

# An Updated Chronology of the Reigns of Phoenician Kings during the Persian Period (539-333 BCE)

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*Résumé:* L'objectif de cet article est de proposer une chronologie des règnes des rois phéniciens à l'époque perse (539-333 av. notre ère), à partir de toutes les données disponibles dans l'état actuel de la documentation. Cette chronologie à jour et prudente pourra être utilisée comme base fiable par tous les spécialistes du Proche-Orient à l'époque perse.

The chronology of the reigns of Phoenician kings during the Persian Period (539-333 BCE)<sup>1</sup> is very difficult to establish for several reasons. First, the Persian period remained virtually unexplored until the last 20 years<sup>2</sup>; moreover, Phoenician studies were for a long time dependent on biblical chronology<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, the deficiency of the sources has to be underlined. Monumental inscriptions mentioning kings and dated by the years of reign are rare in Phoenician cities, partly because many of them have disappeared in lime kilns, and perishable official

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1. 539 is the traditional date for the Persian conquest of Phoenician cities: see J. Elayi, *Sidon cité autonome de l'Empire perse*, Paris 1990<sup>2</sup>, pp. 137-8. 333 is the date of the conquest of Phoenician cities by Alexander (332 for Tyre).

2. See J. Elayi and J. Sapin, *Quinze ans de recherche (1985-2000) sur la Transeuphratène à l'époque perse*, *Trans* Suppl. 8, Paris 2000; *id.*, *Beyond the River. New Perspectives on Transeuphratene*, Sheffield 1998; and the series *Trans*, 1-32, 1989-2006.

3. Cf. J. Elayi, "Point de vue sur les études phéniciennes à l'époque perse", *BaghM* 21, 1990, pp. 457-9; *id.*, "Être historienne de la Phénicie ici et maintenant", *Trans* 31, 2006, pp. 41-53.

documents have not been preserved due to the damp, salty soil of the Lebanese coast<sup>4</sup>. For this study, every type of documentation had to be carefully collected, including monetary inscriptions, seals and non-Phoenician sources such as Greek and Latin texts.

However, the recent progress in this field of research has significantly changed this situation. Phoenician studies have gained more and more autonomy in relation to biblical studies. A lot of new work has been performed on the Phoenician cities during the Persian period<sup>5</sup>. After the end of the Lebanese war, excavations were able to start again<sup>6</sup>, initiating fresh research. New inscriptions have been discovered or published: for example, the inscription discovered in Bostan ech-Cheikh by M. Dunand and published in 1965, revealing a new Sidonian dynasty, which has not always been taken into account or understood<sup>7</sup>; a newly published inscription of king Bodashtart of Sidon, a new Tyrian inscription and a few inscribed seals and stamps<sup>8</sup>. An important step forward came from the systematic study of Phoenician coins, namely the monetary inscriptions<sup>9</sup>: the main contribution was provided by the study of Sidonian coinage<sup>10</sup>, since it was the first dated coinage in Antiquity, based on the years of reign of the Sidonian kings.

But generally speaking, this advancement in research has rarely been taken into account in recent publications, either because it was ignored or misunderstood by some scholars and not integrated by others. It is wrong to adopt the point of view of one scholar or another without

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4. A.R. Millard, "The Uses of the Early Alphabets", in C. Baurain *et al.* eds, *Phoinikeia Grammata*, Namur 1991, pp. 111-4.

5. See essentially references in Elayi-Sapin, *op. cit.* (n. 2) 2000, and J. Elayi, "Abd<sup>e</sup> astart I<sup>er</sup>/Straton de Sidon: un roi phénicien entre Orient et Occident", Paris 2005.

6. See, for example, the series BAAL 1-8, 1996-2004, *AHL (NMN)* 1-23, 1995-2006; J. Elayi and H. Sayegh, *Un quartier du port phénicien de Beyrouth au Fer III/Perse, I. Les objets; II. Archéologie et histoire*, Paris 1998-2000.

7. See, for example, M. Dunand, "Nouvelles inscriptions phéniciennes du temple d'Echmoun, près Sidon", *BMB* 18, 1965, pp. 105-9. Cf., for example, J.B. Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, Cambridge Mass. 1968, pp. 76 ff.

8. M. Chéhab, "Découvertes phéniciennes au Liban", in *ACFP* I/1, Roma 1983, p. 171; P. Xella and J.A. Zamora López, "Nouveaux documents phéniciens du sanctuaire d'Eshmoun à Bustan esh-Sheikh (Sidon)", in *ACFP* VI, Lisbonne 2005; A. Lemaire, "Inscription royale phénicienne sur bateau votif", in M. Heltzer and M. Malul eds, *T'shūrot LaAvishur, Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, in Hebrew and Semitic Languages, Festschrift Y. Avishur*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa 2004, pp. 117\*-29\*; J.C. Greenfield, "A Group of Phoenician City Seals", *IEJ* 35, 1985, pp. 129-34.

9. J. Elayi and A.G. Elayi, "Abbreviations and Numbers on Phoenician pre-alexandrine Coinages: the Sidonian Example", *NAC* 17, 1988, pp. 27-36; *id.*, "Systems of Abbreviations used by Byblos, Tyre and Arwad in their pre-alexandrine Coinages", *JNG* 37-38, 1987-8, pp. 11-22.

10. *Id.*, *Le monnayage de la cité phénicienne de Sidon à l'époque perse (V<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.) I-II*, Paris 2004.

checking its validity. For example, the chronology of the Sidonian kings established by J.B. Peckham in 1968 or the one by J.W. Betlyon in 1982, erroneous as we have indicated<sup>11</sup>, are still sometimes followed<sup>12</sup>. There is also another major difficulty: not to be deceived by fakes. Forgers are so skillful now that it is extremely difficult to identify the fakes, unless one is an excellent specialist of the object concerned and can make the necessary appraisal. In fact, there are two kinds of fakes: those that imitate, more or less, existing objects and those that invent new realities such as new events, new dates, new kings. This last category of fakes is very dangerous because it changes history. If the historians or specialists in other fields are not sufficiently cautious and do not consult the specialists of the field concerned, they will completely rewrite a false history. For example, from new names provided by Samarian coins among which there are clearly fakes, a list of Samarian governors has been established<sup>13</sup>. It has been proposed to use, among other sources, undated and false Samarian coins for changing the chronology of dated, authentic Sidonian coins<sup>14</sup>. However, even when the data used by historians are authentic, their interpretation has to be carefully checked, asking other specialists if they themselves are not specialised in the field concerned. This is particularly necessary in the field of numismatics since this discipline is reputed to be easy, which is far from true. We would particularly warn against the chronologies given by scholars who are insufficiently specialised in each field concerned, even if they seem to be very clear and easy to use, but which are to a large extent completely erroneous. The last example is a chronology of the Phoenician kings published in 2003<sup>15</sup>: as far as the Persian period is concerned, it contains so many errors and deficiencies that it is unusable.

Our aim in this article is to provide a reliable, updated chronological basis for the reigns of the Phoenician kings, which will be helpful for

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11. Peckham, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 71-101; J.W. Betlyon, *The Coinage and Mints of Phoenicia. The Pre-Alexandrine Period*, Chico 1982, pp. 3-38.

12. See, for example, P. Bordreuil and F. Briquel-Chatonnet, in E. Gubel ed., *Art phénicien. La sculpture de tradition phénicienne*, Paris 2002, pp. 77, 102; J.W. Betlyon, "Egypt and Phoenicia in the Persian Period: Partners in Trade and Rebellion", in G.N. Knoppers and A. Hirsch eds, *Egypt, Israel, and the ancient Mediterranean World, Studies in Honor of D.B. Redford*, Leiden-Boston 2004, pp. 455-77.

13. H. Eshel, "The rulers of Samaria during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE", *ErIs* 26, 1999, pp. 8-12, 226\*-7\*; cf. Elayi-Sapin, *op. cit.* (n. 2) 2000, pp. 107-8, 179-83.

14. D. Edelman, *The Origins of the 'Second Temple': Persian Imperial Policy and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem*, London 2005, pp. 38-79.

15. J.A. Belmonte, *Cuatro estudios sobre los dominios territoriales de las ciudades-estado fenicias*, Barcelona 2003, pp. 127-31.

every scholar working in this field. This chronology is intentionally restricted to the Persian period that we know well; we have used all the documentation currently available, including several of our own publications and work in progress. We distinguish clearly what is secure from likely hypotheses; we just mention simple hypotheses of work and we resolutely exclude those which are unlikely. Our focus is the kings of four Phoenician cities: Sidon (𐤑𐤃𐤍 in Phoenician), Tyre (𐤑𐤏𐤕), Byblos (𐤁𐤃𐤍) and Arwad (𐤏𐤕𐤨). We have to say that the reading “king of Sarepta” on a seal is incorrect because at that time this town belonged to Sidon<sup>16</sup>. Dor also belonged to Sidon and was not an autonomous city in the present state of documentation<sup>17</sup>. Likewise, Berytos was not an autonomous city during the Persian period as we have shown from the last emergency excavations<sup>18</sup>. There is insufficient information concerning the possible existence of a king at Tripolis (𐤑𐤕𐤓 in Phoenician), which was a kind of federal city<sup>19</sup>. As far as Ashqelon is concerned, it was a royal city (*basileia*) belonging to Tyre in the Persian period, with an interesting two-tier political power: Ashqelon belonged to the Phoenician city of Tyre, itself included in the Persian empire<sup>20</sup>; we have no other information on the Ashqelonite kingship. Concerning all the Phoenician or proto-Phoenician cities which were independent or autonomous prior to the Persian period such as Ras Shamra/Ugarit, Geble/Gabala, Symira/Şumur, Arde/Ardata, Arqa/Irqata for example, as far as we know, either they have disappeared or they have been included in the territory of the main Phoenician cities<sup>21</sup>. When necessary, in addition to the kings, we shall also consider the queen mothers and crown princes. However, the study of the prosopography of the Phoenician dynasties is rarely possible and in any case remains very restricted.

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16. P. Bordreuil, “Les premiers sceaux royaux phéniciens”, in *ACFP* II/2, Roma 1991, pp. 465-8; cf. J. Elayi, “Les sceaux ouest-sémitiques ‘royaux’: mythe ou réalité?”, *NAC* 24, 1995, pp. 39-71.

17. E. Stern, *Excavations at Dor, Final Report, IB, Areas A and C: the Finds*, Jerusalem 1995, p. 466, no. 10; cf. Elayi-Sapin, *op. cit.* (n. 2) 2000, p. 160.

18. Elayi-Sayegh, *op. cit.* (n. 6) II, pp. 331-43.

19. J. Elayi, *Recherches sur les cités phéniciennes à l'époque perse*, Napoli 1987, pp. 77-81.

20. *Id.*, *Économie des cités phéniciennes sous l'Empire perse*, Napoli 1990, pp. 25-6.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-29; *id.*, “Studies in Phoenician Geography during the Persian Period”, *JNES* 41, 1982, pp. 83-110.

## 1. Kings of Sidon

Sidon was the main Phoenician city during the Persian period, exerting the hegemony over the others. The chronology of the reigns of the kings of Sidon at that time is quite well known because documentation is relatively abundant and accurate, contrary to the neo-Babylonian domination over this city, the last known Sidonian king being Abdi-Milkuti who ruled c. 685-677 BCE, under Assarhaddon, king of Assyria<sup>22</sup>. Two genealogies are mainly available: the first concerning the so-called dynasty of Eshmunazor and the second the dynasty of Baalshilem. We shall refer to our recent works on this subject, in which we have used a variety of documentation in order to complete and date these two genealogies<sup>23</sup>; we update them here and summarise our main arguments and conclusions.

We have at our disposal Sidonian inscriptions: the inscription of Tabnit (*TBNṬ*), the inscription of Eshmunazor II (𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤓), some 30 inscriptions of Bodashtart (*BD𐤃𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓*), a proportion of them mentioning Yatonmilk (*YTNMLK*). Then we have 3 sarcophagi (those of Tabnit, Eshmunazor II and possibly Amoashtart, 𐤀𐤌𐤌𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓), the architectural remains of the sanctuary of Eshmun and the classical sources<sup>24</sup>. The first known king of this dynasty was Eshmunazor, subsequently known as Eshmunazor I. He was succeeded by his son Tabnit who married his sister Amoashtart. Since Tabnit died before the birth of his son Eshmunazor II, the queen mother (*HMLKT*) Amoashtart assumed the interregnum until the birth, then the co-regency with her young son during his childhood. After that, Eshmunazor II reigned alone. At the end of his reign, he was succeeded by Bodashtart, who was the son of a brother (or a sister) of Tabnit and Amoashtart. Bodashtart probably associated his son Yatonmilk (*BN 𐤔𐤓𐤓𐤓*), the crown prince, in the ruling power, and who possibly succeeded him.

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22. J. Elayi, "Les cités phéniciennes et l'Empire assyrien à l'époque d'Assurbanipal", *RA* 77, 1983, pp. 45-58.

23. Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 19-79; *id.*, *Trans* 17, 1999, pp. 181-182; *id.*, "La chronologie de la dynastie sidonienne d'𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤓", *Trans* 27, 2004, pp. 9-27; Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 593-611.

24. See essentially Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 19-79; C. Bonnet and P. Xella, "Les inscriptions phéniciennes de Bodashtart roi de Sidon", in M.G. Amadazi Guzzo *et al.* eds, *Da Pyrgi a Mozia, Mélanges Antonia Ciasca*, Roma 2002, pp. 93-104; R.A. Stucky, *Das Eschmun-Heiligtum von Sidon. Architektur und Inschriften*, Basel 2005.

Three dating hypotheses have been put forward for this dynasty: lower dating (end of 5th-4th cent.)<sup>25</sup>, intermediate dating (5th cent.)<sup>26</sup> and higher dating (6th cent.-beginning of 5th)<sup>27</sup>. Lower dating has dismissed. We have shown that intermediate dating was impossible, mainly because this dynasty cannot include *Tetramnestos*, the king of Sidon present at the battle of Salamis in 480, and cannot be situated after 480 since it could not have coincided with the city's minting period<sup>28</sup>. As we have shown, the upper dating was the only one possible. However, an accurate dating is still difficult for the moment because we do not know the date of the beginning of Tetramnestos' reign, except that, according to Herodotus, he was on the throne in 480, nor whether his father *Anysos* and *Yatonmilk* reigned. Moreover, we do not know exactly the length of the reigns of Eshmunazor I, Tabnit (it was short since he died before the birth of his son), Eshmunazor II (14 years, plus the Amoashtart interregnum, at least before his birth) and Bodashtart (more than 7 years, possibly 10/12 years). The sarcophagi were taken back from Egypt to Sidon by Tabnit (or Eshmunazor I) for him and his successors rather than the reverse (by Eshmunazor II for him and his ancestors) because the writing had changed from the inscription of Tabnit to that of Eshmunazor II. The transportation of the sarcophagi necessarily took place before 525 when their manufacture was stopped, probably between about 569 and 525, period for the manufacture of these types of sarcophagi. This probably occurred during one of the Persian or Babylonian campaigns against Egypt: Cambyzes' campaign cannot be excluded, but it was probably earlier. This event has to be dissociated from the exploits (no doubt military) accomplished by Eshmunazor II and rewarded by the gift of Dor and Jaffa. There are several possibilities among known and unknown events of the 6th cent., but this is not significant as regards the chronology. The earliest material found in Bostan ech-Cheikh has been dated from the 1st half of the 6th cent., and ascribed to a primitive sanctuary. The first podium of

25. See, for example, M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar 1898, p. 417; W.F. Albright, "New Light on the early History of Phoenician Colonization", *BASOR* 83, 1941, p. 16.

26. K. Gallig, "Eshmunazor und der Herr der Könige", *ZDPV* 79, 1963, pp. 140-51; Peckham, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 78-84; G. Coacci PolSELLI, "Nuova luce sulla datazione dei re sidoni?", *RSF* 12, 1984, pp. 170; S. Frede, *Die Phönizischen Anthropoiden Sarkophage II*, Mainz/Rhein 2002, p. 43.

27. E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Paris 1864, pp. 413-6; O. Hamdy Bey and T. Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon*, Paris 1892, p. 373; C.C. Torrey, "Additional Notes on the Bodashtart Inscriptions", *JAOS* 24, 1903, pp. 211-8; M. Dunand, "Les rois de Sidon au temps des Perses", *MUSJ* 49, 1975-6, pp. 489-500.

28. Elayi, *loc. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 9-27.

the sanctuary of Eshmun was built by Eshmunazor II and his mother Amoashtart according to the inscription of Eshmunazor, probably around the middle of the 6th cent. The second podium was built by Bodashtart since he has placed his inscriptions in the foundations of this building, probably after 530. The second group of inscriptions where he mentions his son Yatonmilk was placed in a later restoration wall. For the reign of Bodashtart, we now have the following sequence, well established from archaeological and epigraphical sources: in his year of accession (*CIS I 4*), he possibly offered to Ashtart the Sharon plain (acquired just before by his predecessor Eshmunazor II). In his 7th year of reign, he built installations along the river Awali in order to conduct water to the sanctuary of Eshmun, such as the present canal Saltani (Awali inscription). Then he built temples at Sidon *MŠL* (not mentioned in the previous inscription: 1st group of inscriptions); finally, he associated his son Yatonmilk in power (2nd group of inscriptions)<sup>29</sup>.

Let us say that Bodashtart II is a phantom invented by M. Dunand from a misinterpretation of the inscription *CIS I, 4*, which is related to the year of Bodashtart (I)'s accession; this old, erroneous hypothesis was recently followed, then abandoned<sup>30</sup>. Therefore, from the present available documentation, we can propose the following approximate chronology for the so-called dynasty of Eshmunazor: Eshmunazor I (2nd quarter of the 6th cent.), Tabnit (2nd or 3rd quarter of the 6th cent.), Amoashtart and Eshmunazor II (3rd quarter of the 6th cent.), Bodashtart (4th quarter of the 6th cent.), and possibly Yatonmilk (end of the 6th cent. or beginning of the 5th)<sup>31</sup>. That is to say that only part of this dynasty occurred in the Persian period.

The following data are the scarce information provided by Herodotus on the battle of Salamis that took place in 480 BCE. The Sidonian fleet,

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29. See, recently, for archaeology, with some variations in dating: R.A. Stucky, "Le sanctuaire d'Echmoun à Sidon", *NMN* 7, 1998, pp. 3-13; R.A. Stucky and H.-P. Mathys, "Le sanctuaire sidonien d'Echmoun. Aperçu historique du site, des fouilles et des découvertes faites à Bostan ech-Cheikh", *BAAL* 4, 2000, pp. 123-148; R.A. Stucky, "Das Heiligtum des Ešmun bei Sidon in vorhellenistischer Zeit", *ZDPV* 118, 2002, pp. 66-86; *id.*, "A New Greek Word from the Sanctuary of Eshmun at Sidon", *AHL* 20, 2004, p. 75; *id.*, *op. cit.* (n. 24), pp. 23-24 and n. 31 (B. Jacobs, *Neue überlegungen zu Genealogie und Chronologie der Ešmunazar-Dynastie von Sidon*, in press). For epigraphy, see Bonnet-Xella, *loc. cit.* (n. 24), p. 93; P. Xella and J.-A. Zamora, "Une nouvelle inscription de Bodashtart, roi de Sidon, sur la rive du Nahr al-Awali près de Bustan esh-Sheikh", *BAAL* 8, 2004, pp. 273-279; *id.*, "L'inscription phénicienne de Bodashtart *in situ* à Bustan esh-Sheikh (Sidon) et son apport à l'histoire du sanctuaire", *ZDPV* 121, 2005, pp. 119-129; *id.*, "Nouveaux documents phéniciens du sanctuaire d'Eshmoun" (to be published).

30. By P. Bordreuil: cf. Elayi, *loc. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 15-6.

31. Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 442-3, 519, 604-6. Correct the misprint "478" for "480" (battle of Salamis in this book and in the previous article).

representing the main component of the Persian fleet at that time, was commanded by Tetramnestos. We have shown that this commander was the king of Sidon whose function was a military one: he was the command officer (*TMP*) of his fleet<sup>32</sup>. We have no idea of his Phoenician name but he was surely not one of the above mentioned kings of the dynasty of Eshmunazor. As we have shown, he was probably not among the Phoenicians killed after the Persian disaster of Salamis and he continued to reign over Sidon. We do not know in which year he acceded to the throne. The name of his father was Anysos: his Phoenician name is unknown; nor do we know whether he actually reigned or whether he belonged to the previous dynasty of Eshmunazor. Tetramnestos succeeded either his father Anysos (if he reigned), Yatonmilk (if he reigned) or Bodashtart, or there was a more or less important gap between them.

Since the final date of the reign of Tetramnestos is unknown and since the year of Baalshillem I's accession, the following known king, was much later, after 440 BCE anyway, there was probably a more or less important gap between them. Sidon started minting its coinage shortly after 450<sup>33</sup>. Let us consider here just the double shekels, which were the most representative of the minting power. If a substantial change of iconography meant a change of reign, then possibly Group I was issued by a first king and Group II by a different king: anyhow, we cannot take them into account in our chronology since we know nothing about them as their coinage was non-inscribed. Starting around 425, Group III had a new iconography, meaning possibly that the king has also changed; the first series of this group is non-inscribed or bears minute inscriptions that are difficult to read and interpret<sup>34</sup>. Then, the Sidonian double shekels of this group represented the name of the king, abbreviated by the first letter or the first two letters of his name, which was in use till the end of the Persian period. Except for the first abbreviation *T*<sup>c</sup> (the same abbreviation being used for king Tennes on his later coinage), we have identified all those of the Sidonian kings mentioned on their coinages<sup>35</sup>. Our identification is mainly based on a very helpful document: the above-mentioned inscription, published by M. Dunand in 1965, which gives the genealogy of the so-called dynasty of Baalshillem. The first known king of this dynasty was Baalshillem

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32. *Ibid.*, pp. 617-25. Cf. J. Elayi, "The Phoenician Kings at the Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.E.)" (forthcoming).

33. Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 625-7 (Group II), 627-35 (Group III).

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 635-87 (Group IV).

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 445-9, 627-50.

( $B^c L\check{S}LM$ ), subsequently known as Baalshillem I. He was succeeded by his son Abdamon ( $^c BD^3MN$ ), who was himself succeeded by his son Baana ( $B^c N^3$ ), who was succeeded by his son Baalshillem II. This last king devoted to the god Eshmun a so-called “temple-boy” statue, representing his unnamed son, still a baby. We have shown from the numismatic analysis that the abbreviations of Group III correspond exactly to the names of these kings:  $B$  for Baalshillem I,  $^c B$  for Abdamon and  $B^c$  for Baana<sup>36</sup>. Baalshillem II has changed the iconography of his coinage (Group IV.1) and abbreviated his name to  $B$ . Obviously the Sidonian custom for abbreviating names on coins consisted in using the first two letters. There was an exception for Baalshillem and Baana because these names could have been confused since the iconography had not changed between their two coinages: that is probably why the first king used  $B$  and the second  $B^c$ . The abbreviation used was identical when the name was the same (the two Tennes, Baalshillem and Abdashtart).

Baalshillem II decided a very important innovation: he started to inscribe on his coins the dates of issue in line with the years of his reign, from year 30, that is 372 BCE. This means that his year of accession was 401 and that he reigned until 366. Since all the following reigns are dated yearly till 333, we have established the absolute chronology in retrospect, for the period 401-333. A lacunary fragment of the Oxyrhincus Papyrus, relating the battle of Cnidus dated from 398, can be completed due to Xenophon and Diodorus’ accounts. The Sidonian fleet which played the main role was led by the king of Sidon, named in the papyrus *Sakton*, that we have interpreted as his Greek name seen from the Greek point of view, that is, approximately the “Shipowner”<sup>37</sup>. If our reading and interpretation are correct, *Sakton* has to be identified with Baalshillem II who in 398 was in his 4th year of reign. After a few years, this king associated his son Abdashtart I in power, inscribing the first letter of their two names ( $B$  for Baalshillem on the obverse and  $^c$  for Abdashtart on the reverse) on the very abundant Series IV.1.3.c of sixteenths of shekel<sup>38</sup>. As has been shown, Abdashtart I was the baby represented by the temple-boy statue mentioned above<sup>39</sup>. He succeeded his father in 365 and reigned 14 years, that is, until 352. His reign is

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36. Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 29-46.

37. *Hell. Oxyr.* 11.2-12.4, 19.3; Xen., *Hell.* III, 4.21-24; D.S. XIV, 80.1-5; cf. Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 638-40.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-74, 647.

39. Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 29-46.

relatively well documented by an Athenian decree and by Greek and Latin sources<sup>40</sup>.

The last Sidonian kings of the Persian period are also documented, besides the monetary inscriptions that are yearly dated, by Greek and Latin sources. It is uncertain whether Abdashtart I was the last king of the Baalshillem dynasty because we do not know if his successor Tennes was his son or relative. Anyway, Tennes succeeded Abdashtart I in 351 and reigned for only five years, until 347: these dates and that of his revolt have been very controversial, but they are now unquestionably established from the numismatic analysis<sup>41</sup>. Tennes was his Greek name but his Phoenician name, abbreviated by  $T^c$ , is unknown; it is impossible to choose between several hypotheses, but “Tabnit” is excluded<sup>42</sup>. After his execution by the Persians, in 346 they installed on the throne a king whose name was abbreviated  $^c c$  on his coins. In the present state of research, despite some difficulties, the most likely hypothesis is to identify him with the Cypriot king Evagoras II<sup>43</sup>. Evagoras (?) reigned for only four years, till 343. This foreign king was succeeded by Abdashtart II, who could belong either to the dynasty of Baalshillem I or to another dynasty, but it is definitely a Sidonian one<sup>44</sup>. Abdashtart II ruled ten years, from 342 to 333. When Alexander conquered the city of Sidon, he replaced him by Abdalonim ( $^c B D^3 L N M$ , in Greek *Abdalonymos*), who did not belong to the previous dynasty, according to classical sources<sup>45</sup>.

Alongside the Sidonian kings Abdashtart I, Tennes, Evagoras and Abdashtart II, the Persian official Mazday ( $M Z D Y$ , in Greek *Mazaïos*) was appointed by Artaxerxes III to be in charge of Transeuphratene, mainly of the city of Sidon which had revolted under Abdashtart I. Mazday minted his own coinage in Sidon, conforming to the Sidonian iconography and dating system, except for the mention of his name and his 21 years of office, that is from 353 to 333<sup>46</sup>. The question of the

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40. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-147.

41. Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 657-76.

42. For example  $T^c N S$ ,  $T N T^c M S$ ,  $T N T^c N N$ , etc. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 445 (with references).

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 676-9.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 679-87.

45. Cf. Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 19), pp. 50-1; F. Verkinderen, “Les cités phéniciennes dans l’Empire d’Alexandre le Grand”, in *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the first Millennium B.C.*, Leuven 1987, pp. 287-308; M. Szyner, “La partie phénicienne de l’inscription bilingue gréco-phénicienne de Cos”, *Archaiologikon Deltion* 35, 1986, pp. 17-30 (votive inscription of Diotimos, Abdalonymos’s son).

46. J. Elayi and A.G. Elayi, “Le monnayage sidonien de Mazday”, *Trans* 27, 2004, pp. 155-62.

capital of Transeuphratene is still controversial: this is for several reasons, namely its importance, possibly Sidon could have been this capital, but not necessarily during the whole Persian period and maybe not embracing all the functions of the satrapal government<sup>47</sup>. Let us say finally that the coinage of Mazday had never interrupted that of the Sidonian kings and that Abdashtart III never existed unless in false interpretations as we have shown<sup>48</sup>.

Thus, we have identified some fourteen kings as having reigned in Sidon during the Persian period: Tabnit (?), Eshmunazor II (plus Amoashtart), Bodashtart, Yatonmilk (?), Anysos (?), Tetramnestos, Baalshillem I, Abdamon, Baana, Baalshillem II, Abdashtart I, Tennes, Evagoras (?), and Abdashtart II.

## 2. Kings of Tyre

The chronology of the reigns of the kings of Tyre during the Persian period is more difficult to establish than that of the Sidonian kings because of the shortage of information. However, we shall endeavour to assemble all the documentation that is available in order to give at least a partial chronology. After Maharbaal (in Greek *Merbalos*) the last king of the Babylonian period (c. 555-552) according to Josephus, the first king of the Persian period was Hiram III (ḤRM, in Greek *Eiromos*), known only from Josephus' testimony<sup>49</sup>. We used to name him "the IIIrd" because two kings before him bearing this name are known (Hiram I: c. 962-929, and Hiram II: c. 736-729), but due to the lacks in the royal Tyrian chronology, there could have been other kings named Hiram. According to Josephus, Hiram III reigned twenty years and was in his fourteenth year of reign when Cyrus, king of Persia, came to power<sup>50</sup>. Since this last event occurred in 539, Hiram reigned from c. 552 to 533 BCE, that is to say partly during the Neo-Babylonian period and partly at the beginning of the Persian period.

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47. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-158; J. Elayi, in *Trans* 13, 1997, p. 204; *id.*, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 89-90; Elayi-Sapin, *op. cit.* (n. 2) 1998, pp. 18-9.

48. Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 410-2. The clear reading of years 5, 6 and 9 on sixteenths of shekels makes absolutely impossible a dating by the years of reigns of the Persian kings as it has been proposed for years 1-4 and 16-21. See also recently Elsen, Bruxelles, List 236, 2006, no. 74 (year 9).

49. Josephus, *Against Apion* I: 157-8; cf. H.J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre*, Jerusalem 1973, pp. 325-32; *id.*, "Tyre in the Early Persian Period (539-486 B.C.E.)", *BA* 42, 1979, pp. 24-5; E. Lipiński ed., *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*, Turnhout 1992, s.v. Hiram/Hirôm. The dates of the reigns of the Tyrian kings in the list given by Josephus still remain somewhat controversial.

50. Josephus, *Against Apion* I: 158-60.

An inscription concerning this period has recently been published, the second part of which only is preserved on a broken votive trade ship<sup>51</sup>. The remaining inscription reads: ... *B]RK ŠR WḤLŠ ŠDNM M<sup>c</sup>BM WBL P<sup>c</sup>L<sup>o</sup>M MLK ʔTB<sup>c</sup>L BN HMLK ḤRM MLK ŠR*, "... he has bl]essed Tyre and saved the Sidonians from thick clouds and has not terrified king Ittobaal, son of king Hiram, king of Tyre". According to A. Lemaire, the writing is similar to that of Tabnit's inscription, and the king mentioned here would be an unrecorded king, Ittobaal IV, having reigned as a co-regent with his father Hiram III, a short time before 533. However, this inscription contains several difficulties that have been resolved in different ways by the author, who is very cautious and presents his interpretation merely as a working hypothesis<sup>52</sup>. The most logical step would be to consider Ittobaal as the present king who mentioned his patronymic as usually being: *BN (H)MLK ḤRM MLK ŠR*, "son of king Hiram, king of Tyre"<sup>53</sup>; however, the presence of the article remains an unsolved difficulty. Moreover, if it is a votive inscription thanking the deity for having saved the Sidonians and king Ittobaal, who was the dedicator? We have no answer. Let us say that, if

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51. Lemaire, *loc. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 117\*-29\*.

52. A first minor difficulty concerns epigraphy: *R* can be read *D* in *ŠDNM* because *ŠRNM* makes no sense; *W* has its shaft tilted to the left instead of being tilted to the right or vertical, as on Tabnit's and Eshmunazor's inscriptions (*KAI* 13-14). The second difficulty is a major one: the term *ŠDNM*, "Sidonians", seems to designate the inhabitants of the kingdom of Tyre. Of course, this expression is well attested in the Bible and inscriptions, but it occurred in an earlier period when Sidon and Tyre were unified into a single kingdom: 1 Kings 5:20; 16:31; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* VIII: 317, IX: 138; *CIS* I, 5; *ARAB* II, 309; cf. Katzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pp. 129-66. It was no more the case at the end of the Neo-Babylonian period and at the beginning of the Persian period, as we have seen when studying the chronology of the Sidonian kings of the so-called dynasty of Eshmunazor. The third difficulty concerns the vocabulary: *M<sup>c</sup>BM* has been interpreted as *MN* + *BM*, *B* being unattested in Phoenician, only in Aramaic and mainly in Hebrew, meaning "thick cloud", not "storm"; *ʔM* is unattested in Phoenician, only in Hebrew ʔ<sup>o</sup>*ym*•*h*, "terror", and *P<sup>c</sup>L<sup>o</sup>M* is interpreted as "to terrify". The fourth difficulty concerns the expression *BN HMLK* that is known as a general title in Hebrew and Moabite, but till now unattested in Phoenician; the article *H-* before *MLK* never appears in Phoenician genealogies. Cf. A. Caquot and A. Lemaire, "Les textes araméens de Deir 'Alla", *Syr.* 54, 1977, p. 197, I, 8/6; Jg 5:4; 1 Kings 18:45; Ps 104:3 ... (*M<sup>c</sup>BM*). Gn 15:12; Dt 32:35; Is 33:18 ... (*P<sup>c</sup>L<sup>o</sup>M*). A. Lemaire, "Note sur le titre BN HMLK dans l'ancien Israël", *Sem.* 29, 1979, pp. 59-65; N. Avigad and B. Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, Jerusalem 1997, p. 467, no. 1006 (*BN HMLK*).

53. Their common title *MLK ŠR*, "king of Tyre", would have been expressed once at the singular, as on Bodashtart's inscription for the two kings Bodashtart and his son Yatonmilk co-regents at that time. As we have shown, this inscription of Bodashtart is difficult to understand but we have proposed a different interpretation that seems to be most likely in the present state of documentation. In any case, the following expression *BN BN MLK ʔŠMN<sup>c</sup>ZR*, "grandson of king Eshmunazor", cannot concern in the same time the father and son, and the verb *BN*, "has built", is a singular form : Elayi, *loc. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 9-27.

this inscription is genuine, Ittobaal IV would have been the son and successor of king Hiram III, having commenced his reign in 532 BCE.

Herodotus mentioned the following points when he described the battle of Salamis in 480 BCE<sup>54</sup>. Just as the Sidonian fleet, the Tyrian fleet was under the command of the king of Tyre *Matten*, son of *Eiromos*. These two Greek names clearly indicate the Phoenician names that they translate: Mattan (*MTN*) and Hiram (*HRM*). Thus, this king Mattan, who was on the throne of Tyre in 480, can be named Mattan III, according to our knowledge of the previous kings bearing this name: Mattan I (c. 829-821) and Mattan II (c. 730)<sup>55</sup>. If his father Hiram reigned, he would have been Hiram IV, on the throne shortly before 480. We have no information for saying whether Hiram IV (?) and Mattan III belonged to the same dynasty as Hiram III and Ittobaal IV (?).

After the reign of Mattan III that finished some time after 480, there is a gap in our documentation until the reign of the king who inaugurated the Tyrian coinage around 450. The main difficulty comes from the fact that the Tyrian kings did not inscribe their abbreviated names on their coinage, as did the Sidonian kings, before the beginning of the 4th cent. at which time their names were abbreviated by one letter only, the initial. Since there are neither Tyrian inscriptions nor any other sufficiently explicit and clear sources mentioning the names of Tyrian kings from 480 to the middle of the 4th cent., we have no idea of the names which are referred by the abbreviations: *B*, *T*, *Ϸ*, *Ϸ*, *M* (or *MLK?*), *Z* (rather than *20*), *§* (or *§R* which is also fully inscribed on some coins)<sup>56</sup>. Thus, there would have been between 5 and 9 kings during the first half of the 4th cent.: *B*, *T*, *Ϸ* and possibly *M*(?), *Z*(?) are attested before about 365 and *Ϸ*, *M*, *Ϸ* and possibly *§* between about 365 and 350. Two of these kings could possibly be identified in some unclear documents. The first one is a seal: it bears an inscription relating to the payment of a "tithe" (*ϷŠR*) by the city of *LBT* (Libnat = Tell Abu Hawam?) in the first year of the reign of king *B*<sup>57</sup>. If the attribution of this seal to the city of Tyre (rather than Sidon) is correct, it could designate the same king *B* as the series of coins with *B* and *MB*

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54. Herodotus VII, 98.

55. According to Katzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 349. For other proposals of dating, see for example G. Garbini, *Storia e ideologia nell'Israele antico*, Brescia 1986, pp. 67-71.

56. Cf. Elayi-Elayi, *loc. cit.* (n. 9) 1987-8, pp. 14-8; *id.*, *The Coinage of the Phoenician City of Tyre in the Persian Period (5th-4th cent. BCE)* (forthcoming).

57. Greenfield, *loc. cit.* (n. 8), n.1, 4; A. Lemaire, "Le royaume de Tyr dans la seconde moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.", in *ACFP* II/1, Roma 1991, pp. 142-3.

(Phoenician standard), dated between about 400 and 365 (probably from the beginning of this period)<sup>58</sup>. The following document is Justinus' account regarding a revolt of Tyrian slaves who seized the power and then established king Straton (in Phoenician Abdashtart) on the throne<sup>59</sup>. It is tempting to relate this event with the monetary series bearing  $\$$  or  $\$R$  for "Tyre", when the slaves took power in the city, and  $\epsilon$ , initial of "Abdashtart" ( $\epsilon BD\epsilon \check{S}TRT$ ), the king chosen by the slaves. There are two possibilities in these series: either before c. 365 (Phoenician standard) or after c. 365 ("Attic" standard), this last date being more plausible because of the very difficult situation of Tyre at that time. This Tyrian king Abdashtart is also possibly involved with a Delian bilingual inscription<sup>60</sup>, as with the name of the site "Straton's Tower" (in Greek *Stratonos pyrgos*) in the Sharon plain, and with the Caesarea cup depicting the foundation of this site<sup>61</sup>.

The last part of the Tyrian coinage becomes clear because it is dated regularly by the years of reign of king  $\epsilon$ . King  $\epsilon$  can safely be identified with Ozmilk ( $\epsilon ZMLK$ , in Greek *Azemilkos*) mentioned by classical authors such as Arrianus<sup>62</sup>. If Justinus' account is correct, Ozmilk belonged to the same dynasty as Abdashtart<sup>63</sup>. His son was also mentioned, but without his name, as a member of the Tyrian embassy sent, among other officials, to Alexander. Ozmilk acceded to the throne in 349 and started minting coins from his third year of reign, that is 347, till his seventeenth year, that is 333, at the time when the other Phoenician cities were surrendering to Alexander<sup>64</sup>. Some authors have lowered the beginning of Ozmilk's reign by two years, basing their dating on the suppressing of the rebellion of Tennes king of Sidon in 345<sup>65</sup>. But the now well established chronology of the reigns of the Sidonian kings has shown that this event took place in 347 when Tennes

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58. Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 56).

59. Justinus, *Trog. Pomp. Epitome XVIII*: 3-4; cf. J. Elayi, "La révolte des esclaves de Tyr relatée par Justin", *BaghM* 12, 1981, pp. 139-50.

60. *CIS I*, 114; cf. J. Elayi, "L'inscription bilingue de Délos *CIS I*, 114", *BaghM* 19, 1988, pp. 549-55; *id.*, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 95.

61. Cf., for example, R. Arav, "Some Notes on the Foundation of Straton's Tower", *PEQ* 121, 1989, pp. 144-8; Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 95-9 (with references).

62. Arrianus, *Anabasis II*: 15, 6-7; 24, 5; cf. also D.S. XVII, 40-45; Plutarch, *Alexander* 24-25; Curtius IV, 2-4.

63. Justinus, *Trog. Pomp. Epitome XVIII*, 3:19.

64. Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 56).

65. Cf., for example, D. Barag, "The Effects of the Tennes Rebellion on Palestine", *BASOR* 183, 1986, pp. 6-12; A.F. Rainey, "The Satrapy 'Beyond the River'", *AJBA* 1, 1969, pp. 70-1; Lemaire, *loc. cit.* (n. 57), pp. 145-6.

was put to death<sup>66</sup>. None of the other arguments used for dating the beginning of the reign of Ozmiak from 347 are convincing. The five Tyrian coins dated from year 15 discovered in the Wâdi Daliyeh, together with papyri from Samaria, correspond with the date of the latest dated papyrus (335 BCE)<sup>67</sup>. As we show in our corpus, the silver shekels and sixteenths of shekel bearing dates (1 to 14, rather than 1 to 34) were all minted during the Persian period. The tithe seals bearing the letter  $\epsilon$  and a date are possibly dated from the reign of Ozmiak, some of them before 333, some of them after<sup>68</sup>. Actually, we may assume that Ozmiak possibly retained the throne after the capture of Tyre by Alexander in 332. As a matter of fact, the classical sources and some abbreviations on Hellenistic seals and coins can be interpreted in this sense<sup>69</sup>, but this last part of Ozmiak's reign is beyond the scope of our article.

Thus, we have identified some six kings having reigned in Tyre during the Persian period: Hiram III, Ittobaal IV (?), Hiram IV (?), Mattan, Abdashtart and Ozmiak.

### 3. Kings of Byblos

Byblos was a Phoenician city different from the others as it was somewhat isolated: for example, its fleet does not seem to have participated in the battle of Salamis and it did not export its coins abroad<sup>70</sup>. A major difficulty in establishing the chronology of the Byblian kings is that none of their inscriptions (monumental or monetary) are dated by their years of reign. The last known king before the Persian period was Milkyasap mentioned in the Annals of Esarhaddon<sup>71</sup>. The first king known to us, having reigned at the beginning of the Persian period, was Shipitbaal III ( $\check{S}P\check{T}B^{\epsilon}L$ ), since there were two others: Shipitbaal I (around 900) and Shipitbaal II

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66 Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 667-76.

67 Cf. M.J.W. Leith, "Seals and Coins in Persian Period Samaria", in L.H. Schiffman *et al.* eds, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Fifty Years after their Discovery*, Jerusalem 2000, pp. 691-707; D.M. Gropp, "The Samaria Papyri and the Babylonio-Aramean Symbiosis", in L.H. Schiffman ed., *Semitic Papyrology in Context*, Leiden-Boston 2003, p. 23; J. Elayi and A.G. Elayi, *Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes et circulation monétaire (V<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> siècles avant J.-C.)*, Paris 1993, pp. 216-8.

68. Cf. Greenfield, *loc. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 129-34; Lemaire, *loc. cit.* (n. 57), pp. 140-5.

69. See, for example, Arrianus, *Anabasis* II, 24:5; Curtius IV, 4: 12-18; E.T. Newell, *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, Yale Oriental Series Researches II, New York 1906.

70. Cf. J. Elayi, "Byblos et la domination assyro-babylonienne", *BaghM* 16, 1985, pp. 393-7; *id.*, "Les symboles de la puissance militaire sur les monnaies de Byblos", *RN* 26, 1984, pp. 40-7; Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 67), pp. 83-124, 354-5.

71. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons König von Assyrien*, Osnabrück 1967<sup>2</sup>, pp. 60 ff., V: 59; *id.*, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, Wiesbaden 1996, p. 212 c § 14: II 45.

(around 740)<sup>72</sup>. Shipitbaal III is mentioned in a royal inscription of his son and in a recently published inscription engraved on a silver roll. The first inscription is lacunary and we cannot say for certain whether he actually reigned; it has been dated around 500, basing on palaeographical grounds, which remains approximate<sup>73</sup>. The second inscription clearly mentions king Shipitbaal as being the protector of the temple of Ashtart at Byblos, a royal function unknown till now; it has been dated from the end of the 6th cent.<sup>74</sup>. However, this last inscription presents several difficulties, such as the use of *matres lectionis* (*aleph*, *ayn*), some grammatical features known only in Punic or Neo-Punic, and the title of Ashtart *RBT GBL* (instead of the usual title *B<sup>c</sup>LT GBL*), known only from two dubious inscriptions. Therefore, we shall use the mention of Shipitbaal III as a king of Byblos with caution, as this needs to be confirmed.

The following genealogy is given in the long inscription of king Yehawmilk (*YḤWMLK*), usually dated from c. 450, an approximate dating based on palaeographical evidence<sup>75</sup>. King Yehawmilk was “son of Yeharbaal (*YḤRB<sup>c</sup>L*), grandson of Urimilk (*ʿRMLK*) king of Byblos”. The problem is to know whether there is a connection between the dynasty of the son of Shipitbaal III and that of Yehawmilk. If it is possible to restore “I U[rimilk]” (*ʿNK ʿ/*) at the end of line 4 in the inscription *KAI* 9<sup>76</sup>, it would be the same dynasty. This king Urimilk would be Urimilk II, Urimilk I being mentioned in the Annals of Sennacherib<sup>77</sup>. Yeharbaal (or Yehadbaal)<sup>78</sup>, son of king Urimilk and father of king Yehawmilk, does not seem to have reigned according to the inscription of Yehawmilk. Provisionally based on palaeographic grounds, the approximate dates for the reigns of the Byblian kings in the 5th cent. are the following: Shipitbaal III ? (c. 500), Urimilk II (c. 475), Yehawmilk son of Yeharbaal (c. 450). There is no serious reason for assuming that the reign of Yehawmilk lasted the whole of the second half of the 5th cent. and was connected with a fragment of sarcophagus

72. Cf. *KAI*, no. 7; H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994, p. 106, St. III A:7. Cf. Lipiński ed., *op. cit.* (n. 49), s.v. Shapatbaal.

73. *KAI*, no. 9.

74. A. Lemaire, “Amulette Phénicienne Gibrilite en Argent”, in R. Deutsch ed., *Shlomo, Studies in Epigraphy, Iconography, History and Archaeology in Honor of Shlomo Moussaieff*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa 2003, pp. 155-74.

75. *KAI*, no. 10; Peckham, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 51-4; E. Puech, “Remarques sur quelques inscriptions phéniciennes de Byblos”, *RSF* 9, 1981, pp. 153-68 (2nd half of the 5th cent.).

76. As proposed by Peckham, *ibid.*, p. 53, n. 35, and Puech, *ibid.*, pp. 156-7.

77. D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, Chicago 1924, p. 29, II: 53.

78. According to Puech, *loc. cit.* (n. 75), p. 160.

bearing a lacunary inscription dating from around 400 BCE<sup>79</sup>. Since Byblos started minting its coinage slightly before 450, as we have shown from the study of Byblian coins in the hoards<sup>80</sup>, king Yehawmilk could have minted some of the first series. The inscriptions of certain coins in these series are very difficult to read and interpret: we have proposed to read *MY* as a possible abbreviation of M(ilk) Y(ehawmilk) on the series bearing the motives of a seated winged sphinx, a hawk and a lotus flower, which are also represented on the stele of Yehawmilk<sup>81</sup>. This hypothesis needs to be confirmed. However, the readings and interpretations of these difficult inscriptions proposed by E. Puech are based, as we have shown<sup>82</sup>, on a misunderstanding of Byblian numismatics and metrology, and on erroneous references. Thus, the hypothesis of a king Germilk is quite impossible because the interpretation of <sup>ϵ</sup>*GK* as <sup>ϵ</sup>(•*R(Y)T*) or <sup>ϵ</sup>(*ŠRN*), “tenth of shekel of G(er-mil)K” is unparalleled and unexplained.

After the reign of Yehawmilk, there is probably a gap in our sources before the succession of four kings through to the end of the Persian period, which are well documented by monetary inscriptions, a monumental inscription and classical sources. The enormous advantage of the monetary inscriptions of Byblos, compared with other Phoenician coinage, is the fact that the names of the kings are fully inscribed on the coins, which bear also some additional abbreviations. The names of four kings are inscribed on their coinage: Elpaal (<sup>ϵ</sup>*LP<sup>c</sup>L*), Ozbaal (<sup>ϵ</sup>*ZB<sup>c</sup>L*, abbreviated <sup>ϵ</sup>*Z*), Addirmilk (<sup>ϵ</sup>*DRMLK*, abbreviated <sup>ϵ</sup>*K*), and Aynel (<sup>ϵ</sup>*YN<sup>ϵ</sup>L*, abbreviated <sup>ϵ</sup> or <sup>ϵ</sup>*L*). The problem is that these series are not dated and we do not even know in which order they should be classified: all the possible combinations have been proposed<sup>83</sup>. We have

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79. J. Starcky, “Une inscription phénicienne de Byblos”, *MUSJ* 45, 1969, pp. 259-73. However, the date around 500 is not relevant: W. Röllig, “Eine neue phönizische Inschrift aus Byblos”, in *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 2, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 11.

80. Cf. Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 67), pp. 87-90; J. Elayi, “Le phénomène monétaire dans les cités phéniciennes à l’époque perse”, in T. Hackens and G. Moucharte eds, *Numismatique et histoire économique phéniciennes et puniques*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1992, pp. 21-31; *id.*, “L’ouverture du premier atelier monétaire phénicien”, *BCEN* 32, 1995, pp. 73-9.

81. *Id.*, “Les monnaies de Byblos au sphinx et au faucon”, *RSF* 11, 1983, pp. 5-17. These series are not listed by Betlyon, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 112-3.

82. E. Puech, “Les premières émissions byblites et les rois de Byblos à la fin du V<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.C.”, in *ACFP* II/1, Roma 1991, pp. 287-97; cf. A. Lemaire and J. Elayi, “Les monnaies de Byblos au sphinx et au faucon: nouveaux documents et essai de classement”, *RBN* 137, 1991, pp. 29-36; J. Elayi and A.G. Elayi, *The Coinage of Byblos* (in preparation).

83. See references in J. Elayi and A.G. Elayi, “L’ordre de succession des derniers rois de Byblos”, *Syr.* 70, 1993, pp. 109-10.

definitely established the order of these four kings<sup>84</sup>. Elpaal was the first since the use of the semi-incusion in his coinage is connected with the non-inscribed series bearing a vulture on a ram on the reverse. After the reign of Elpaal, a new dynasty started with Ozbaal: the iconography of the coins had changed, and the inscription engraved on the sarcophagus of Batnoam (*BTN<sup>c</sup>M*) mentioned that she was the mother of king Ozbaal and that the priest Paltibaal (*PLṬB<sup>c</sup>L*) was his father<sup>85</sup>. Basing on palaeographical evidence, this inscription is usually dated from the first half of the 4th cent. As we have shown, some obverse dies of Ozbaal had been used in the coinage of Addirmilk, and some obverse dies of Addirmilk bearing the abbreviation <sup>ṽ</sup>K had been used in the coinage of Aynel, who had more or less erased these two letters<sup>86</sup>. Finally, king Aynel is also known in the classical sources as *Enylos*. He was probably permitted to retain the throne of Byblos by Alexander, as we can see also from the abbreviation of his name <sup>c</sup>Y inscribed on some tetradrachms of Alexander minted in Byblos<sup>87</sup>.

We also have to say that two ghost kings have been inserted into the Ozbaal dynasty: firstly, Urimilk between Addirmilk and Aynel, without any argument<sup>88</sup>. Secondly, Zakur has been inserted between Ozbaal and Addirmilk<sup>89</sup>, based on the letter Z inscribed on the obverse of the first series of Ozbaal. Even if the interpretation of this letter is unclear for the moment, this series was undoubtedly minted by Ozbaal as it is shown by the reverse inscription and dies links<sup>90</sup>.

Thus, we have identified some eight kings who reigned in Byblos during the Persian period: Shipitbaal III (?), Urimilk II, Yeharbaal, Yehawmilk, Elpaal, Ozbaal, Addirmilk and Aynel.

#### 4. Kings of Arwad

The chronology of the reigns of the Aradian kings during the Persian period is even less known than that of the Byblian kings. As a matter of fact, the city of Arwad was apart from the other Phoenician cities since, because of its geographical situation, it was more oriented towards

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84. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-15.

85. *KAI*, no. 11; P. Swiggers, "The Phoenician inscription of Batno<sup>c</sup>am", *OLP* 11, 1980, pp. 111-6.

86. Elayi-Elayi, *loc. cit.* (n. 83), pp. 109-15.

87. E.T. Newell, *Alexander Hoards II, Demanhur 1905*, New York 1923, no. 3586; A.R. Bellinger, *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great*, New York 1963, p. 53.

88. M. Dunand, *Byblos. Son histoire, ses ruines, ses légendes*, Beyrouth 1963, p. 35.

89. Peckham, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 49-50.

90. Elayi-Elayi, *op. cit.* (n. 67), pp. 104, 109.

North Syria through its cultural affinities and trading relations<sup>91</sup>. The last Aradian king known before the Persian period was Azibaal (Ozbaal) under the reign of Ashurbanipal<sup>92</sup>. Like Sidon and Tyre, the Aradian fleet took part in the battle of Salamis in 480. It was under the command of *Merbalos*, that is to say Maharbaal (*MHRB<sup>c</sup>L*) in Phoenician. As we have shown for the Sidonian and Tyrian fleets, it is very likely that the Aradian fleet was also led by the king of Arwad. According to Herodotus, Maharbaal's father was *Agbalos*, probably a corrupted form of the Phoenician name Ozbaal (*ʿZB<sup>c</sup>L*)<sup>93</sup>. Maharbaal was on the throne of Arwad in 480, but it is uncertain whether his father Ozbaal had reigned before him: if so, he would have to be named Ozbaal II, the first known king of this name, as mentioned above, having reigned around the middle of the 7th cent.

Arwad started minting its own coinage a few years after the other Phoenician cities, that is around the end of the third quarter of the 5th cent. Most Aradian coins bear the same two letters: *M* and *ʿ*, when they do not fall off the flan; in some series, they are separated by the head of the deity, which can be understood if they represent the abbreviations of two words<sup>94</sup>. Several interpretations have been proposed concerning these two letters: an abbreviation of the name of an Aradian king, which is impossible since most of the series are concerned; an abbreviation of *M(RT) ʿ(RWD)*, but Marathus (*MRT*) did not play a political role in the Persian period; an abbreviation of *M(NB<sup>c</sup>L) ʿ(RWD)*, “from Baal Arwad”, which would be an unusual abbreviation; an abbreviation of *M(N) ʿ(RWD)*, “from Arwad”, but the locative meaning given by the preposition *MN* is not satisfactory; an abbreviation of *M(MLKT) ʿ(RWD)*, “kingdom (or government) of Arwad”, which does not fit with the following initial of a particular king; or an abbreviation of *M(LK) ʿ(RWD)*, “king of Arwad”<sup>95</sup>. We prefer this last interpretation

91. *Id.*, “Quelques particularités de la culture matérielle d’Arwad au Fer III/Perse”, *Trans* 18, 1999, pp. 9-27; J. Elayi, “Les sites phéniciens de Syrie au Fer III/Perse: Bilan et perspectives de recherche”, in G. Bunnens ed, *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, Louvain *et al.* 2000, pp. 327-48.

92. Borger, *op. cit.* (n. 71) 1996, p. 217, B § 17: II 88; J. Elayi, “Les cités phéniciennes et l’empire assyrien à l’époque d’Assurbanipal”, *RA* 77, 1983, pp. 48-53.

93. F.L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, Rome 1972, p. 374, s.v. *ʿZ*; Lipi•ski, *op. cit.* (n. 49), s.v. *Az(z)ibaal*.

94. E. Babelon, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Les Perses achéménides*, Paris 1893, pl. XXII, 2, 8-9.

95. Cf., for example, J.P. Six, “Observations sur les monnaies phéniciennes”, *NC* 17, 1877, pp. 183-4; E. Babelon, “Aradus”, *RN*, 1891, p. 292; *id.*, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, II/2, Paris 1910, pp. 505-6; *BMC Phoenicia*, p. xxiii, n. 5; B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, Oxford 1911, p. 788; Betlyon, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 82; M.J. Price, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the*

designating the king of Arwad in an anonymous way, because it is the only one not to be contradicted by the addition of a third letter, the initial of a king's name, and because there are parallels as in Salaminian contemporary coins<sup>96</sup>.

As a matter of fact, during the first half of the 4th cent. (until 333 BCE), the inscription *MP*, “king of Arwad”, was followed by a letter, some eight or nine in total (*ʔ, Y, K, M, N, S, ʕ, P?* and *G*), each of them being more or less represented in the coins that we have collected<sup>97</sup>. Several proposals have been made for interpreting the meaning of this third letter: a dating system, abbreviated names of governors, or magistrates, or kings<sup>98</sup>. Even if all the difficulties have not been solved, the most logical option is the last one, considering the third letter as the initial of the king's name, which would give a clear sequence: *M(LK) ʔ(RWD) G(Rʕ ŠTRT)*, “king of Arwad Gerashtart”. Since these Aradian series with three letters started at the beginning of the 4th cent. as we have shown<sup>99</sup>, there are about sixty years for the nine kings: this gives an average of about 7/8 years per rule, which is somewhat short but quite possible (for example, Tennes of Sidon reigned for only 5 years and Evagoras for 4 years). Two main arguments can be used: firstly, according to classical sources, the king of Arwad in 333 BCE was *Gerostratos* (Gerashtart, *GRʕ ŠTRT* in Phoenician), abbreviated by the letter *G* on the last series. And secondly, this king had dated his coinage from year 1 to 7, which means that he had reigned seven years at the end of the Persian period, from 339 to 333<sup>100</sup>. According to Arrianus<sup>101</sup>, the son of Gerashtart who welcomed Alexander on his arrival was *Straton*, that is *Abdashtart* in Phoenician. Following the use of papponymy, maybe he had taken the name of his grandfather *Abdashtart*, abbreviated by letter *ʕ* on the next to last Aradian series<sup>102</sup>; we do not know whether he succeeded his father Gerashtart. Anyway, king Gerashtart could have retained the throne after 333, if we can interpret the Greek letters A and

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*Great and Philip Arrhidaeus. A British Museum Catalogue*, Zurich-London 1991, p. 414; F. Duyrat, “La politique monétaire d’Arados: les Alexandres”, *Topoi*, Suppl. 4, 2003, pp. 28-9.

96. J. Elayi and A.G. Elayi, “A Treasure of Coins from Arwad”, *JANES* 18, 1986, p. 16; *id.*, *loc. cit.* (n. 9) 1987-8, pp. 18-21.

97. J. Elayi and A.G. Elayi, *The Coinage of Arwad* (in preparation).

98. Cf., for example, Babelon, *op. cit.* (n. 94), p. CLVII; *id.*, *op. cit.* (n. 95), p. 527; *BMC Phoenicia*, p. xxiv; Betlyon, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 108-9.

99. Elayi-Elayi, *loc. cit.* (n. 96), pp. 6-7.

100. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 16; *id.*, *loc. cit.* (n. 9) 1987-8, pp. 19-21.

101. Arrianus, *Anabasis* II: 13.

102. Elayi-Elayi, *loc. cit.* (n. 9) 1987-8, p. 20, n. 44.

Γ in the first group of Alexander's tetradrachms minted in Arwad as abbreviations of *A(rados) G(erostratos)*<sup>103</sup>.

Thus we have securely identified only two kings having reigned in Arwad during the Persian period: Maharbaal and Gerashtart, and we proposed two other possible kings: Ozbaal and Abdashtart.

This article does not give a definitive chronology of the reigns of the Phoenician kings in the Persian period, but the most cautious and secure chronology given the present state of documentation. In order to facilitate the use of this chronology, five tables are presented: Table 1 for Sidon, Table 2 for Tyre, Table 3 for Byblos and Table 4 for Arwad. These tables indicate the periods and precise dates, the length of reign when it is known, the name of the king in Phoenician and Greek, the dated events in relation to these kings (presented from a Phoenician point of view), the dates of the reigns of the Persian kings who dominated the Phoenician cities at that time. Then Table 5 presents a concordance between the Phoenician kings of the four cities.

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103. G. Le Rider, "Résumé des cours et travaux", *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 1995-6, pp. 842-3; Duyrat, *loc. cit.* (n. 95), pp. 28-9. Phoenician letters *MP* were used in the second group of tetradrachms. Cf. J. Elayi, "Gerashtart, King of the Phoenician City of Arwad in the 4th cent. BC" (forthcoming).

Table 1: Chronology of the reigns of Sidonian kings (Persian period)

| Periods      | Dates                            | Sidonian kings  | Length of reign       | Related events   | Persian kings   |
|--------------|----------------------------------|---|-----------------------|--|---|
| 550<br>- 526 | 549<br><br>539<br><br>530        | Tabnit ( <i>TBNT</i> )<br>Amoashtart<br>( <i>ʿMʿ ŠTRT</i> )<br>(interregnum)<br>Eshmunazor II<br>( <i>ʿŠMNʿ ZR</i> )    | 14 years              | Conquest of<br>Phoenician cities<br>by Cyrus II                  | Cyrus II (549-530)<br><br><br>Cambyzes II (530-522)                       |
| 525<br>- 501 | 525<br><br>522                   | Bodashtart<br>( <i>BDʿ ŠTRT</i> )<br><br>Yatonmilk (?)<br>( <i>YTNMLK</i> )   | More than<br>7 years  | Campaign of<br>Cambyzes in<br>Egypt                              | Smerdis (522)<br>Darius I (522-486)                                       |
| 500<br>- 476 | 486<br>480<br><br>479            | Anysos (?)<br>Tetramnestos  |                       | Persian defeat of<br>Salamis<br>Persian defeat of<br>Mycalus     | Xerxes I (486-465)  |
| 475<br>- 451 | 466<br><br>465<br>460/5<br>9     |   |                       | Persian defeat of<br>Eurymedon<br><br>Persian defeat in<br>Egypt | Artaxerxes I (465-424)  |
| 450<br>- 426 | 450                              | Baalshille I<br>( <i>BʿLŠLM</i> )   |                       | Persian defeat of<br>Salamis (Cyprus)                            |   |
| 425<br>- 401 | 424<br>423<br><br>404<br><br>401 | Abdamon<br>( <i>ʿBDʿ MN</i> )<br>Baana ( <i>BʿNʿ</i> )<br><br>Baalshille II<br>( <i>BʿLŠLM</i> , Gr.<br><i>Sakton</i> ) | 36 years<br>(401-366) |  | Xerxes II (424-423)<br>Darius II (423-404)<br><br>Artaxerxes II (404-359) |

|              |   |   |  |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|--|---|---|
| 400<br>- 376 | 394<br>385-3<br>?<br><br>381  |   |  | <p>Victory of Cnidus</p> <p>Capture of Tyre by Evagoras of Salamis</p> <p>Failure of Persian campaign in Egypt</p> <p>Persian victory of Kition and capture of Salamis (Cyprus)</p>   |   |
| 375<br>- 351 | 373<br><br>369<br><br>365<br><br>c. 364<br><br>359<br><br>355<br><br>353<br><br>351 | <p>Abdashtart I<br/>(<sup>c</sup> <i>BD</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>ŠTRT</i>, Gr. <i>Straton</i>)</p> <p>Tennes</p> | <p>14 years<br/>(365-352)</p> <p>5 years<br/>(351-347)</p> | <p>Failure of Persian campaign in Egypt</p> <p>First revolt of satraps</p> <p>Athenian decree in honor of Abdashtart</p> <p>Tachos' expedition in Syria. Flight to Sidon. Abdashtart I's revolt</p> <p>End of Abdashtart I's revolt. Prisoners sent to Babylonia and Susa</p> <p>Failure of Persian campaign in Egypt</p> | <p>Artaxerxes III (359-338)</p> <p>Mazday's government on Transeuphratene (353-333)</p> |

|              |               |   |                       |   |                      |
|--------------|---------------|---|-----------------------|---|----------------------|
| 350<br>- 326 | c. 350<br>347 |   |                       | Tennes' revolt<br>End of Tennes' revolt             |                      |
|              | 346           | Evagoras II (?) (εε)                                | 4 years<br>(346-343)  |   |                      |
|              | 343-2         |   |                       | Persian recon-<br>quest of Egypt                    |                      |
|              | 342           | Abdashtart II<br>(εBDεŠTRT, Gr.<br><i>Straton</i> ) | 10 years<br>(342-333) |   |                      |
|              | 338           |   |                       |   | Arses (338-336)      |
|              | 336           |   |                       |   | Darius III (336-330) |
|              | 333-2         |   |                       | Alexander's con-<br>quest of Phoe-<br>nician cities |                      |

Table 2: Chronology of the reigns of Tyrian kings (Persian period)

| Periods      | Dates                                   | Tyrian kings  | Length of reign          | Related events   | Persian kings   |
|--------------|---|---|--------------------------|--|---|
| 550<br>- 526 | 549<br>539<br><br>533<br>532<br><br>530 | Hiram III (ḪRM,<br>Gr. <i>Eiromos</i> )<br>Ittobaal IV (?)<br>( <sup>∘</sup> TB <sup>∘</sup> L, Gr.<br><i>Ithobalos</i> ) | 20 years (c.<br>552-533) | Conquest of<br>Phoenician cities<br>by Cyrus II                      | Cyrus II (549-530)<br><br><br><br><br><br><br>Cambyses II (530-<br>522)   |
| 525<br>- 501 | 525<br><br><br>522                      |   |                          | Campaign of<br>Cambyses in<br>Egypt                                  | Smerdis (522)<br>Darius I (522-486)                                       |
| 500<br>- 476 | 486<br><br>480<br>479                   | Hiram IV (?)<br>(ḪRM, Gr.<br><i>Eiromos</i> )<br>Mattan III (MTN,<br>Gr. <i>Matten</i> )                                  |                          | Persian defeat of<br>Salamis<br>Persian defeat of<br>Mycalus         | Xerxes I (486-465)  |
| 475<br>- 451 | 466<br>465<br><br>460/5<br>9            |   |                          | Persian defeat of<br>Eurymedon<br><br><br>Persian defeat in<br>Egypt | Artaxerxes I (465-<br>424)  |
| 450<br>- 426 | 450                                     |   |                          | Persian defeat of<br>Salamis (Cyprus)                                |   |
| 425<br>- 401 | 424<br>423<br>404                       |   |                          |  | Xerxes II (424-423)<br>Darius II (423-404)<br>Artaxerxes II (404-<br>359) |

|              |  |  |                                |   |  |
|--------------|--|--|--------------------------------|---|--|
| 400<br>- 376 | 394<br>385-3<br>?<br><br>381                                   |  |                                | <p>Victory of Cnidus</p> <p>Capture of Tyre by Evagoras of Salamis</p> <p>Failure of Persian campaign in Egypt</p> <p>Persian victory of Kition and capture of Salamis (Cyprus)</p>   |  |
| 375<br>- 349 | 373<br><br>369<br><br>359<br><br>355<br><br>353<br><br>351     | Abdashtart<br>( <sup>c</sup> <i>BD</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>ŠTRT</i> , Gr. <i>Straton</i> ) |                                | <p>Failure of Persian campaign in Egypt</p> <p>First revolts of satraps</p> <p>Tachos' expedition in Syria.</p> <p>Abdashtart I's revolt</p> <p>End of Abdashtart I's revolt.</p> <p>Failure of Persian campaign in Egypt</p> | <p>Artaxerxes III (359-338)</p> <p>Mazday's government on Trans-euphratene (353-333)</p> |
| 350<br>- 325 | c. 350<br>349<br><br>347<br><br>343-2<br><br>338<br>336<br>332 | Ozmilk ( <sup>c</sup> <i>ZMLK</i> , Gr. <i>Azemilkos</i> )                             | At least 17 years (before 333) | <p>Tennes' revolt</p> <p>End of Tennes' revolt</p> <p>Persian reconquest of Egypt</p> <p>Alexander's capture of Tyre</p>  | <p>Arses (338-336)</p> <p>Darius III (336-330)</p>                                       |

Table 3: Chronology of the reigns of Byblian kings (Persian period)

| Periods      | Dates                            | Byblian kings                                       | Length of reign | Related events   | Persian kings   |
|--------------|----------------------------------|---|-----------------|--|---|
| 550<br>- 526 | 549<br>539<br><br>530<br><br>525 |   |                 | Conquest of Phoenician cities by Cyrus II<br><br>Campaign of Cambyses in Egypt   | Cyrus II (549-530)<br><br>Cambyses II (530-522)                       |
| 525<br>- 501 | 522                              | Shipitbaal III (?)<br>( <i>ŠPTB<sup>c</sup> L</i> ) |                 |  | Smerdis (522)<br>Darius I (522-486)                                   |
| 500<br>- 476 | 486<br>480<br>479                | Urimilk II<br>( <i>°RMLK</i> )                      |                 | Persian defeat of Salamis<br>Persian defeat of Mycalus   | Xerxes I (486-465)  |
| 475<br>- 451 | 466<br>465<br>460/59             | Yeharbaal<br>( <i>YH RB<sup>c</sup> L</i> )         |                 | Persian defeat of Eurymedon<br><br>Persian defeat in Egypt   | Artaxerxes I (465-424)  |
| 450<br>- 426 | 450                              | Yehawmilk<br>( <i>YH WMLK</i> )                     |                 | Persian defeat of Salamis (Cyprus)   |   |
| 425<br>- 401 | 424<br>423<br>404                | Elpaal ( <i>°LP<sup>c</sup> L</i> )                 |                 |  | Xerxes II (424-423)<br>Darius II (423-404)<br>Artaxerxes II (404-359) |
| 400<br>- 376 | 394<br>385-3?<br><br>381         | Ozbaal ( <i>°ZB<sup>c</sup> L</i> )                 |                 | Victory of Cnidus<br>Capture of Tyre by Evagoras of Salamis<br>Failure of Persian campaign in Egypt<br>Persian victory of Kition and capture of Salamis (Cyprus) |   |

|              |  |   |  |   |   |
|--------------|--|---|--|---|---|
| 375<br>- 351 | 373<br><br>369<br><br>359<br><br>355<br><br>353<br><br>351 | Addirmilk<br>( <i>DRMLK</i> )                           |  | Failure of Persian campaign in Egypt<br>First revolt of satraps<br>Tachos' expedition in Syria<br>Flight to Sidon.<br>Abdashtart I's revolt<br>End of Abdashtart I's revolt<br><br>Failure of Persian campaign in Egypt | Artaxerxes III (359-338)<br><br>Mazday's government on Trans-euphratene (353-333) |
| 350<br>- 326 | c. 350<br>347<br><br>343-2<br><br>338<br>336<br>333-2      | Aynel ( <i>YN<sup>2</sup>L</i> ,<br>Gr. <i>Enylos</i> ) |  | Tennes' revolt<br>End of Tennes' revolt<br>Persian reconquest of Egypt<br><br>Alexander conquest of Phoenician cities   | Arses (338-336)<br>Darius III (336-330)   |

Table 4: Chronology of the reigns of Aradian kings (Persian period)

| Periods      | Dates  | Aradian kings                             | Length of reign | Related events  | Persian kings                       |
|--------------|--------|---|-----------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 550<br>- 526 | 549    |   |                 | Conquest of Phoenician cities by Cyrus II<br><br>Campaign of Cambyzes in Egypt                      | Cyrus II (549-530)                  |
|              | 539    |   |                 |   | Cambyzes II (530-522)               |
|              | 530    |   |                 |   |                                     |
|              | 525    |   |                 |   |                                     |
| 525<br>- 501 | 522    |   |                 |   | Smerdis (522)<br>Darius I (522-486) |
| 500<br>- 476 | 486    | Ozbaal (?) (𐤠𐤆𐤁𐤀𐤋𐤋, Gr. <i>Agbalos</i> )  |                 | Persian defeat of Salamis<br><br>Persian defeat of Mycalus  | Xerxes I (486-465)                  |
|              | 480    | Maharbaal (𐤍𐤇𐤕𐤁𐤀𐤋𐤋, Gr. <i>Merbalos</i> ) |                 |   |                                     |
|              | 479    |   |                 |   |                                     |
| 475<br>- 451 | 466    |   |                 | Persian defeat of Eurymedon   | Artaxerxes I (465-424)              |
|              | 465    |   |                 | Persian defeat in Egypt   |                                     |
|              | 460/59 |   |                 |   |                                     |
| 450<br>- 426 | 450    |   |                 | Persian defeat of Salamis (Cyprus)  |                                     |
| 425<br>- 401 | 424    |   |                 |   | Xerxes II (424-423)                 |
|              | 423    |   |                 |   | Darius II (423-404)                 |
|              | 404    |   |                 |   | Artaxerxes II (404-359)             |
| 400<br>- 376 | 394    |   |                 | Victory of Cnidus<br>Capture of Tyre by Evagoras of Salamis<br>Failure of Persian campaign in Egypt |                                     |
|              | 385-3? |   |                 |   |                                     |
|              | 381    |   |                 | Persian victory of Kition and capture of Salamis (Cyprus)   |                                     |

|              |  |   |  |   |   |
|--------------|--|---|--|---|---|
| 375<br>- 351 | 373<br><br>369<br><br>359<br><br>355<br><br>353<br><br>351       |   |  | <p>Failure of Persian campaign in Egypt</p> <p>First revolt of satraps</p> <p>Tachos' expedition in Syria</p> <p>Abdashtart I's revolt</p> <p>End of Abdashtart I's revolt</p><br><p>Failure of Persian campaign in Egypt</p> | <p>Artaxerxes III (359-338)</p><br><p>Mazday's government on Trans-euphratene (353-333)</p> |
| 350<br>- 326 | c. 350<br>347<br><br>343-2<br><br>339<br><br>338<br>336<br>333-2 | <p>Abdashtart (?)<br/>(<i>BD<sup>c</sup> ŠTRT</i>, Gr. <i>Straton</i>)</p> <p>Gerashtart<br/>(<i>GR<sup>c</sup> ŠTRT</i>, Gr. <i>Gerostratos</i>)</p> | <p>At least 7 years<br/>(before 333)</p> | <p>Tennes' revolt</p> <p>End of Tennes' revolt</p> <p>Persian reconquest of Egypt</p><br><p>Alexander's conquest of Phoenician cities</p>   | <p>Arses (338-336)</p> <p>Darius III (336-330)</p>  |

Table 5: Concordance of the reigns of Phoenician kings (Persian period)

| Periods      | Dates                                | Sidonian kings                                      | Tyrian Kings  | Byblian kings              | Aradian kings           | Persian kings   |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|----------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| 550<br>- 526 | 549<br><br>533<br><br>532<br><br>530 | Tabnit<br>Amoashtart<br>Eshmunazor II (14 years)    | Hiram III (20 years: c. 552-533)<br>Ittobaal IV (?) (from c. 532) |                            |                         | Cyrus II (549-530)<br><br><br><br>Cambyzes II (530-522)                   |
| 525<br>- 501 | 522                                  | Bodashtart (more than 7 years)<br><br>Yatonmilk (?) |   | Shipitbaal III (?)         |                         | Smerdis (522)<br>Darius I (522-486)                                       |
| 500<br>- 476 | 486<br><br>480                       | Anysos (?)<br>Tetramnestos                          | Hiram IV (?)<br>Mattan III  | Urimilk II                 | Ozbaal (?)<br>Maharbaal | Xerxes I (486-465)  |
| 475<br>- 451 | 465                                  |   |   | Yeharbaal<br><br>Yehawmilk |                         | Artaxerxes I (465-424)  |
| 450<br>- 426 |                                      | Baalshillem I                                       |   |                            |                         |   |
| 425<br>- 401 | 424<br><br>423<br><br>404<br><br>401 | Baana<br><br>Baalshillem II (36 years: 401-366)     |   | Elpaal                     |                         | Xerxes II (424-423)<br>Darius II (423-404)<br><br>Artaxerxes II (404-359) |
| 400<br>- 376 |                                      |   |   | Ozbaal                     |                         |   |

|              |     |   |                                    |           |                   |  |
|--------------|-----|---|------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|--|
| 375<br>- 351 | 365 | Abdashtart I<br>(14 years:<br>365-352)  | Abdashtart                         | Addirmilk |                   | Artaxerxes<br>III (359-338)<br><br>Mazday's<br>government<br>on<br>Transeuphrat<br>ene (353-<br>333) |
|              | 359 |   |                                    |           |                   |  |
|              | 353 |   |                                    |           |                   |  |
|              | 351 | Tennes<br>(5 years:<br>351-347)         |                                    |           |                   |  |
| 350<br>- 326 | 349 |   | Ozmilk<br>(17 years<br>before 333) | Aynel     | Abdashtart<br>(?) | Arses (338-<br>336)<br>Darius III<br>(336-330)   |
|              | 346 | Evagoras<br>(4 years:<br>346-343)       |                                    |           |                   |  |
|              | 343 | Abdashtart II<br>(10 years:<br>342-333) |                                    |           |                   |  |
|              | 339 |   |                                    |           |                   |  |
|              | 338 |   |                                    |           |                   |  |
|              | 336 |   |                                    |           |                   |  |
|              | 332 | Abdalonym                               |                                    |           |                   |  |