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*Edited by*

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A.

*Keeper of Coins, Ashmolean Museum*

G. K. JENKINS, B.A.

*Keeper of Coins, British Museum*

*and*

R. A. G. CARSON, M.A.

*Deputy Keeper of Coins, British Museum*

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## SOME CAPPADOCIAN DIE-LINKS

By OTTO MØRKHOLM

[SEE PLATE IV]

IN a paper in this volume (pp. 83 ff. below) B. Simonetta has published an answer to my small article in *NC* 1962 on the classification of the Cappadocian coins of the second and early first centuries B.C. If it were only a question of repeating statements already made it would hardly be worth while to continue the discussion. However, subsequent research has provided me with some new arguments which I take this opportunity of publishing.

Let us look first at the problem of the letters appearing in the exergue of most Cappadocian coins. To avoid any misunderstanding I wish to stress that I have maintained only that these letters should not *always* be regarded as dates. When we are confronted with a continuous series of numerals, as, for instance, 28 to 33 on the coins ascribed by Simonetta to Ariarathes IV and by me to Ariarathes V, I regard the interpretation as dates as the most probable.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand it seems to me obvious that an obverse die-link between coins marked 5 and 33 demands an explanation. The logical inference would, in my opinion, be to regard one of the numerals, in this case presumably 5, as not denoting a date. In favour of my conception I may adduce the following significant die-links, the result of my examination of the drachms of Ariarathes VI Epiphanes.

In the first place an obverse die-link between Simonetta, Ariarathes VI, nos. 9a and 22<sup>2</sup> [Pl. IV. 1–2], raises an interesting question. The two coin-groups show the same letters, T and B, on the reverse. In one case B is placed in the exergue, in the other it appears in the outer right field.<sup>3</sup> In view of the die-link it will presumably be

<sup>1</sup> If '33' gives the regnal year this would, on my classification, place this enormous issue in 131 or 130 B.C., at a time when Ariarathes V was helping the Romans against the Pergamene pretender Aristonicus and needed money for his soldiers. I cannot help feeling the supposed connexion with the payment of tribute to Rome in 188 B.C. somewhat strange. Why should Ariarathes IV, who had to pay 300 talents of silver, waste his energy in producing 1,800,000 drachms instead of paying in bullion? Was it done on purpose to irritate the Romans by paying in small change?

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the citation 'Simonetta' refers to his paper and list of coins in *NC* 1961, 9–50.

<sup>3</sup> On some coins of group 22 the B has been read as Δ. However, a study of the material leaves no doubt that B was intended in all cases. See Pl. IV. 3–4. The coin in Copenhagen (*SNG* (Cop.) pt. 34, no. 139), listed by Simonetta, Ariarathes VI, no. 15,

conceded that the coins are contemporary, even if Simonetta regards the first as being struck in year 2 and the other as undated. The problem which now faces us is this: were dates sometimes placed in the field instead of the exergue, or are both coin-groups undated? The dilemma is Simonetta's, not mine.

We may now proceed with some even more interesting die-links. A common obverse die links the following variants together:

1. *Rev.* In inner l. field T, in outer r. field H, in exergue A. Not listed by Simonetta. [Pl. IV. 5.]

2. *Rev.* In outer l. field A, in outer r. field Δ, in exergue A. Simonetta, Ariarathes VI, no. 1. [Pl. IV. 6.]

3. *Rev.* In outer l. field A, in outer r. field Δ, in exergue IE or EI. Simonetta, Ariarathes VI, no. 20. [Pl. IV. 7–8.]

Another obverse die is also coupled with reverses of Simonetta, Ariarathes VI, nos. 1 and 20. [Pl. IV. 9–10.] To judge from the wear of the two obverse dies, it is certain that the coins with A in the exergue were coined before the coins with IE. Nevertheless, it seems difficult to accept the exergual letters as dates, with the implication that the two obverse dies had been kept waiting for fourteen years before being put into use again. So far the case is analogous with the '5–33' die-link already mentioned. However, a further complication for Simonetta's point of view derives from the letters in the field. Simonetta, Ariarathes VI, nos. 1 and 20 are both signed A and Δ, the letters most probably denoting moneyers or other magistrates of the mint. Now these magistrates appear only on the two issues mentioned. Consequently the adherents of the old theory concerning the dating of Cappadocian coins will have to assume not only that two obverse dies were reused after an interval of fourteen years, but that on the same occasion, after the same lapse of time, two magistrates were, so to speak, resurrected to perform their former duties.

A common obverse die connects Simonetta, Ariarathes VI, nos. 10 and 20, i.e. coins 'dated' Γ and EI respectively. [Pl. IV. 11–13.] An examination of the extant material has convinced me that the coins with Γ were struck *after* the coins with EI, as the obverse die looks decidedly more worn when coupled with the former reverses.<sup>1</sup>

as a separate variant, actually belongs to his group 22. There is no letter in the exergue, but only an incipient die-flaw.

<sup>1</sup> I know of twelve coins struck from this obverse die. Five belong to Simonetta no. 20, namely, (1) London, B.M., 4.19 gm.; (2) The Hague, inv. no. 6775, 4.12 gm.;

If this observation be accepted, it offers the final proof of my contention that the exergual letters do not always denote dates. Admittedly the point of view here elaborated introduces an annoying element of uncertainty into the neat arrangement of Cappadocian coins. In future the decision whether an exergual numeral denotes a date or not will always constitute a problem, and in this respect the classification of this coin series becomes more difficult. Only a complete *corpus* of coins based on a systematic study of the dies will enable us to re-establish the pattern of the Cappadocian coinage.

Next a few words on my attempt at a new classification of the Cappadocian coins. The *pièce de résistance* of my argumentation was the unique tetradrachm in Paris, previously ascribed to Ariarathes III (c. 230–220 B.C.), which carried the same symbol and monogram as a few tetradrachms of Antiochus IV of Syria (175–164 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> However, the evidential value of the combination of a very rare, possibly otherwise unknown, symbol (owl perched on a bunch of grapes) with a not too common monogram has been flatly denied by Simonetta.<sup>2</sup> Happily a further point can now be made. Some bronze coins from the same reign are overstruck on bronzes of Seleucus IV of Syria (187–175 B.C.).<sup>3</sup> I can only refer the reader to Simonetta's arguments for attributing the bronze coins in question to the same king as the tetradrachm,<sup>4</sup> arguments with which I find myself in complete agreement, but in this case the dispute is settled once and for all: the tetradrachm and the bronzes can belong only to the reign of Ariarathes IV (220–164 B.C.).

In this connexion it may be worth while to examine the positive arguments for the earlier attribution of another coin series to Ariarathes IV. The result is quite amusing. Th. Reinach, the founder of the scientific classification of Cappadocian coins, in 1886 attributed this particular series to Ariarathes IV on the basis of a single

(3) Oxford, Ashmolean Mus., 4·18 gm. [Pl. IV. 11]; (4) Berlin, 3·97 gm.; (5) unpublished Cappadocian hoard, 4·17 gm. They are all from the same pair of dies. Seven specimens are of Simonetta no. 10, namely, (6) Berlin, 4·04 gm.; (7) H. von Aulock coll., Istanbul, 4·17 gm. [Pl. IV. 12]; (8–9) Leningrad, 3·98 and 4·10 gm.; (10–11) unpublished Cappadocian hoard, 4·13 and 4·19 gm.; (12) London, *BMC Galatia*, &c. 35, no. 3, 4·12 gm. [Pl. IV. 13]. The seven coins were struck from five different reverses, one of which was also used with another obverse die [Pl. IV. 14].

<sup>1</sup> I now believe that these coins were struck at Soli in Cilicia. See *MN* xi, 1964, 58 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that Simonetta (below, pp. 83 f.) has produced no evidence indicating that the symbol in question was used elsewhere, nor has he demonstrated that the monogram appears frequently on other issues.

<sup>3</sup> Simonetta, Ariarathes III, no. 4. Both the coins in the A.N.S. are overstruck. A third specimen, also overstruck, has been published by D. H. Cox, *NNM* 92 (1941), 55, no. 225.

<sup>4</sup> *NC* 1961, 12.

drachm dated ΓΝ (53), which he had never seen but found described in Mionnet.<sup>1</sup> During the second century B.C. the reign of Ariarathes IV was the only one which would accommodate a coin of this date. As the coin in question has never reappeared, its existence has been rightly denied by Simonetta.<sup>2</sup> In this way the only positive evidence for Reinach's attribution has disappeared. We have no intrinsic criterion for the dating of these coins to the reign of Ariarathes IV or V. If the arguments from style and fabric, which I have put forward in my first paper, are not accepted,<sup>3</sup> the attribution must be worked out by a process of elimination, i.e. it depends upon the dating of the other coin series which are available.

This being the case, the crux of the problem remains with the coin series which Simonetta ascribes to Ariarathes V, and for which I have suggested an attribution to the first years of Ariarathes IX's reign. Here I admit that my hypothesis was thrown out as a suggestion without the necessary detailed argument. However, a discussion of this problem will hardly be profitable before the publication of a complete *corpus* of the coins has supplied a sound foundation. I hope to publish this *corpus* soon and may refer the reader to my forthcoming paper. Suffice it to say that my research, especially into the hoard evidence,<sup>4</sup> has convinced me that the attribution to Ariarathes IX can be proved beyond doubt.

Finally, it seems necessary to say a few words on the dates of Orophernes. The decisive evidence for his chronology is found in Polybius xxxii, 10, 1–2.<sup>5</sup> For the benefit of the reader I reproduce here the crucial passage of this chapter together with the English translation of the Loeb edition:

“Οτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀριαράθης παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν ‘Ρώμην ἔτι θερείας οὕσης· τότε δέ, παρειληφότων ὑπάτων τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Σέξτον ‘Ιούλιον <καὶ Λεύκιον Ἀνρήλιον>, ἐγένετο περὶ τὰς κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐντεύξεις . . .

‘King Ariarathes arrived in Rome while it was yet summer; and then

<sup>1</sup> RN 1886, 323: ‘. . . les drachmes n° 9 qui, à cause de leurs dates les plus élevées, ne peuvent appartenir qu’à Ariarathes IV, dont le règne est le plus long de la dynastie’. Cf. *ibid.* 336, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> NC 1961, 13.

<sup>3</sup> NC 1962, 408. Curiously enough Reinach, RN 1886, 341, pointed to the similarity between the coins ascribed by him to Ariarathes IV (c. 220–163 B.C.) and the issues of Demetrius I of Syria (161–150 B.C.).

<sup>4</sup> Coins of this type have been found in Italy (Abruzzi hoard) together with coins of Mithradates VI of Pontus, the father of Ariarathes IX. See Margaret Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (1961), 504–6, and NC 1962, 312 f. Cf. also H. Bloesch, *Antike Kleinkunst in Winterthur* (1964), 60, no. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Polybius is here cited from the edition of Büttner-Wobst; Simonetta apparently uses another edition with a different numbering of the fragments.

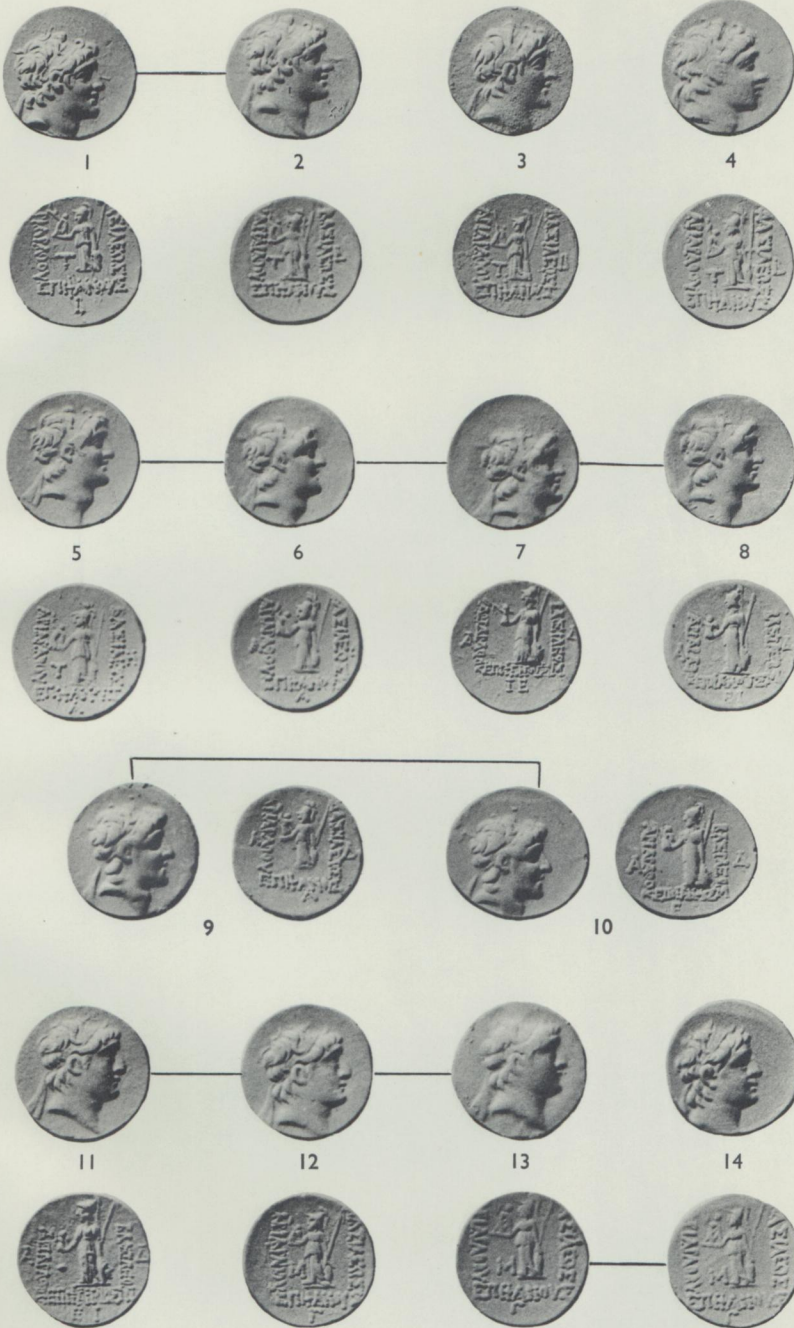
after the consuls Sextus Julius Caesar and Lucius Aurelius Orestes had entered on office, he occupied himself with private interviews . . . .’

In the text of Polybius the name of the second Roman consul has been supplied by the editor, but this is immaterial for our purpose. The fact is that the Roman consul mentioned by Polybius, Sextus Julius Caesar, held office in 157 B.C. Thus there is no room for doubt: Ariarathes IV arrived in Rome during the summer of 158 B.C. and was still there at the beginning of 157 B.C. His return to Cappadocia presumably took place during the same year.<sup>1</sup> Simonetta’s attempt to construct a different dating from another passage in Polybius (xxxii, 12) is a complete mistake. The text is cited on p. 91. Here I append the translation, again taken from the Loeb edition: ‘The first example given by Attalus of his principles and policy after he succeeded his brother Eumenes was to restore Ariarathes to his kingdom’. To conclude from this passage that Attalus II restored Ariarathes *during the very first year* of his reign (159 B.C.) is, of course, inadmissible. The words of Polybius imply only that the restoration of Ariarathes took place during the first period of Attalus’ reign, as in fact it did. The evidence is clear and indisputable. There is no conflict between the two passages of Polybius. The first (xxxii, 10) gives a precise date for Ariarathes’ sojourn in Rome, while the second (xxxii, 12) in a vague and general way dates his return to Cappadocia to the first years of Attalus II’s reign.

#### KEY TO PLATE (Drachms of Ariarathes VI)

1. London, B.M. 4·22 gm.
2. Berlin. 4·04 gm.
3. London, B.M. 4·09 gm.
4. H. von Aulock coll., Istanbul. 4·17 gm.
5. Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 4·14 gm.
6. Winterthur. 4·01 gm.
7. London, B.M. 4·10 gm.
8. London, *BMC Galatia*, &c. 35, no. 7. 4·10 gm.
9. London, *BMC Galatia*, &c. 35, no. 1, pl. vi, 6. 4·18 gm.
10. Winterthur. 4·15 gm.
11. Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 4·18 gm.
12. H. von Aulock coll., Istanbul. 4·17 gm.
13. London, *BMC Galatia*, &c. 35, no. 3. 4·12 gm.
14. Winterthur. 4·10 gm.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia* iii (1903), 250, note 5.



MØRKHOLM : CAPPADOCIAN DIE-LINKS (ARIARATHES VI)