, Thrace, Paphlagonia, and Greco-Bactrian issues (tab.1). The study of this catalogue brought to light the authentication of issues. Several coins were identified as a forgery. Striking coins' process supports to identify genuine issues from forgery specimens. Almost all the forgery coins in this collection were produced by casting, while the genuine coins, which were imitated, were struck with two engraved dies, blank and a sledge hammer. All coins of the Classical period were recognized as forgery. Concerning the Hellenistic issues, Miletus, Macedonia, Paphlagonia, Thrace and Greco-Bactrian were identified as forgery.

Apart from Pasargadae Hoards, Tarik Darreh Hoard and coins founded in Susa, [110] no other hoards are known from Iran. Furthermore, it should be noted that no scientific studies have been done to identify the forgery coins at the museums in Iran.[111] Contemporary forgeries of ancient silver coins are common in Iran. Modern forgeries of Greek coins, in any case, still appear frequently in the west of Iran. It is difficult to suggest why such forgeries have been produced in modern times. In any case, the wide range of mints and dates of the types imitated is of particular interest as it throws light on the nature of the genuine silver currency in circulation at the time the forgeries were made.

4-1-1- Forgery coins at the collection of Falak-ol-Aflak Museum

[110] See esp. Jenkins, G. K. (1965). Coin hoards from Pasargadae. Iran, 3(1), 41-52; Le Rider, G. (1965). Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes: les trouvailles monétaires et l'histoire de la ville (Vol. 38). P. Geuthner; Houghton, A. (1980). Tarik Darreh (Kangavar) Hoard. Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society), 25, 31-44.

[111] There is a bulk of forgery coins at the museums, especially at Hamedan Museum, in Iran.

More than 1000 coins are at the coin collection of Falak-ol-Aflak Museum which is belong to Classical, Hellenistic, Parthian, Elymais, Sasanian and Islamic periods. Different types of counterfeit coins have been recognized in this collection. From these, 48 Classical and Hellenistic coins are forgery. 38 coins of Eucratides, three coins of Syracuse, tow specimens of Athenian type, two issue from Miletus, and three coins from Thrace, Paphlagonia and Macedonia. All the specimens are very recent and some at least must have existed at the museum in the 1970s. Various views are taken about these specimens. Some say that they are modern forgeries, others that only some are ancient counterfeit.[112] Lists of these coins have been made during the last fifty years, and recently this thesis has endeavoured to study the specimens with the view to deciding which of these two opinions is correct.

Several coins were of poor cleaning. The restorator, of the museum, was involved in cleaning the coins; so that it is certain that the cleaned specimens and the similar coins have been used for comparison, have the same common sources.

Different catalogues were used to identify the origin of specimens. Regarding comparison, some coins from Kermanshah, Ilam and Hamedan museums, in Iran, were included as well. Coins similar to the latter museums could be used as a model for forgery coins in Castle's collection. All the forgery specimens reserved their inventory number; only a letter "F" was added as a prefix refers to "forgery". In the case of coins from Kermanshah, Ilam and Hamedan museums, two first letters of each museum were added before their inventory numbers, for example for Kermanshah Museum, a specimen with inventory no. 4141; no.KR4141 was considered as the new number.

There are two distinguished flows of the coins. The first is almost hard to detect and they easily infiltrate into the market. The rest are comparatively easier to detect. Specimens are composed of those counterfeits taken directly from genuine coins by casting or perhaps by

[112] Personal communication with the staff of the numismatic cabin at the Falak-ol-Aflak Museum.

using either a genuine coin as a positive to make new dies. Too much care has gone into the production and, in particular, the engraving of the forgeries for it to be possible to assume that they were genuine. But all the coins are seriously underweight, even allowing generously for loss of weight. Some counterfeits designed solely to deceive collectors. These forgeries are stylistically identical with real coins. The wrong metal was not used; silver is the metal of specimens, at least the coat of counterfeits. Some of the forgers were spectacularly good artists and were able to capture the feeling of the ancient coins they copied.

Syracuse?

F1763

Denomination: Decadrachm?

Obv. Wreathed head of a female facing left, wearing necklace [and earing], four swimming dolphins around, unclear inscription left filed.

Rev. A charioteer leaning forward a Chariot with four horses left, with horse whip in right hand and reins in left hand, heavy exergual line and panoply of arms below the sense in exergue.

Weight: 22.1 g; Diameter: 36 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: panoply of arms

References of genuine coin: Bellinger. Pl. III: 6; Gardner 1. Pl.11:9

Everyone who has ever seen and held a real Syracuse coin in his hands will immediately feel the obvious differences in the design, metal and weight, as well as the unusual roughness of the surface of this coin with the genuine one (plate 7). After cleaning the coin, the comparison brought the origin of this specimen to light. It seems the counterfeit has

taken directly of coins nos.49306- 53435[113] from Sadigh Gallery[114] (plate 13). It was cast with silver as the print comes from one of these two coins. The forger tried to fix the defect of the flan in Sadigh Gallery's specimen. The seams on edge of the coin were filled in no.F1763 and a sharp edge has appeared. Although forger tried to hide porosities with an artificial patina some porosity on both sides of coins is easily visible. Perhaps the porosities happen due to coin casting. The diameter of no.SG49306 is 37 mm. and the diameter of no.F1763 is 36 mm. Generally, the size of a casted coin is slightly smaller than the original coin. If we consider Sadigh Gallery's specimen as a mould for no.F1763, thus the smaller diameter of no.F1763 is acceptable. Because of poor casting, the legend on the obverse of no.F1763 is almost disappeared. However, the absence of other details as Nike, four dolphins and panoply of arms are common in both specimens.

F1764

Denomination: Stater?

Obv. Male head with a crested helmet facing left, some porosities.

Rev. Owl with closed wings standing three-quarters left, head facing, [olive branch and crescent behind], AΘ[E] left field, some porosities.

Weight: 8.3 g; Diameter: 19 mm; Die axis: ↑ →

Controls:-

References of genuine coin:-

The mint of this coin cannot be identified (plate 7). The specimen has a general similarity to Athenian coinage. Probably it is a forgery coin. Male head with a crested helmet is a poor imitation of an Athenian coin but the face is to the left side. The owl on the reverse is

[113] Both coins are identical and the specimen no.49306 is used for comparison. SG, the abbreviation of Sadigh Gallery, is written before the number of the coin to refer to its origin.

[114] http://www.sadighgallery.com/49306_GREEK_COINS ; http://www.sadighgallery.com/COIN-GREEK-SICILIAN-53435

wrong. It is an imitation of the owl on Athenian coins; however, its face is to the left side. Many details of the owl have been disappeared. The olive sprig is off flan and the crescent is almost unclear. The eyes of the owl are quite unreal, details of owl are obscure, note the figure of the owl, and some of the legends are off the flan as well. All the reverse of Athenian coins was usually incused in a square but the absence of square is notable in the case of this counterfeit. There is some porosity on both sides of the coin as a result of casting. It is worth noticing also that the coin is connected by its weight standard with a stater issue. The weight of the coin is 8.3 g. a similar weight for a Greek didrachm or stater but the die axis has not corresponded to an Athenian issue.

Perseus (179-168 BC.)

F1906

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed head of Perseus with beard and mustache, facing right, one diadem end falling up behind the other falling forward over shoulder.

Short lines on right field.

Rev. Eagle spread wings standing three-quarters right on thunderbolt, ΒΑΣΙ_ ΛΕΩΣ / ΠΕΡ_ ΣΕΩΣ across,  above eagle's head, HP right field, AN between legs; all within laurel wreath, wreath tied on below, the branch ends entwisted above.

Weight: 11/ 4 g; Diameter: 31.6 mm; Die axis: 

Controls:  above eagle, HP right field, AN between legs.

References of genuine coin: Mamroth. 15; Grose. 3675.

Coin no.F1906 (plate 7) is a precise copy of no.SG 42838, in Sadigh Gallery[115] (plate 13). SG42838 is an accurate copy made by a print of a Perseus' genuine coin which has made

[115] https://www.slideshare.net/sadighgallery/new-years-collectionsilver-coins-and-artifacts?from_action=save ;*https://www.flickr.com/photos/sadighgallery/7509878566/*

almost realistic. The diameter of no.F1906 is, 31.6 mm, similar to the diameter of the Sadigh Gallery issue, 31.75 mm. Generally, the diameter of Perseus genuine specimens is varied from 30 mm. to 31.5 mm. Die axis in no.F1906 is 12h as genuine ones. Several weak points on this coin helped to detect it as a fake; first, it has erratic weight. The counterfeit is at least 5 grams less than genuine issues. Second, a vivid trace of porosities, on both sides, demonstrated the issue is not produced by striking, as a genuine coin, but by casting. Third, to conceal the porosities and cavities, the edge is well hammered and as a result, a sharp edge has appeared. Still, one can see traces of defects.

In no.F1906, two odd short lines can be seen on, right field, obverse. This character is unusual which does not exist on any genuine issues of Perseus. On the obverse of no.F1906 ends of the diadem is precisely similar to no.SG42838. The beard of Perseus is unnatural. It has been depicted by knots and pearls which is not similar to a genuine issue. Neck vein on no.F1906 is bulging as no.SG42838. The reverse has a visible character; A is joint to N, a character that is not appearing in genuine ones. Perhaps it happens during the casting process. The legend on the reverse of no.F1906 is narrower than the original one.

Athenian (Attica)?

F1915

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Female head with helmet facing right, helmet ornamented with three olive leaves above and spiral palmetto down, wearing round earring with a central boss.

Rev. Owl with closed wings standing three-quarters right, head facing, olive branch and crescent behind, AΘE right field, all within a shallow incuse square.

Weight: 12.6 g; Diameter: 22 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: -

References of genuine coin: Near East. Pl.54:90-91; Buxton. Pl.3:30; Iraq. Pl.3:58; KR4141; HM7155.

It might well seem that nothing could be easier than to copy the Athenian silver of the fifth century (plate 7). It bore no magistrates' names and had no subsidiary devices, and it was rudely struck. Imitations of the money were abundant down to 480 BC. From that time until 400 they are scarce to be found (Gardner 1913: 148). Even nowadays due to their popularity, ancient Athenian Owls are widely forged by scammers and are perhaps the single most frequently counterfeited ancient coin. Owl forgeries, like ancient coin forgeries in general, range from excellently crafted, and quite dangerous, hand-cut struck copies to cheap cast tourist fakes (Stannard & Fischer-Bossert 2011).

No.1915 is a low quality fake and a poor imitation of the Athenian owl. Presumably, the counterfeit was printed from a non-Athenian copy, probably Near Eastern origin print. The face, the treatment of hair, eye and nose on the obverse and rudimentary crescent and owl on the reverse all point to this fact (see Kraay 1954:16).

This piece may appear to have been cast from an originally engraved fake or it was a really poor cast of a genuine coin. But what is sure the significant casting pits are visible at Athena's cheek, neck and chin, though there's no edge seam characteristic of lower-quality cast fakes. Athena's lips, nose, primitive frontal-eyed type imitation[116] and the oversize and narrow inscription of the legend all indicated the coin is a forgery issue. Besides, the reverse is likewise quite perfunctory in style. The style of owl is differed from the typical owl on Athenian coins; the owl's head and breast feathers are more crudely done in the style of

[116] During the fifth century B.C. Athena with frontal eye became a standard style for Athenian owl coinage. By the 420s B.C., Athenian issues (frontal-eyed) had attained a premium in an exchange over their bullion value throughout the Near East. At first, imitation owls patterned on the fifth century frontal-eyed type began to appear in Egypt and Syria. Then after 413 B.C., minting of these imitation frontal-eyed owls continued in the Near East throughout the fourth century B.C (Buxton2009:3).

fourth-century Owls. The olive sprig strikes are off flan, leaves are thinner than genuine leaves and tiny of the olive fruit can be seen.

However, the flan is slightly wider than a genuine one the crest is off the flan on the obverse and rectangular projection incused is vague on the circle in reverse. The edges are filed and polished as well.

Closely comparable genuine coins, no.KR4141 and no.HM7155 are at collections of Kermanshah and Hamedan Museums as well (plate 13). Probably such Athenian issues were in circulation in this area and the forger copied such genuine coins. Many of from Near Eastern Athenian owl types have a cut-test on the reverse but no.1915 was cast from a coin without a cut-test. The weights of two issues from Hamedan and Kermanshah Museums are c.16.90 and 17.30 grams. The weight of no.F1915 is definitely erratic. It is about 4 grams less than a genuine Athenian issue. It is necessary to observe the coin dies and whenever needed to compare them. But the die axes are varied in the case of genuine Athenian coins, no.KR4141 and no.HM7155[117].

Syracuse?

F1916

Denomination: Stater?

Obv. Head of Athena with curly hair facing right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet ornamented with a griffin, wearing a necklace, trophy behind.

Rev. Pegasus flying left, Triskeles above of Pegasus, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ around.

Weight: 5.7 g; Diameter: 24 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: Trophy, Triskeles.

References of genuine coin: CBM Pl.25:7 (Obv), Pl.25:5; KR1010; IL830

[117] Die axis of no.KR4141 is 9h and the die axis of no.HM7155 is 12h, the die axis for no.F1915 is 12h.

This coin is a relatively good cast and images have not lost details. The issue probably is also a precise copy made by a print of a genuine coin (plate 7). This is a Corinthian type of Syracuse[118]. Generally, this specimen is similar to the genuine coins at the catalogue of the British Museum. But there are some differences in details as the face of Athena, the position of trophy on obvers, the position of triskeles and legend on the reverse. The counterfeit has an erratic diameter, 24 mm; the diameters of genuine specimens are nearly, nos.CMB.5 and CMB.7, 21.5 mm. and 22.8mm. The genuine specimen belongs to the early part of the reign of Agathocles. The weight and size of Pegasus coins were diminished. The weight of these specimens was reduced to 13.5 g- 10.8 g (Head 1889). It is to be noted that no. F1916 is also of irregular weight. Its erratic weight is 5.7g, which has not coincided with the weight of genuine issues. The position of legend on forgery issue too has not coincided with the genuine issues.

Similar counterfeits, though smaller, can be seen at the collection of Ilam Museum, no.IL830. A specimen from the Museum of Kermanshah, KR1010, is very similar to the no.F1916 as well (plate 13). Although an identical genuine specimen similar to no.F1916 was not found it is hard to say the specimen is a contemporary or ancient forgery. Probably no.KR1010 is an ancient forgery since it came from a hoard, also, the pits and porosities can be seen on both sides of the coin and the relief is low and blurred, details are lost, especially trophy on the obverse and legend on the reverse. If no.KR1010 is an ancient forgery it indicates such coins were in circulation in this area and modern forger took new dies from a coin similar to a coin at Kermanshah Museum and produced new counterfeits. No.IL830 is quite similar to no.F.1916; both specimens have the same weight, die axis, figure, legend and controls on both sides.

[118] The genuine coins were struck as occasion required, to meet the demands of foreign trade chiefly in the direction of the coasts of Illyria, Epirus, Corcyra, and Acarnania, where, the Corinthian types had at a comparatively early period assumed the character of a quasi-federal and international currency (Head 1889).

Paphlagonia

F1917

Denomination: Stater?

Obv. Young breadless head facing right, wearing Phrygian headdress [leather cap] with Laurel Wreath and eight-ray star, dotted border.

Rev. Aphrodite seated left on throne, in Polos, holding long lotus-tipped scepter vertical behind in left hand, Nike crowns her with wreath in her outstretched right hand, rose bud in left field, AMAΣTPIEΩN downward right field, ΣA under throne between legs, [dotted border].

Weight: 6.6 g; Diameter: 24 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: Rose bud, ΣA

References of genuine coin: De Callatay. Pl.10: obv.40b- 31e, rev.30a (without letters).

The coin is a good forgery (plate 7). The print is presumably taken from a genuine coin. It is covered with a dark patina which hides minimal defects. All details as controls, inscriptions, letters, and figures are quite clear. It is cautiously considered as a counterfeit issue. But two weak points were helped to detect it as a fake, are low weight and pits and porosities, especially on the reverse. The weight of Amastris genuine specimens is varied from 8.98 to 9.62g. (See De Callatay 2004). Whereas, no.F1917 is 6.6 g. in weight, at least 2 grams, less than genuine specimens. Among De Callatay coins, nos.20a, 21a and no.40b bear the letters ΣT and A under the throne but their style is completely different from no.F1917. The specimen, which still seems to be unique, has a very similar portrait that does exist on silver coins which are in the De Callatay. Though one can also discern some small differences in the facial features of the young head and his hair, came over the headdress behind the neck, the young figure on the obverses of nos.40b and 31e is similar to the young figure on no.F1917.

No.30a shared the same Aphrodite with no.F1917 but the absence of letters, ΣA, in the case of no.30a didn't let to consider both specimens bear the same reverse (see De Callatay 2004). No.F1917, on the contrary to genuine specimens, is very flat in fabric. It cannot transfer the idea of a struck coin as ancient ones.

Thrace (Aenus)

F2896

Denomination: Tetradrachm**?**

Obv. Male head, Alexander the Great, right, with curly hair wearing horn of Ammon.

Rev. Athena seated left, right hand supporting Nike who hold royal crown, left elbow resting on rounded shield propped against throne, [spear the right of Athena transversely in background], ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ right field, ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ left field, Herm on chair in inner left field.

Weight: 11.4 g; Diameter: 30 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: Herm on chair

References of genuine coin: Mesopotamia, Pl. XIV: 18; Armenak. Pl.25: 947.

This issue is a poor copy of a genuine tetradrachm of Lysimachus (plate 7). Probably the counterfeit is a loosely imitated from a genuine die such as that shown at Jenkins' "Hellenistic Hoard". The genuine coin is a posthumous Lysimachus type which is not a common issue. However, both specimens bear both Herms on a chair and lion's head symbols, which is normal for Lysimacheia, e.g., Armenak.Pl.25:947 (Jenkins 1967: 45).

The metal color is greyish and the artificial patina cannot hide it; after the cleaning more details of the coin were appeared but it became darker. The first feature one has to take into account is the style in comparison with the true silver coins of the same types. In the production process, there have appeared some deformations on the nose and lips of the male head, horn and hair are blurred.

There are lots of knots and it is easy to be recognized. The edge of the coin is smoothed to remove the defects on the obverse but the trace of big pits and knots are visible on the edge of the reverse. The inscription is not off the flan but it is obscure on the reverse. It is to be noted that no. F2896 has an erratic weight. The weight of a genuine Lysimachus type is usually c.17.11-16.30 g. whereas no.F2896 is at least 5 grams lighter than a genuine specimen. In general, no.F2896 can be considered as a poor and low-quality forgery.

Miletus?

F3935

Denomination: Drachm?

Obv. Male head (Apollo?) Laureate crest, facing left, dotted border.

Rev. Lion standing left, head turned back, star in field above, uncertain inscription in exergue.

Weight: 3 g; Diameter: 14 mm; Die axis: ↑←

Controls:-

References of genuine coin:-

Miletus?

F3936

Denomination: Drachm?

Obv. Male head (Apollo?) Laureate crest, facing left, dotted border.

Rev. Lion standing left, head turned back, star in field above, uncertain inscription in exergue.

Weight: 2.5 g; Diameter: 15 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls:-

References of genuine coin:-

It is difficult to accept nos.F3935 and F3936 as genuine coins (plate 7, 8). The engraving of the forgeries is of low quality on the whole. Perhaps the engraver had genuine coins before him as he worked and produced two small specimens by imitating drachms of Miletus. On the edge, there are obvious knots, pits and on both sides, there is some porosity. The details of coins almost wiped out due to the low quality of production. On the reverse, a part of the inscription at the legend is off the flan and the rest of it is quite unclear. The weight of both specimens is irregular. Probably the low weights and insufficient material are the cause of low quality for the counterfeits. In general, a series of coins with the same pairs of die have the same die axis, but the die axes of nos.F3935 and F3936 are various. Such neglect does not happen in the case of genuine issues.

Syracuse?

F3943

Denomination:?

Obv. Unclear wreathed head of a female facing left, four swimming dolphins around, and some dots on portrait and field.

Rev. A charioteer leaning left a Chariot with four horses, [with horse whip in right hand] and reins in left hand, heavy exergual line and panoply of arms below the sense in exergue.

Weight: 6.2 g; Diameter: 25 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: panoply of arms

References of genuine coin:

This issue is similar to no.1763 but in a smaller dimension (plate 8). The quality of work is very poor. It is unrealistic and easy to detect. Presumably, it was initially made from hand-made dies before being cast. On the surface, there are knots and caverns as a result of the casting that can be seen with the unaided eye. The edge of the coin was rubbed and polished

on the obverse. It is hard to consider this specimen as genuine. Many other obvious defects such as low weight, small measure, the absence of Greek legend on the obverse, the lack of Nike and uneven lines on the reverse and low relief and blurred on both sides. In this particular case, even the counterfeiters did not obtain a high-quality forgery and that is why they left this specimen without further processing.

Eucratides I (c. 170-145 B.C)

Most of the counterfeit coins under discussion are Greco-Bactrian. Thirty-eight specimens of Eucratides I, from no.F1868 to no.F1905, are among this collection (plate 8- 12).

The specimens are the ordinary type of Eucratides' coins. Eucratides has a helmet, adorned with horn and ear of a bull, his bust to right for the obverse, and for the reverse a spirited scene of the charging Dioscuri. This coin is common and was widely struck in Bactria (Newell 1937:96).

All counterfeits are cast and are taken from a genuine coin[119]. All the specimens bear the same obverse and reverse, which is closely die-linked. It indicates only a single pair of dies of a genuine coin must have been responsible for the coins. Probably Eucratides coins were in circulation in this area in the past and modern forger used such genuine coin. Several genuine and forgery of Eucratides are among the collection of the Hamedan Museum.

The group as a whole contains several items which could not on any account be genuine. The type is here regular enough for the Bactra coinage of Eucratides I, but the fact that the lack of fillet border on the obverse is a common question for all, but one, the specimens. However, there is a slight tilting of the edge on many of the coins, giving a kind of thickened rim; it might perhaps be caused by the trace of the fillet border. The edges are

[119] Bopearachchi (personal communication) has expressed all 38 specimens are forgery and probably were made by casting form a genuine coin.

usually smoothed as a result of cleaning. Probably the fillet border disappeared as a result of smoothing the edges or for the casting process. In each case, the diametrical measurements of the Eucratides type show that counterfeits have a diameter, between 27-29 mm, less than those of genuine coins, 34 mm. The weights of genuine specimens are c.16.60 g, but here; all the counterfeits are underweight, ranging from 10.3 to just over 13.9 grams. Only forgeries' die axis, 12h, is similar to genuine specimens.

This issue is similar to no.1763 but in a smaller dimension (plate 8). The quality of work is very poor. It is unrealistic and easy to detect. Presumably, it was initially made from hand-made dies before being cast. On the surface, there are knots and caverns as a result of the casting that can be seen with the unaided eye. The edge of the coin was rubbed and polished on the obverse. It is hard to consider this specimen as genuine. Many other obvious defects such as low weight, small measure, the absence of Greek legend on the obverse, the lack of Nike and uneven lines on the reverse and low relief and blurred on both sides. In this particular case, even the counterfeiters did not obtain a high-quality forgery and that is why they left this specimen without further processing.

Bactria

F1868

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, fillet border.

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, Ρ Ι in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 12.1 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis:

Controls:

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1869

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 11.6 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls:

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1870

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐 in lower right field below horses legs, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 12.6 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: 𐡐

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1871

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐 in lower right field below horses legs, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 11.5 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: 𐡐

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1872

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐 in lower right field below horses legs, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 12.4 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡀

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1873

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐 in lower right field below horses legs.

Weight: 12.1 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: 𐡀

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1874

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, ΦI in lower right field below horses legs, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 12.1 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: ΦI

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1875

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, ΦI in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue, oxidize and blacken traces.

Weight: 12.1 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: ΦI

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1876

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡉 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 11.7 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡉

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1877

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡉 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 13.9 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡉

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1878

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 11.9 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡐

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1879

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 12 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡐

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1880

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 12.3 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡐

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1881

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙ[ΔΟΥ] on exergue, 𐡐 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity.

Weight: 11.4 g; Diameter: 27 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡐

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1882

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡌 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 12.7 g; Diameter: 27 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡊

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1883

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border], intentional rubbed right field.

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡌 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue, intentional rubbed right filed.

Weight: 11.2 g; Diameter: 27 mm; Die axis:

Controls:

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1884

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 12 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis:

Controls:

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1885

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, almost heavy porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔ[ΟΥ] on exergue, in lower right field below horses legs, almost heavy porosity.

Weight: 11.1 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis:

Controls:

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1886

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, almost heavy porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙ[ΔΟΥ] on exergue, in lower right field below horses legs, almost heavy porosity.

Weight: 11.3 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls:

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1887

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐 in lower right field below horses legs, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 12.1 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡈

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1888

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, almost heavy porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐 in lower right field below horses legs, almost heavy porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 10.3 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡈

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1889

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐𐡉 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 12.1 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: 𐡐𐡉

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1890

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟ[Υ] on exergue, 𐡐𐡉 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 11.1 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: 𐡐𐡉

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1891

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐𐡉 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 11.7 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡐𐡉

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1892

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐𐡉 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 11.7 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡐𐡉

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1893

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 11.6 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡐

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1894

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, [Ε]ΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟ[Υ] on exergue, 𐡐 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue, oxidize and blacken traces.

Weight: 10.9 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡐

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1895

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙ[ΔΟΥ] on exergue, 𐡉 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue, oxidize and blacken traces.

Weight: 11.1 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡉

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1896

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡉 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 10.8 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡐𐡉

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1897

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐𐡉 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 11.5 g; Diameter: 27 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡐𐡉

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

Bactria

F1898

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐𐡉 in

↑↗

lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 11.3 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis:

Controls: 𐡐𐡉

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

F1899

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐𐡉 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 11.9 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡐𐡉

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

F1900

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, 𐡐𐡉 in

↑↗

lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 11.7 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis:

Controls:

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

F1901

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue.

Weight: 12.2 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis: ↑/

Controls:

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

F1902

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on exergue, in

lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, [uneven sign under the right corner of exergue].

Weight: 12.2 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls:

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

F1903

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, [ΕΥ]ΚΡΑΤΙ[ΔΟΥ] on exergue, in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue, oxidize and blacken traces.

Weight: 12.8 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls:

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

F1904

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, [Ε]ΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟ[Υ] on exergue, in

lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue, oxidize and blacken traces.

Weight: 10.9 g; Diameter: 28 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡌

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11

F1905

Denomination: Tetradrachm?

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Eucratides facing right, wearing crested helmet decorated with ear and horn of a bull, some porosity, [fillet border].

Rev. Dioscouri on horseback charging right, each holding long lances and palm branch; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above curvature left to right, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙ[ΔΟΥ] on exergue, 𐡌 in lower right field below horses legs, some porosity, uneven sign under the right corner of exergue, oxidize and blacken traces.

Weight: 11.1 g; Diameter: 29 mm; Die axis: ↑↗

Controls: 𐡌

References of genuine coin: Bopearachchi, Pl. 17: 38; GSBM, Pl. 5: 7; Gardner 2. Pl. XIV: 23, 34; Newell. Pl. X: 11.

4-2- Alexander's lifetime Issues

4-2-1- Mint

Perhaps three issues belong to Alexander's lifetime. Sardes, no.KH5120, Lampsacus, no.KH5121, and Babylon, no.KH1910,[120] are the mints of these issues. Sardes and Lampsacus issues dated the last year of Alexander's life, the Babylon issue dated c.325-323 BC, Alexander returns from the east and his last two years in Babylon.

4-2-2- Type, Denomination and Material

Two issues are drachm and one specimen is tetradrachm. Sardes, no.KH5120, and Lampsacus, no.KH5121, coins are drachm and the issue of Babylon, no.KH1910 is a tetradrachm. The weight of both drachms is a common weight of Alexander drachms. Sardes coin is 4.1g, and Lampsacus 4 g, the Babylonian one is about 16.4 g. all the specimens are silver.

4-2-3- Obverse Types

All three issues bear the standard obverse of Alexanders. However, the Heracles head is different at various mints, it is general that on the obverse the head of young Heracles can be seen while wears a lion-skin headdress and tied it at the neck. The face is to right. On

[120] For more details, see Pls.16-17.

Lampsacus issue the trace of the dotted border can be seen, however the around of no.KH5120 is not certain.

4-2-4- Reverse Types

Zeus enthroned with the eagle is the general motifs for Alexander's silver issues; Zeus' style is different from one mint to another. On these specimens, typically, Zeus seated on a throne. He extended his right hand and an eagle stand on his palm; and with the other hand, he holds a scepter. In the case of drachms right leg of Zeus drawn back and his left leg is forward. Zeus on the reverse of Babylon tetradrachm is differing from all the coins of Alexander type in the present thesis. His legs are beside. The coin is off the flan and the position of the eagle on his hand is not clear, but Zeus is similar to Ba'al on Tarsus issues. It is an imitation of early issues of Alexander. No.KH1910 is dotted on the reverse.

Normally, the main inscription on a coin, in the Hellenistic period, provided information on the issuing authority, who guaranteed the acceptability of the coinage within the territory under his or its jurisdiction (Mørkholm 1991: 29). The early coinage of Alexander the Great was signed only with his name in the genitive. All coins of Alexander's lifetime bear ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ downward on the right field of reverse.

4-2-5- Monogram, Symbol and Letter

symbols, monograms, and letters were indicating the place of striking, signs of magistrates and great ingenuity was displayed in recognizing civic devices and deciphering cities' names (Bellinger 19663: 23). As a whole, Alexanders bear monograms, symbol and letter on the left side, under the throne and sometimes right side on the field, on the reverse. A symbol, below the throne, and a buckle, below the eagle on the left field, are strike on the reverse of no.KH5121. Sardes issue, no.5120, holds TI as letters and a bee as a symbol under the eagle on the left field of the reverse. Tetradrachm from Babylon, no.KH1910 is

off the flan, it is not certain if it bore any symbol or monogram under the eagle on the left side. However, a monogram  can be seen under the throne.

4-2-6- Summary

During the Hellenistic period a tendency towards a more regular die position, most frequently the vertical upright or 12 o'clock position and sometimes the inverted 6 o'clock orientation, spread from the mints of the Levant. The regular upright position was used at some Alexander mints such as Salamis, Damascus, Citium and Miletus (Mørkholm 1991: 15). The issue presented here no.KH5120 followed the regular vertical upright or 12 o'clock position and the die axis for nos.5121; 1910 is 6 o'clock orientation.

Owning to the great popularity of the Athenian owls the Attic weight standard, was known far and wide, adopted by Alexander for both gold and silver. It rapidly became the dominant weight standard for international trade coinages. At the time of Alexander the common trade coin, the silver tetradrachm, weighted c.17.28 g. didrachm weighted around 8.65g. According to Athenian standard weigh a silver specimen weighed 4.3g, and was divided into 6 obols. Alexander followed the example of Athens and strikes a silver drachm of the same weight (Mørkholm 1991:8-9; Bellinger 1963:2).

Newell shows Alexander's coinage of Tarsus and Myriandrus were directly based on the coinage of the Persian satrap Mazaeus (Newell 1920). Troxell through close study of the tetradrachms in the name of Alexander proved that it was the Macedonian mint that followed the local mint at Tarsus, in 333/332 BC, immediately after the capture of Tarsus, rather than the reverse (Troxell 1997). Le Rider agreed with Troxell; in his opinion, the first tetradrachms with the head of Heracles were struck after the capture of Tarsus (summer 333 BC) and probably not before the victory at Issus (October 333 B.C) (Le Rider 1998: 55). The only Alexanders struck in the area of Alexander's lifetime were attributed to the

Babylon workshop by Newell. Le Rider defends this location but lowers the date, he suggests Babylonian issues would have been minted only from the return of the countryside in India. Accordingly, the production of royal coins at Babylon must have begun after 326 BC, or even 325 BC, as Le Rider correctly asserts[121]. Until c.325/4 BC no coin in the name and the types of Alexander was produced between Tigris and Indus (Le Rider 2003; Le Rider 1998: 55).

Babylonian issues were gold staters and silver tetradrachms with a few dekadrachms. Presumably, the presence of Mazaeus issues was the result of this delay. From 331/30 BC, the mint of Babylon, under the direction of Mazaeus, issued only silver tetradrachms of Attic standard, and double and simple gold darics. While the minting of the lion tetradrachms and imitations continued after his death in 328/27 BC, the gold coins were issued even after 323 BC. At the same time, imitations of Athenian tetradrachms were issued in some unknown area in Babylonia during Alexander's lifetime (Le Rider 2003). It indicates the circulation of Mazaeus' issues and imitation of Athenian tetradrachms in the area, and at the same time, the absence of Alexanders. Numismatic collection at the Kermanshah museum confirmed this claim. There are rich and various issues of Mazaeus and imitation of Athenian tetradrachms at the collection of Kermanshah; while Alexander's lifetime issues form Babylon are absence. It is probable that the production of Babylonian Ba'al/ lion was not to coincide with Alexander's issues. It should be noted that, at the collection of Kermanshah, the earlier Alexander's issue is from Aradus, no.KR451[122], 323-316 BC.

Alexander, after his return from India, settled in Babylon c.325/4 BC. He probably required money for his new expenses because of grandiose funerals of Hephaistion, implementation

[121] Mørkholm argues Babylon was the only mint east of Euphrates and issues were struck for Alexander immediately after its capture in 331 B.C. (Mørkholm 1991: 49).

[122] See Price,Pl.CXVII: P158a

of a new fleet and preparations for the campaign in Arabia (Le Rider 2003). Alexander and Diadochi coined on a huge scale to cover the military and civic expenses which they incurred. Hoards indicate, following the policy of Alexander, wherever and whenever the sources refer to the payment of Macedonian veterans or mercenaries, it is normally noted or may be inferred, that they were paid in silver coins (Le Rider 2003).

During his last year, Alexander enlisted Balkan troops and Greek mercenaries, also training and employing very great numbers of Asian troops in all branches of the army. Alexander recruited many Persians regarding the preparation of the new anabasis, Arabia. His new army was established while Persians were more than Macedonian. His satraps sent a new army, Persians, to Alexander. The early appearance of Alexander lifetime issues in Luristan, indeed, is probably to be connected with the events after Cossaeans subjugation, winter of 324-323 BC, when Peucestas arrived in Babylonia with a Persian army. Relying on Arrian[123], Cossaeans entered to Alexander army because of their ability to war. Alexander placed Cossaeans among the Macedonian ranks. Arrian's passage explains the distribution of payment, as well. Macedonians, in each company, received near 10 staters, however, he did not mention the precise payment of Persians, and this seems they must have been paid less than Macedonians. Alexander died a few after the arrangement of his new army but undoubtedly the soldiers were paid. No.KH1910 was issued in 325/3 BC, when Alexander was preparing an expedition to subdue Arabia. Probably no.KH1910 entered to Cossaeans' land by a soldier (s) in his service.

His issue of tetradrachms in Babylon, no.KH1910, shows the old die engravers continuing their work for the new master. The seated Zeus on the reverse is clearly cut by the same hand that had earlier produced a seated Ba'al for, lion and Ba'al type, Mazaeus issues. The style of Zeus on no.KH.1910 is similar to Mazaeus issues at Kermanshah collection,

[123] (See chapter 2, Arr.Anab.7.23.)

nos.KR1756, KR1761, KR1766 (Pl.14). Furthermore, the similarity between the stool's, throne, feet on the Mazaeus specimens and the throne of Zeus on no.KH1910 is noticeable. All issues have the same throne, stool, on the reverse. The specimen no.KH1910, weighted 16.4g, can be considered one of the earliest issues of Alexander at Babylon.

Between the spring of 334 BC and the spring of 333 BC, Alexander occupied many small towns and several cities of importance: Sardes, Ephesus, Magnesia, Colophon, Miletus, Phaselis, Aspendus and Side. In no case is there any sign of his using their mints to strike his types. Alexander treated Sardes no differently than the other cities of western Asia Minor (Le Rider 1998:52- 56). The mints of western Asia Minor only began to issue Alexanders towards the end of his reign, in 325 BC.The late strike of the Alexanders is explained by the need to pay the Macedonian and mercenaries after 325 BC when Alexander settled in Babylon (Le Rider 2003; Mørkholm 1991:45). Thompson suggested, numismatists accepted her opinion, which Alexander decided to send the Macedonian veterans home and discharge the mercenaries (Thompson 1984). It obliged him to make enormous payments. These payments had to be made as near as possible to the homeland of those affected, it would have been essential to prepare the means of payment in Macedonia and Asia Minor, in particular, to pay both Macedonian soldiers and the mercenaries from Thessaly, Thrace, mainland Greece, and the coasts and islands of the Aegean. One can understand why in Asia Minor it was necessary to open several mints (Le Rider 1998: 56; De Callatay 2012: 179).

Mørkholm referred to Thompson and Bellinger for the situation of mints in Asia Minor: in about 330 BC a new mint was opened in Sardis, the capital of the ancient Lydian kingdom and the center of a satrapy since the days of Persian rule. During the first years, mostly gold staters were struck, but from c.325/4 BC a distinctive feature of the mint became its great output of drachms. At Sardes, the production of drachms soon came to be far more

important while the silver tetradrachms were quite rare before c.320 BC gold was still coined in relative abundance with a marked increase during the years 321 to 318 BC (Mørkholm 1991: 50).

The first Sardian Alexander drachm was issued c.325 B.C (Le Rider 1998: 54). No.KH5120 was struck at the first activity of Sardes and no.KH5121in 323- 317 BC, from the last year of Alexander's life to the death of Phillip III[124]. Asia Minor mints struck drachms in a large quantity for the veterans and mercenaries who were sent back home. Though, the issue, no.KH5120, was issued during Alexander's lifetime it is not easy to accept the issue arrived in Luristan at the same time it was struck. Presumably, as Thompson said drachms were struck for the west of Asia Minor soldiers and the monetary policy had not intended to circulate drachms in the east of territory or the end-users of Asia Minor drachms were not in the west of Iran. Numismatic collections at the museums of Kermanshah, Hamedan and Ilam showed tetradrachms were in circulation more than didrachms and drachms.

4-3- **Alexander's Posthumous Issues**

Some 27 tetradrachms and drachms in the name of Alexander III were found in Luristan, reportedly all from Luristan. Of these, some 3 were described as Alexander's lifetime issues. The rest of the 24 issues are posthumous.[125] All but three are drachms.

4-3-1- Mint

A posthumous tetradrachm was struck at Miletus mint, no.KH1907. The mint of no.KH1908 is controversial. The precise location of the mint is not certain, however, Price argues the mint is in the East. Le Rider considered the issue as an Eastern imitation of Alexanders.

[124] It is not sure if the issue, no.KH5121, was produced at the time when the Great King was alive. It was struck at Lampsacus in 323-317 B.C. For convenience, it was considered Alexander's lifetime issue. The issue will be discussed among posthumous issues as well.

[125] For more details, see Pls.16-17.

The series no.496, in Suse catalogue, came from a hoard discovered in Iraq, which would confirm the Eastern origin of this group (Le Rider 1965: 201; 442). An issue, no.68, from the National Museum Collection in Tehran belongs to this series (Baseri 2011: 195). Another issue, no.247 was found among a hoard was discovered South-east of Antioch. Matingly has considered a western Asia Minor mint for this issue (Matingly 1993: 76). In the Opinion of current author, Le Rider and Price accurately identified the origin of this mint. The presented issues were in circulation from the West, Antioch, to the East, Mesopotamia and Persian Gulf. Thus, Eastern Mint can be an appropriate title for the mint of no.KH1908.

Although it is not certain probably no.KH1909 was produced at a mint in Babylon. Nash provisionally attributed the issue to Seleuceia as Tigrim (Nash 1974:28). Price, by the concentration of the style of the issue, suggested the issue is obviously that of the Babylonian region (Price 1991: 481). If we rely on the style of the Babylonian issues Price correctly asserts. Therefore no.KH1909 must have been produced a mint in Babylon.

Twenty- four drachms are from Colophon, Lampsacus, Abydus, Mylasa, Sardes, Magnesia, and uncertain mints. Of these, some seven were described as Lampsacus drachms, and at least 8 were produced at Colophon mint. The collection also contains two specimens from Abydus, an issue of Sardes, one from Magnesia and one from Mylasa dated between c. 323_ 297 BC. Nearly all, but three, were identified. Probably one of the latter issues minted at Colophon and another specimen was produced at Sardes mint.

4-3-2- Type, Denomination and Material

Alexander’s posthumous specimens include 24 tetradrachms and drachms. From these 3 specimens are tetradrachm.

At the time of Alexander, the silver tetradrachm weighted 17.28g. By 300 BC, this weight had been slightly reduced to 17.20g and about 172 BC the weight of tetradrachm was reduced to c.16.80g (Mørkholm 1991:8). The weight of all three tetradrachms is various. The weight of the Eastern imitation issue, no.KH1908, is c.13g. It is a low weight for such a series of issues. The compared issues from the catalogues of Suse and Baseri are between 15.30- 16.90 g. the other two issues nos.KH1909; KH1907 are c.16.80g.

Twenty- three posthumous Alexander- type drachms at the Collection of Falak-ol- Aflak Museum are the standard weight. The average weight for silver drachms is 4.2-3.5 g.

4-3-3- Obverse Type

The obverse of all coins followed the common design of Alexander silver issues even after his death during the Diadochi. A combination of Heracles and Zeus was used on both silver tetradrachm and drachm. The design was the same but mane of lion head-dress and the face of Heracles was various from one mint to another. In this way each mint acquired his special style, for example, the mint of Sardes keep the mane of a lion almost constantly straight or on Babylonian issues the mane of lion head-dress on Heracles was mass and thick.

4-3-4- Reverse Type

Zeus Aetophoros was the design of both drachm and tetradrachm of Alexander types. He seated to left on a throne. He held an eagle on his palm of the right hand and a scepter on his left hand. The character of posthumous issues is the position of his legs. On the reverse of such issues right leg drawn back and left leg forward. Such features can be seen among all 23 issues.

In about 329 BC the title of King (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ) was added to the name at Myriandrus, and from then on the new form of the inscription was adopted at different mints, although it

never became universal during Alexander's lifetime. The successors, however, starting with Ptolemy in Egypt, used both title and name on their issues, and this was continued by their descendants (Mørkholm 1991: 29). All the Alexander posthumous issues, but one, only bear the name of Alexander on the right field on the reverse. The title of King, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, is scribed on the exergue of no.KH1909, probably from Babylon.

4-3-5- Monogram, Symbol and Letter

Symbols and letters are the majority of marks on the Alexanders. Monogram bore on 11 issues whereas symbol and letter appeared 40 times. Most of the specimens have more than a mark. All marks were struck on reverse. Monograms, symbol and letter were used on the left field, under the throne in some cases, no.KH4083, on the right field of the coins. All the issues are silver tetradrachm and drachm. The drachms were struck in the Asia Minor mints which were responsible to produce Alexander drachms.

Miletus tetradrachms are identified by a monogram, MI, on the left field on the reverse. It facilitates the recognition of this issue. However no.KH1908 is off the flan, perhaps a crescent is under the gazelle but is not certain.

No coins, but no.KH1909, bear exergue. On the exergue of no.KH1909 "of King" or "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ" can be seen. Three letters, Δ-ΘΕ, are on the reverse. This issue was probably mint in Babylon.

The forepart of Pegasus is the main symbol of Lampsacus issues. The mint of Lampsacus is basically attested by the large issue with Pegasus forepart, the badge of the city, as its major control (Thompson 1991, 11). This feature has been recognized for nos.KH5118, KH5119, KH5110, KH5125. Artemis is another important symbol for Lampsacus.

All issues of Colophon have marks on both left fields and under the throne. The letters B, K, N, Π, ΒΤΙ, Φ are all considered for the Colophon mint. Some symbols such as lion-head,

pentagon and crescent are among the main symbols at Colophon. Specimen no.KH1768 was not identified but the study of die linkage showed it shared the same obverse with a drachm of Colophon, Pl.XIII:6, in Mesopotamia hoard. The Mesopotamian specimen has a crescent on the left field and a letter, N, under the throne of (Jenkins 1967:43).

Abydus was a mint close to Lampsacus mint. Identification of the issues from Abydus is not as simple as Thompson suggested (Thompson 1991). Two issues of Abydus, presented here, are among the common issues of this mint. Leaf, no.KH5113, and prow, no.KH1766, are the most significant symbols of Abydus.

The monogram  is considered to Mylasa. It was appeared for a short period on the left field on the reverse of coins, no.KH1765, at Mylasa (Thompson 1981). This series from Mylasa bore different letters under the throne as well. A KH is under the throne on no.KH1765. It seems for the coins that only one pair of dies was used for this series of coins.

The coin no.KH5122 is minted in Magnesia. The specimen is not clear. Most details on the issue are eliminated. A monogram under the throne and a letter, B, on the left side are certain regarding this coin.

No.KH5120 is well preserved. The vivid symbols, bee, and letters, TI, form Sardes can be seen on the left field of reverse no.KH5120.

The mint of two issues, nos.KH1911; KH1913, were not identified (Pl.III). However the issue no.KH1911 is not clear due to abrasion the trace of a monogram, palm, and perhaps a letter, K, can be seen. No.KH1911 is almost well preserved and an A is under the throne. But punch from obverse side vanish the symbol on the reverse. The study of die linkage suggested Sardes mint for this issue, but it is uncertain.

4-3-6- Summary

Some of Diadochi played parts of any importance during the struggles of Successors (see chapter 3). The boundaries of the satrapies would be maintained as they had been in Alexander's time and money was still the kings' money, only now at the disposal of the regent (Bellinger 1963:84). The issues in the name of Alexander were struck by the Diadochi partly as an indication of their right to the succession and partly for use as an 'alliance' coinage for military purposes (Price 1991:75). Moreover, Alexanders were acceptable among the soldiers. The bulk "Alexanders" was struck posthumously, to pay for the many wars that occurred in the decades following his death. The only common change made after the death of Alexander IV in 310 BC. Antigonus, Seleucus, Lysimachus and Ptolemy took the title "of king -ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ", in 306/5 BC. Thereupon, Alexander's name was replaced with the name of the individual who produced the money. Thus there survive Alexander types bearing the names of Antigonus Monophthalmos (the one-eyed) and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes (the Besieger) as well as Seleucus I, and even Lysimachus before he introduced his new type (Bauslaugh 1984). None of the drachms presented here bear the name of Phillip III; all issues bear the name of the Warrior King, Alexander, on the right field on the reverse. From 332 BC to the end of the century, around 3000 obverse dies were required to strike the silver tetradrachms and 3,300 for the drachms[126]. Around 300 BC, the "Alexanders" represented half (or more) of all the circulating Greek coinages. For a century at least, coins in the name of Alexander largely dominated the content of international hoards (De Callatay 2012: 179).

All the western mints of drachms presented here, with the exception of Sardes, were located in Greek cities on the near coast. According to Newell and Thompson, Drachms were struck at the mints of Lampsacus, Abydus, Sardes, Teos, Colophon, Magnesia on the Maeander

[126] An average productivity was 20,000 coins per die (which means around 350 kg of monetized silver per obverse die).

and Miletus. Sardes started the coinage of Alexander in c.330 BC. The same, after Sardes, happens at a number of other mints, all located in Greek cities in the western part of Asia Minor. In Ionia, Magnesia on the Maeander started to produce Alexander coins, gold staters and silver drachms, in c. 329/8 BC, to be followed by Colophon and Miletus c.325/4 BC, and Teos c.324/3 BC at the Hellespont, Lampsacus began minting Alexander coins around 329 or 328 BC. Abydus and Colophon and Miletus started in c. 325/4 BC and Teos in 324/3 BC. Price believed Abydus struck drachms sooner in c.328 BC and Magnesia in c.325 BC. In all these mint the silver drachm was by far the most common denomination to be struck.

During the reign of Alexander and down to c.319/18 BC, Sardis remained the most productive of the mints, followed by Colophon and Lampsacus. The issues of Magnesia, Miletus[127] and Abydus were medium-sized, while Teos was a relatively small mint. In addition, Sardis, Miletus, Lampsacus and Abydus struck some tetradrachm issues. Miletus issued gold coins from 323 to 317 BC in the form of posthumous staters of Philip II's type (Mørkholm 1991: 50).

Heracles and enthroned Zeus issues appeared in the service of the cities as well (Bellinger 1963:91). The style was known, acceptable and universal. Barbaric/ Oriental imitation of Alexander type and which may also have been issued in Arabia, at least in this region of the east. Similar series are part of treasures that were discovered in Iraq and on the island of Failaka, the ancient Icaros. Their flank, in general, is medium. They testify to the popularity of the Alexandrian types among the Orientals and Arabs, and it is understandable that the Susians, whose merchants were in contact with them, along the eastern and southern coast of Arabia, have preserved the types of alexander on their tetradrachms until the beginning of

[127] Hersh and Troxell study confirmed the date Thompson considered for the mints of Miletus and Abydus. Thompson proposed Miletus began to produce Alexanders in c.325 B.C and Abydus in c. 325/4 B.C (Hersh & Troxell 1993).

the reign of Antiochus III (Le Rider 1965: 442). No.KH1908 is an oriental imitation of Alexander type, the issue was in circulation even in the north of Susa in Luristan. Another issue, Baseri: 68, of this type, are among the collection of the National Museum in Tehran.

No.KH1909, as it mentioned, must have been produced a mint in Babylon. Perhaps the production of this type was not huge and numerous. A few specimens of this issue have been discovered. The style of the issue is comparable to Babylonian issues. It was struck about 310 BC. The issues had been struck for Seleucus when he could re-capture Babylon. The legend on exergue,ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, can imply his claim as a king.

Minting of Alexanders had been seized at the end of the reign of Philip III; issuing was resumed after the battle of Ipsus (Price 1991:277). No.KH1907 was produced after the capture of Miletus by Lysimachus in 294 BC. The close die-linking suggested that such issues should be struck in a short period.

The attribution to Lampsacus for this early group relies on the regular inclusion of the Pegasus-forepart, recognisable badge of the city, in the second and subsequent periods of minting (Price 1991: 210; Thompson, 1991: 11).

No.KH5121 was issued the last year of Alexander's life or during the reign of his half-brother Philip III, 323-317 BC. During 323- 317 BC, the coinage of Philip III continued and extended the arrangement of Alexander's reign (Price 1991: 73). Lampsacus issued latter issues, buckle monogram, for both kings. Buckle symbols disproportionately large and almost certainly extended over several years. The last issues with such monogram bear the name of Phillip (Thompson 1991:38)

From 317 to 300 BC the establishment of the posthumous Alexanders in Asia Minor can be connected with the military activities of Antigonus Monophtalmus and later Lysimachus (Price 1991: 74). Lampsacus had a break during the reign of Philip; the coinage was resumed when Antigonus was marshalling his forces to re-establish the Macedonian Empire

under his leadership. Probably all issues from Lampsacus, but one (no.KH5121), was struck for Antigonus in 310-301 BC.

Several of the early issues of Lampsacus carry the Pegasus-forepart. Four issues presented here carry fore-part, nos.KH5118, KH5119, KH5110, KH5125, of Pegasus on the left field on the reverse. The attribution to Lampsacus of those issues which bear the Pegasus-forepart is straightforward, although it must be noted that in the second period of minting this is only one of a variety of symbols and letters which provide major divisions of the coinage, amphora, Artemis and "N" are the most frequent symbols and letters in this period (Price 1991: 210).

The majority of issues of the collection are contributed to the colophon mint dated between ca. 323 to 297 BC. Nine of the 23 drachms of Alexander type were produced at Colophon. The best preserved and most extensively represented coins of the group were issued in the Colophon (pl. 1- 2). Probably nos.KH4083; KH5115 were struck the first year after the death of Alexander. Price considered two issues were produced during 323-319 BC (Price 1991). The Near East hoard is considered as one of the oldest hoards of drachms of Alexander. No drachm of Colophon appeared among the drachms of Near East hoard (Hersh & Troxell 1993). The absence of any issue from Colophon perhaps indicates that at the time of the hoard's burial the mint had not yet started to strike for Alexander, or has been doing so for a too-short time for its coin to have got into circulation. Colophon probably produced the first Alexanders in 322 BC (Le Rider 1998: 54). Six specimens of Colophon coins, nos.KH4082, KH1912, KH5109, KH5116, KH5117, KH1768, were produced for Antigonus.

The study on die linkage brought to light the origin of no.KH.1768. The obverse die of this coin point with considerable certainty to its issuance at Colophon. It shares the same obverse to an issue at Mesopotamia catalogue (Pl.XIII:6, and Price catalogue, Pl.CXXVII:

1801). The coin's obverse was struck from the same die as a drachm, no.HM.7222, at the collection of the Hamedan Museum. The issue at Hamedan collections carries a "B" on the left field and an "N" is inscribed under the throne on the reverse (Pl.14). In the catalogue of Jenkins, Mesopotamia, the issues with the same obverse have letters N, B, Π,Σ, Crescent and lion-head on the reverse.

The early third century, 300- 280 BC, saw a marked decrease in the numbers of gold staters and drachms, and tetradrachms came to be the staple Alexander coinage. The coinage of the Diadochi was partly as an indication of their right to the succession and partly for use as an "alliance coinage" for military purposes. The latest coin, no.KH5114, was minted in Colophon and has been assigned to c.301_ 297 BC. Lion-head on the left field of this issue indicates the issue must have been produced for Lysimachus. The presence of Lysimachus is probably to be recognized in the lion-forepart symbol for Colophon issues (Price 1991: 248).

According to Hersh, Magnesia probably began to strike drachms of Alexander a little before the death of the king. Abydus, Magnesia and Miletus all seemingly operated only c.325 BC. Thompson believed this mint started to produce drachms in 330/29 BC. Price suggested Magnesia struck the first Alexander drachms nearly 325 BC (Hersh & Troxell 1993). No.KH5122 was dated around 319_305 BC. The impressive coinage uninterrupted after Antigonus came to power in Ionia in 319 BC. The final issues of Philip see the first use of the monogram  . This opens a period of intensive coinage with variant monogram. Toward the end of this group letters or a monogram are placed within a wreath. Hence, no.KH5122 can be considered an issue was struck for the use of Antigonus when he captured Magnesia mint (Price 1991:264)

No.KH1765 is in relation to Antigonus. The period of struggle between 315 and 311 BC may be responsible for a small coinage of Alexander drachms at Mylasa in Caria

(Thompson 1981). Four different issues are involved, three of which are die-linked. Their production has been connected with the activities of Eupolemus, a Macedonian officer fighting for Cassander against Antigonus in Caria in 315/14 BC (Mørkholm 1991:59).

No.KH1913 raises a significant numismatic problem. It is stylistically similar to other drachms of Sardes. The reverse of no.KH1913 carries an "A", a letter of which appears consistently on the coinage of Sardes. An obscure monogram, because a punch on the obverse, on the left field is not recognizable. Sardes issues with the letter "A" bear a torch on the left filed but it is not certain if a torch was the monogram for no.KH1913. The obverse die of this coin is not certainty similar to Sardes issues. The lion head-dress is not exactly comparable with Sardes coinage. The question of attribution thus posed demands review of the material bearing on the fundamental issue of whether Sardes struck any coins with this distinguishing magistrate's mark.

4-4- Seleucus IV

4-4-1- Mint

Ecbatana mint was the most important mint for the satrapy of Media. During the reign of Seleucus IV Ecbatana was responsible for tetradrachm, while his drachms were produced at another mint were called ΞAP Mint and another Uncertain Mint78 by Houghton. The coins of ΞAP Mint has been confused with that of Ecbatana. No.KH5123[128] was struck at ΞAP Mint. This mint was probably in north-eastern Iran and had emerged in the reign of his father, Antiochus III, to specialize in the production of drachms (Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008:3-30).

[128] For more details, see Pl.18.

4-4-2- Type, Denomination and Material

The issue of Seleucus IV is a silver drachm, no.KH5123. No other coin from him was found among the collection.

4-4-3- Obverse Type

The obverse of Seleucus IV drachm followed the same style of Seleucid kings. It depicts the diademed head of Seleucus IV facing to right, and one diadem end falling up behind his shoulder while the other falling forward over his shoulder.

4-4-4- Reverse Type

For the reverse of the silver, the dynastic Apollo on omphalos was retained. It shows Apollo seated left on an Omphalos and holding arrow right hand while resting his left hand on grounded compound bows. Two legends were scripted on the reverse; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ downward on the right field and, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ downward on the left field.

4-4-5- Monogram, Symbol and Letter

The majority of Seleucid silver issues of Ecbatana do not bear symbols, monograms, and letters. However, the Mint ΞΑΡ produced a series of drachms for Seleucus IV in which both monograms and letters were struck. Houghton believed ΞΑΡ on the right field of drachm is the name of the mint; furthermore no.KH5123 bears a monogram, on the left field, which is very similar to the monogram of the Ecbatana. It has been suggested a magistrate from Ecbatana was transferred to ΞΑΡ Mint (Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 30).

4-4-6- Summary

Seleucus IV issue can be considered as the earliest evidence of Seleucid coinage in Luristan[129]. His attention also was probably to the east of his empire. Ecbatana, ΞAP Mint and Uncertain Mint 78 produced coins for Seleucus IV; all three mints technically support each other, such as transferring the magistrates. Probably both latter mints were in the north of Ecbatana. ΞAP Mint was responsible to strike drachm issues in the reign of Antiochus III and it continued to produce drachms for Seleucus IV. The opening ΞAP Mint was in association with the problem of the Parthians. If the mint was opened for the security of the Eastern of the kingdom it indicates ΞAP Mint had been located in a military area close to the border of Parthia or may reflect a strengthening of the garrison there (Houghton 2002:1). Its output was intended to support the payment of militaries in that zone. It should be noticed that a drachm issue, no.KH5123, was found in Luristan. However, the issue did not acquire in an archaeological context; presumably, the existence of this issue in Luristan is in relation to the presence of Seleucid militaries in this area.

4-4-7- Timarchus

4-4-8- Mint

The main mint of Timarchus was Ecbatana. All of Timarchus' known coinage, except a single bronze issue of uncertain attribution, was the product of Ecbatana (Le Rider 1965: 332-334). Ecbatana produced several rare issues of silver, and three series of bronzes. One of his bronze series does not bear any symbol, such as No.KH5132[130].

4-4-9- Type, Denomination and Material

[129] Until we don't acquire new issues from Seleucid kings in Luristan.
[130] For more details, see Pl.18.

The bronze series of Timarchus parallels and is the obvious successor to that of Antiochus III struck at Ecbatana between 209 and 205 BC (Bellinger 1945:40). Unmarked bronze coins of Ecbatana have been issues in two series by their legend. The first series has a line of legend on the right side and two lines on the left side and presumed earlier. Furthermore, it has smaller flans and four denominations; AA-A-B-C. The diameter of denomination B is c.18mm and an average weight 8.94- 9.94 g. (Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 147). No.KH5132 can be placed among the first series, Denomination B.

4-4-10-Obverse Type

The obverse of Timarchus' bronze issues follows the tradition of the Seleucid coinage. On the obverse of his coins the diademed head of Timarchus was struck while facing to right. The end of his diadem fell up to his behind, and another end fell forward over his right shoulder. The border of the coin is designed by dots and the edge is fairly beveled.

4-4-11-Reverse Type

On the reverse of no.KH 5132 Nike is presented while is advancing the left side and extended wreath into legend with her right hand, and holding a palm branch over her shoulder with the left hand. There are three lines of inscription on the reverse; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ downward on the right field, ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ downward on the inner left field and finally, ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ downward on the outer left field. The border on the reverse is dotted as the obverse. This legend modeled on contemporaneous silver issues of Eucratides of Bactria.

4-4-12-Monogram, Symbol and Letter

The bronze coinage of Timarchus at Ecbatana doesn't bear symbol, letter and monogram. Only a few issues have a mark as the mark of value (see Bellinger 1945:40). Any symbols, letters or monograms are absent on no.KH5132.

4-4-13-Summary

No.KH5132 was struck at Ecbatana. Chronologically, the coin is the second Seleucid issue that was discovered in Luristan. Ecbatana struck issues for Timarchus by his name during his rebel. He did not accept the kingship of Demetrius and called himself king. Timarchus' coins confirmed that the centre of his power was Ecbatana. He ruled for a short time. His issues are rare; it is probable that after he was defeated and slain by Demetrius, his issues were gathered by the order of Demetrius. Even though, a bronze issue of Timarchus was found in Luristan.

The issues of Timarchus were struck at Ecbatana to buy loyalty or to meet campaign expenses against Demetrius I. His troops were from Media. It is not strange if we consider no.KH5132 was in association with the payoff of the militaries. What is sure, no.KH5132 in Luristan reflects the broad circulation of Timarchus' issues in Luristan. This issue can be concerning another military conflict as no.KH5123.

4-5- Demetrius I

4-5-1- Mint

Mint of Ecbatana was an active mint for the drachms of Demetrius I. He seems to have concentrated drachm production at Ecbatana. The bulk of Demetrius' drachms discovered in Iran can confirm it. Five drachms of Demetrius I were identified among the collection of Falak-ol-Aflak Museum, all minted at Ecbatana.

4-5-2- Type, Denomination and Material

All five issues are silver drachms. The weight of drachms is a standard weight for drachms. The average weight is c.3.6-4.1g.

4-5-3- Obverse Type

Demetrius' portrait appeared on all of his silver drachms at Ecbatana. On the obverse, the diademed head of Demetrius can be seen while he is facing to right. On all issues, but no.KH3944, one diadem end fell behind of Demetrius and the other fell forward over his shoulder. In the case of no.KH3944 both diadem end fell behind of the king. Every issue presented a different face of Demetrius. It indicated all five issues were produced from different dies. Probably under the chin of Demetrius on no.KH5124 there is a monogram however it is not certain. The border of coins is various.

The border of nos.KH3944; KH5124 is designed by fillet. Nos.KH2895; KH3709 and KH5134 are bordered by dots.[131]

4-5-4- Reverse Type

Demetrius, I retained the dynastic Apollo on omphalos for the reverse of the silver at Ecbatana. All of his silver drachms bear this design. Apollo seated left on Omphalos and holding an arrow by his right hand while leaning on grounded bows by his left hand. On the right field of all of his coins, the word "Of King" or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is inscribed downward and his name, DHMHTRIOU, on the left field. His epithet ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ is inscribed nos.KH2895; KH5124 and KH5134 in exergue. The border of all issues, but no.KH3709 is designed by dots. Regarding no.KH5124 probably a letter, "Z", is on the omphalos.[132]

[131] For more details, see Pl.18.

[132] Personal communication with Professor Arthur Houghton.

4-5-5- Monogram, Symbol and Letter

Some of the drachms bear a horse head or a monogram on the reverse at Ecbatana. Among the drachms presented here only no.KH5124 bears a monogram and perhaps a letter. The monogram is under the chin of Demetrius on the obverse and the letter, "Z", is on the omphalos on the reverse of the specimen. The rest of drachms, as mentioned, do not bear controls.

4-5-6- Summary

Two workshops were active for Demetrius I at Ecbatana. The first workshop specialized in drachms (but also responsible for the gold stater), the second specialized in tetradrachms but adding gold staters and drachms in the final years of the reign.

It is probable that the drachms of Demetrius were struck in a short time with voluminous issues and low accuracy, besides; die axes did not follow the same pattern. The quality of drachms of Hamedan and Malek museums are truly low. Two issues with some errors are among the collection of Falak-ol-Aflak. No.2895 shared the same obverse with SNG (Spaer, Pl. 90: 1383). But the legend on the reverse did not seem is similar to the SNG issue. It seems that the letter "O" of the name of Demetrius is missed. The reverse die can be considered a new die with an error. As a whole most of Demetrius' drachms bear dotes on the border on the obverse. No.KH3944 is fillet in the border on the obverse and the reverse is a double strike; it creates a shadow effect for the coin. This issue is a new drachm of Demetrius.

No. KH5124 is another unpublished Demetrius' issue at. Both obverse and reverse are new. On the obverse, the portrait of Demetrius is depicted in more age and a monogram can be seen under his chin. There is an uncertain letter, perhaps a Z, on the omphalos on the

reverse. None of the Demetrius issues bear such a letter on an omphalos. No.KH5124 is certainly a new and unpublished coin.

The last issue of Demetrius, no.KH5134, from the collection, is not clear; however, it can be another unpublished specimen.

Three of Demetrius issues bear his epithet, ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Demetrius received the surname of Soter (the Protector), from Babylonians after he defeated Timarchus. This epithet can be seen on a large number of Demetrius' issues from Ecbatana.

As Houghton argues, Demetrius has concentrated drachm production at Ecbatana. The output of the Ecbatana mint was plentiful. The issues are characterized by their varieties of style, fabric, and even engraving techniques. The plenty of Demetrius drachms may be concerning the re-using of Timarchus' metal coinage and conversion into drachms of Demetrius (Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 195). He put in circulation his drachms widely. His opinion is quite logical, the majority of Seleucid drachms were discovered in the west of Iran belong to Demetrius. Five coins of Demetrius' drachms were identified at the collection of Falak-ol-Aflak Museum and a bulk of Demetrius' drachms were found among the collections of Malek and Hamedan Museums.

As mentioned main users of the Seleucid coins were militaries. Undoubtedly, the new Demetrius issues were expended for the military expenses, to pay the army and to strengthen the garrisons in the area. Presumably, after defeating Timarchus, these issues were arrived in Luristan for military expense and activities.

4-6- Alexander Balas

4-6-1- Mint

Ecbatana produced bronze issues for a broad regional economy during the reign of Alexander Balas. It was an active bronze mint during the reign of Alexander Balas

(Aperghis 2004: 225). Two bronze issues, nos.KH3881- KH3882,[133] of Alexander were struck at Ecbatana.

4-6-2- Type, Denomination and Material

The bronze issues of Ecbatana are characterised by their bevelled flans, loose dies and a wide range of weights (Le Rider 1965: 338-339). Both issues, presented here, have bevelled edges and different sizes, the light issue 15.9 g., and the other 20.3 g. Under the reign of Antiochus IV, the weight of coins reduced and again it happens later under Alexander Balas (Newell 1939; Mørkholm 1984; Houghton 2012). Thus, the presented issues can be placed among octachalkoi.

4-6-3- Obverse Type

Alexander's bronze coins from Ecbatana exhibit a certain type, including the bust of Alexander Balas on the obverse. It shows the diademed head of Alexander Balas. His face is to right. The ends of the diadem fell straight behind. Around of obverse is designed by dots, with a bevelled edge. Both coins, presented here, share the same obverse and reverse types, but differ slightly in their portraits. Perhaps they were struck from different dies. No. 3881 depicts the diademed head of Alexander Balas, with the bevelled edge on the obverse as a common feature of Ecbatana's royal bronze coinage. No. 3381 portrays Alexander as strikingly muscular, clean-shaven[134], with a large head, wild hair, thick neck, nearly a straight nose, protruding jaw, an emphasized supraorbital ridge and in particular big eyes. Alexander's portrait on obverse no. 3882 appears different in some aspects. On the whole, it

[133] For more details, see Pl.18.

134 This characteristic appears from S.E 164 (149/ 148 B.C) on the obverse of his tetradrachms such as Antioch on the Orontes (See Houghton, Lorber and Hoover. Part II. Pl.21:1780-81; Pl.22: 1797).

shows Alexander with leaner features and more freshly, than no. 3881. No. 3881 seems to portray a more mature Alexander[135] (Hadipour & Sodaei 2020a).

4-6-4- Reverse Type

On the reverse of Ecbatana bronze issues various types of motifs were struck; such as an elephant with a mahout, tripod, Nike, bee, an elephant with a mark of value, horse head and anchor. Two specimens, nos.KH3881- KH3882, incorporate, a military reverse type, an elephant by a mahout advancing to the right side. The legend contains the name of Alexander and his epithet. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ were inscribed on the right field in two lines and his cult epithet ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ on the right field in two lines. The border on the reverse is dotted as the obverse.

4-6-5- Monogram, Symbol and Letter

Ecbatana's bronze issues did not bear any symbol, monogram and letters. In some cases, the issues bore a mark of value. There is not a "mark of value" on either of the two coins presented; also, both presented specimens do not bear any control. Alexander Balas' issues bore all of these military concepts as the figure of reverse.

4-6-6- Summary

In 2004 two Seleucid bronze coins of Alexander Balas were discovered during a regular excavation at Sorkh Dom-e Laki, Kouhdasht town, Luristan. Excavations mainly brought to light remains of structures dated to Iron Age II and III; among other materials, also two

135 This is unlikely that the specimens depict a chronological development because the coins were produced within a very short time frame.

Seleucid bronze coins of Alexander Balas were found.[136] The two issues were produced at Ecbatana. Two coins from Sorkh Dom e- Laki are of good quality and well preserved. Georges Le Rider, Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes (Paris, 1965) formally published a complete collection of Hellenistic coins; but probably these Bronze coins of Alexander Balas are the first publication that carefully describes the precise archaeological context of the finds (Hadipour & Sodaei 2020a).

For local, everyday use, bronze coins were the currency of choice tended to circulate only within the area of economic influence of the Seleucid. From the mint of Ecbatana, only royal bronze issues are known, as opposed to municipal or civic issues (Mørkholm 1984: 101).

Alexander's portrait on obverse no. 3882 appears different in some aspects. On the whole, it shows Alexander with leaner, more youthful features than no. 3881. No. 3881 seems to portray a more mature Alexander. It is probable that no. 3882 was a new obverse portrait. No identical obverse was found during this study; we, therefore, suggest that no.3882 was struck from a new die and that this new obverse die should be added to the royal bronze coins of Alexander Balas (Hadipour & Sodaei 2020a).

Two specimens from Sorkh Dom-e Laki incorporate, a military reverse type, an elephant by a mahout advancing to the right side. The legend contains the name of Alexander ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ and his cult epithet ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. His epithet makes his explicit allusions to his 'divine' father (Chrubasik 2016. 164). This cult epithet appears on coins of all metals from Ecbatana.

A bronze coin of Alexander Balas, inventory number 5103/06/00132, is kept in Malek Museum in Tehran; another Alexander Balas bronze issue, inventory number 7225, belongs to the numismatic collection of Hamedan Museum. But the Malek and Hamedan issues both

136 Only these two specimens were discovered from the site.

have a mark of value. Both specimens are c.22 mm. in diameter and c.8.5 g in weight. They are smaller than the Sorkh Dom coins and were struck from different dies. The two coins from Sorkh Dom e- Laki are of good quality and well preserved; they are not off the flan and all the details are visible. Together, no.7225, no.5103/06/00132, several bronze issues of Alexander Balas in Arnold Spear Collection, Suse catalogues and the two bronze specimens presented here make up all the bronze coins of Alexander Balas found in Iran. The output of Alexander Balas coinage clearly cannot be judged on the amount of coins that survives (Hadipour & Sodaei 2020a).

The Seleucid kings created a network of garrisons in the satrapies and a regularly employed mercenary force, which might serve garrison duty in (rare) 'peacetime' conditions. These troops most probably required regular pay (Austin 1986: 464–5). Military issues were intended specifically for the pay of soldiers, and they might be produced both in wartime and in peacetime, for the pay of troops (Aperghis 2010: 56).Sorkh Dom e-Laki may be considered as a military site to control the area or main routes and soldiers received the two bronze coins as payment since both issues are military type, minted at Ecbatana.

Ecbatana produced bronze issues for the broad regional economy. It was one of the major eastern mints for bronze. Ecbatana supplied Media and most of the Upper Satrapies and probably the south region, Luristan, as well. The mint was an active bronze mint during the reign of Alexander Balas (Aperghis 2004: 225). Two presented bronze coins are almost certainly connected to the rule of Alexander Balas in present Luristan. The issues were minted at Ecbatana, at a distance of about 340 km. Their find spots indicate that these coins circulated fairly broadly through Media and further to Luristan and the south, to Susa. This means that royal bronze coins of Alexander Balas were produced to serve a much wider area than the hinterland of the issuing city. Seleucid issues of Ecbatana came to an end with

coins of Alexander Balas when the Parthians arrived in Ecbatana in 148/7 B.C (Hadipour & Sodaei 2020a).

4-7- Foreign Currency

Crucial changes in the Seleucid financial system occurred in the 2nd century. The Seleucids allowed foreign currencies on the Attic standard to circulate freely. The arrival of new foreign currencies keyed to Syrian financial markets (Houghton 2004: 54; Aperghis 2004 239-42). The Attic standard at the Seleucid mints was allowed to drop and silver fineness seems to have been reduced. For a short period when the state needed money badly, foreign currencies were taxed and from the middle of the century the accelerating collapses of the Seleucid administration, and the state's economy. As the kingdom's finances came under increased stress late in the century, Seleucid monetary authorities allowed the state's tetradrachm weights to drop further. An important effect was the creation of a closed financial system in which foreign currencies no longer circulated (Houghton 2004).

4-7-1- Miletus

4-7-1-1- Mint

No.KH1918[137] coin deserves a brief note. Two years ago, whilst in the process of writing a catalogue, the authors of this thesis, convinced that the piece was genuine, of the highest rarity. Subsequently, she observed Miletus coins in a website[138] where the identical coin from Miletus among specimens was offered, which is unquestionably authentic, therefore the authenticity of Coin no.KH1918 can be confirmed. The issue, no.KH1918 among the collection of Falak-ol-Aflak Museum was identified as a coin from Miletus. Miletus

[137] For more details see Pl.18.
[138] https://rjohara.net/coins/catalogue/

produced a wide range of Apollo-Lion types with various magistrates' names. The issue presented here can be considered a rare issue of Miletus.

4-8-1-1- Type, Denomination and Material

Issues of Miletus offer abundant examples of issues with several denominations, tetradrachms, didrachms, drachms, hemidrachms, obols, and fractions of bronze. Almost all these denominations contain the same type, Apollo and Lion style. No.KH1918 is a silver drachm with a standard weight of 4.2 g.

4-8-1-2- Obverse Type

The second-century silver Apollo/lion issues of Miletus generally featured types that Apollo faced to the left. The obverse shows the laureate head of Apollo, while his face is to right. A large number of Miletus coins bear such design but by a numerous variety of dies.

4-8-1-3- Reverse Type

The reverse of Miletus issues is characterized; the design is the same for all issues. A lion is walking to the left or right side. On no.KH1918 the lion is walking to left on an exergue line and looking back at the eight-pointed sun in the field above. Some letters appear up-to-down, MIA, on the left field and ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗ, the magistrate's name, is inscribed on exergue.

4-8-1-4- Monogram, Symbol and Letter

Miletus issues mainly bear letters, MIA, on the left side of reverse and magistrate's name on exergue. On the reverse of no.KH1918 except for the common letters of Miletus issues no other letters, symbol, or monogram can be seen.

4-8-1-5- Summary

Deppert- Lippitz, chronologically, divided the issues of Miletus into seven periods: period I c.353-323, period II c.313-290, period III c.290-281, period IV c.259-246, period V c.225-195, period VI c.175-86 and period VII c. 39-17 BC (Deppert- Lippitz 1984).

Miletus was one of the drachm mints of Alexander, but there is a gap in the production of Alexander coins between c.319/18 and 300. Part of this interval [c.310-300] may have been filled by civic issues, primarily didrachms of the head of Apollo/lion walking; head reverted, above the star. After c.300 BC Demetrius used the mint for Alexander gold stater, tetradrachm and drachms, in addition, he struck his own first type of tetradrachm (Deppert-Lippitz 1984; Kinns 1986). Form c.294 BC onwards, Miletus, escaping the domination of Lysimachus, the city struck tetradrachm of Alexander and civic issues (Mørkholm 1991: 93-94)

The coinage of Miletus in the transitional period surrounding 200 BC is very complex. The city had been struck coins in drachm and hemidrachm denominations about 260–250 BC. By 205–200 BC a Miletus reintroduce silver drachms and hemidrachms. The main body of second-century silver from Miletus consists almost entirely of drachms and hemidrachms struck to a somewhat reduced Persic standard, along with a small number of Attic-weight tetradrachms. These issues may divide into three phases (Kinns 1998; Ashton and Kinns 2003).

No. KH.1918 has an Attic-weight standard. According to Kinns, we can consider the late period V and the early period VI for no.KH1918. Thus the issue arrived in during the Seleucid Empire. Kinns argues drachms of Miletus are known from the various obverse and reverse dies. The reverse dies carry many different magistrates' names. He mentioned the magistrates' name no.KH1918, ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ, among this group about 200–170 BC (Kinns 1998).

4-8-2- New Athenian Coins

4-8-2-1- Mint

At some point during the second century BC, so-called "New Style" Athenian tetradrachms began to appear. The city of origin, Athens, is denoted in the first line of reverse text "AΘE". The chronology of the Athenian new style silver coinage has been the most intensely discussed problem in Hellenistic. Thompson's meticulous die study of the huge coinage. She determined the order of the issue of the various marks. She considered a chronological sequence from 196/5 to 88/7 BC (Thompson 1961). Mørkholm believed the Athenian new style coinage started c. 185-180 BC (Mørkholm 1984a: 42). Lewis alternative chronology suggests a start to the coinage164/3 and an end c.50 BC towards the Roman Republic for the Athenian New Style (Lewis 1962: 299). Mattingly accepted the chronology of Price, and he concludes that the New Style series began in 164/3 BC, a low chronology that recent mid-century hoards-including the "Demetrius I Hoard"- continue to support (Mattingly 1979; 1990). The terminal date is generally agreed but the initial one is still subject to discussion. The evidence of hoards suggests a date as late as the 160s (Mørkholm 1984a). The issues declined after the end of the Achaean War in 146 BC.

4-8-2-2- Type, Denomination and Material

The weight of Athenian New Style tetradrachms is changed by the time. According to Thompson, New Style issues' weights were varied from 17.60 to 16.20g. No.KH1914[139] is an Athenian New Style silver tetradrachm the weight of this issue is 16.90g.

4-8-2-3- Obverse Type

[139] For more details, see Pl.18

The obverse of Athenian New Style bears the same design. Constantly, on the obverse, the head of Athena while her face is to right can be seen. She wore a crested Athenian helmet with 4 or 5 horse heads on the band and a Pegasus above the band. Athena wore pendant earring, all the design is surrounded by a dotted border.

4-8-2-4- Reverse Type

On the reverse the Owl three-quarters perched to right on an overturned amphora, A-ΘE is inscribed above at the two sides of owl's head and below A-ΘE the magistrate's name MIKI- ΘEO/ΦPA is written in three lines across the field. Nike in quadriga advancing to the right is on the right field. The letters on amphora and below the amphora are not clear. The entire scene is surrounded by an olive wreath.

4-8-2-5- Monogram, Symbol and Letter

The coins were traditional Attic tetradrachm weight, about 17 g, and of good silver. The letters and symbols in the field are the marks of an elaborate control system, the names being those of the persons responsible for each issue and perhaps recording the sources of the metal, the letter on the amphora actually defining the month when each coin was struck (Mørkholm 1991: 170). On most New Style Owls lettering and symbols mark the date and month of issue and the magistrate responsible for the minting. No. KH1914 is not well preserved; letters and symbols on the reverse are almost vague. A-ΘE, the initial of the city distributed on both sides of the bird. MI KI is on the left filed and ΘEO/ΦPA is on the right field (magistrates' names).[140]

[140] MIKI was a member of the famous family prominent throughout the Hellenistic period (Thompson 1961: 106).

The symbol on these issues is various. They appeared on the reverse of new style owls throughout a century and a half of continual issuance. Issues with such magistrates' name, MI KI /ΘEO/ΦPA, hold Nike in quadriga on the right filed as a symbol. The presented issue, no.KH1914, is not in good condition and the letters on amphora or below the amphora is not certain. As a whole, letters such as B, E, Z, H, I, M, Γ, Δ, Λ, K, and T on amphora and ME, MH, AP, AΠ and ΣΩ are inscribed below amphora. Die axes are generally vertical in the vast majority of issues of the early period but later die axes are with minor deviation. The inclination was very slightly to the left or right. The tendency of die axis for no.KH1914 is to the left (Thompson 1961).

4-8-2-6- Summary

The New Style Owls of Athens never achieved the worldwide acceptance and imitation that the older classical Athenian Owls had done, but were an acceptable unit for trade (De Callatay 1992). Mørkholm argues New Style Owls were not the hugely popular international trade currency of previous owls; though as with previous Owls they did influence coinage in geographically disperse as a result of the policy of Pergamum, Seleucids and Ptolemies, Athenian New Style exclusion from Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt in northern Asia Minor and southern Arabia (Mørkholm 1991: 171). About 160 BC Athenian New Style tetradrachms began to circulate in Asia Minor and areas further to the south, including Seleucid Syria.[141] The first appeared in Asia Minor soon after they were initiated, but seem not to have comprised more than about 20 percent of the silver coins circulating there, and only a modest proportion of the coinage circulating within the territory of the Seleucid state itself (Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: XXIX). New Style coins

[141] New Style coins first appear in the Seleucid territory in the Urfa and Babylon hoards both with Mattingly dates to c.160 B.C

were disappeared from the Syrian financial landscape by the end of the 130s, about twenty years after they were first produced (Houghton 2004: 57).

There are two current views about why the wreathed tetradrachms were issued. One holds that the eastern movement of these wreathed tetradrachms was due to international trade in which silver from Asia Minor was exchanged for Syrian goods traveling westward (Sacks civic1985: 28-9). The other is that they were produced at the instance of the Attalids and were sent to Syria to support the military campaign of Alexander I against Demetrius I (Kinns 1987:107; Macdonald& Hoover 1999-2000; Lorber & Hoover 2003).

Athenian New Style coins appeared in Babylon hoards which dated to c.160 BC. Whether it was due to international trade or financial support of Alexander Balas, Athenian New Style coins were in circulation in Media. An issue, no.HM.7154, is among the collection of the Hamedan Museum. It is probable that no.KH1914 arrived in Luristan through Media. The absence of Athenian New Style at the catalogue of Suse can imply Athenian New Style coins did not arrive in Susa (see Le Rider 1965). If it is true, we can consider the monetary system in Luristan was followed by Ecbatana's system or coins which arrived in Media could circulate in Luristan freely. No.KH1914 was struck in the second half of the 2nd century. The specimen seems not an overstrike that is the metal was hard when it was struck.

4-8-3- Ephesus Issue

The fourth century BC was something of a golden age for civic coinages in western Asia Minor. Between 400 and 325 BC, several dozen civic and dynastic mints were active in western Asia Minor and the offshore islands. Most of these cities and dynasts struck silver coins on a single regional weight-standard based on a tetradrachm of c.15.3 g. The most abundant of these coinages was Ephesus issues (Meadows 2011). Issues were struck with

the bee on the obverse and the forepart of a stag, head reverted, placed before a palm-tree on the reverse. The number of magistrates signing this coinage is very large, and it has been dated from c.387 to 301 BC (Mørkholm 1991: 93). Later, Ephesus was in the possession of Demetrius Poliorcetes and subsequently of Lysimachus. Ephesus mint was used by both Demetrius and Lysimachus. After 280 BC the city came under Seleucid denomination (Mørkholm 1991: 93)

4-8-3-1- Mint

No.KH5111[142] was produced form the workshop of Ephesus. Presumably, striking of the Ephesus issues, bee/stag, started when Ephesus has ceased to be under Ptolemaic control in c.202 BC or perhaps even a little earlier (Le Rider 1991; Özgen & Davesne 1994). The duration of the series, however, has remained uncertain. The original suggestion was that issues continued until the death of Attalus III in 133 BC (Kinns 1999).

4-8-3-2- Type, Denomination and Material

No.KH5111 is a silver drachm, about 3.5 g. Probably the weight of no.KH5111 was close to the Attic-weight standard but it's corroded and lost some weight.

4-8-3-3- Obverse Type

The Coin features an artistic depiction of a honeybee on the obverse with "E" to the left and "Φ" to the right, the border of the coins is surrounded by dots.

4-8-3-4- Reverse Type

[142] For more details, see Pl.18

The reverse shows a standing Stag on a surface facing right and perhaps a palm tree in the inner field in the background. Branches of the tree are not visible. The magistrate's name is not certain, probably the coin has the name of the magistrate "DIO [N]" or the letters are a part of a longer name which letter/letters is/are off the flan. Both stag and bee are the symbols of Artemis.

4-8-3-5- Monogram, Symbol and Letter

The coin does not bear any symbol or monogram. On the reverse it carries the two letters "E and Φ" and on the reverse, the name of the magistrate can be seen.

4-8-3-6- Summary

The Attic weight drachms of Ephesus with obverse bee and dots, reverse stag standing right before a palm tree and magistrate's vertically at right, form a very extensive series, with over 140 now on record. For most of these magistrates, nothing is known about them except through numismatic evidence (Kinns 1999).

No.KH5111 has a note. It is an Ephesus issue but any similar coin was found with the same precise reverse die, on the other hand, the issue had two different layers of deposits. The most commonly cited objection is that such deposits product on the surface could not have been placed on a modern imitation and that most of the characteristics (porosity, light striking, pits, low weight) which have aroused suspicion in the cleaned examples are a result of the harsh cleaning process required (which is broadly true). Probably no.KH5111 is a new coin of Ephesus. According to Le Rider and Özgen & Davesne such issues were produced from 202 to 130 BC. Ephesusian stag/bee was in circulation during the Seleucid period in the west of Iran form Ecbatana to Susa. There are several Ephesus issues among Suse

catalogue.[143] An issue, no.HM7211, from Ephesus and a coin of imitating the Ephesusian type from Aradus, no.HM7210, are at the collection of the Hamedan Museum as well.

4-9- Discussion

The currency was at the heart of official payments (army, administration, expenses, etc.). The existence of Alexanders and later Seleucid issues may be as a result of military activities. These activities can be considered in several ways. The historical events sometimes explained the reasons. It is worthy to follow the events in this period and then try to find the motives that coins arrived in Luristan.

Cossaeans' subjugation was the first time we heard about Luristan inhabitants concerning Alexander's conquest (see chapter 2). It happens in 324 BC. Later Alexander entered them in his army. The collection contains the issue of Alexander minted, c.325-323 BC, in Babylon.

According to the chronology of coins at the present study, several issues were minted during the reign of Philip III but with the name of the Great King. We know that such issues were produced in a general way for the military expenses in the territory, and did not refer to a specific Diadochi's movement. The hoard evidence shows that the drachms from Asia Minor did circulate throughout the empire, and there can hardly be a doubt that the specialization was brought about by a decision of some central authority (Mørknolm 1991: 50).

But from 317/16 BC onwards, during the events of the Second War of Diadochi Luristan inhabitants could enter in the episode at least in four different points of view; the first, the Antigonus' challenge with Cossaeans (see chapter 2); the second, the presence of Hellenistic

[143] See Le Rider 1965.

army around north and east of Luristan; the third, Cossaeans in the army of Media; and the fourth, recruiting Cossaeans in the army of Diadochi (specifically Seleucus I).

If Antigonus did not accept to pay "safe road tax" to Cossaeans, it means Cossaeans did not receive any coins during Antigonus' passage.

Media's satrap and the own satrapy was under the control of Antigonus. An important group of military settlements was situated in Media around Ecbatana (Bar-Kochva 1976:32). Tcherikover argues, relying on Diodorus, Antigonus founded four cities in eastern Media, for his soldiers, bearing Greco-Macedonian names- Laodice, Apameia, Heraclea, and Europus (Diod.19.44.4; 46.1.15; Tcherikover 1927). It is not strange if we assume because of these cities the drachms entered Luristan (Hadipour & Sodaei 2020b). Since the late fourth century was established by the posthumous Alexanders, and in Asia Minor, many of the coinages can be connected with the military activities of Antigonus[144] (Thompson 1991). Media was the ancient territory of the Medes, the north part of Iran, enclosed by the Zagros Mountains to the west. It was in part divided socially into tribal groups, (e.g., Cossaean, Corbrenai, Carchi, in the Zagros and the Elymaeans, Amarcae, Gadusia and Mitiani). The cavalry unit of Medes contains mountainous inhabitants such as Cossaeans, Gadusians, Corbrenians and Carchians and etc. The Satraps of Media, Peithon and then Nicanor, supplied the cavalry unit of Antigonus during his battles. Perhaps the Cossaeans in the Medes army received the issues as payment. Recruiting Cossaeans happens during the Seleucid Empire. Probably Seleucus recruited the Cossaeans during the first years of his reign, after 312 BC, to maintain his satrapy and later his kingdom. Although Greek and Roman sources scattered narrate the events from 312 to 301 BC the majority of drachm in this study back to this period (Hadipour & Sodaei 2020b). Following the events in this

[144] After the battle of Gabiene, Antigonus prepared his silver and gold, twenty-five thousand talents, from Susa and Ecbatana to produce his issues in Asia Minor (Diod.19.48.7-8).

period can help us to find out the presence of coins in Luristan: In 311 BC, Nicanor, the satrap of Media, gathered his forces, form tribal groups in Media, to invade Babylonia. As a result of a night attack of Seleucus on Nikanor's camp, Nicanor scaped (Diod.19.100.3). Seleucus thereupon recruited as many of the ordinary soldiers as possible into his own army. Once again, Seleucus met Nicanor. He advanced to Nicanor, had returned Media after his defeat and had gathered a new army (Grainger 2014b).

Seleucus left Susa to Media. He had to pass from the land of Cossaeans. Grainger, relying on Babylonian chronicler, believed that in the spring 310 BC., Seleucus was preparing to move into Media. He was negotiating with the Cossaeans, for the right to march through their territory from Susiana into Media (Grainger 2014a). Seleucus, probably, followed the same behaviour of Achaemenid kings. Cossaeans were one of the warrior tribes in Iran. He could recruit Cossaeans and joints them to his army against Nicanor and perhaps for his next campaigns (Hadipour & Sodaei 2020b).

Seleucus again defeated Nicanor. Seleucus must have been able to recruit men from the Median army. His force was larger than Antigonus' army.[145] He captured Media and the army of Media. Presumably, from this moment, Cossaeans was a part of the Seleucus army. Thus they had participated in Seleucus' military activities against Demetrius and Antigonus in Babylon.

In 310 BC, Demetrius was setting out to attack Seleucus' position in Babylon. Seleucus' governor, Patrocles, had to face Antigonus' riposte. Now he had not anymore the support of Media. In Babylonia, it was then stuck in a siege (Plut.Dem. 7.2; Diod.19.100.6–7). Antigonus' army entered Babylonia in the campaigning season of 310 BC. There was fighting between Antigonus' troops and the troops of Seleucus in the satrapy from

[145] All the men in Seleucus' army had originally served with Antigonus. They had joined him at various times – in Babylonia, in Iran.

August/September of 310 to January/ February 309 BC (Wheatley 2002). Perhaps Seleucus had returned from Media and points further east to counter the invasion, although it is nowhere recorded it. Seleucus seems to have been absent during Demetrius' partial capture of Babylon in 311 BC and, indeed, may not have returned until shortly before Antigonus invaded. Antigonus army captured one of the two citadels in Babylon but in 310/309 BC, the situation in the west required Demetrius' return there. So, he detached a commander, Archelaos, to continue the occupation of Babylon and the siege of the citadel (Grainger 2014b). The events in this period are not well-documented and classical sources on Antigonus' activities during the years 3110- 308 BC is in silence. But what is certain, after at least a year's fighting, Antigonus abandoned his efforts to regain the upper satrapies and withdrew from the region about 308 BC. It seems that peace was then made between Antigonus and Seleucus in c.308/ 307 B.C (Wheatley 2002).[146] Antigonus gave up any intention of reconquering Babylonia and Iran, at least for the present and Seleucus went off into the east for the next four years, apparently quite certain that Antigonus would not attack him. Thus, until the battle of Ipsus, all the military movements of Seleucus were in the east. His army had been mainly in cavalry and infantry, much of it light cavalry, horse archers, and elephants. Of the cavalry, much of it had been recruited in Media, tribal groups, and the east, and had no doubt rapidly returned there after the campaign. It is something similar to the behaviour of the Achaemenid king with the mountainous people.

Seleucus, and his successors, tried to procure the services of the tough and courageous Iranians, following the lead of Alexander, who introduced them to the army. Probably the tradition of horsemanship among Medes, and there races of the same region, Cossaeans, was the only reason why the Seleucids have ventured to take the risk of maintaining the median

[146] Seleucus held the Iranian Plateau and Babylonia. Antigonus controlled Asia Minor and Syria from Kilikia to Gaza.

military potential (Bar- Kochva 1976:32). It means Seleucid kings had Cossaeans at their disposal and they were a principal unit in the Seleucid army.

A large number of drachms were produced when Antigonus had the control of the mints. The issues were minted during 310-301 BC, from the conflicts in Babylon to the death of Antigonus in Ipsus. Relying on the sources, Cossaeans were among the Seleucus army during events from 311 BC onwards. The presence of these issues in Luristan can be reflecting on military movements. Probably the coins were a part of payments to the soldiers who back to this area after the battle of Ipsus or the issues arrived later in the area (Hadipour & Sodaei 2020b). For the reason that posthumous 'Alexanders' were being continuously produced in the cities of Asia Minor throughout the 3rd BC and finding their way into Seleucid hoards in the Seleucid territory. The Seleucid Empire is characterized by the strong presence of Alexandres and coins of the Diadochs the Alexanders ranging from somewhat over 50 percent to over 90 percent content (Le Rider 1986; Marcellesi 2000; Aperghis 2004). Drachms of Alexander type in Luristan can be in relation to Seleucus domination in the area.

It seems by movements of an army, coins travelled as well. The studies indicate the leading role played by drachms in the name of Alexander, pre-eminently as a means of exercising a policy of domination by fire and the sword, in 3rd BC, of mercenaries and fortune-seekers, of the conflicting aspirations of reckless thrones, and of weary veterans of the campaign in Asia (Le Rider 2003).

After Ipsus in 301 BC, when Greek and Macedonian troops became available and the system of military settlements was established, probably some of them were settled in Media and organized as a reserve force, committed to supplying young recruits to the cavalry crack force. Besides, military settlements of heavy horsemen in the Media consisted mainly of Iranians, famed for their tradition of cavalry warfare (Bar-Kochva 1976).

Therefore, the circulation of Alexander's type in Media includes upper satrapies and Luristan in the south can be reasonable (Hadipour & Sodaei 2020b).

Although the tradition of using coins was not common in Iran and Mesopotamia or the trade in this area was not based on currency Seleucus open his mint in Ecbatana. All of the Seleucid issues in the present study were produced at Ecbatana. Seleucus I seized control of Media in 311 BC (Diod.19.92.1-5; Diod.19.100.3). It remained Seleucid territory until its conquest by Mithradates I (Just.41.5.7-8). The Median satrap was one of the great political figures of the kingdom, with an extended authority referred to as the "Upper Satrapies" (Robert 1949).

Seleucus IV was the second Seleucid king that his issue was found among the collection. The issue was produced during the problem of Parthian. Seleucus IV reinforced the garrisons and established his military base in borderline with Parthian. His drachms were minted to pay the expanses of his soldiers in this area. Discovering his issues in Luristan will not unusual if we remark his authority in Luristan.

Timarchus was the rebel satrap of Media who issued his coins and put them in circulation in Media upper satrapies and even south, Luritsan. Probably Cossaeans joint him during his rebel. He certainly had paid his soldiers by his coins. He did strike a large number of silver and bronze coins. But Timarchus issues were gathered and meltdown to produce the new issues for Demetrius when Demetrius I defeated him. Perhaps this can be considered as the reason why the issues of Timarchus are discovered in low quantity.

In reality, increasing the wealth of Demetrius I was a consequence of his victory on Timarchus. His monetary system indicates that he put his coins in circulation all around the satrapy. The bulk of his coins in the area suggested that, probably for the security of his territory, Demetrius I created new garrisons and settled more military troops in the satrapy.

During the Seleucid period, a general-purpose to issue coins was used for all types of administrative expenses, including the pay of soldiers, e.g. garrison troops. Two issues of Alexander Balas were struck at Ecbatana, which is military type. Such issues were intended specifically for the pay of soldiers or sailors, and it might be produced both in wartime, e.g. for a campaign, and in peacetime, e.g. for the payment of substantial numbers of troops stationed in a particular province (Aperghis 2010: 57).

Ecbatana under Alexander Balas probably produced bronze issues for its local economy. It was one of the major eastern mints for bronze. Ecbatana supplied Media, most of the Upper Satrapies and south of the satrapy, in Luristan.

There is, however, the question of whether bronze produced at Seleucid mints was intended to circulate only locally or over a wider area. Ecbatana minted bronze issues for Alexander Balas. His bronze coins were identified at Susa hoard, Malek museum and Hamedan museums' collection. It demonstrates Alexander Balas' bronze issues circulate from the north to the south. The movement of Alexander Balas bronze issues from Ecbatana to Luristan and even Susa might be attributable to troop movements or to dispersion along the caravan route than ran from Media ending at Susa.

The Seleucids allowed foreign currencies on the Attic standard to circulate freely. The foreign currencies gave the state added resources, at others to promote the ambitions of successor kings. But due to financial problems, foreign currencies were taxed and Seleucid monetary authorities allowed the state's tetradrachm weights to drop. Seleucid kings began to look to money circulating in their territories. An important effect was the creation of a closed financial system in which foreign currencies no longer circulated. It can be argued that Foreign Currency was intended substantially as payments for mercantile exports or services (Houghton 2004: 55-6). The Athenian New Style coins very likely were connected to Alexander's preparations for war against Demetrius I (Houghton 2004:58).

Chapter 5: CONCLUSION

Luristan, “land of the Lurs”, is situated in the west of Iran. Khorramabad is the capital city of the province. Luristan is mountainous and located in the Central Zagros Chains. The area is dominated by three main parallel mountain chains, the Kabir Kuh, Sefid Kouh and Garrin Mountains. The province has two climate zones so-called, Sardsir (cold area) and Garmsir (warm area) quarters. The Zagros occupies a strategic position in the international affairs of this region with the lowlands of Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau; on the other hand, these Zagros serve as one of the great natural boundaries. It is a land of alternating mountains and valleys parallel to the range axis, with one major transverse valley penetrating the chain that of Luristan linked Susa to Ecbatana. This route played a vital role during the Achaemenid and Seleucid Empire. The events concerning the Central Zagros Mountains revealed the history and archaeology of Luristan during the First Millennium BC. According to the Assyrian, Greek and Roman sources an ethnic group lived in the Central Zagros Mountains, Luristan. Their land more probable was bigger than the

administrative borders of Luristan. Presumably, it should be somewhere between the Greater Media and Susa or Choaspes River.

Due to the lack of information, it is hard to say Kassites were the Cissians and Cossaeans. No archaeological evidence has appeared to inform this view. Their ability to war and the same area, that they inhabited, persuade us to consider them at least as an ethnic group who lived for a long period in the Central Zagros ranges.

Assyrian documents refer to the Kassites during their campaigns in at the same time they turned to the country of Ellipi. It seems both, Kassites and Ellipi, lived in the Central Zagros Mountains. Ellipi occupied a position intermediate between the Elamite and the Assyrian indications at present are that Pish-Kouh, northern Luristan, is the area that best fits the evidence for Ellipi.

Nearchus was the first Greek who provide first-hand knowledge of Cossaeans, the territory of the Cossaeans neighboured that of the Medes and neighbours of the Uxians. They inhabited in depressions and deep valleys' of Mount Zagros with a high reputation for their warlike qualities. Presumably, during the later Achaemenid period, the Kassites referred to as Cossaeans who lived in the mountains to the east of Media and were one of several predatory mountain tribes that regularly extracted gifts from the Achaemenid kings. Furthermore, the Persian kings, in travelling from their winter capital of Susa to their summer capital at Ecbatana, had to cross the country of the Cossaeans. The Cossaeans received gifts from the Persian kings when they passed from their land. They were subjugated by Alexander the Great but it seems it does not take much time and less than 10 years later Antigonus, had to laboriously fight his way through the land of the Cossaeans when going from Susiana to Ecbatana.

Perhaps we should treat Kassites, Cissians and Cossaeans as the same people with several different variants of one and the same name from different periods. Kassites (17th- 8th BC)

in Assyrian documents, Cissian (c. 5th century BC) was used by Herodotus and Cossaeans (c. 4th-3th century BC) by the Historian of Alexander the Great. Kassites, Cissians and Cossaeans reflect the pronunciation of quite different periods. No one of Alexander's historians referred to the Cissians who Herodotus neither mentioned nor used in his passages. If we accept Cissians and Cossaeans were the same; they were a famous tribe who had a great ability to war. They appeared whenever a battle occurred. They also received gifts from the Persian kings for the safe route and at the same time, they were among the Persian kings' army during battles such as Thermopylae and Gaugamela. Later they joint to Alexander army and perhaps Seleucus' army and finally, they were a part of Antiochus III's army in Raphia Battle.

A collection of Classical and Hellenistic Coins at Falak-ol-Aflak Museum was the backbone of this research. All the Classical issues (Syracuse and Athenian issues) were forgery. Some of the Hellenistic issues (Macedonia, Miletus, Paphlagonia, Thrace and Greco-Bactrian) were identified as forgery. The genuine coins were struck for Alexander, Diadochi, Seleucus I, Seleucus IV, Timarchus, Demetrius I, Alexander Balas, and several foreign coins during the Seleucid period.

Although all coins, but two, were discovered during the illegal trade in the province the study on the issues and considering the historical events brought to light several reasons for the presence of these issues in Luristan. Alexander and Diadochi coined on a huge scale to cover the military and civic expenses which they incurred. The only tetradrachm of Alexander's lifetime struck at Babylon workshop. The production of Alexanders at Babylon must have begun, 326 BC or even 325 BC, after his return from India. Probably he required money for his new expenses, such as funerals of Hephaestion, preparations for the campaign in Arabia and recruiting Iranians. The early appearance of Alexander's lifetime issues in Luristan, indeed, is probably to be connected with the events after Cossaeans subjugation in

winter of 324-323 BC. Relying on Arrian, Cossaeans entered to Alexander army. However, he did not mention the precise payment; they must have been paid less than Macedonians. Probably Alexander's issues entered to Cossaeans' land by a soldier in the service of Alexander.

The majority of Alexanders were struck after Alexander's death. Diadochi took over the types of their great king without any change. An indication of the great prestige still attached to Alexander. We know that such issues were produced in a general way for the military expenses in the territory. The late circulation of the drachms, which was a characteristic feature of the monetary history of the regions in which they have been discovered, is mainly a vivid reflection of the events in the last twenty-five years of the century; it is also a factor of the pronounced mobility that could be observable almost immediately after the death of the Alexander, as some of the Epigoni attempted to realize their personal ambitions, with movements of armies which went back and forth, as well as in circles. Movements that seem to have led to money transition from Asia Minor mints (Le Rider 2003). Cossaeans entered the army from the time of Alexander to the end of Diadochi's war. They were militaries among the Media army and were principal sources for recruit when king, ruler, need more force. Probably Hellenistic military settlements founded north and east of Luristan. One of the results of Alexander's anabasis was the creation of an international fiscus covering the Greco-Persian world, and Alexander-type coinage continued to be minted posthumously for some two centuries after his death (Wheatley 2009). When coins strike it was mainly for the payment of soldiers. Sometimes coins were struck and directly delivered to the soldiers. Media was the ancient territory of the Medes, the north part of Iran, enclosed by the Zagros Mountains to the west. Seleucus I seized control of Media in 311 BC from the satrap imposed on Media by Antigonus (Diod.19.92.1-5; 100.3). It remained the Seleucid territory until its conquest by Mithradates I (Just.41.5.7-

8). The Median satrap was one of the great political figures of the kingdom, with an extended authority referred to as the "Upper Satrapies" (Robert 1949). Media was in part divided socially into tribal groups, (Cossaean, Corbrenai, Carchi, in the Zagros and the Elymaeans, Amarcae, Gadusia and Mitiani). It means the land of Cossaeans covered the southern part of the Greater Media, between Susa and Ecbatana. Zagros' tribes were the source of recruits to the Seleucid army, particularly as cavalry, and tribal infantry. Cavalry unit was a major part of the Seleucid army, and one of its preeminent arms. Cossaeans was one of the principal military sources for the army of Media. When Seleucus captured the satrapy of Media, he acquired the army of the satrapy and Cossaeans as well. The author argues the military foundation in Media, and perhaps in Luristan,[147] was the reason for the presence of the issues in Luristan or Perhaps the Cossaeans in the Medes army received the issues as payment. Although Greek and Roman sources scattered narrate the events from 312 to 301 BC it is more probable that the drachms of Asia Minor, were found in Luristan, were concerning Cossaeans recruit by Seleucus. Consequently, drachms of Alexander type in Luristan can be concerning Seleucus domination in the area.

As mentioned we know from the classical sources about the relationships of the Achaemenid Empire and Alexander with the Cossaeans. It is not certain Seleucid followed the policy of Achaemenid kings or as Alexander tried full control over the area. Whether the Seleucids had controlled the area, it was extremely difficult for an imperial power to control these areas. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt suggest that the arrangement under the Achaemenids was probably confirmed by the Seleucid kings (Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993: 17). So the Cossaeans could be called upon to serve in the royal army when required. The Achaemenids

[147] Hellenistic settlements and Seleucid settlements patterns, in particular, is a Ph.D. project of an Iranian student. According to personal communication with him, a strong probability of Hellenistic settlements was suggested in Luristan. In any case for more information, we should wait for the result of his studies in the future. Although he does not finish his project yet, his studies can bright to light the presence of Greek and Macedonian, during the Hellenistic period in Luristan.

had based their relations with semi-nomadic tribes and mountains peoples like these on gift-exchange, whereby Achaemenid suzerainty was recognized solely in the obligation of military service. It is probable that Seleucids did not bring the powerful mountains tribes of the Zagros under direct rule. The occasional attestation of use of troops from there by king and satrap suggests that the Seleucids probably followed the wise course of the Achaemenids and that this is a sign of the success of Seleucid control (Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993). Unfortunately, the political implications of this area are uncertain as so little is known about the local organization of the inhabitants and any colonial or military enclaves within the satrapy but classical sources mentioned Cossaeans' presence in the Seleucid military service. Seleucids tried to procure the services of the tough and courageous Iranians, especially Cossaeans, following the lead of Alexander, who introduced them to the army. Probably the tradition of horsemanship among Medes, Cossaeans and Cadusians, and their races of the same region was the only reason why the Seleucids have ventured to take the risk of maintaining the median military potential (Bar- Kochva 1976:32). Seleucus, and his successors, tried to procure the services of the tough and courageous Iranians. Cossaeans were at their disposal and they were a principal unit in the Seleucid army.

All of the Seleucid issues in the present study were produced at Ecbatana. Seleucus I seized control of Media in 311 BC until its conquest by Mithradates I. It is only the coins that provide much information about eastern satrapies, especially Media. The mint at Ecbatana may have supplied Parthia and Hyrcania with the necessary coinage, while the mint at Susa almost certainly covered Persis, until the local "Frataraka" coinage was produced in this region, and possibly Carmania.[148] Scholars limited it to the eastern border of Ecbatana but the author suggested a wider range for the circulation of Ecbatana's issues. Numismatic

[148] During the reign of Antiochos IV, when the eastern trade had become important, in southern Mesopotamia at Antioch-on-the-Erythraean Sea (Mørkholm 1970: 44).

evidence in Luristan suggested the issues of Ecbatana were in circulation in the south border as well. All discovered issues from Luristan were produced at Ecbatana Mint and other mints under the control of Ecbatana. On the other hand, no issues from Susa were discovered in Luristan. It is acceptable to consider the circulation of Ecbatana as the Greater Media, Luristan area until Susa, Parthia, and Hyrcania.[149]

Seleucus IV was the second Seleucid king that his issue was found among the collection. This series was produced to pay the expanses of his soldiers during the problem of Parthian.[150] Probably the presence of this issue in Luristan is concerning his authority in this region.

A bronze issue of Timarchus was among the collection. He struck a bulk of coins to pay his soldiers. Although it has been said Demetrius I gathered his coins and produced his coins Timarchus put his coins in circulation in Media upper satrapies and even south, in Luristan. Demetrius I coins are more in number among the Seleucid coins at the collection. His victory on Timarchus gave him this opportunity to strike a large number of his drachms probably for the security of his territory, Demetrius I created new garrisons and settled more military troops in the satrapy to secure the satrapy. This obliged him to pay a large number of coins to his soldiers in Media during the peacetime.

From its beginnings, the Seleucid state proved a direct heir to the Achaemenid Empire, adopting its main institutional features and conducting a policy of tolerance and flexibility in accepting regional autonomy. They inherited the satrapal system of the Achaemenids, which had been used with little alteration by Alexander. Perhaps satrap's power depended to

[149] Although during Seleucus IV, some other mints were opened under the control of Ecbatana in the border of Parthia.

[150] Preparations for a campaign or a garrison involved a considerable amount of minting of new coinage. The evidence suggests that the greater part of the expenditure of the Seleucid kings, particularly in silver, was earmarked for the armed forces, certainly not less than half in 'peacetime' conditions and probably considerably more when a major campaign was under way Aperghis 2004: 211).

a large extent on their character. The media's governor had a high status with supervisory capacity over all the Upper Satrapies. However, there is no direct testimony on the Seleucid system of government in the ancient sources (Grainger 1997: 811-812). Media was an important satrapy for the Seleucid kings until the end of their reign in Iran. The Seleucid kings considered wealth and human resources of Media. Several tribes in Media, including Cossaeans, were the main branch of the Seleucid army. These militaries were probably settled in specific zones.

The Zagros range separated Media from Susa. The route from Ecbatana to Susa passed from Luristan. The safety of the route was necessary. Two bronze coins of Alexander Balas were discovered during a systematic excavation. The issues were found at a Hellenistic site, Sorkhdom-e Laki. The site was probably a military settlement that was the responsibility of the security of the route. Two issues were produced at Ecbatana Mint. Alexander's bronze issues were in circulation from Greater Media to Susa in the south. At the end of the Seleucid era economy closed and the production of bronze money appears to have expanded within the areas of Seleucid state control and bronze that circulated broadly took on something of a national character, perhaps the kingdom's borders had shrunk dramatically (Houghton 2004). Bronze coins were the currency for local and everyday use, although they were not produced in quantity at more than a handful of cities at scattered regions of the kingdom and, from the admittedly incomplete archaeological record, tended to circulate only within the area of economic influence of the originating cities. But this matter cannot be the reason for circulating bronze issues of Ecbatana in Luristan. In author's opinion, it was not an accident that only the coins of Ecbatana and the mints under Ecbatana's control circulated in Luristan and, till now, no coin from Susa was discovered in this area. Perhaps Ecbatana was responsible for payments of forces in Luristan of Media. Hence, issues from Ecbatana arrived in Luristan and Seleucid's administration had decided to include Luristan

in the monetary circulation. Probably the coins were a part of payments of the militaries that were at this site.

The Seleucids allowed foreign currencies on the Attic standard to circulate freely. Foreign Currencies 3rd-century hoards found in the Seleucid territory are overwhelmingly composed of Alexander coins, ranging from somewhat over 50 percent to over 90 percent content (Le Rider 1986). The Seleucids kings' need for money was the main reason for the circulation of foreign money in their territory. Foreign Currency was intended substantially as payments for mercantile exports or services. The foreign coins among the collection were struck at Miletus, Ephesus and Athens.

The coinage of Miletus in 200 BC is very complex. By 205–200 B.C a Miletus struck silver drachms and hemidrachms. Ephesus issues, such as the issue at the present study, were produced from 202 to 130 BC. It is not certain when these issues were struck and when arrived in Luristan. Towards the end of the third century, the cities in Ionia again produced silver coinages. Ephesus struck Rhodian didrachms weighing c.6.60 g. and Miletus issued Persian drachms and hemidrachms of c.5 and 2.4 g. (Mørkholm 1991: 159). Important mints like Miletus and Ephesus in the second century issued some of their main civic coinages on the Attic standard (Kinns 1998; 1999; Thonemann 2015:196). The two issues from Ephesus and Miletus were struck in Attic weight.

About 160 BC Athenian New Style tetradrachms began to circulate in Asia Minor and areas further to the south, including Seleucid Syria. It has been said that the Athenian New Style coins very likely were connected to Alexander's preparations for war against Demetrius I (Kinns 1987:107; Macdonald& Hoover 1999-2000; Lorber & Hoover 2003). Athenian New Style coins were in circulation in Media. They probably arrived in Luristan through Media. The absence of Athenian New Style at the catalogue of Suse can imply Athenian New Style coins did not arrive in Susa. Therefore, the monetary system in Luristan was followed by

Ecbatana's system, or coins that arrived in Media could circulate in Luristan freely. When the economy of the Seleucid got in trouble and the kings encountered the financial problem, they reduced the weight of their coins and following this reduction foreign issues eliminate from the economy of Seleucid; instead, the production of bronze money appears to have expanded within the areas of Seleucid state control.

The first objective of the Seleucid coinage was military expense. The Seleucid coins found in Luristan could have been used to pay soldiers stationed at the garrison or the transfer must have been made by (local) merchants who came to Luristan. If Luristan was an important center of import and export coins from other mints, apart from Ecbatana, must then find their way into Luristan. Furthermore, not much foreign currency from the west entered to Luristan. All of the coins in circulation originated from the huge issues of coined money originating from the Ecbatana. The author strongly suggests Luristan was in the monetary system of Media.

CATALOGUE OF GENUINE COIN

TEXT

ALEXANDER TYPE ISSUES

LAMPSACUS

KH5121.

Silver drachm (323- 317 B.C)

Obv. Male head (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, [dotted

Around].

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long sceptre vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ] downward right field.

Weight: 4.g; Diameter: 16.9; Die axis: ↑↓

Controls: ⌂ below throne and buckle below eagle on left field.

References: Lampsacus and Abydus, Pl. 10: 255a; Price, Pl. CXXII: 1375 d (Reverse).

KH1767.

Silver drachm (c. 310_301 B.C)

Obv. Male head (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck, facing right.

Rev. Zeus (Aetophoros) seated to left on throne, eagle in extended right hand, [long sceptre vertical behind in left hand], right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ] downward right field.

Weight: 3.5 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: [M] under the throne and [KI] Left field.

References: Lampsacus and Abydus, Pl. 12: 325a; Price, Pl. CXXIII: 1406c.

KH5118

Silver drachm (c. 310_ 301 B. C)

Obv. Male head (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck, facing right.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long sceptre vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ[ΟΥ]downward right field.

Weight: 3.5 g; Diameter: 17.9; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: Artemis with torch below throne between legs, forepart of Pegasus below eagle on left field.

References: Price, Pl. CXXII: 1387 a; Lampsacus and Abydus, Pl. 15: 451; SNG Cop: 888; Muller: 614.

KH5119

Silver drachm (c. 310_ 301 B. C)

Obv. Male head (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck, facing right.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on throne, eagle in extended right hand, long sceptre vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ] downward right field.

Weight: 3.9 g; Diameter: 18; Die axis: ←

Controls: Forepart of Pegasus below eagle on left field.

References: Price, Pl. CXXII: 1385b, 1385 b; Lampsacus and Abydus, Pl. 16: 465; SNG Cop: 886.

KH5110

Silver drachm (c. 310_ 301 B. C)

Obv. Male head (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck, facing right, dotted around.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long sceptre vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ downward right field.

Weight: 4.2 g; Diameter: 17.7; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: Forepart of Pegasus below eagle on left field and N below throne.

References: Price, Pl. CXXII: 1382; Lampsacus and Abydus, Pl. 17: 508a- 516; SNG Cop 887; Olympia, Pl. 2: 61.

KH5125

Silver drachm (c. 310_ 301 B. C)

Obv. Male head (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck, facing right, [dotted around].

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long sceptre vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [Α]ΛΕΞΑΝ[ΔΡΟΥ] downward right field.

Weight: 4 g; Diameter: 17.2; Die axis: ↑↖

Controls: N below throne, forepart of Pegasus below eagle on left field.

References: Price, Pl. CXXII: 1382; Lampsacus and Abydus, Pl. 17: 499a- 503; SNG Cop: 887; Bishop & Holloway. Pl.6: Rev 77.

KH5112

Silver drachm (c. 310_ 301 B. C)

Obv. Male head (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck, facing right.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long sceptre vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [ΑΛΕΞ]ΑΝΔ[ΡΟΥ] downward right field.

Weight: 3.8 g; Diameter: 18; Die axis: ↑→

Controls: ΜΕ below throne, amphora below eagle on left field.

References: Lampsacus and Abydus, Pl.14: 385a; Afyon, Pl. 41: 11- Pl. 45: 3.

COLOPHON

KH4083

Silver drachm (c.323_ 319 B.C)

Obv. Male head (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, fade dotted around.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long sceptre vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [Α]ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ downward right field.

Weight: 4.1 g; Diameter: 18; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: a star with eight rays left field and spearhead upward outer right field.

References: Price, Pl. CXXVI: 1759a – 1760; Thompson-Bellinger: 6; Afyon, Pl. 46: 9_ Pl 42: 27 – Pl 46: 9.

KH5115

Silver drachm (c. 323_ 319 B. C)

Obv. Male head of (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, [dotted around].

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long sceptre vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [ALEX]AND[ROU] downward right field,

Weight: 4 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: B below throne between legs and Α below eagle on left field.

References: Price, Pl. CXXXVII: P48a- P48d; Muller: P 137.

KH4082

Silver drachm (c.310_ 301 B.C)

Obv. Head of Heracles in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, dotted around.

Rev. Zeus (Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [ΑΛΕ]ΞΑΝΔΡ[ΟΥ] downward right field.

Weight: 4.2 g; Diameter: 18; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: Φ below throne between legs and KΙ below eagle.

References: Price, Pl. CXXVIII: 1823 a- 1823 c; Thompson-Bellinger: 16; Afyon, Pl. 43: 39; Pl 46: 14; Corinth, Pl. V: 237; Proche-Orient. Pl.10: 16.

KH1912

Silver drachm (c.310_ 301 B.C)

Obv. Head of Heracles in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, [dotted around].

Rev. Zeus (Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, [eagle in extended right hand], long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [A]ΛΕΞΑΝΔ[POY] downward right field.

Weight: 4.1 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: **Π** below throne between legs and B T I below eagle on left field.

References: Price, Pl. CXXVIII: 1808c- A; SNG Cop: 928; .

KH5109

Silver drachm (c.310_ 301 B.C)

Obv. Head of Heracles in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, dotted around.

Rev. Zeus (Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, AΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ[OY] downward right field

Weight: 4.1 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: B below throne between legs and N below eagle.

References: Price, Pl. CXXVII: 1800.

KH5116

Silver drachm (c.310_ 301 B.C)

Obv. Male head of (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, dotted around.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [A]ΛEΞANΔPO[Y] downward right field, [dotted around].

Weight: 3.9 g; Diameter: 18.7; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: a crescent below throne between legs, **K** below eagle on left field

References: Price, Pl. CXXVIII: 1825a- 1826; Afyon, Pl. 46: 15, Armenak, Pl. 15: 629, Gordion, Pl. VII: 26_ 27.

KH5117

Silver drachm (c.310_ 301 B.C)

Obv. Male head of (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, [dotted around].

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [AΛE]ΞANΔ[POY]downward right field.

Weight: 3.7 g; Diameter: 16; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: **Π** below throne between legs and **B T I** below eagle on left field.

References: Price, Pl. CXXVIII: 1808a; Muller 796; SNG Cop 928; Afyon, Pl. 42: 32; Bishop & Holloway. Pl.6: 80.

KH5114

Silver drachm (c. 301_ 297 B. C)

Obv. Male head of (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, dotted around.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ[ΟΥ] downward right field

Weight: 4 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: pentagram below throne between legs, lion- head and a crescent below eagle on left field, dotted around.

References: Price, Pl. CXXIX: 1832; Muller: 341; SNG Cop: 906; Afyon, Pl. 43: 46.

ABYDUS

KH1766

Silver drachm (c. 310_ 301 B.C)

Obv. Head of Heracles in lion-skin headdress tied at neck, facing right, some porosity.

Rev. Zeus (Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [Α]ΛΕΞΑΝ[ΔΡΟΥ] downward right field, some porosity.

Weight: 4 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: ⋈ below eagle, a prow on left field, [Caduceus below throne]

References: Lampsacus and Abydus, Pl. 29: 272a_74; Price, Pl. CXXV: 1540, Prokesch- Osten (1) [357]

KH5113

Silver drachm (c. 310_ 301 B.C)

Obv. Male head of (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, [dotted around].

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [A]ΛEΞA[NΔPOY] downward right field.

Weight: 3.9 g; Diameter: 18.2; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: **M** below eagle on left field and a leaf below throne between legs.

References: Price, Pl. CXXIV: 1527 a, b; Afyon, Pl. 42: 13_ 15; Lampsacus and Abydus, Pl. 27: 247, 254; Corinth, Pl. IV: 174; Proche-Orient. Pl. 10: 4.

MYLASA

KH1765

Silver drachm (c. 310-300 B. C)

Obv. Male head (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [A]ΛEΞ[A]N[ΔPOY] downward right field

Weight: 4 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: ↑ →

Controls:  below eagle on left field and KH below throne.

References: Price, Pl. CXXXIII: 2480c, Armenak, 554- 7; Prokesch_ Osten: 322; Mylasa: 5; Afyon, Pl 45:16; Cavalla, Pl. 6: 25; Delrieux Pl.1: 3.

Magnesia ad Maeandrum

KH5122

Silver drachm (c. 319_ 305 B.C)

Obv. Male head of (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, dotted around.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ] downward right field

Weight: 3.8 g; Diameter: 18.4; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls:  below throne, [Π] and B below eagle on left field.

References: Price, Pl. CXXX: 1960; Thompson-Bellinger: 28; Muller: 786.

SARDES

KH5120

Silver drachm (c. 323_ 319 B.C)

Obv. Male head of (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, [dotted around].

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ[ΡΟΥ] downward right field

Weight: 4.1 g; Diameter: 17.2; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: TI and bee below eagle on left field, [dotted around].

References: Price, Pl. CXXXIV: 2626b; Sardes and Miletus, Pl. 13: 280d, 283b, 284b_ 288a, Gordion, Pl. VII: 42; SNG Cop: 961.

SARDES?

KH1913

Sliver drachm

Obv. Head of Heracles in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, dotted around.

Rev. Zeus (Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, AΛEΞAN[ΔP]OY downward right field

Weight: 4 g; Diameter: 18; Die axis: ↑↙

Controls: **A** below throne between legs, obscure monogram/ symbol below eagle.

References: Thompson- Bellinger: 13; Mesopotamia, Pl. XIII: 10?; NABM. Pl.9:17 OBV sardes?

UNKNOWM MINT

KH1911

Silver drachm

Obv. Head of Heracles in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right.

Rev. Zeus (Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, [eagle in extended right hand], long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [AΛEΞANΔPOY]downward right field, dotted around.

Weight: 3.8 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: [K] below throne between legs and an unclear monogram/figure [palm?] below eagle

References: Price. 2121 Miletus?

UNKNOWM MINT [Colophon]

KH1768

Silver drachm (c.310-301)

Obv. Head of Heracles in lion-skin headdress tied at neck, facing right, several porosities.

Rev. Zeus (Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, [long scepter vertical behind in left hand], right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ] downward right field.

Weight: 4 g; Diameter: 16; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: uncertain

References: Obv.Mesopotamia.Pl.XIII:6; HM.7222; Price.Pl.CXXVII: 1801

Babylon

KH1910

Silver tetradrachms (c. 325-323 B.C)

Obv. Male head of (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, [eagle in extended right hand], long scepter vertical behind in left hand, the legs are beside, ΑΛ[ΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ] downward right field, dotted around.

Weight: 16.4 g; Diameter: 25; Die axis: ↑↓

Controls:  below throne between legs, [M] under the monogram,

References: Prcie, Pl. CIII: obv.3615-3616- rev: Pl.CIII: 3615? Pl.CV: 3636?; Cavalla, Pl. 6: 33.

BABYLON: UNCERTAIN MINT?

KH1909

Silver tetradrachms (c. 310 B.C)

Obv. Male head of (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, several porosities, dotted around.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, seems bare legs, [ΑΛΕ]ΞΑΝ[ΔΡΟΥ] downward right field, ΒΑΣ[ΙΔΕΩΣ] exergue, dotted around.

Weight: 16.8 g; Diameter: 27; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: [Δ] below eagle and ΘΕ below throne between legs.

References: Price, Pl. CXI: 3786.

EAST: UNCERTAIN MINT

KH1908

Silver tetradrachms (c. 325_ 300 B.C)

Obv. Male head of (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right, dotted around.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on backless throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, seems bare legs, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ downward right field, dotted around.

Weight: 13.1 g; Diameter: 27; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: a gazelle head turned back on left field and an obscure letter/ monogram under the gazelle

References: Price, Pl. CXV: 4017; Suse, Pl. XLV: 496,3; Ma'aret En- Nu'man, Pl. XIX: 247; Baseri: 68.

MILETUS

KH1907

Silver tetradrachms (c.295-275 BC.)

Obv. Male head of (Heracles) in lion-skin headdress tied at neck facing right.

Rev. Male figure (Zeus Aetophoros) seated to left on throne, eagle in extended right hand, long scepter vertical behind in left hand, right leg drawn back, left leg forward, [A]ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ[ΟΥ] downward right field, dotted around.

Weight: 16.90 g; Diameter: 29; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls:  below eagle on left field

References: Price, Pl. LXII: 2150; Afyon, Pl. 43: 59.

SELEUCID COINS

Seleucus IV Philopator (187 – 175 B.C)

ΞAP Mint

KH5123

Silver drachm

Obv. Diademed head of Seleucus IV to right, one diadem end falling up behind the other falling forward over shoulder.

Rev. Apollo seated left on Omphalos, holding arrow right hand, resting left hand on grounded compound bows, ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ] downward on right, ΣΕΛΕΥΚ[ΟΥ] downward on left.

Weight: 4.19 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: ↑↙

Controls:  outer left field, ΞΑΡ inner left filed and unclear monogram outer right field.

References: Suse, Pl. LXII: 15; Houghton II, Pl. 4: 1361 (3); SNG Spaer, Pl. 62:947_ 948.

TIMARCHUS (c.162_ 160 B.C)

Ecbatana Mint

KH5132

Royal Bronze Issue

Obv. Diademed head of Timarchus end flying up behind, [the other falling forward over shoulder], to right, dotted border, bevelled edge.

Rev. Nike advancing left, extending wreath in to legend with right hand, holding palm branch over shoulder with left hand, ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ] downward right field , ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ downward inner left field ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ downward outer left field, [dotted border].

Weight: 6.3 g; Diameter: 20; Die axis: ↑↙

Controls: _

References: Houghton II, Pl. 70: 1596; Bellinger, Pl. XII: 3.

DEMETRIUS I Soter (162_150 B.C)

Ecbatana Mint

KH2895

Silver drachm

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius to right, one diadem end falling behind, the other falling forward over shoulder, dotted border.

Rev. Apollo seated left on Omphalos, holding arrow with right hand, leaning on grounded bows with left hand, [B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ downward on right, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΥdownward on left, ΣΩΤΗΡΟ[Σ] in exergue, [dotted border].

Weight: 3.7 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: 

Controls: _

References: Suse, Pl. LXVI: 27; Obv.SNG Spaer, Pl. 90: 1383.

KH3907

Silver drachm

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius to right, one diadem end falling behind, the other falling forward over shoulder, dotted around.

Rev.Apollo seated left on Omphalos, holding arrow right hand, leaning on grounded bows by left hand, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ downward on right, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ downward on left.

Weight: 4 g; Diameter: 16; Die axis: 

Controls: _

References: Le Rider, Pl. LXVI: 8

KH3944

Silver drachm

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius to right, both diadem end falling behind, dotted around.

Rev. A male [Apollo] seated left on Omphalos, holding arrow right hand , leaning on grounded bows by left hand, ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ]downward on right, [Δ]ΗΜΗΤΡΙ[ΟΥ] downward on left, dotted border.

Weight: 3.6 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: ↑←

Controls: _

References: Unpublished

KH5124

Silver drachm

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius to right, one diadem end falling behind, the other falling forward over shoulder, fillet around, [uncertain monogram under chin].

Rev. Apollo seated left on Omphalos, holding arrow right hand, leaning on grounded bows by left hand, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ downward on right, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ downward on left, ΣΩΤΗΡΟ[Σ] in exergue, dotted around.

Weight: 4 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: [Z on Omphalos]

References: Unpublished

KH5134

Silver drachm

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius to right, [one diadem end falling behind, the other falling forward over shoulder], dotted around.

Rev. Apollo seated left on Omphalos, holding arrow right hand, leaning on grounded bows by left hand, ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ] downward on right, [Δ]ΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥdownward on left, [ΣΩ]ΤΗΡ[ΟΣ] in exergue.

Weight: 4.1 g; Diameter: 17; Die axis: ↑↘

Controls:_

References: Unpublished

ALEXANDER BALAS (c. 150- 145 B.C)

Ecbatana Mint

KH3881

Royal Bronze Issue

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander Balas to right, dotted around, beveled edge.

Rev. A man riding an elephant advancing right, [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ], ΑΛΕΞΑ[ΝΔΡΟΥ] downward right field, ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ downward left field, dotted around.

Weight: 15.79 g; Diameter: 27; Die axis: ↑↓

Controls: _

References: SNG Spaer, pl. 103: 1591; Suse, pl. LXVII: 27- 28, Houghton II, Pl. 78: 1872.

KH3882

Royal Bronze Issue

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander Balas to right, dotted around, beveled edge.

Rev. A man riding an elephant advancing right, [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ], ΑΛΕΞΑ[ΝΔΡΟΥ] downward right field, [Θ]ΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, [ΕΥ]ΕΡΓΕΤΟΥdownward left field

Weight: 20.3 g; Diameter: 29; Die axis: ↑↓

Controls: _

References: SNG Spaer, pl. 103: 1591; Suse, pl. LXVII: 27- 28, Houghton II, Pl. 78: 1872

Unpublished

Miletus

KH1918

Drahcm (c. 200–170 B.C)

Obv. Male head (Apollo) Laureate crest, facing left.

Rev. Lion walking right, head turned back at eight-pointed sun above, left filed M I A, ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗ in exergue.

Weight: 4.2 g; Diameter: 22; Die axis: ↑↑

Controls: M I A

References: https://rjohara.net/coins/catalogue/: RJO 87

Athens, Athenian New Style

KH1914

Silver Tetradrachms (c. 169/8? 137/ 6 B.C)

Obv. Head of Athena facing right, wearing triple-crested Attic helmet adorned with five horse heads on visor, Pegasus springing right above, spiral design bowl, [wearing pendant earring], dotted border.

Rev. Owl three-quarters perched right on an overturned amphora, facing head, A-ΘE above / [MIKI]- ΘEO/ΦPA (magistrates' names) in three lines across field; to right, Nike in quadriga on right, all in olive wreath.

Weight: 16.9 g; Diameter: 28; Die axis: 

Controls: Nike in quadriga; uncertain on amphora, uncertain below amphora.

References: Nicolet-Pierre, Pl.XVIII: 18; Head, Pl. 10: 8; New Style, Pl. 32: 315- 24; Agrinion, Pl.XIV:195

EPHESUS

KH5111

Silver drachm (c.202- 133 B.C)

Obv. A straight wings bee, E upper left field, Φ upper right field, dotted border.

Rev. Stag standing on a surface facing right, [palm] tree in inner field in background, DIO [N], [magistrate's name], downward on right field.

Weight: 3.5 g; Diameter: 18; Die axis: 

Controls: E_ Φ

References:-

INDEX OF MONOGRAMS

Number	Monogram	Position	Mint	Denomination
KH1910		TH	Babylon	Tetradrachm
KH1907		LF	Miletus	Tetradrachm
KH5121		TH	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5119		TH	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5125		TH	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5115		LF	Colophon	Drachm
KH4082		LF	Colophon	Drachm
KH1766		LF	Colophon	Drachm
KH1765		LF	Mylasa	Drachm
KH5122		TH	Magnesia	Drachm
KH5123		LF	Ecbatana	Drachm

INDEX OF LETTERS

Number	Letter	Position	Mint	Denomination
KH1909	ΘE- Δ	TH-LF	Babylon	Tetradrachm
KH1767	[M- KI]	TH- LF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5112	ME	TH	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5115	B	TH	Colophon	Drachm
KH4082	ϕ	TH	Colophon	Drachm
KH1912	Π- B T I	TH-LF	Colophon	Drachm
KH5109	B- N	TH-LF	Colophon	Drachm
KH5116	K	LF	Colophon	Drachm
KH5117	Π- B T I	TH-LF	Colophon	Drachm
KH5122	[Π]-B	LF-LF	Magnesia	Drachm
KH5113	M	LF	Abydus	Drachm
KH1765	KH	TH	Mylasa	Drachm
KH1913	A	TH	Sardes?	Drachm
KH1911	K?	TH	Uncertain	Drachm
KH5123	ΞAP	LF	Ecbatana	Drachm
KH5124	Z	On Omphalos	Ecbatana	Drachm
KH1918	MIA	LF	Miletus	Drachm

INDEX OF SYMBOLS

Number	Symbol	Position	Mint	Denomination
KH1908	Gazelle, [crescent]	LF	Eastern mint	Tetradrachm
KH5121	buckle	LF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5118	Artemis- Pegasus	TH-LF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5119	Pegasus	LF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5110	Pegasus	LF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5125	Pegasus	LF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5112	amphora	LF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH4083	Star- spearhead	LF- RF	Colophon	Drachm
KH5116	Crescent	TH	Colophon	Drachm
KH5114	Pentagram- lion head-crescent	TH-LF-LF	Colophon	Drachm
KH1766	[Caduceus]- Prow	LF-TH	Abydus	Drachm
KH5113	Leaf	TH	Abydus	Drachm
KH5120	Bee	LF	Sardes	Drachm
KH1911	Palm?	LF	Uncertain	Drachm
KH1914	Nike in quadriga	RF	Athenian New Style	Tetradrachm

INDEX OF LEGENDS

Number	Legend	Position	Mint	Denomination
KH1910	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Babylon	Tetradrachm
KH1909	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF-	Babylon	Tetradrachm
	ΒΑΣΙΔΕΩΣ	Ex		
KH1908	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Eastern Mint	Tetradrachm
KH1907	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Miletus	Tetradrachm
KH5121	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH1767	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5118	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5119	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5110	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5125	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5112	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH4083	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Colophon	Drachm
KH5115	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Colophon	Drachm
KH4082	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Colophon	Drachm
KH1912	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Colophon	Drachm
KH5109	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Colophon	Drachm
KH5116	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Colophon	Drachm
KH5117	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Colophon	Drachm
KH5114	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Colophon	Drachm
KH1768	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	[Colophon]	Drachm
KH1766	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Abydus	Drachm
KH5113	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Abydus	Drachm

KH1765	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Mylasa	Drachm
KH5122	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Magnesia	Drachm
KH5120	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Sardes	Drachm
KH1913	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Sardes?	Drachm
KH1911	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF	Uncertain Mint	Drachm
KH5123	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	ΞΑΡ Mint	Drachm
	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ	LF		
KH5132	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Fraction of Chalkoi
	ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ	LF		
	ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ	LF		
KH2895	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Drachm
	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΥ	LF		
	ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ	Ex		
KH3907	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Drachm
	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	LF		
KH3944	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Drachm
	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	LF		
KH5124	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Drachm
	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	LF		
	ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ	Ex		
KH5134	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Drachm
	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	LF		
	ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ	Ex		
KH3881	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Tetrachalkoi
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF		
	ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ	LF		
	ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ	LF		
KH3882	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Tetrachalkoi
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF		

	ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ	LF		
	ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ	LF		
KH1918	ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗ	Ex	Miletus	Tetradrachm
KH1914	Α-ΘΕ / [ΜΙΚΙ]/	LF-RF/LF	Athenian New	Drachm
	ΘΕΟ/ΦΡΑ	RF	Style	
KH5111	Ε-Φ	LF-RF	Ephesus	Drachm
	ΔΙΩΝ	RF		

INDEX OF EPITHETS

Number	Epithet	Position	Mint	Denomination
KH1909	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF-	Babylon	Tetradrachm
	ΒΑΣΙΔΕΩΣ	Ex		
KH5132	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Fraction of Chalkoi
	ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ	LF		
	ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ	LF		
KH2895	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Drachm
	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΥ	LF		
	ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ	Ex		
KH5124	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Drachm
	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	LF		
	ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ	Ex		
KH5134	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Drachm
	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	LF		
	ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ	Ex		
KH3881	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Tetrachalkoi
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF		
	ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ	LF		
	ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ	LF		
KH3882	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	RF	Ecbatana	Tetrachalkoi
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	RF		
	ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ	LF		
	ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ	LF		

INDEX OF RULERS

Number	Under the Rule	Year	Mint	Denomination
KH1910	Alexander	325-323	Babylon	Tetradrachm
KH5120	Alexander/Philip	323_319	Sardes	Drachm
KH5121	Alexander/Philip	323-317	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH1909	Seleucus	310	Babylon	Tetradrachm
KH1907	Lysimachus	295-275	Miletus	Tetradrachm
KH1908	Diadochi	325_300	Eastern Mint	Tetradrachm
KH1767	Antigonus	310_301	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5118	Antigonus	310_301	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5119	Antigonus	310_301	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5110	Antigonus	310_301	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5125	Antigonus	310_301	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH5112	Antigonus	310_301	Lampsacus	Drachm
KH4083	Philip	323_ 319	Colophon	Drachm
KH5115	Philip	323_319	Colophon	Drachm
KH4082	Antigonus	310_301	Colophon	Drachm
KH1912	Antigonus	310_301	Colophon	Drachm
KH5109	Antigonus	310_301	Colophon	Drachm
KH5116	Antigonus	310_301	Colophon	Drachm
KH5117	Antigonus	310_ 301	Colophon	Drachm
KH1768	[Antigonus]	[310-301]	[Colophon]	Drachm
KH5114	Lysimachus	301_ 297	Colophon	Drachm
KH1766	Antigonus	310_301	Abydus	Drachm
KH5113	Antigonus	310_301	Abydus	Drachm
KH1765	Antigonus	310-300	Mylasa	Drachm

KH5122	Antigonus	319_305	Magnesia	Drachm
KH1913?	?	?	[Sardes]	Drachm
KH1911	?	?	?	Drachm
KH5123	Seleucus IV	187 – 175	ΞAP Mint	Drachm
KH5132	Timarchus	c.162_ 160	Ecbatana	Fraction of Chalkoi
KH2895	Demetrius I	162_150	Ecbatana	Drachm
KH3907	Demetrius I	162_150	Ecbatana	Drachm
KH3944	Demetrius I	162_150	Ecbatana	Drachm
KH5124	Demetrius I	162_150	Ecbatana	Drachm
KH5134	Demetrius I	162_150	Ecbatana	Drachm
KH3881	Alexander Balas	c. 150- 145	Ecbatana	Tetrachalkoi
KH3882	Alexander Balas	c. 150- 145	Ecbatana	Tetrachalkoi
KH1918	Civic	c. 200–170	Miletus	Drachm
KH1914	Civic	c. 160-130	Athenian New Style	Tetradrachm
KH5111	Civic	c.202-133	Ephesus	Drachm

DIE AXES

Number	Die Axis	Year	Denomination	City
KH5121		323-317	dr.	Lampsacus
KH1767		310_301	dr.	Lampsacus
KH5118		310_301	dr.	Lampsacus
KH5119		310_301	dr.	Lampsacus
KH5110		310_301	dr.	Lampsacus
KH5125		310_301	dr.	Lampsacus
KH5112		310_301	dr.	Lampsacus
KH4083		323_ 319?	dr.	Colophon
KH5115		323_319?	dr.	Colophon
KH4082		310_301	dr.	Colophon
KH1912		310_301	dr.	Colophon
KH5109		310_301	dr.	Colophon
KH5116		310_301	dr.	Colophon
KH5117		310_ 301	dr.	Colophon
KH1768		[310_ 301]	dr.	Colophon
KH5114		301_ 297	dr.	Colophon
KH1766		310_301	dr.	Abydus
KH5113		310_301	dr.	Abydus
KH1765		310-300	dr.	Mylasa
KH5122		319_305	dr.	Magnesia ad Maeandrum
KH5120		323_319	dr.	Sardes
KH1913?		?	dr.	Sardes
KH1911		-	dr.	Unknown Mint
KH1910		325-323	4dr.	Babylon
				

KH1909		310	4dr.	Babylon
KH1908		325_300	4dr.	Eastern Mint
KH1907		295-275	4dr.	Miletus
KH5123			dr	Ecbatana
KH5132			Chalcon’s fraction	Ecbatana
KH2895			dr	Ecbatana
KH3907			dr	Ecbatana
KH3944			dr	Ecbatana
KH5124			dr	Ecbatana
KH5134			dr	Ecbatana
KH3881			4chalcon	Ecbatana
KH3882			4chalcon	Ecbatana
KH1918		c. 200–170	dr	Miletus
KH1914		c.160 130	4dr	Athenian New Style
KH5111		c.202-133	dr	Ephesus

Bibliography

1. Abdi, A. (2010). Rescue Excavation at Barzghawaleh in Seymareh Dam Basin, Luristan. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization, unpublished (in Persian).
2. Abdi, K. (2009). Excavtaion at Sorkhdom-e Lori. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).
3. Abdolahi. M, Niknami. K, hesari.M & Sardai Razchi. A. (2014). Village and cultural changes of Communites in East of Central Zagros: Archaeological Excavation of Tepe Ghela Gap. *Archaeological Studies*, 6 (1), 67-86 (in Persian).
4. Abdolahi. M, Sardari Razchi. A. (2012). Preliminarily survey report of Azna Town. *Archaeological Reports 8, Proceedings of International Congress of Iran Archaeology, West Basin, Kermanshah*Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Publication, Tehran, 47-68 (In Persian).
5. Adeli, J. (2006) Rescue Excavation at Tepe Deh Shahi Site in Aligoudarz, Luristan. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).
6. Adeli, J. (2007). Excavation at Khorramabad Minaret, Luristan. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).
7. Adeli, J., A. Garajian & L. Paply Yazdi. 2001. Recent pictographs of Houmian. *Journal of Anthropology*, 1st year, n◦2: 84-101 (in Persian).
8. Alexander, B. A. (1980). the Iranians/AB Bosworth. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *100*, 1-21.
9. Alibaigi, S., Niknami, K. A., & Khosravi, S. (2012). The location of the Parthian city of Bagistan in Bisotun, Kermanshah: A Proposal. *Iranica Antiqua*, *47*, 117-131.
10. Alibaigi, S., Shanbehzadeh, A. M., & Alibaigi, H. (2012). The Discovery of a Neo-Assyrian Rock-Relief at Mishkhas, Ilam Province (Iran). *Iranica Antiqua*, *47*, 29-40.

11. Anderson, L., & Van Alfen, P. G. (2008). A fourth century BCE hoard from the Near East. *American Journal of Numismatics (1989-)*, 155-198.
12. Anson, E. (2015). *Eumenes of cardia: a Greek among Macedonians*. Brill.
13. Aperghis, G. G. (2004). *The Seleukid royal economy: the finances and financial administration of the Seleukid empire*. Cambridge University Press.
14. Aperghis, G. G. (2010). Recipients and end-users on Seleukid coins. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 55-84.
15. Ashley, J. R. (2004). *The Macedonian Empire: The Era of Warfare under Philip II and Alexander the Great, 359–323 BC*. McFarland.
16. Ashton, R. (2012). Cyme in Aeolis: Persic-Weight Didrachms, Seleucid Attic-weight Coinage, and Contemporary Autonomous Bronzes. *The Numismatic Chronicle (1966-)*, *172*, 27-34.
17. Ashton, R., & Kinns, P. (2003). Opuscula Anatolica II. *The Numismatic Chronicle (1966-)*, *163*, 1-47.
18. Askari- Chaverdi , A., & M. Azarnoush. (2004). Barrasiye Bastanshenakhti mohavvateh ā –ye Bastani Paskaranehaye Khalih-e Fars: Lamard va Mohr, Fars. *IJAH* 18 / 2: 3–18 (Persian), 2 (English).
19. Askari- Chaverdi, A. & Callieri, P. (2007a) Preliminary Report on the Stratigraphic Study of the Toll-e Takht, Pasargadae. Investigations on the Material Culture of the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Periods. *Archaeological Reports 7. On the Occasion of the 9th Annual Symposium on Iranian Archaeology*, Tehran 2007, vol. 1, pp. 5-23.
20. Askari- Chaverdi, A. & Callieri, P. (2007b) Tang-e Bolaghi Site TB 76. 3rd Excavation Season (Ordibehesht-Khordad 1385). Preliminary Report. *Archaeological Reports 7. On the Occasion of the 9th Annual Symposium on Iranian Archaeology*, Tehran 2007, vol. 2, pp. 97-124.
21. Askari- Chaverdi, A. & Callieri, P. (2009) *Achaemenid and Post Achaemenid Remains at Sites TB76 and TB77.Tang-i Bulaghi Reports, ed. R. Boucharlat & H. Fazeli Nashli (ARTA 2009.004)*, pp. 1-35.

22. Askari- Chaverdi, A. R. (2002). Recent post-Achaemenid finds from southern Fars, Iran. *Iran*, *40*(1), 277-278.
23. Askari- Chaverdi, A., & Callieri, P. (2010). Preliminary Report on the Irano-Italian Stratigraphy Study of the Tol-e Takt, Pasargad. Investigations on the Material Culture of the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Periods in Fars. In *Ancient and Middle Iranian Studies. Proceedings of the 6th European Conference of Iranian Studies, edited by Maria Macuch, Dieter Weber and Desmond.*
24. Austin, M. M. (1986). Hellenistic kings, war, and the economy. *The Classical Quarterly*, *36*(2), 450-466.
25. Balkan, K. (1954). *Die Sprache der Kassiten: aus dem Türk. übers. von Fr. R. Kraus* (Doctoral dissertation, American Oriental Soc.).
26. Bar-Kochva, B. (1976). *The Seleucid army: Organization and tactics in the great campaigns* (Vol. 28). Cambridge University Press.
27. Baseri, Z. (2011). Seleucid Coins from the National Museum of Iran. In *Seleucid dissolution: the sinking of the Anchor, Edite by* Erickson, K., & Ramsey, G. C. Harrassowitz.
28. Baumler, M. F., & Speth, J. D. (1993). A Middle Paleolithic assemblage from kunji cave, Iran. *The Paleolithic prehistory of the zagros-Taurus*, 1-73.
29. Bauslaugh, R. A. (1984). The numismatic legacy of Alexander the Great. *Archaeology*, 34-47.
30. Belfer-Cohen, A., Kuhn, P. J. B. S. L., Kerry, K. W., & Bar-Yosef, O. (2004). *The Early Upper Paleolithic beyond Western Europe*. Univ of California Press.
31. Bellinger, A. R. (1945). The Bronze Coins of Timarchus, 162-0 BC. *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)*, *1*, 37-44.
32. Bellinger, A. R. (1963). *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great* (No. 11). American Numismatic Society.
33. Bellinger, A. R., & Berlincourt, M. A. (1962). *Victory as a coin type* (No. 149). American Numismatic Society.

34. Bermann, J.C. (1978). *The Khorramabad Survey: preliminary report*, (project director Ph.D. Candidate) University of New York.
35. Bernard, P. (1976). *Les traditions orientales dans l'architecture gréco-bactrienne*. Société asiatique.
36. Bernard, P. (1980). *Héraclès, les grottes de Karafto et le sanctuaire du mont Sambulos en Iran*.
37. Bernard, P. (1995). Remarques additionnelles. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, *1*, 73-95.
38. Bewley, R. H., Levine, M., Leroi-Gourhan, A., & Green, C. (1984). The Cambridge University Archaeological Expedition to Iran 1969: Excavations in the Zagros Mountains: Houmian, Mir Malas, and Barde Spid. *Iran*, *22*(1), 1-38.
39. Bickerman, E. (1983). The Seleucid Period. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, *3*(1), 3-21.
40. Billerbeck, A. (1893). *Susa, eine studie zur alten geschichte Westasiens*. JC Hinrichs.
41. Billows, R. A. (1997). *Antigonos the One-eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State* (Vol. 4). Univ of California Press.
42. Bivar, A. D. H. (1983). The political history of Iran under the Arsacids. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, *3*(1), 21-99.
43. Black, J. A., George, A. R., Postgate, J. N., & Breckwoldt, T. (Eds.). (2000). *A concise dictionary of Akkadian* (Vol. 5). Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.
44. Boiy, T. (2004). *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon* (Vol. 136). Peeters Publishers.
45. Boiy, T. (2010). Royal and satrapal armies in Babylonia during the Second Diadoch War. The Chronicle of the Successors on the events during the seventh year of Philip Arrhidaeus (= 317/316 BC). *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *130*, 1-13.
46. Bonanno Aravantinos, M. (1991). Osservazioni sul tipo dell'Eracle sdraiato. *Giornate di studio in onore di Achille Adriani*, 155-179.
47. Bopearachchi, O. (1991). *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques: catalogue raisonné*. Bibliothèque nationale.

48. Boroujeni, M. (2008). A Survey in Seymareh Dam Basin. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization, unpublished (in Persian).
49. Bosworth, A. B. (1996). *Alexander and the East: The Tragedy of Triumph: The Tragedy of Triumph*. Clarendon Press.
50. Bosworth, A. B. (2002). *The legacy of Alexander: politics, warfare, and propaganda under the successors*. OUP Oxford.
51. Boucharlat, R. (1985). SUSE, MARCHÉ AGRICOLE OU RELAIS DU GRAND COMMERCE SUSE ET LA SUSIANE À L'ÉPOQUE DES GRANDS EMPIRES. *Paléorient*, 71-81.
52. Boucharlat, R. (1990). Suse et la Susiane à l'époque achéménide. Données archéologiques. *Achaemenid History*, *4*, 149-75.
53. Boucharlat, R. (2006). *Le destin des résidences et sites perses d'Iran dans la seconde moitié du IVe siècle avant J.-C*. na.
54. Bracey, R. (2008). A flood of fake Bactrian coins. *JONS*, *196*, 2-5.
55. Briant, P. (1982). Etat et pasteurs au Moyen-Orient ancien.
56. Briant, P. (1993). *Alexandre à Sardes*. L'Erma di Bretschneider.
57. Briant, P. (2002). *From Cyrus to Alexander: a history of the Persian Empire*. Eisenbrauns.
58. Bringmann, K. (1985). *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa*. Eine Untersuchung zur jüdisch-hellenistischen Geschichte (175-163 v. Chr.).
59. Brinkman, J. A. (1968). *Political history of Post-Kassite Babylonia (1158-722 b. C.)(A)* (Vol. 43). Gregorian Biblical BookShop.
60. Brinkman, J. A. (1976). *Materials and studies for Kassite history*. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
61. Brunner, C.J. (2006). Iran V. Peoples of Iran: (2) Pre-Islamic Period' Enclr 13, 326-344

Burstein, S. M. (1978). *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*. Malibu: Undena Publications.

62. Burstein, S. M. (1991). Pharaoh Alexander: a scholarly myth. *Ancient Society*, *22*, 139-145.

63. Buxton, R. F. (2009). The northern Syria 2007 hoard of Athenian owls: Behavioral aspects. *American Journal of Numismatics (1989-)*, 1-27.
64. Callieri, P. (2001). Frammento di testa bronzea raffigurante un personaggio maschile diademato (sovrano ellenistico?) . In *Antica Persia. I tesori del Museo Nazionale di Tehran e la ricerca italiana in Iran*, 109–111. Roma: De Luca .
65. Callieri, P. (2003). Some Notes on the So-called Temple of the Fratarakas at Persepolis'. *Studi in onore di Umberto Scerrato per il suo settantacinquesimo compleanno,(Napoli 2003)*, *153*, 165.
66. Callieri, P. (2007). L'archéologie du Fars à l'époque hellénistique: Persika.
67. Callieri, P., & Askari-Chaverdi, A. (2013). Media, Khuzestan, and Fars between the End of the Achaemenids and the Rise of the Sasanians. In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*.
68. Cameron, G. G. (1936). *History of early Iran*. Greenwood Press.
69. Capdetrey, L. (2007). *Le pouvoir séleucide: Territoire, administration, finances d'un royaume hellénistique (312-129 av. J.-C.)*. PU Rennes.
70. Chrubasik, B. (2016). *Kings and Usurpers in the Seleukid Empire: the men who would be king*. Oxford University Press.
71. Connolly, P. (1981). *Greece and Rome at War. London: Macdonald Phoebus* (p. 47). ISBN 0-356-06798-X).
72. Cumont, F. (1936). Bronzes hellénistiques en Perse. *Syria*, 394-395.
73. Curtis, G. E., & Hooglund, E. (Eds.). (2008). *Iran: a country study*. Government Printing Office.
74. Daems, A. (2005). «The Assyrian expansion in the Zagros and the local ruling elites», in: GB Daems, M. Roaf, R. Rollinger, eds., Continuity of Empire (?) Assyria, Media, Persia. Padova, Sargon Editrice e Libreria, 2003, pp. 79-118.(History of the Ancient Near East/Monographs–V). *Abstracta Iranica. Revue bibliographique pour le domaine irano-aryen*, (Volume 26).

75. Dalvand, H. (2009). *History and Architecture of Shapur Khast Fortress (Falak Ol-Aflak Fortress)*. Research Institute of Cultural Heritage of Handicrafts and Tourism, Elam (in Persian).
76. Darabi, H. (2009). Rescue Excavation at Chia Sabz tepe in Seymareh Dam Basin. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization, unpublished (in Persian).
77. De Callatay, F. (1992). Athenian New Style Tetradrachms in Macedonian Hoards. *American Journal of Numismatics (1989-)*, *3*, 11-20.
78. De Callatay, F. (2004). *Le premier monnayage de la cité d'Amastris (Paphlagonie)* (No. 2013/115415). ULB--Universite Libre de Bruxelles.
79. De Callatay, F. (2012). Royal Hellenistic Coinages: From Alexander to Mithradates.
80. De Miroschedji, P., Meyer, L. D., Gasche, H., & Vallat, F. (1986). La localisation de Madaktu et l'organisation politique de l'Elam à l'époque Neo-Elamite. *Fragmenta Historiae Aelamicae, op. cit*, 209-225.
81. De Morgan, J. (1895). *Mission scientifique en Perse*. Paris.
82. Delitzsch. F. (1884). *Die Sprache der Cossäer: linguistisch-historische Funde und Fragen.* Von Dr Friedrich Delitzsch. J. C. Hinrichs, 39sq.
83. Deppert-Lippitz, B. (1984). Die Münzprägung Milets vom vierten bis ersten Jahrhundert v. *Chr.*, *Typos*, *5*(223), 36pl.
84. Dittenberger, W. (1903). Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae (OGIS). *Hibis*, *665*(1), 669.
85. Eggermont, A., & Eggermont, P. H. L. (1993). *Alexander's campaign in Southern Punjab* (Vol. 54). Peeters Publishers.
86. Eilers, W. (1982). *Geographische Namengebung in und um Iran: ein Überblick in Beispielen*. Verlag d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.
87. Engels, J. (2011). Posidonius of Apamea and Strabo of Amasia on the Decline of the Seleucid Kingdom. *Seleucid Dissolution. The Sinking of the Anchor*, 181-94.
88. Errington, R. M. (2011). *A history of the Hellenistic world: 323-30 BC* (Vol. 13). John Wiley & Sons.

89. Field, H. (1951). Reconnaissance in southwestern Asia. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, *7*(1), 86-102.
90. Frye, R. N. (1984). *The history of ancient Iran* (Vol. 7). CH Beck.
91. Fuller, J. F. C. (1960). The Generalship of Alexander the Great. Brunswick.
92. Garazhian, O. (2001). *Survey reports of Nourabad Twon, Luristan, first and second seasons.* Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Archive (unpublished; In Persian).
93. Gardner, P. (1883). *The types of Greek coins: an archaeological essay*. University Press.
94. Gardner, P. (1886). *The coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* (Vol. 3). order of the Trustees.
95. Gardner, P. (1913). Coinage of the Athenian empire. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *33*, 147-188.
96. Gelb. I. J, Landsberger. B, Oppenhei, A.L, Reiner. E. (1964). *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Editoral board: Volume 1.1, fourth printing 1998.
97. Gera, D., & Horowitz, W. (1997). Antiochus IV in life and death: evidence from the Babylonian astronomical diaries. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 240-252.
98. Ghirshman, R., & Munn-Rankin, M. (1954). *Iran: From the earliest times to the Islamic conquest* (Vol. 239). NY: Penguin Books.
99. Godard, A. Bronzes du Luristan (Paris, 1931) pls. XI, XII.
100. Goff, C. (1968). Luristan in the first half of the first millennium BC. *A Preliminary Report on the First Season's Excavations at Baba Jan, and Associated Surveys in the Eastern Pish-i Kuh, Iran*, *6*, 105-134.
101. Goff, C. (1976). Excavations at Bābā Jān: The Bronze Age Occupation. *Iran*, *14*(1), 19-40.
102. Goff, C. L. (1971). Lūristān before the Iron Age. *Iran*, *9*(1), 131-152.
103. Grainger, J. D. (1997). *A Seleukid prosopography and gazetteer* (Vol. 172). Brill.
104. Grainger, J. D. (2010). *The Syrian Wars*. Brill.

105. Grainger, J. D. (2014a). *Seleukos Nikator (Routledge Revivals): Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom*. Routledge.

106. Grainger, J. D. (2014b). *The Rise of the Seleukid Empire (323-223 BC): Seleukos I to Seleukos III*. Pen and Sword.

107. Grayson, A. K., & Novotny, J. (2012). *The royal inscriptions of Sennacherib, king of Assyria (704–681 BC), part 1* (Vol. 3). Eisenbrauns.

108. Grose, S. W. (1923). Fitzwilliam Museum: Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins.

109. Gruen, E. S. (1984). The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome. 2 vols. Berkeley. *Cal*.

110. Habicht, C. (1970). Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte: Zetemata.

111. Habicht, C. (1988). Hellenistic Athens. *David Magie Lecture*.

112. Hadipour. M, S., & Sodaei, B. (2019). Cossaeans from Alexander Conquest to Seleucid Period Based on Greek and Roman Sources (5th BC - 2nd A.D). *Journal of Iran's Pre-Islamic Archaeological Essays*. 4(1): 63-77 (in Persian).

113. Hadipour. M, S., & Sodaei, B. (2020a). Two Bronze Coins of Alexander Balas Recently Discovered in Luristan (Iran). *Iran*, 1-7.

114. Hadipour, M. S., & Sodaei, B. (2020b). An Introduction to Alexanders' Mints at the Falak-Ol-Aflak Museum (Khorram Abad-Luristan), *Pazhohesh-ha-ye- Bastanshenasi Iran*,10 (24), 61-80 (in Persian).

115. Haerinck, E., & vanden Berghe, L. (1983). *La Céramique en Iran pendant la Période Parthe (ca. 250 av. JC à ca. 225 après JC), Typologie, Chronologie et Distribution*. Universitaire Stichting van België.

116. Hakemi, A. (1958). Mojasseme-ye Herkol dar Biztun. *Majalle-ye Bāstānšenāsi* 3–4: 3–12, (in Persian).

117. Hakemi, A. (1959). Katibe bozorg Nahavand. *Majaleh Bastanshenasi* 1&2: 4-8, (in Persian).

118. Hammond, N. G. L. (1989). *The Macedonian State: origins, institutions, and history*. Oxford University Press, USA.

119. Hannestad, L., & Potts, D. (1990). Temple architecture in the Seleucid Kingdom. *Religion and religious practice in the Seleucid kingdom*, *1*, 91.

120. Hasanpour, A. (2002). Rescues excavation and absolute chronology in Baba Jilan Graveyard. *Proceedings of eighty years of Iran archaeology*. Edited by Hasanzadeh. Y And Miri. S. Pazineh, Tehran, 191-215, (In Persian).

121. Hasanpur, A. (2008). Rescue Excavation at Baba Jilan Graveyard, Nourabad. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

122. Hasanpur, A. (2010). Rescue Excavation at Ghaleh Gabri. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization, unpublished (in Persian).

123. Hasanpur, A., Hashemi, Z., & Overlaet, B. (2015). The Baba Jilan graveyard near Nurabad, Pish-i Kuh Luristan—a preliminary report. *Iran Antiq*, *50*, 171-212.

124. Hauben, H., & Meeus, A. (2014). Introduction: New Perspectives on the Age of the Successors.

125. Head, B. V. (1889). *Catalogue of Greek coins: Corinth, colonies of Corinth, etc*. order of the Trustees [of the British Museum].

126. Heckel, W. (2002). The case of the missing phrourarch: Arr. 3.16. 6–9.

127. Heckel, W. (2008). The conquests of Alexander the Great. *A Companion to the Classical Greek World*.

128. Hersh, C. A., & Troxell, H. A. (1993). A 1993 hoard of Alexander drachms from the Near East. *American Journal of Numismatics (1989-)*, *5*, 13-42.

129. Herzfeld, E. (1935). Archaeological history of Iran. British Academy.

130. Herzfeld, E. (1941). Iran in the Ancient East. Oxford University Press. London.

131. Herzfeld. E, 1968. The Persian Empire, Studies in Geography and Ethnography of the Ancient NearEast. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden.

132. Hill, G. F. (1922). Ancient methods of coining. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, 1-VII.

133. Hole, F. (1992). Tepe Abdul Hosein: A Neolithic Site in Western Iran Excavations 1978. Judith Pullar. BAR International Series 563. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford, 1990. VII+ 259 pp., figures, tables, plates, bibliography. £ 24.00. *American Antiquity*, *57*(2), 372-373.

134. Hole, F., & Flannery, K. V. (1968, February). The prehistory of southwestern Iran: a preliminary report. In Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society (Vol. 33, pp. 147-206). Cambridge University Press.

135. Holt, F. L. (1988). *Alexander the Great and Bactria: the formation of a Greek frontier in central Asia* (Vol. 104). Brill Archive.

136. Hoover, O. (2002). Laodice IV on the bronze coinages of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV. *American Journal of Numismatics*, *14*, 81-87.

137. Hoover, O. D. (2000). A Dedication to Aphrodite Epekoos for Demetrius I Soter and his family. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 106-110.

138. Hoover, O. D., & MacDonald, D. (1999). Syrian imitations of New Style Athenian tetradrachms struck over Myrina. *Berytus*, *44*, 109-17.

139. Houghton, A. (1979). Timarchus as King in Babylonia. *Revue Numismatique*, *6*(21), 213-217.

140. Houghton, A. (1980). Tarik Darreh (Kangavar) Hoard. *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)*, *25*, 31-44.

141. Houghton, A. (2004). Seleucid Coinage and Monetary Policy of the 2nd c. BC Reflections on the Monetization of the Seleucid Economy. *Topoi. Orient-Occident*, *6*(1), 49-79.

142. Houghton, A. (2012). The Seleucids. In *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

143. Houghton, A. A., Lorber, C. C., Kritt, B., & Hoover, O. D. (2002). *Seleucid coins: a comprehensive catalogue*. American Numismatic Society.

144. Houghton, A., Lorber, C., & Hoover, O. (2008). Seleucid Coins, Part II: Seleucus IV through Antiochus XIII.

145. Huff, D. (1989). Säulenbasen aus Deh Bozan und Taq-i Bustan. *Iranica Antiqua*, *24*, 285-95.

146. Izadpanah, H. (1997). *Ancient and Historical Remains of Luristan*, Anjoman Asar va mafakher Farhangi.

147. Jakobsson, J. (2016). Dating of Timarchus, the Median Usurper A Critical Review. *Ancient History Bulletin*, *30*.

148. Jenkins, G. K. (1951). Notes on Seleucid coins. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, *11*(41), 1-21.

149. Jenkins, G. K. (1965). Coin hoards from Pasargadae. *Iran*, *3*(1), 41-52.

150. Jenkins, G. K. (1967). A HELLENISTIC HOARD FROM MESOPOTAMIA. *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)*, *13*, 41-56.

151. Kaboli, M. (1984). Sounding report of Tepe Masour, Khorramabad. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

152. King, L. W. (1915). *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, BC 860-825*. London: Printed by order of the Trustees.

153. Kinns, P. (1986). The coinage of Miletus. *The Numismatic Chronicle (1966-)*, 233-260.

154. Kinns, P. (1987). Asia Minor. *The coinage of the Roman world in the Late Republic*, 105-119.

155. Kinns, P. (1998). CH 8, 474: Milesian silver coinage in the second century bc'. *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price (London, 1998)*, 175-95.

156. Kinns, P. (1999). The Attic weight drachms of Ephesus: a preliminary study in the light of recent hoards.

157. Kleiss, W. (1981). Bemerkungen zu achaemenidischen Feueraltären.(Remarques sur les autels du feu achéménides). *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran Berlin*, *14*, 61-64.

158. Kleiss, W. (1994). Brücken und Dämme in Nord-, West-und Südwestiran-V. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, *27*, 241-263.

159. Kleiss, W. (1995). Brücken und Dämme in Südwest-, Nordost-und Südiran.(Taf. 29, I-46, 3). *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, *28*, 347-366.

160. Knudtzon, Jørgen. A. (1893). *SAA 04, 077*. British Museum, London, UK.

161. Kosari, Y. (1983). Sounding at Venay Tepe in Boroujerd. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

162. Kosmin, P. J. (2013). Alexander the Great and the Seleucids in Iran. In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*.

163. Kraay, C. M. (1954). Greek Coins Recently Acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, *14*(44), 9-17.

164. Labrousse, A., & Boucharlat, R. (1972). La fouille du palais du Chaour à Suse en 1970 et 1971. *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran*, *2*, 83.

165. Le Rider, G. (1965). *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes: les trouvailles monétaires et l'histoire de la ville* (Vol. 38). P. Geuthner.

166. Le Rider, G. (1986). Les Alexandres d'argent en Asie Mineure et dans l'Orient Séleucide au IIIe siècle av. J.-C.(c. 275-c. 225) Remarques sur le système monétaire des Séleucides et des Ptolémées. *Journal des savants*, *1*(1), 3-57.

167. Le Rider, G. (1991). *Éphèse et Arados au IIe siècle avant notre ère*.

168. Le Rider, G. (2003). *Alexandre le Grand: monnaie, finances et politique*. Presses universitaires de France.

169. LE RIDER, G. E. O. R. G. E. S. (1998). Alexander in Asia Minor. *Coins of Macedonia and Rom: Essays in honour of Charles Hersh, Londres, Spink*, 49-57.

170. Lehmann-Haupt, F. F. C. (1892). *Šammaššumukîn, Konig von Babylonien 668-648 v. Chr. inschriftliches Material über den beginn seiner Regierung: grossentheils zum ersten Male hrsg* (Vol. 8). JC Hinrichs.

171. Levine, L. D. (1972). Two neo-Assyrian stelae from Iran: Occasional paper/Art and Archaeology Division, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

172. Levine, L. D. (1973). Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros—I. *Iran*, *11*(1), 1-27.

173. Levine, L. D. (1974). Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros—II. *Iran*, *12*(1), 99-124.

174. Lewis, D. M. (1962). The chronology of the Athenian New Style coinage. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, *2*, 275-300.

175. LORBER, C. C., & HOOVER, O. D. (2003). An unpublished tetradrachm issued by the artists of Dionysos. *The Numismatic Chronicle (1966-)*, *163*, 59-68.)

176. Luschey, H. (1996). Die seleukidische Heraklesfi gur . In *Bisutun. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in den Jahren 1963–1967* , ed. W. Kleiss and P. Calmeyer, 59–60. Berlin: Teheraner Forschungen 7.

177. Luckenbill, D. D. (1927). *Ancient records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Historical records of Assyria: from the earliest to Sargon, vol. 2. University of Chicago Press.

178. Mackenzie, D. N. (1989). Avoroman Documents, *Ehcyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. III, London-New York, III.

179. Mahboubian, H. (1995). *Treasures of the mountains: The Art of the Medes*. Houshang Mahboubian.

180. Malekzadeh, M. (2006). Excavation Report of Sangtarashan Site. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

181. Malekzadeh, M. (2009). Excavation Report of Sangtarashan Site. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

182. Malekzadeh. M, Naseri, R. (2014). New-findings Cencerning the End of Iron Age Culture at Patepe or Gounespan Tepe in Malayer Town (after six seasons of excavtions). *In: Proceedings of 50 years of Malayer Archaeology.* Edited by Khaksar. A, Rahmani. E. Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Publication, 107-120 (In Persian).

183. Mamroth, A. (1928). *Die Silbermünzen des Königs Perseus*.

184. Maniori, F. (2008). *Le Campagne Badilonesi Ed Orientali di Sargon II d'Assyria. Un'analisi Topografica*. Doctoral Deissertaion, University of Sapienza, Roma, Italy.

185. Marcellesi, M. C. (2000). Commerce, monnaies locales et monnaies communes dans les États hellénistiques. *Revue des études grecques*, 326-358

186. Marciak, M. (2017). *Sophene, Gordyene, and Adiabene: Three Regna Minora of Northern Mesopotamia between East and West*. Brill.

187. Martinez-Sève, L., & Caubet, A. (2002a). *Les figurines de Suse: de l'époque néo-élamite à l'époque sassanide* (Vol. 1). Réunion des musées nationaux.

188. Martinez-Sève, L. (2002b). La ville de Suse à l'époque hellénistique. *Revue archéologique*, (1), 31-53.

189. Martinez-Sève, L. (2011). *Atlas du monde hellénistique: 336-31 av. J.-C.: pouvoir et territoires après Alexandre le Grand* (p. 80). Paris: Éd. Autrement.

190. Matheson, S. A., & Matheson, S. A. (1972). *Persia: an archaeological guide* (p. 146). Faber & Faber.

191. Mattingly, H. B. (1979). L. Julius Caesar, Governor of Macedonia. *Chiron*, *9*, 147-168.

192. Mattingly, H. B. (1990). The Beginning of Athenian New Style Silver Coinage. *The Numismatic Chronicle (1966-)*, 67-78.

193. Mattingly, H. B. (1993). The Ma'aret En- Nu'man Hoard 1980. In A. B. Martin Price, Essay in teh Honor of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins (pp. 69- 86). London

194. McBurney, c. (1969 a). On an examination of rock paintings in the Kouhdasht area. *Bastan Shenasi Va Honar-e Iran*, 3, 7–8.

195. McBurney, c. (1969 b). Report on further excavations in the caves of the Kouhdasht area during August, 1969. *Bastan Shenasi Va Honar-e Iran*, 3, 8–9.

196. Meade, C. G. (1968). Lūristān in the First Half of the First Millennium bc: A preliminary report on the first season's excavations at Bābā Jān, and associated surveys in the Eastern Pīsh-i-Kūh. *Iran*, *6*(1), 105-134.

197. Meadows, A. (2011). *The Chian revolution: Changing patterns of hoarding in 4th-century BC Western Asia Minor*. De Boccard.

198. Medvedskaya, I. N. (1999). Media and its neighbours I: The localization of Ellipi. *Iranica antiqua*, *34*, 53-70.

199. Mehryar, M., Fathollaiov, Sh., Fakhari, F., Ghadiri, B. (1999). Pictorial documents of Iranian cities in the Qajar period, Cultural Heritage Organization and University of Shahid Beheshti, (in Persian).

200. Meldgaard, J., Mortensen, P., & Thrane, H. (1963). EXCAVATIONS AT TEPE GURAN, LURISTAN-PRELIMINARY-REPORT OF THE DANISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION TO IRAN 1963. *Acta Archaeologica*, *34*, 97-133.

201. Meritt, B. D., & Pritchett, W. K. (1940). The chronology of hellenistic Athens. *Cambridge, Mass*, 23-29.

202. Messina, V. (2001). Presto sarò re. Seleuco IV come Helios sulle cretule da Seleucia al Tigri.

203. Messina, V., & Mehr Kian, J. (2010). The Iranian-Italian Joint Expedition in Khuzistan; Hung-e Azdhar: 1st Campaign (2008). *The Iranian-Italian Joint Expedition in Khuzistan; Hung-e Azdhar: 1st Campaign (2008)*, 31-46.

204. Mittag, P. F., & Antiochus IV, E. (2006). Eine politische Biographie (Klio. Beihefte Neue Folge 11).

205. Moghadas.M, Sharifi. A. (1996). *Survey and identification of historical areas in Boroujerd.* Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Archive (unpublished; In Persian).

206. Moghaddam, A. (2008). Sounding at Cheshmeh Rajab and Chahar Arou in Seymareh Dam Basin. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization, unpublished (in Persian).

207. Moghaddam, A. (2009). Rescue Excavation at Cham Goleh in Seymareh Dam Basin. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization, unpublished (in Persian).

208. Mohajeri Zezhad, A. (2010). Rescue Excavation at Ghaleh Pirouz in Seymareh Dam Basin. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization, unpublished (in Persian).

209. Mollazadeh. K, Taheri Dehkordi. M. (2013). A Study of Historical Geography of Media, before the Creation of Media Kingship and Its Expansion (835-672 B.C), *History of Islam and Iran*, 20 (110), 143-165, (In Persian).

210. Mollazadeh. K., Goudarzi. A. (2015). Political History of Ellipi. *Historical Science Studies*, 7, 153-172, (In Persian).

211. Mollazadeh. K., Goudarzi. A. (2016). Historical Geography of Ellipi, *Pazhohesh-ha-ye Bastanshenasi Iran*, 6 (10), 83-100, (In Persian).

212. Moradi, B. (2008). Archaeological Survey of Caves and Rock-Shelters in Kouhdasht, Luristan. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

213. Mørkholm, O. (1970). The Seleucid Mint at Antiochia on the Persian Gulf. *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)*, *16*, 31-44

214. Mørkholm, O. (1983). A posthumous issue of Antiochus IV of Syria. *The Numismatic Chronicle (1966-)*, *143*, 57-63.

215. Mørkholm, O. (1984). The monetary system in the Seleucid empire after 187 BC. *Ancient Coins of the Graeco-Roman World—The Nickle Numismatic Papers. Waterloo, Ont*, 93-113.

216. Mørkholm, O. (1984a). The chronology of the New Style coinage of Athens. *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)*, *29*, 29-42.

217. Mørkholm, O. (1991). *Early Hellenistic Coinage from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamaea (336-188 BC)*. Cambridge University Press.

218. Mortensen, P. (1975, November). Survey and soundings in the Holailan Valley 1974. In *Proceedings of the Third Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran* (pp. 1-2).

219. Motamedi, N. (1989). Excavation at Kamtarlan Graveyard and Tepe Chia sabz in Roumeshkan. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

220. Motamedi, N. (1993). Excavation Report of Kalmakareh Cave. *Cultural Heritage*, 10, 3-52.

221. Motamedi, N. (2000). Excavation Report of Sorkhdom-e Laki. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization, unpublished (in Persian).

222. Müller, O. (1973). Antigonos Monophthalmos und das" Jahr der Könige", Saarbrücker Beitr. z.

223. Napier, G. S. F. (1919). The road from Baghdad to Baku. *The Geographical Journal*, *53*(1), 1-16.

224. Nash, D. (1974). The Kuft hoard of Alexander III tetradrachms. *The Numismatic Chronicle (1966-)*, 14-30.

225. Newell, E. T. (1920). *Myriandros, Alexandria Kat'isson*. American Numismatic Society.

226. Newell, E. T. (1937). *Royal Greek portrait coins*. Whitman Publishing Company.

227. Newell, E. T. (1939). Eastern Seleucid mints. *New York*, *171*.

228. Nöldeke, T. (1874). Griechische Namen Susiana's. *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen*, *1874*, 173-197.

229. Nyberg, H. S. (1923). *The Pahlavi Documents from Avromān*. A.-B. Lundequistska bokhandeln.

230. Olbrycht, M. J. (2013). Iranians in the Diadochi period. *After Alexander, the Time of the Diadochi (323–281 BC), Oxford*, 159-182.

231. O'Neil, J. L. (2000). The creation of new dynasties after the death of Alexander the Great. *Prudentia*, *32*(2), 118-137.

232. Otte, M., & Biglari, F. (2004). Témoins aurignaciens dans le Zagros, Iran. *Anthropologie (1962-)*, *42*(3), 243-248.

233. Otte, M., Adeli, J., & Remacle, L. (2003). Art rupestre de l'ouest iranien. *INORA*, *37*(812), 18.

234. Otte, M., Biglari, F., Alipour, S., Naderi, R., Hosseini, J., Derevianko, A. P., & Nokhrina, T. I. (2004). Earliest Human Occupations in Central Asia: An Iranian Look. *Arkheologiya I Paleoekologiya Evrazii*, 279-82.

235. Otte, M., Biglari, F., Flas, D., Shidrang, S., Zwyns, N., Mashkour, M., ... & Radu, V. (2007). The Aurignacian in the Zagros region: new research at Yafteh cave, Lorestan, Iran. *Antiquity*, *81*(311), 82-96.

236. Overlaet, B. (2006). Luristan bronzes: I. The field research. Encyclopaedia Iranica online, Originally published: November, 15.

237. Overlaet, B. (2013). Luristan during the Iron Age. In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*. Edited by D.T. Potts, Oxford University Press, 377-399.

238. Özgen, E., & Davesne, A. (1994). Le trésor de Oylum Höyügü'. *Trésors et Circulation Monétaire en Anatolie Antique (Paris, 1994)*, 45-59.

239. Parviz, A. (2010). Sounding at Tepe Kakou, Doroud Town. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

240. Parviz. A. (2006). *Preliminarily survey report of Silakhor Plain in Boroujerd, first season.* Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Archive (unpublished; In Persian).

241. Percy Gardner, A. (1918). History of Ancient Coinage (700—300 BC).

242. Petrie, C. A., Asgari Chaverdi, A., & Seyedin, M. (2006). Excavations at Tol-e Spid. *Potts and Roustaei*, *2006*, 89-134.

243. Pohanka, R. (1983). Zu einigen Architekturstücken von Tell-e Zohak bei Fasa, Südiran (Veröffentlichungen der Iranischen Kommission, nr. 14) . *Anzeiger der Ö sterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. 120/7 : 255–65* .

244. Potts, D. T. (2004). *The archaeology of Elam: formation and transformation of an ancient Iranian state*. Cambridge University Press.

245. Potts, D. T. (2006). Elamites and Kassites in the Persian Gulf. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *65*(2), 111-119.

246. Potts, D. T., & K. Roustaei. 2006. *The Mamasani Archaeological Project. Stage One: A report on the first two seasons of the ICAR–University of Sydney expedition to the Mamasani District, Fars Province, Iran*. Tehran: ICAR.

247. Potts, D. T., Chaverdi, A. A., Petrie, C. A., Dusting, A., Farhadi, F., McRae, I. K., ... & Zadeh, A. J. (2007). The Mamasani Archaeological Project, Stage Two: Excavations at Qaleh Kali (Tappeh Servan/Jinjun [MS 46]). *Iran*, *45*(1), 287-300.

248. Potts, D. T., Roustaei, K., Alamdari, K., Alizadeh, K., Chaverdi, A. A., Khosrowzadeh, A., ... & McCall, B. (2005). Eight thousand years of history in Fars Province, Iran. *Near Eastern Archaeology*, *68*(3), 84-92.

249. Potts, D.T. (1999). Madaktu and Badace. *Isimu 2*, Universidad Autónomade Madrid. 13-28.

250. Price, M. J. (1991). The Coinage in the Nmae of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus (Vol. I and II). Zurich- London: The Swiss Numismtic Society in Assocoiation with British museum Press.

251. Pullar, J. (1981). Tepe Abdul Hosein. *Iran*, *19*, 179-179.

252. Rahbar, M. & Alibaighi, S. (2011). Report of archaeological research to locate the Laodicea temple in Nihavand, *Payam-e- Bastanshenas Journal*, 8, 133-160.

253. Rahbar, M. (1976). Remarks on some Seleucid objects in the Iran Bastan Museum. *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie. München 7.-10. September 1976 (= Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran. Ergänzungsband 6)*, 249-276.

254. Rahbar, M., (1999). Pazhouheshi darbareye yek Mojasame Younani dar Borazjan. *IW* : 192–210, (in Persian).

255. Reade, J. E. (1977). Shikaft-i Gulgul: Its date and symbolism. *Iranica Antiqua*, *12*, 33.

256. Robert, J., & L. Robert. (1946–7). Review of M. A. Stein, *Old Routes of Western Īrān*. *Bulletin É pigraphique* 2: 364–5.

257. Robert, L. (1949). Inscriptions séleucides de Phrygie et d'Iran. *Hellenica*, *7*, 6-29.

258. Robert, L. (1963). Review of PM Fraser. *Samothrace. Vol. 2 part 1: The inscriptions on stone, Gnomon*, *35*, 50-79.

259. Robert, L. (1967). Encore une inscription grecque de l'Iran. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, *111*(2), 281-297.

260. Robert, L. (1977). L'argent d'Athènes stéphanéphore. *Monnaies hellénistiques, RN*, *19*, 34-47.

261. Roberts, M., & Bennett, B. (2012). *Twilight of the Hellenistic World*. Pen and Sword.

262. Roisman, J., & Worthington, I. (Eds.). (2010). *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia*. Wiley-Blackwell.

263. Romane, J. P. (1994). Alexander's sieges of Miletus and Halicarnassus ". *The Ancient World*, *25*, 61-76.

264. Rougemont, G. (Ed.). (2012). *Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum. Pt. 2, Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia: Vol. 1. Inscriptions of non-Iranian languages: 1. Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale*. School of Oriental and African Studies.

265. Roustaei, K., & Potts, D. T. (2004). The ICAR-Sydney University Joint Archaeological Expedition in Mamasani, Fars Province: A preliminary report on the field work. *Archaeological Reports*, *2*, 9-26.

266. Rutten, M. (1935). Contrats de l'époque séleucide conservés au Musée du Louvre. *Babyloniaca*.

267. Sachs, A. (1948). A classification of the Babylonian astronomical tablets of the Seleucid period. *Journal of cuneiform studies*, *2*(4), 271-290.

268. Sachs, A. (1974). Babylonian observational astronomy. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series A, Mathematical and Physical Sciences*, *276*(1257), 43-50.

269. Sachs, A. J., & Wiseman, D. J. (1954). A Babylonian king list of the Hellenistic period. *Iraq*, *16*(2), 202-211.

270. Sacks, K. S. (1985). The wreathed coins of Aeolian Myrina. *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)*, *30*, 1-43.

271. Sajjadi, A & Farzin, A.R. (2003). *Falak-ol-Aflak Fortress (Shapur Khast Fortress)*. Presentation and Education vice Directorate Luristan Cultural Heritage (I.C.H.O) (in Persian).

272. Sajjadi, A. (1997). A Survey of Susa- Hamedan route. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

273. Sarfaraz, A. (1974). Excavation at Khatunban, Nourabad. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

274. Sarraf, M. (1969). The Survey Report of Roumeshkan Region, Luristan. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

275. Savalli-Lestrade, I. (1998). *Les philoi royaux dans l'Asie hellénistique* (Vol. 25). Librairie Droz.

276. Schmidt, E. F. (1953). Persepolis/1 Structures, reliefs, inscriptions. *Persepolis*.

277. Schmidt, E. F., van Loon, M. N., & Curvers, H. H. (1989). The Holmes Expeditions to Luristan (No. 108). Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

278. Schober, L. (1981). Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Babyloniens und der Oberen Satrapien von 323-303 v. *Chr. Frankfurt am Main*, 84.

279. Seibert, J. (1969): *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Ptolemaios I*, Munich.

280. Seibert, J. (1987). Dareios III. *W. Will & J. Heinrichs (Hsg), Zu Alexander dem Grossen. Festschrift G. Wirth, I, Amsterdam*, 437-56.

281. Seyed Sajjadi, M., Samani, N. (1999). Excavation Report at Nourabad Tepe, Luristan. In the honour of Ezatollah Nehahban, by Alizadeh, A., Majidzadeh, Y., Malekshahmirzadi., S. *Archaeology and Art of Iran*, 32, 85-130 (in Persian).

282. Shahbazi, A. S. (1977). From Parsa to Taxt-e jamsid. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran Berlin*, *10*, 197-207.

283. Sharifi Holaei, A. (1996). A study of Caravanserais from Boroujerd to Khorramabad, Luristan. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

284. Sherwin-White, S. M. (1984). Shami, the Seleucids and dynastic cult: a note. *Iran Richmond*, *22*, 160-161.

285. Sherwin-White, S. M., & Kuhrt, A. (1993). *From Samarkhand to Sardis: a new approach to the Seleucid empire* (Vol. 13). Univ of California Press.

286. Shishehgar, A. (2005). Excavation at Choubtarashan, Khorramabad. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization of Luristan, unpublished (in Persian).

287. Shishehgar, A. (2006). Excavation at Sorkhdom-e Laki, Kouhdasht. Archive of Cultural Heritage Organization, unpublished (in Persian).

288. Skinner, J. H. (1965). *The flake industries of Southwest Asia: a typological study* (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia Univ., Diss.).

289. Smith, S. (1925). The Chronology of Philip Arrhidaeus, Antigonus and Alexander IV. *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, *22*(4), 179-197.

290. Sommerfeld, W. (1995). The Kassites of ancient Mesopotamia: origins, politics, and culture. *Civilizations of the ancient Near East*, *2*, 917-930.

291. Speth, j (1971). Kunji Cave. *Iran*, 9, 172–73.

292. Stannard, C., & Fischer-Bossert, W. (2011). Dies, hubs, forgeries and the Athenian decadrachm. *SNR*, *90*, 5-32.

293. Stark, F. (1932). The Bronzes of Luristan. The Geographical Journal, 80(6), 498-505.

294. Stein, A. (1940). *Old routes of western Iran*: *Narrative of an archaeological journey*. London: Macmillan.

295. Stein, O (1969). Old routes of western Iran. New York: Greenwood press.

296. Stolper, M. W. (2006). *Iranica in post-Achaemenid Babylonian texts*. na.

297. Stronach, D. (1978). *Pasargadae: a report on the excavations conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963* (Vol. 1). Clarendon Press.

298. Strootman, R. (2013). "Men to whose rapacity neither sea nor mountain sets a limit": The aims of the Diadochs. *Studia Hellenistica*, *53*, 307-322.

299. Tarn, W. W. (1933). Persia, from Xerxes to Alexander, w: The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume VI: Macedon 401-301 BC, red. JB Bury, SA Cook, FE Adcock.

300. Tarn, W. W. (1940). Two notes on Seleucid history. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *60*, 84-94.

301. Tarn, W. W. (2003). *Alexander the Great: Volume 2, Sources and Studies* (Vol. 2). Cambridge University Press.

302. Tarn, W. W. (2010). *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. Cambridge University Press.

303. Tcherikover, A. (1927). *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit*. New York: Arno Press.

304. Thompson, M. (1961). The new style silver coinage of Athens.

305. Thompson, M. (1981). *The Alexandrine Mint of Mylasa*. Gaggini-Bizzozero.

306. Thompson, M. (1984). *Paying the mercenaries*. Ed. NR.

307. Thompson, M. (1991). Alexander's Drachm Mints II: Lampsacus and Abyadus (Vol. 19). New York: ANS.

308. Thonemann, P. (2015). *The Hellenistic World: using coins as sources*. Cambridge University Press.

309. Tilia, A. B. (1972). Studies and restorations at Persepolis and other sites of Fārs: Reports and memoirs/Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia.

310. Troxell, H. A. (1997). Studies in the Macedonian coinage of Alexander the Great: Numismatic studies.

311. Vallat, F. (1993). Les noms géographiques des sources suso-élamites (= RGTC 11). *Beiheft zum TAVO B*, *7*(11).

312. Vallat, F. (1996). Le royaume Elamite de samati. *Nouvelles Assyriologiues*.

313. van Alfen, P. G. (2000). The" owls" from the 1973 Iraq hoard. *American Journal of Numismatics (1989-)*, *12*, 9-58.

314. Van der Spek, R. J. (1992). Nippur, Sippar, and Larsa in the Hellenistic period. In Ellis ed. *Nippur at the Centennial*, 235-260.

315. Van der Spek, R. J. (1993). The astronomical diaries as a source for Achaemenid and Seleucid history. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, *50*(1), 2.

316. Van der Spek, R. J. (1997). New evidence from the Babylonian astronomical diaries concerning Seleucid and Arsacid history. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 167-175.

317. Van der Spek, R. J. (2004). Palace, temple and market in Seleucid Babylonia. *2004 [2005]), Le roi et l'économie. Autonomies locales et structures royales dans l'économie de l'empire séleucide. Actes des rencontres de Lille (23 juin 2003) et d'Orléans (29–30 janvier 2004) Topoi, Suppl*, *6*, 303-32.

318. Vandenberg, L. (1995). Archaeology of Ancient Iran.

319. van't Hof, P. (1955). *Bijdrage tot de kennis van Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Koning van Syrië*. Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.

320. Walbank, F. W. (1957). A Historical Commentary on Polybius, Vol. 1: Commentary on Books 1-6.

321. Weeks, L. R., Alizadeh, K. S., Niakan, L., Alamdari, K., Khosrowzadeh, A., & Zeidi, M. (2006). Excavations at Tol-e Nurabad. *The Mamasani Archaeological Project Stage One: A report on the first two seasons of the ICAR—University of Sydney expedition to the Mamasani District, Fars Province, Iran, Tehran*, 31-88.

322. Wheatley, P. (2002). Antigonus Monophthalmus in Babylonia, 310-308 BC. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *61*(1), 39-47.

323. Wheatley, P. (2009). The Diadochi, or Successors to Alexander. *Alexander the Great: A New History*, 53-68.

324. Wiesehöfer, J. (1994). *Die'dunklen Jahrhunderte'der Persis: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Kultur von Fārs in frühhellenistischer Zeit (330-140 v. Chr.)* (Vol. 90). CH Beck.

325. Will, E. (1982). *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique: 323-30 av. J.-C* (Vol. 2). Presses universitaires de Nancy.

326. Wilson, J. K. (1962). the Kurba'il statue of shalmaneser iii. *Iraq*, *24*(2), 90-115.

327. Wolski, J. (1960). Les Iraniens ET le royaume gréco-bactrien. *Klio*, *38*(1), 110-121.

328. Wright, H. T., Neely, J. A., Johnson, G. A., & Speth, J. (1975). Early fourth millennium developments in south-western Iran. Iran, 13(1), 129-147.

329. Yarshater, E. The Cambridge History of Iran, the Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian periods. Cambridge Press, 1983.

330. Yenne, B. (2010). *Alexander the Great: lessons from history's undefeated general*. St. Martin's Press.

331. Young Jr, T. C. (1967). The Iranian migration into the Zagros. *Iran*, *5*(1), 11-34.

332. Young Jr, T. C. (1969). The Iranian migration into the Zagros. *Iran*, *5*(1), 11-34.

333. Young, T. C. (1963). PROTO-HISTORIC WESTERN IRAN, AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL REVIEW: PROBLEMS AND POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS.

334. Zadok, R. (2002). The ethno-linguistic character of northwestern Iran and Kurdistan in the Neo-Assyrian period. *Iran*, *40*(1), 89-151.

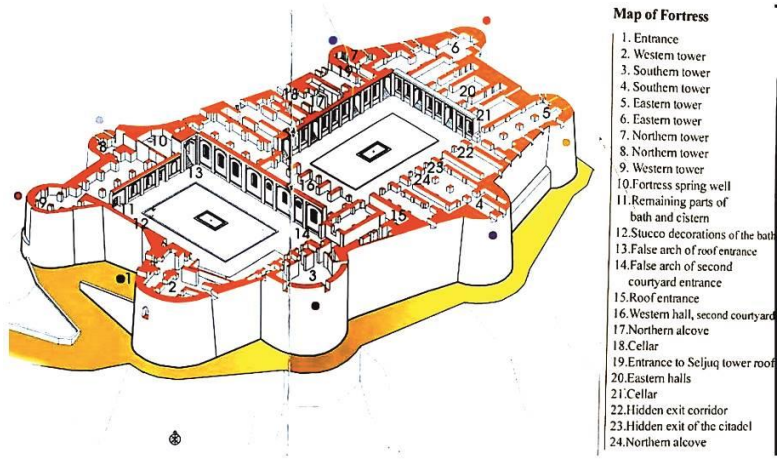
335. Zahrnt, M. (2003). Versöhnen oder Spalten? Überlegungen zu Alexanders Verbanntendekret. *Hermes*, 407-432.

Webliography

1- Laurianne Martinez-Sève, "SUSA iv. The Hellenistic and Parthian Periods," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2015, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/susa-iv-hellenistic-parthian-periods

Fig1. Above: Eastern view of the citadel, enclosure and one of its keeps Fortress, about 1939 (Sajjadi & Farzin, 2003: 31)

Below: Falak- Ol- Aflak Fortress, nowadays



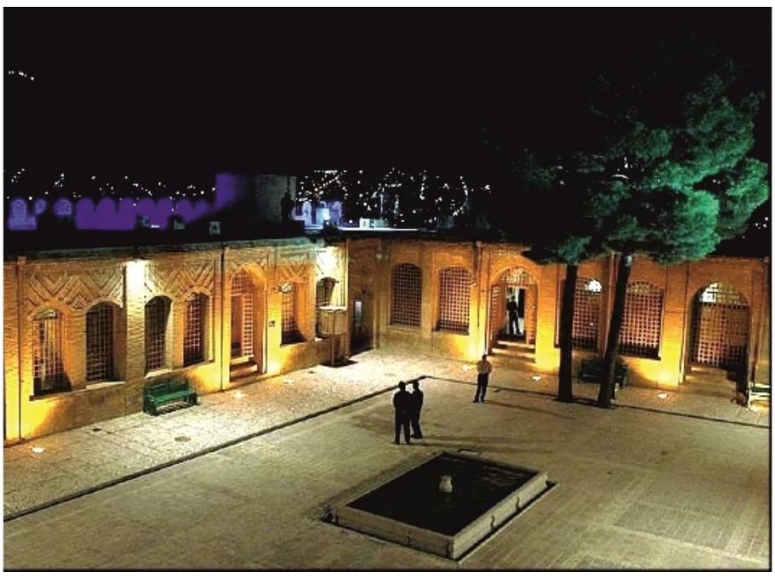


Fig.2 above: Sectional view from the southwest corner, Luristan cultural heritage, handicrafts and tourism organization's archive

Middle: The first courtyard

Below: Above; the second courtyard.

Fig.3 above: Museum, in the halls of second courtyard

Middle and below: Archaeological section of the Museum

Fig4. Anthropological section of the Museum

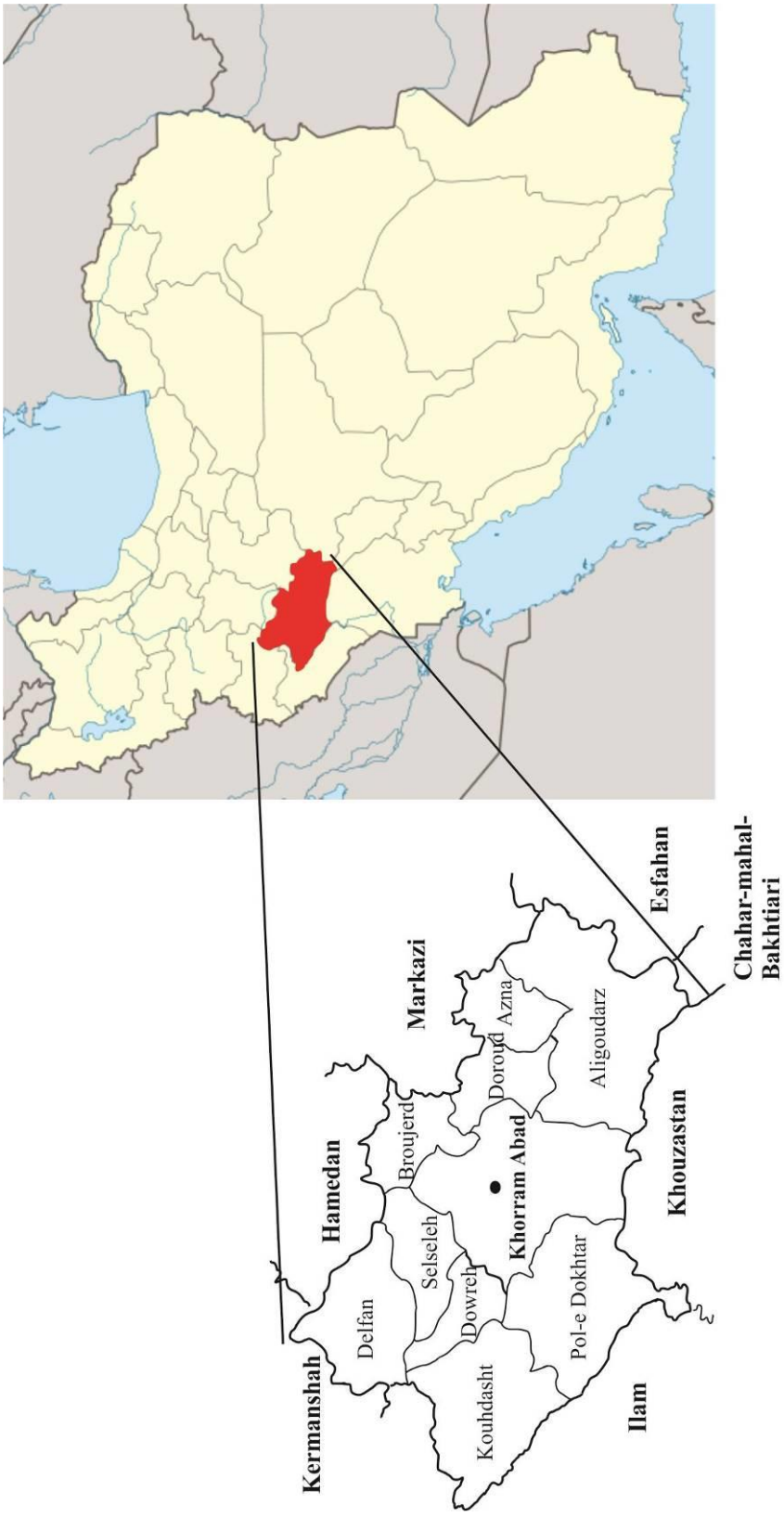


Fig.5 Luristan Map

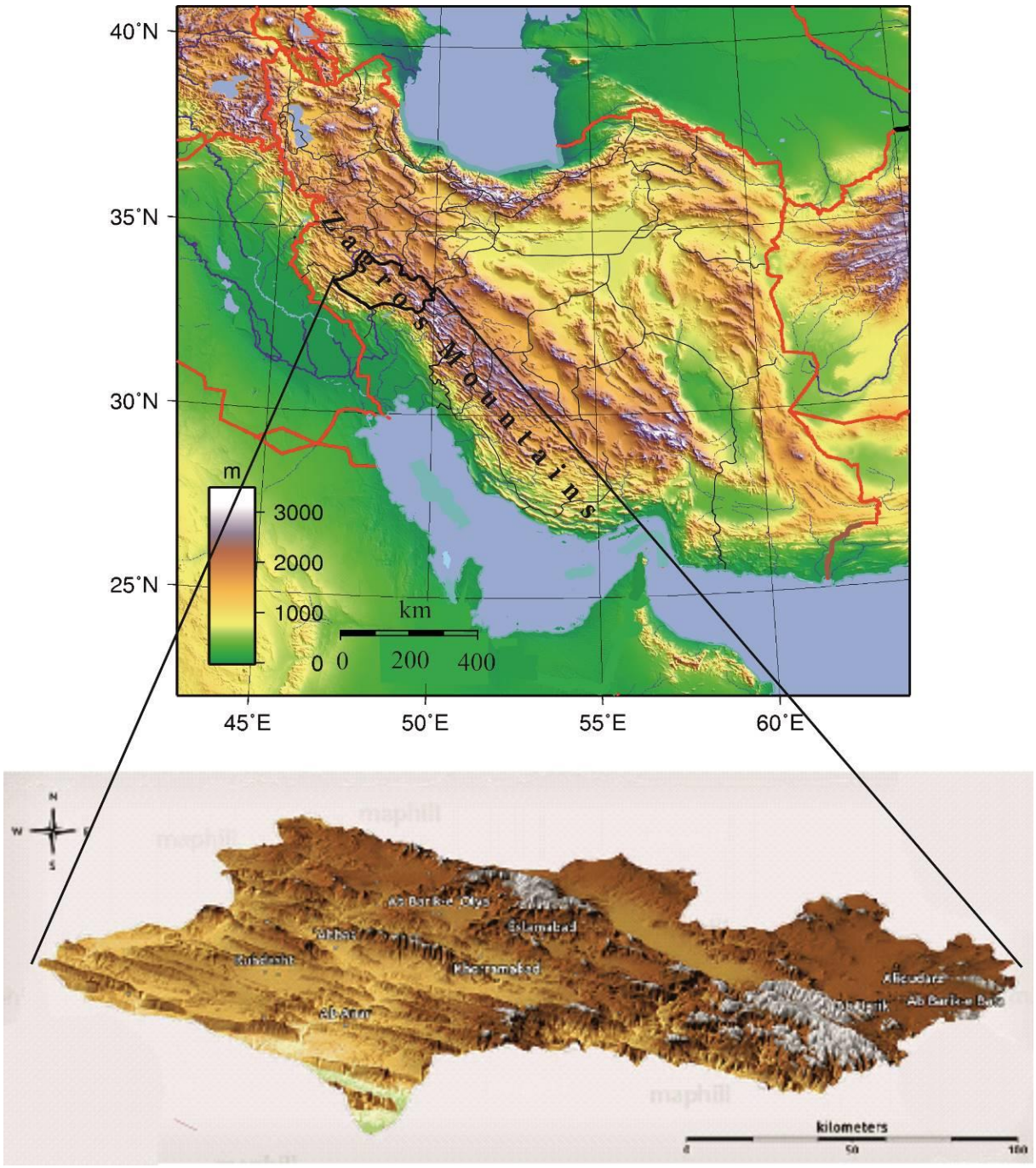


Fig6. Luristan in Central Zagros Chains

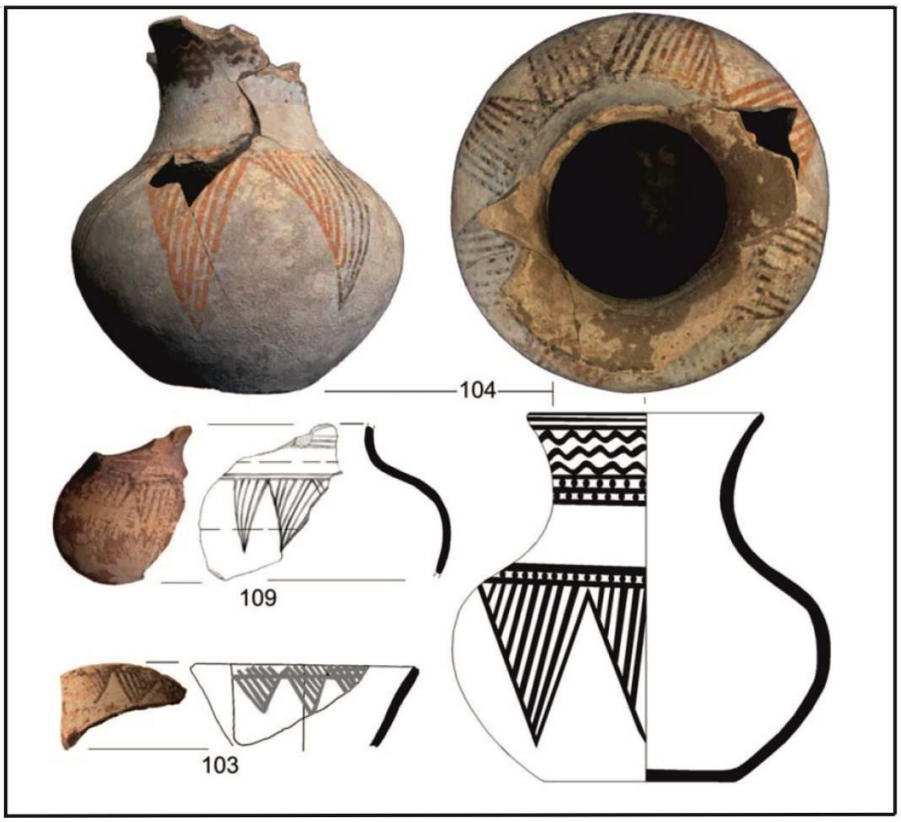


Fig7. Painted ware “Luristan Genre” from Baba Jilan graveyard (Hasanpour et al 2015: 209)

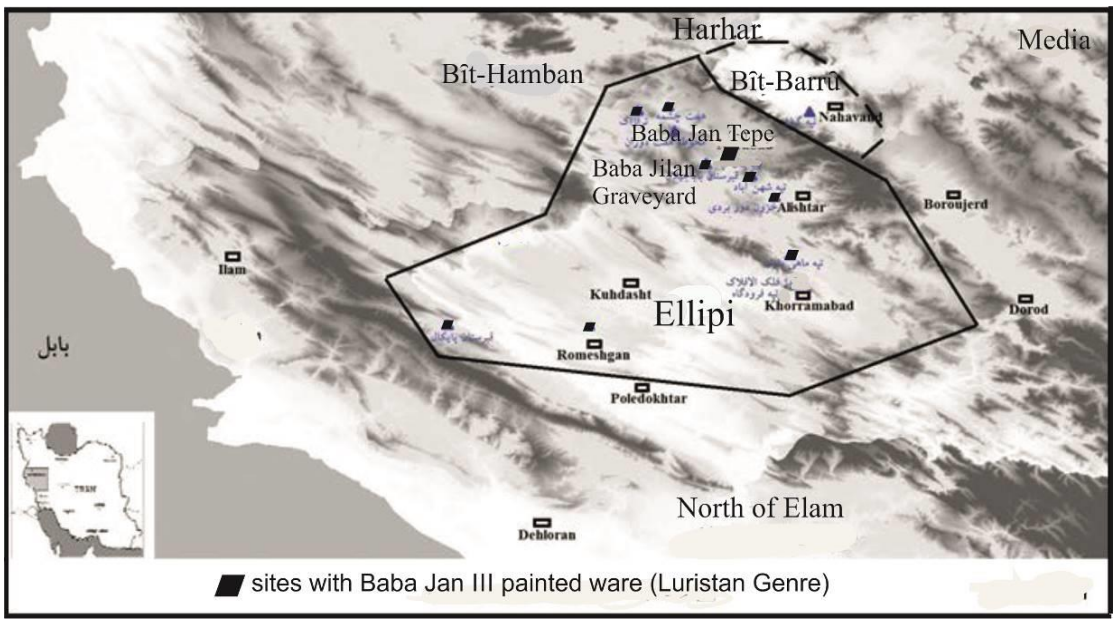


Fig8. Distribution of Luristan Genre pottery and approximate territory of Ellipi (Mollazadeh & Goudarzi 2016: 90)

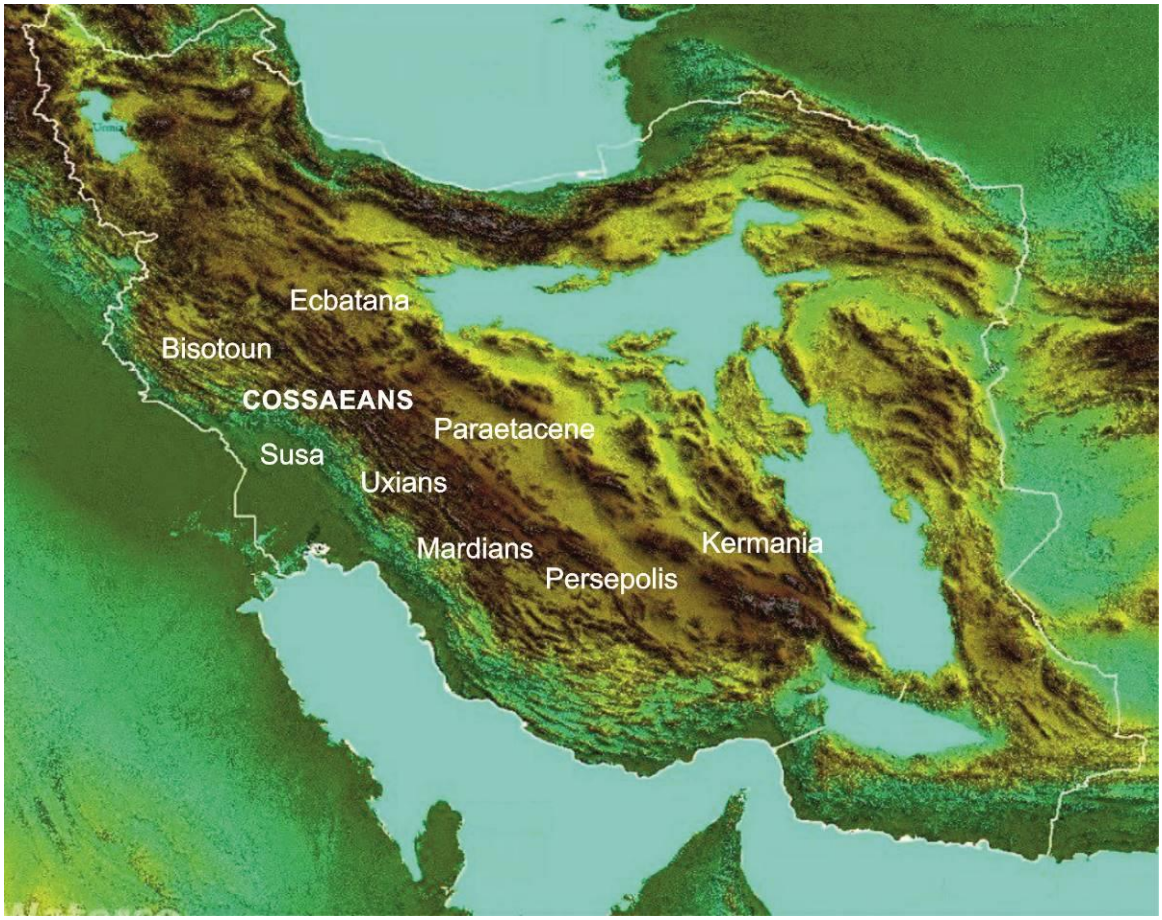


Fig9. Cossaeans' geographical situation

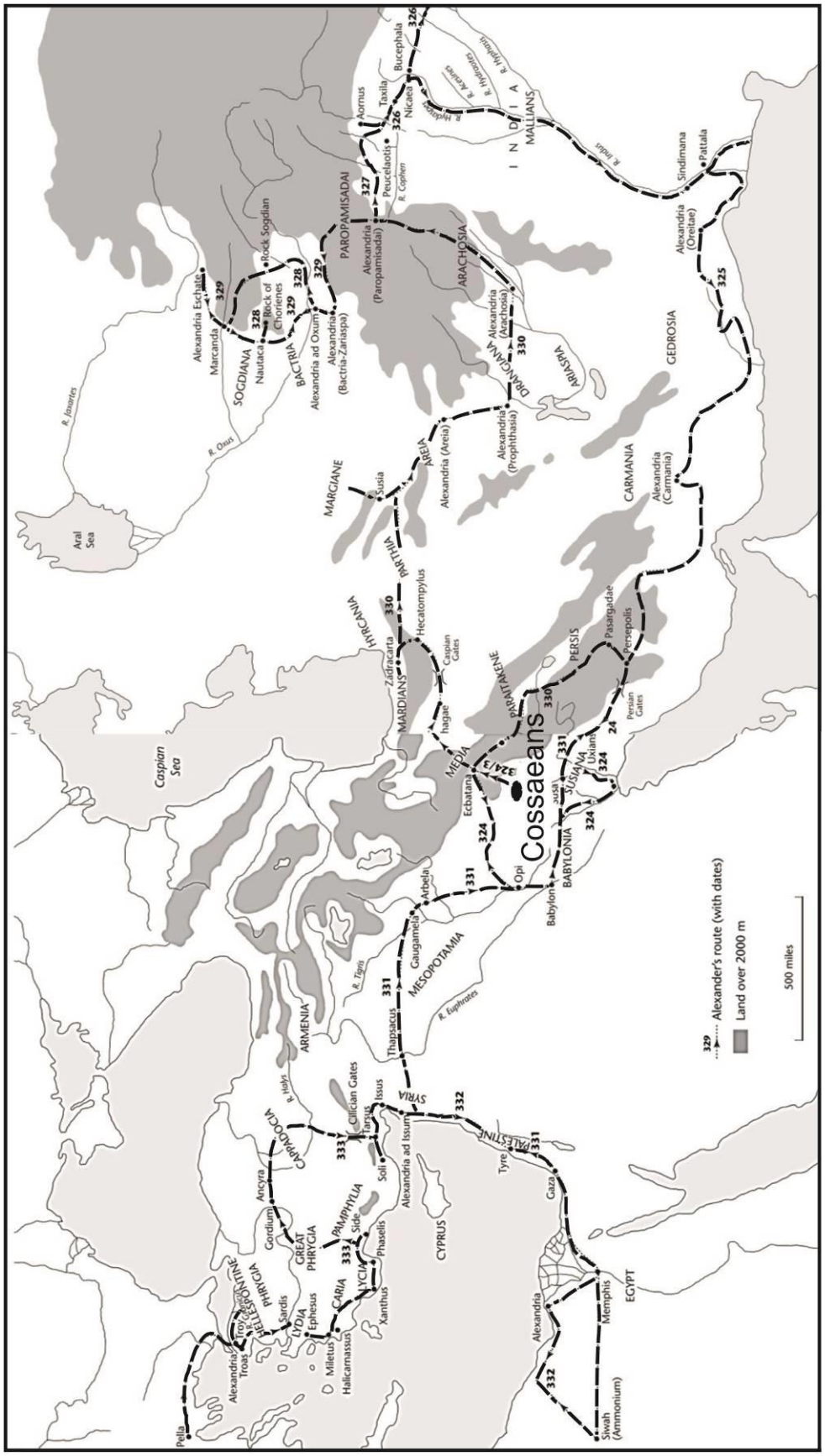


Fig 10. Alexander's March (Roisman and Worthington 2011: XXII- XXIII)

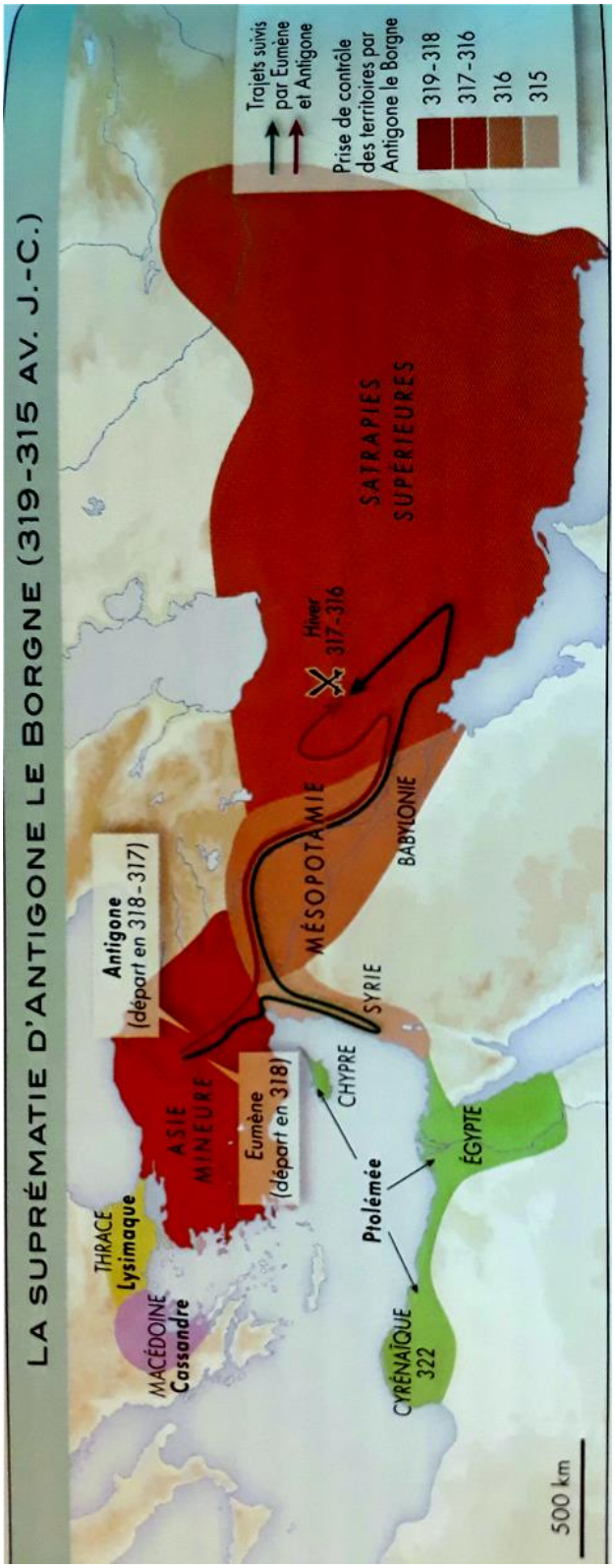


Fig11. The route of Gabiene Battle (Martinez-Sève 2011: 20)

Tab1. The classification of coins

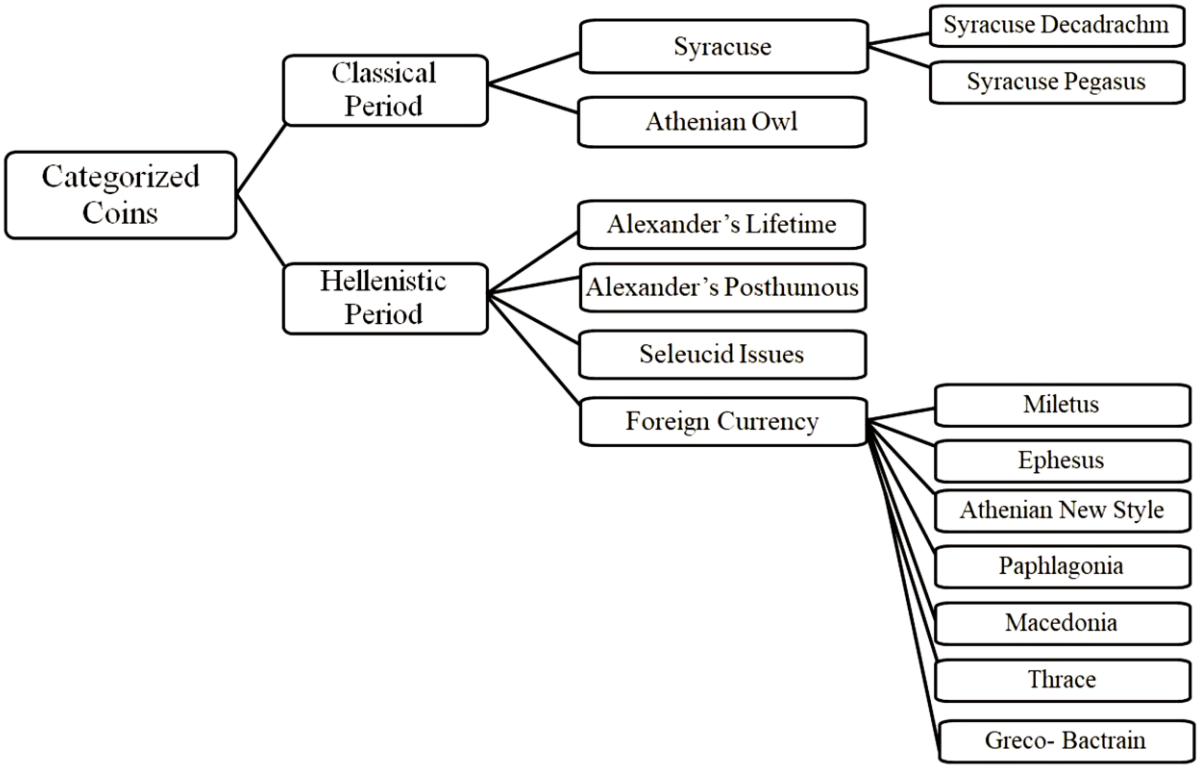


PLATE I

KH5121

KH1767

KH5118

KH5119

KH5110

KH5125

KH5112

KH4083

Alexander types (drachm)

PLATE II

KH5115

KH4082

KH1912

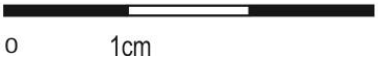
KH5109

KH5116

KH5117

KH5114

KH1766



Alexander types (drachm)

PLATE III

KH5113

KH1765

KH5122

KH5120

KH1913

KH1911

KH1768

Alexander types (drachm)

PLATE IV

KH1907

KH1908

KH1909

KH1910

Alexander types (tetradrachm)

PLATE V

Kh5123

Kh5132

KH2895

KH3709

KH3944

KH5124

KH5134

Seleucid coins

PLATE VI

KH3881

KH3882

KH1914

KH5111

Kh1918

Seleucid and Foreign coins

PLATE VII

F1763

F1764

F1906

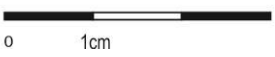
F1915

F1916

F1917

F2896

F3935



Counterfeit issues

PLATE VIII

F3936

F3943

F1868

F1869

F1870

F1871

F1872

F1873

Counterfeit issues

PLATE IX

F1874

F1875

F1876

F1877

F1878

F1879

F1880

F1881

Counterfeit issues

PLATE X

F1882

F1883

F1884

F1885

F1886

F1887

F1888

F1889

Counterfeit issues

PLATE XI

F1890

F1891

F1892

F1893

F1894

F1895

F1896

F1897

Counterfeit issues

PLATE XII

F1898

F1899

F1900

F1901

F1902

F1903

F1904

F1905

Counterfeit issues

PLATE XIII

Mamroth.15

SG42838

KR1010

IL830

KR4141

HM7155

SG.49306

Coins for comparison forgery issues, from Sadigh Gallery, Kermanshah, Hamedan and Ilam Musuems

PLATE XIV

KR1756

KR1766

KR1761

HM7210

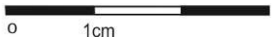
5103/06/00132

HM7211

HM7225

HM7154

HM7222



Coins for comparison genuine specimens from Hamedan, Kermanshah, and Malek Musuems

PLATE XV

Before cleaning

After cleaning

F1763

F1763

F2896

F2896

KH1907

KH1907

KH1911

KH1911

KH5111

KH5111

KH5124

KH5124

Coins before and after cleaning

PLATE XVI

KH5121

KH1767

KH5118

KH5119

KH5110

KH5125

KH5112

KH4083

KH5115

KH4082

KH1912

KH5109

Drawing of ALexanders

PLATE XVII

KH5116

KH5117

KH5114

KH1766

KH5113

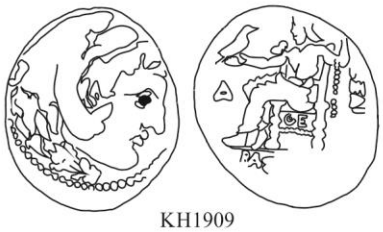
KH1765

KH5122

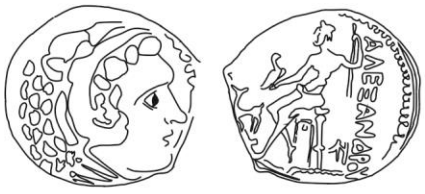
KH5120

KH1913

KH1910



KH1909



KH1908

KH1907

Drawing of ALexanders

PLATE XVIII

KH5123

KH5132

KH2895

KH3907

KH3944

KH5124

KH5134

KH5111

KH1918

KH3881

KH3882

KH1914

Drawing of Seleucid and Foreign coins