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THE COINAGES OF ARIARATHES VI AND ARIARATHES VII OF CAPPADOCIA

In a paper published a few years ago I have tried to distribute the coin issues of Ariarathes VIII and the early emissions of Ariarathes IX among three different mints in Cappadocia¹. In this paper it is my aim to demonstrate that a similar system was operating in the preceding reigns of Ariarathes VI and Ariarathes VII. All the coins mentioned are silver drachms unless otherwise stated. The die axis of all emissions are upright (↑ ○ °) with very few and insignificant exceptions².

Mint A

Nysa and Ariarathes VI

Obv. Jugate busts r. of Nysa in the foreground, wearing stephane and veil, and of Ariarathes VI wearing a Cappadocian tiara adorned with a star.

Rev. Athena seated l. on throne, resting her l. arm against her shield, holding in l. hand spear, on extended r. hand Nike, who crowns the inscription on l.; ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΝΥΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ.

1 (Sim. 1) 1 specimen, 1 obv. die, 1 rev. die. Plate 40, 1.

Ariarathes VI

Obv. Diademed head of king r.

Rev. Athena standing l., holding in l. hand shield and spear, on extended r. hand Nike, who crowns the inscription on l.; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

1 (Sim. 26) Inner l. field T; outer r. field H; exergue ΔΙ.

8 specimens, 2 obv. dies, 4 rev. dies. Plate 40, 2.

2 (Sim. 28) Inner l. field T; outer r. field H; exergue ΕΙ.

2 specimens, 2 obv. dies, 2 rev. dies. One obverse die link with no. 1. Plate 40, 3.

¹ Mørkholm, A Further Comment on the Coinages of Ariarathes VIII and Ariarathes IX, *Quaderni ticinesi* 1975, pp. 109–138.

² In the list of coins, Sim. refers to the arrangement of B. Simonetta, *The Coins of the Cappadocian Kings* (Typos II), Fribourg 1977. For some changes in Simonetta's classification see Mørkholm, *The Classification of Cappadocian Coins*, NC 1969, pp. 21–31, especially the synopsis pp. 30–31, and the review-article in NC 1979 (in the press).







- 3 (Sim. –) Inner l. field T; outer r. field H; exergue A.
2 specimens, 1 obv. die, 1 rev. die. Plate 40, 4.
- 4 (Sim. –) In exergue A.
2 specimens, 1 obv. die, 1 rev. die. Obv. die same as no. 3. Plate 40, 5.
- 5 (Sim. 6) Outer l. field A; outer r. field Δ; exergue A.
9 specimens, 2 obv. dies, 2 rev. dies. One obverse die link with nos. 3–4. Plate 40, 6 and 8.
- 6 (Sim. 27) Outer l. field A; outer r. field Δ; exergue EI or IE.
38 specimens, 8 obv. dies, 21 rev. dies. One obverse die link with nos. 3–5, another with no. 5. Plate 40, 7 and 9–13.
- 7 (Sim. 14) Inner l. field M; exergue Γ.
14 specimens, 5 obv. dies, 8 rev. dies. One obverse die link with no. 6. Plate 40, 14–16.
- 8 (Sim. 8) Inner l. field M; exergue A.
2 specimens, 1 obv. die, 2 rev. dies. Plate 40, 17.
- 9a (Sim. 12a) Inner l. field T; exergue B.
3 specimens, 1 obv. die, 2 rev. dies. Plate 40, 19.
- 9b (Sim. 29) Inner l. field T; outer r. field B.
34 specimens, 8 obv. dies, 16 rev. dies. One obverse die link with no. 8 another with no. 9a. Plate 40, 18 and 20–24.

Total: 114 specimens struck from 23 obverse dies and 60 reverse dies.

Ariarathes VII

Obv. Diademed head of king r.

Rev. Athena standing l., holding in l. hand shield and spear, on extended r. hand Nike, who offers her a wreath; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ | ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ.

- 1 (Sim. 15) Inner l. field  or .
- 17 specimens, 3 obverse dies, 4 reverse dies. Plate 41, 1, 3 and 5.
- 2 (Sim. 1) Inner l. field  or ; exergue A.
23 specimens, 8 obverse dies, 14 reverse dies. Plate 41, 6–8, and 10–13.
- 3 (Sim. 2) Inner l. field  or ; exergue B.
69 specimens, 12 obverse dies, 36 reverse dies. Two obverse die links with no. 1, one obverse die link with no. 2. Plate 41, 2, 4, 9 and 14–18.

Total: 109 specimens struck from 20 obverse dies and 54 reverse dies.

As I have argued elsewhere, the letters in the exergue of the drachms of Ariarathes VI and VII cannot possibly stand for the regnal years of the two kings. The final proof of this assertion is provided by the obverse die link between issues nos. 6 and 7

of Ariarathes VI. The condition of the common obverse die shows clearly that the coins with E I were struck *before* the ones with Γ (see Plate 40, 13–15), making it impossible to maintain that issue no. 6 belongs in the 15th year and issue no. 7 in the 3rd year of the reign³.

We are free, then, to arrange these issues according to the criteria generally used when dealing with undated coinages. On the basis of die links, stylistic affinities and the occurrence of the same moneyer's initials or monograms the issues listed above as Ariarathes VI, nos. 1–9b seem to me to constitute a separate entity, the production of one and the same mint. The issue of Nysa and Ariarathes VI has been ascribed to the same mint, but the attribution of this unique specimen is rather hypothetical, based as it is on a general stylistic similarity. For the following issues of Ariarathes VI their common origin is more obvious. Issues nos. 1 and 2 are connected by a common obverse die (Plate 40, 2–3), issue no. 3 shows the same initials as issues nos. 1–2, T and H, and they are placed in exactly the same positions. Issue no. 3 is again die-linked to issues nos. 4–6 (Plate 40, 4–7). Issues nos. 5 and 6 are linked together by a further obverse die (Plate 40, 8–9), and issue no. 6 is linked to issue no. 7 by the important die link already mentioned (Plate 40, 13–15). Issues nos. 8, 9a and 9b are linked by common obverse dies (Plate 40, 17–20), and their relation to the preceding issues is established by the close resemblance between the portraits of Plate 40, 4–7 and Plate 40, 19–20.

When we turn to the issues of Ariarathes VII here attributed to the same mint, I have to admit that there is no close and obvious relationship between the issues of the two kings. The three issues of Ariarathes VII form a compact sequence, united by die links as indicated on Plate 41 and by the constant use of the same monogram in the inner left field. The monogram and the words of the inscription are done with great care on issue no. 1, while they tend to become irregular and scrawling on issues nos. 2–3, which are probably later. The wear of common obverse dies also indicates that issue no. 3 is later than issues nos. 1–2. The lack of obvious points of contact between the issues of Ariarathes VI and VII may be explained by a break in the production between the two reigns, an assumption which may find some corroboration from a closer inspection of the reverse type. While the small Nike on the hand of Athena crowns the inscription on all the coins of Ariarathes VI, she turns around and offers her wreath to Athena on the reverses of Ariarathes VII. At other Cappadocian mints this change took place during the last years of Ariarathes VI (see below pp. 151 and 155), indicating that during this period Mint A was perhaps not in operation.

However this may be, the connection between the last issues of Ariarathes VII and the first issue of the succeeding king, Ariarathes IX, is better documented. Compare the portraits of Ariarathes VII, Plate 41, 17–18, with those of Ariarathes IX, Plate 41, 19–20. The line of the profile is extremely similar, and the rendering of nose and

³ See Mørkholm, *Some Cappadocian Die-links*, NC 1964, pp. 21–25.

mouth so close to each other on all four coins that one might suspect the work of the same die cutter. In this way our issues are connected with a series of coins of Ariarathes IX which I have earlier ascribed tentatively to the capital of Cappadocia, Eusebeia-Mazaca, the later Caesarea ⁴.

A frequency table of the drachm weights available to me presents some interesting features:

	Ariarathes VI	Ariarathes VII issues 1-2	issue 3	Ariarathes IX
above 4.30	—	—	2	1
4.29-4.20	11	4	2	4
4.19-4.10	48	5	12	27
4.09-4.00	32	5	22	33
3.99-3.90	13	10	16	17
3.89-3.80	6	5	7	5
below 3.80	4	8	5	8
	114	37	66	95

The theoretical weight of an Attic drachm is c. 4.30 g. During the reign of Ariarathes VI Mint A kept a satisfactory weight with the peak of the frequency table in the interval 4.19 to 4.10 g. The first two issues of Ariarathes VII were issued at a reduced weight with the peak down at 3.99 to 3.90 g. A somewhat higher weight standard was re-established with the third issue of Ariarathes VI (peak at 4.09-4.00 g) and this improvement continued under Ariarathes IX. The peak is still 4.09-4.00 g, but a larger percentage of the coins now reaches 4.19-4.10 g, the original standard under Ariarathes VI.

Apparently the fluctuations of the weights corresponded to some extent to similar fluctuations in the silver content of the coins. I have been able to submit a number of specimens to a chemical analysis ⁵. The silver and gold content, expressed in per thousands, was as follows:

Ariarathes VI, 5: 954 Ag + 3 Au.
Ariarathes VI, 6: 950 Ag + 3 Au.
Ariarathes VI, 9b: 947 Ag + 3 Au; 949 Ag + 2 Au.

Ariarathes VII, 2: 924 Ag + 3 Au; 925 Ag + 3 Au.
Ariarathes VII, 3: 929 Ag + 3 Au; 938 Ag + 3 Au; 939 Ag + 3 Au.

⁴ Mørkholm, *The Coinages of Ariarathes VIII and Ariarathes IX of Cappadocia*, *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson*, Oxford, 1967, pp. 241-248, and 257; *QT* 1975, pp. 109-112 and 127.

⁵ My best thanks are due to Mr. S. Oxholt-Hove, former controller at the Danish State Control with Precious Metals, who very kindly undertook to make the analyses. Ancient silver always contains a few per thousands of gold.

Ariarathes IX, 3: 909 Ag + 2 Au; 920 Ag + 4 Au.
 Ariarathes IX, 6: 938 Ag + 5 Au.
 Ariarathes IX, 9: 950 Ag + 2 Au; 952 Ag + 3 Au.

Although the material is hardly comprehensive enough for statistic treatment it points towards some interesting perspectives. Within the issues, the combined content of silver and gold varies within rather narrow limits, at most 13 per thousands (Ariarathes IX, 3). On the other hand, the analyses seem to indicate a development from a relatively high content under Ariarathes VI (950–957 ‰) to a reduction under Ariarathes VII (927–928 ‰). Towards the end of this reign the content of silver and gold is increased to 932–942 ‰. Under Ariarathes IX it drops again to a low of 911–924 ‰ in order to return gradually to the first high level of between 950 and 960 ‰. As already mentioned, the number of coins analysed is too small to warrant any definitive conclusions, but it is worthy of notice that for the first issues of Ariarathes VII the weight reduction is apparently accompanied by a reduction of silver content. On the other hand, the second reduction of silver content early in the reign of Ariarathes IX is veiled by the retention of the same weight standard. It is to be hoped that future non-destructive analyses will help us to supplement the few data already available.


While the fluctuations of up to 13 per thousands within the groups may be due to technical difficulties in maintaining the exact standard of purity⁶, the larger variations among the groups must be caused by a deliberate policy at the mint. Even the best of the coins were produced with an artificial admixture of base metal, presumably copper. In this respect, Mint A seems to have functioned differently from the other Cappadocian mints, a further argument for regarding it as a separate entity (see below pp. 152 and 156–157).


Mint B

Ariarathes VI

Obv. Diademed head of king r.

Rev. Athena standing l., holding in l. hand shield and spear, on extended r. hand Nike, who crowns the inscription on l.; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

1 (Sim. —) Inner l. field ; inner r. field A; exergue A.
 3 specimens, 1 obverse die, 3 reverse dies. Plate 42, 1.

2 a (Sim. 15) Inner l. field ; outer r. field Λ; exergue Λ or Δ.
 11 specimens, 3 obverse dies, 7 reverse dies. Plate 42, 2–4.

⁶ A series of analyses of modern silver bars at the Danish State Control with Precious Metals shows differences up to 23 per thousands within the same bar. The lower the silver content, the larger the differences seem to be. For modern bars with a silver content of c. 900–930 per thousands the differences within the same bars vary between 0.4 and 7.4 per thousands. See Beretning fra Statens kontrol med ædle metaller 1965–1966, pp. 38–40.

- 2 b (Sim. 16) Inner l. field Ψ ; outer r. field Λ ; exergue Λ .
5 specimens, 2 obverse dies, 1 reverse die. One obverse die link with no. 2 a. Plate 42, 5–6.
- 3 a (Sim. 30) Inner l. field E; inner r. field H.
4 specimens, 1 obverse die, 2 reverse dies. Plate 42, 7.
- 3 b (Sim. –) Inner l. field E; outer r. field H.
2 specimens, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die. Obverse die also used for issue no. 3 a. Plate 42, 8.
- 4 (Sim. 18) Inner l. field H; exergue Σ .
2 specimens, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die. Plate 42, 9.
- Same types as preceding, but *Rev.* Nike is turned r. and offers her wreath of Athena.
- 5 (Sim. 19) Inner l. field O; outer r. field Λ ; exergue Σ .
1 specimen, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die. Same obverse die as issue no. 4. Plate 42, 10.
- 6 a (Sim. 17) Inner l. field Ψ ; outer r. field Λ ; exergue Σ .
5 specimens, 2 obverse dies, 1 reverse die. The reverse die from issue no. 5 is used, but re-cut, M having been added below O in the inner left field. Plate 42, 11–12.
- 6 b (Sim. –) Inner l. field Ψ ; inner r. field Λ ; exergue Σ
4 specimens, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die. Plate 42, 13.

Total: 37 specimens struck from 10 obverse dies and 17 reverse dies.

Ariarathes VII

Obv. Diademed head of king r., within fillet border.

Rev. Athena standing l., holding in l. hand shield and spear, on extended r. hand Nike turned r. with wreath; on l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ, on r. ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ; all surrounded by laurel wreath. Tetradrachm.

- 1 (Sim. –) Outer l. field \Uparrow above Λ ; inner l. field O; inner r. field Λ .
1 specimen, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die. Plate 42, 14.

Obv. Diademed head of king r.

Rev. Athena standing l., holding in l. hand shield and spear, on extended r. hand Nike who offers her a wreath; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ | ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ.

- 2 (Sim. –) Inner l. field Ψ ; inner r. field Λ .
2 specimens, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die. Plate 42, 15.
- 3 (Sim. 3) Inner l. field Ψ ; inner r. field Λ ; exergue Z.
9 specimens, 6 obverse dies, 8 reverse dies. Plate 42, 16–18.

- 4 (Sim. 4) Inner l. field \mathfrak{M} ; inner r. field Λ ; exergue H.
16 specimens, 5 obverse dies, 11 reverse dies. Plate 43, 1-3.
- 5 (Sim. 5) Inner l. field \mathfrak{M} ; inner r. field Λ ; exergue Θ .
36 specimens, 12 obverse dies, 25 reverse dies. Plate 43, 13-17.

Nos. 2-5: Total: 63 specimens struck from 24 obverse dies and 45 reverse dies.

After issue no. 1 (Plate 42, 1), the portrait of which is of a very distinctive style, the following issues of Ariarathes VI are interconnected by the use of the same basic type of royal portrait, characterized by the big, heavy face with large features and a dominant and protruding jaw and chin (Plate 42, 2-10). The monograms on issue no. 2 (Plate 42, 2-6) may be slightly simplified versions of the monograms on the first issue. The connection between issues nos. 2, 3 and 4 are solely stylistic, but from issues nos. 4 to 6 we have a number of die links and identical monograms to establish the sequence. It is especially interesting to note that a single reverse die, first used for issue no. 5, was used again for issue no. 6a (Plate 42, 10-12) after a re-cutting where a further initial had been added. This particular reverse die is also the first to show Nike turned right and crowning Athena.

The first issue of Ariarathes VII consists of a remarkable and unique tetradrachm which appeared recently in a Zurich auction sale. I have ascribed it to Mint B on account of the style of the portrait (compare Plate 42, 14 with 15-16 and note the similar rendering of the hair at the nape of the neck) and because two of the three moneyer's marks on the reverse (O and Λ) were used on the drachms of this mint. The tetradrachm has an unmistakable Seleucid appearance. The fillet border on the obverse does not occur on the drachms, and the whole lay-out of the reverse, the placing of the inscription and the moneyer's marks, and the encircling of the type with a laurel wreath are also typical Seleucid. The reverse is actually copied very closely from issues of Antiochus VII (138-129 B.C.), Antiochus VIII (121-96 B.C.) and Antiochus IX (115-95 B.C.)⁷. The strong Seleucid flavour and the high quality of the portrait may indicate that the dies for this tetradrachm were cut by a Seleucid die cutter, who either travelled to Cappadocia and worked on the spot or sent his pair of dies from Syria.

The drachms of Mint B under Ariarathes VII consist of four issues, one without letter in the exergue and three with the letters Z, H and Θ which are generally taken to be the numerals «7», «8» and «9». There are no die links between the issues, but their relationship is clear from the use of the same monograms and also from the development of the style of the portrait head (see Plate 42, 15-18 and Plate 43, 1-3, 13-17).

The use of the letter *stigma* = 6 under Ariarathes VI (issues nos. 4-6) is interesting. The sequence is continued under Ariarathes VII with the numbers 7 to 9, as

⁷ Cf. E. T. Newell, The Seleucid Mint of Antioch, AJN 51, 1917 nos. 273 ff., pl. IX-X (Antiochus VII); nos. 362-364, pl. XI (Antiochus VIII); nos. 381-386 and 396-404, pl. XI-XII (Antiochus IX).

already mentioned. It seems obvious to me that these numbers cannot refer to the years of the two reigns, because we cannot assume that the same board of magistrates, after having issued coins in year 6 of Ariarathes VI, was resurrected and ordered to function again in year 7 of Ariarathes VII, approximately 10–15 years later. The sequence of numbers must denote different issues, but not on an annual basis. The three numbers 7 to 9 may well have covered practically the whole reign of Ariarathes VII.

The continuation of Mint B under Ariarathes VIII and Ariarathes IX is illustrated by the coins Plate 43, 18–20. There is a certain stylistic similarity, especially regarding the rendering of the curly hair, and on the reverse the mark Λ in the inner right field is carried over from one reign to the next ⁸.

A frequency table of the drachms from Mint B shows the following distribution:

	Ariarathes VI	Ariarathes VII	Ariarathes VIII and IX
above 4.30	—	1	—
4.29–4.20	4	4	1
4.19–4.10	15	31	29
4.09–4.00	6	15	47
3.99–3.90	5	8	29
3.89–3.80	4	2	12
below 3.80	3	1	4
	37	62	122

While the drachms of Ariarathes VI and VII maintain the peaks of their frequency tables in the interval 4.19 to 4.10 g, the succeeding issues of Ariarathes VIII and IX have their maximum slightly lower, in the 4.09–4.00 interval. In comparison with the similar tables for Mint A (above p. 147), the peaks are more pronounced at Mint B. The regularity of the weights is also shown by the very few coins weighing below 3.80 g. There is no trace of the weight fluctuation which we found at Mint A, only a gentle drop in the weight standard at the beginning of Ariarathes VIII's reign.

I have no metal analyses for Ariarathes VI at Mint B, but for the next reigns the following results are available:

Ariarathes VII, 3: 976 Ag + 3 Au
Ariarathes VII, 4: 968 Ag + 3 Au
Ariarathes VII, 5: 961 Ag + 3 Au
Ariarathes VIII, 1: 960 Ag + 2 Au
Ariarathes IX, 3: 967 Ag + 3 Au
Ariarathes IX, 4: 963 Ag + 2 Au
Ariarathes VIII, 5: 950 Ag + 3 Au
Ariarathes VIII, 6: 969 Ag + 3 Au
Ariarathes IX, 7: 958 Ag + 3 Au; 959 Ag + 3 Au

⁸ The series has been dealt with in QT 1975, pp. 120 ff.

Compared with Mint A the variations in metal content are smaller and the purity is generally higher. At Mint A the analyses ranged between 911 and 957 per thousands of silver and gold combined, for Mint B the corresponding figures are 953 to 979 per thousands. The material is too small to make any comments upon the variations between different issues.

Of one particular issue, Ariarathes VII, no. 4, our material contains a number of coins which may be regarded as ancient imitations of unofficial manufacture. The distinction between imitations and ordinary coins is sometimes quite difficult to make, especially at mints on the fringe of the Greek world, where the level of artistic competence may vary considerably. However, most scholars will agree that the most important criteria for distinguishing barbarous imitations from originals are ⁹:

1. The style and artistic level of the representation, in our case especially of the portrait on the obverse.
2. The spelling of the inscriptions and the letter forms. Here it is important to discern between the carelessness of a hasty die cutter and the ignorance of the copyist.
3. Irregular weights and/or debased metal.

Imitations of Mint B, Ariarathes VII, no. 4

1. Copenhagen	3.49 g	Plate 43, 4	Rev. ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΙΟΣ
2. Paris	3.87 g	Plate 43, 5	Rev. ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡ · Σ
3. Paris	3.26 g	Plate 43, 6	
4. Private coll.		Plate 43, 7	Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ... ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΙΣ
5. Berlin	3.92 g	Plate 43, 8	Rev. ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΙΣ
6. Berlin	3.92 g	Same dies as no. 5	
7. London	3.68 g	Plate 43, 9	Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ... ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΙΣ
		<i>BMC Galatia etc.</i> Ariarathes VII, no. 1.	
8. Paris	3.70 g	Plate 43, 10	Rev. in exergue I instead of H. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΣ... ΦΙΛΟΜΗΙΟΣ
9. Leningrad	3.89 g	Plate 43, 11	Rev. ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΙΣ
10.-14. Berlin	3.70 and 3.96 g; The Hague 2.70 g; Copenhagen 3.56 g, base metal; Winterthur 3.25 g. Same obverse die as no. 9. Rev. inscriptions show various aberrations.		

Same obverse die as nos. 9-14, but Rev. inner l. field Π; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ | ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ.

⁹ Cf. von Schrötter, Wörterbuch der Münzkunde s. v. «Barbarische Nachahmungen». Obviously I cannot accept the point of view of B. Simonetta, Osservazioni su talune emissioni barbariche dei re di Cappadocia, RIN 1974, pp. 95-114, who regards the most blatantly barbarous coins as official products of a regular mint. His distinction between «coins pertaining to a definite king but struck with coarse or barbarous dies» and the real «barbarous imitations» is artificial, and its application by him reduces it *ad absurdum*.

15. Winterthur 3.75 g *Rev.* in exergue K. Plate 43, 12
 16. ANS, New York 4.26 g

Coins differing from the ordinary issues on at least two of the three points mentioned above have been classified as unofficial imitations struck outside the royal mint (Plate 43, 4–13). Concerning the first point, the style of the royal head, they all show somewhat peculiar representations with the exception of one specimen, Plate 43, 4, which is of excellent style. The lettering is also quite revealing. All the coins show a weak and irregular inscription, often with letters completely missing. This has happened most frequently to the title ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ, where especially the last one or two *omicrons* tend to disappear while the *rho* is often rendered as an *iota*. We thus get forms as ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΙΣ, ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΙΣ and similar. The list of imitations given above shows clearly the third point, the irregularity of the weights. Of 15 individual weights 9 are below 3.80 g. A specimen like no. 13 above is produced of metal of such base quality that the copper admixture is recognizable to the naked eye.



The obverse die from which nos. 9–14 were struck (Plate 43, 11) is especially interesting because it was also used for coins nos. 15–16 with reverses inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ. This title was adopted by Ariarathes V (c. 163–130 B.C.) and again by Ariarathes IX (c. 99–88 B.C.). A die link between Ariarathes V and VII is hardly feasible, while for Ariarathes VII and IX it might be possible. But here the fact that the coins of Ariarathes VII belong to a series which has been recognized as imitative disposes of further speculations. The coins of Ariarathes VII may have been imitated several years after his reign, so that the issues in the names of two different kings might as well be contemporary.

Mint C




Ariarathes VI



Obv. Diademed head of king r.


Rev. Athena standing l., holding in l. hand shield and spear, on extended r. hand, Nike, who crowns the inscription on l.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

- 1 (Sim. 24) Outer l. field ; exergue I B.
3 specimens, 2 obverse dies, 3 reverse dies. Plate 44, 1–2.
- 2 (Sim. 25) Outer l. field ; exergue I Γ.
14 specimens, 2 obverse dies, 12 reverse dies. Plate 44, 3–4.



Similar to nos. 1–2, but *Rev.* Athena standing l., holding in l. hand shield and palm branch, crowning the inscription with a wreath.

- 3 (Sim. 22) Inner l. field  or ; outer r. field ; exergue I.
11 specimens, 3 obverse dies, 9 reverse dies. Plate 44, 5–7.


4 a (Sim. —) Inner l. field  ; outer r. field  ; exergue IA.
3 specimens, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die. Obverse die already used in issue no. 3. Plate 44, 8.



4 b (Sim. 23) Outer r. field  , exergue Λ I.
1 specimen, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die.

Similar to nos. 1–2.

5 (Sim. —) Inner l. field  ; outer r. field  ; exergue Γ I.
1 specimen, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die. Plate 44, 9.

Similar to nos. 1–2, but Rev. Nike is turned r. and offers her wreath to Athena.

6 a (Sim. 7 b) Inner l. field  ; exergue A.
5 specimens, 1 obverse die, 4 reverse dies. Plate 44, 10.



6 b (Sim. 7 a) Outer l. field Π ; inner l. field  ; exergue Λ or  .
4 specimens, 1 obverse die, 4 reverse dies. Obverse die also used for 6 a. Plate 44, 11.



Total: 42 specimens struck from 9 obverse dies and 32 reverse dies.

Ariarathes VII

Obv. Diademed head of king r.

Rev. Athena standing l., holding in l. hand shield and spear, on extended r. hand Nike, who offers her a wreath; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ | ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ.

1 a (Sim. —) Inner l. field  ; inner r. field  ; exergue I.
1 specimen, 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die.

1 b (Sim. 7) Inner l. field  ; inner r. field  ; exergue I.
18 specimens, 6 obverse dies, 14 reverse dies. Plate 44, 12–14.



2 (Sim. 8) Inner l. field M; inner r. field H; exergue IA.
2 specimens, 1 obverse die, 2 reverse dies. Plate 44, 15.



3 (Sim. 11) Inner l. field M; inner r. field K; exergue IA.
13 specimens, 5 obverse dies, 8 reverse dies. One obverse die link with no. 2. Plate 44, 16–17.

4 (Sim. 13) Inner l. field M; inner r. field K; exergue IB.
18 specimens, 5 obverse dies, 11 reverse dies. Plate 44, 18–19.

Total: 52 specimens struck from 17 obverse dies and 36 reverse dies.

¹⁰ Cf. QT 1975, pp. 112–119.

The issues of Mint C for Ariarathes VI are connected by the monogram  or  which appears on all emissions except no. 5 (Plate 44, 9). This is connected with the preceding issues 3 and 4 by a similar, although not identical monogram in the outer right field of the reverse, while the portrait on the obverse shows a stylistic connection with the portrait of issue no. 6 (Plate 44, 10–11). Two different portrait styles are easily recognizable, one for issues nos. 1–4, the other for issues nos. 5–6.

The transition to the coinage of Ariarathes VII is made clear by the monogram  or  which appears on his first issue and must represent the same magistrate or moneyer who was active during the reign of Ariarathes VI. The following issues of Ariarathes VII, nos. 2 to 4, are stylistically so close to no. 1 that they must be ascribed to the same mint. Compare especially Plate 44, 14 and 15. The two magistrates signing M and K (issues nos. 3 and 4) continued under Ariarathes VIII and IX. To illustrate the connection a specimen of Ariarathes VIII appears as Plate V, 20.

The frequency table of Mint C is shown in the following diagram:

	Ariarathes VI	Ariarathes VII issue 1	issues 2–5	Ariarathes VIII and IX
above 4.30	—	—	—	—
4.29–4.20	3	1	1	1
4.19–4.10	17	3	9	21
4.09–4.00	14	5	14	11
3.99–3.90	5	8	4	4
3.89–3.80	—	—	3	1
below 3.80	1	2	2	—
	40	19	33	38

The distribution of weights in this table is very similar to the one found at Mint A. Both the drop in weights at the beginning of Ariarathes VII's reign and the subsequent recovery show a parallel development at the two mint, which can hardly be fortuitous.

The metal analysis of coins from Mint C have given the following results (per thousands of silver and gold).

Ariarathes VI, 3: 956 Ag + 3 Au.

Ariarathes VII, 1: 977 Ag + 4 Au.

Ariarathes VII, 3: 982 Ag + 3 Au.

Ariarathes VII, 4: 978 Ag + 4 Au.

Ariarathes IX, 6: 975 Ag + 2 Au.

The content of silver in the one coin of Ariarathes VI submitted to analysis is the same as the one found in the coins of Mint A from the same king. But while Mint A subsequently used a perceptibly lower standard of purity and only returned to a silver content around 950 per thousands for the third drachm emission of Ariarathes IX,





Mint C appears to have struck extremely good coins under Ariarathes VII and even later. Although the very few results at our disposal do not allow us to be too confident, they certainly point towards a minting period when the coins were issued in as high quality silver as ancient metallurgy allowed and found practical.

Mint D

While the issues of Ariarathes VI can all be distributed among the three mints already dealt with, there is a small group of drachms of Ariarathes VII which does not seem to fit into any of the sequences established so far. The group comprises the following specimens:

Obv. Diademed head of king r.

Rev. Athena standing l., holding in l. hand shield and spear, on extended r. hand Nike, who is turned r. and offers her a wreath; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ | ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ.

- 1 (Sim. 10) Inner l. field ; inner r. field ; exergue IA or AI.
a 1 – p 1 4.17 g London, BM acq. 1929. Plate 44, 21
a 1 – p 2 3.35 g Leningrad. Worn
a 2 – p 3 3.95 g Paris. Plate 44, 22
- 2 (Sim. 12) Monograms in field not visible; exergue IA.
a 3 – p 4 4.00 g Copenhagen, SNG part 34, no. 141.
- 3 (Sim. 14) Inner l. field ; inner r. field ; exergue IC
a 4 – p 5 3.61 g Berlin
a 4 – p 5 3.73 g New York, ANS. Plate 44, 23

The number of specimens is too small to make a frequency table useful, and none of the coins have been analyzed. Some of the weights seem rather low, but the excellent portrait style and the impeccable legends on the reverses make it pretty certain that we are dealing with coins from a fourth regular Cappadocian mint.

Conclusion

At this point it might prove useful to tabulate the coins dealt with above according to mints and rulers. The number of specimens and obverse dies are listed (specimens/obverse dies):

	Mint A	Mint B	Mint C	Mint D
Ariarathes VI	114/23	37/10	42/9	–
Ariarathes VII	109/20	63/24	52/17	6/4
Ariarathes VIII and/or IX	99/33	132/32	41/7	–

Another table will show us the distribution of the 29 analyses:

% Ag + Au	Ariarathes VI	Ariarathes VII	Ariarathes VIII and IX
980-989		◇ ◇ ◇	
970-979		○ ○	○ ○ ◇
960-969		○	○ ○ ○ ○
950-959	† † † † ◇		† † ○
940-949		† †	†
930-939		†	
920-929		† †	†
910-919			†

+ Mint A ○ Mint B ◇ Mint C

After we have ridden ourselves of the fallacy of regarding the exergual numbers as regnal years the tables allow us to trace the following development:

Mint A, where in my opinion Ariarathes V struck his extensive series of coins, was by far the most important mint also under Ariarathes VI. Under Ariarathes VII it participated in the coin production but shared it more equally with Mints B and C. During the first troubled years of Ariarathes IX, when he competed with Ariarathes VIII, this mint was in his hands. It was presumably here that the coin production was concentrated after the elimination of Ariarathes VIII, when Ariarathes IX introduced a quite new portrait style in imitation of that of his father, Mithradates VI of Pontus. I have already in an earlier publication suggested that this, the most productive and permanent mint in Cappadocia, should be located in the capital Eusebeia-Mazaca, later known as Caesarea, which remained the important mint in Cappadocia also under Roman rule (see note 4 above).

Mint B was opened during the reign of Ariarathes VI. Under Ariarathes VII it became the largest mint, presumably because it was felt that the capital Mazaca was unsafe during the troubles which opposed Ariarathes VII to his maternal uncle Mithradates VI of Pontus. In the struggle between Ariarathes VIII and IX it changed hands a couple of times. The tetradrachm of Ariarathes VII revealing a strong Seleucid influence was struck here (above p. 150) and this, together with the position of the mint as the second in importance during the period here under consideration, makes its location at Eusebeia-Tyana, near the border to Seleucid Cilicia, a reasonable inference ¹¹.

Mint C came into being under Ariarathes VI, similarly to Mint B and presumably due to the same circumstances. It had a considerable production of coins under Ariarathes VII, although somewhat behind Mints B and A. During the fight between Ariarathes VIII and IX it issued a smallish coinage and rapidly declined. Its location

¹¹ Cf. Essays Robinson p. 257; QT 1975, p. 129.

can only be a matter of speculation. At one point, under Ariarathes VII, there is a certain stylistic affinity between Mints B and C; compare the portraits of Plate 42, 15–16 with Plate 44, 12. The high silver content of the drachms also serves to connect Mint C with Mint B rather than Mint A, but the changes of weight standards are similar at Mints A and C, and tend to separate them from Mint B (above p. 155). The evidence is hardly conclusive, but the fact that this is the only mint where the Athena figure of the reverse changes significantly (Ariarathes VI, issues nos. 3–4) may indicate that the mint was situated at a place which took a special interest in Athena, for instance the famous sanctuary of Enyô-Mâ at Comana. This indigenous goddess of war, whose priest was the second in rank in Cappadocia, was generally identified with Greek Athena and Roman Bellona ¹².

Mint D was only operative for a few years under Ariarathes VII. The fine portraits with the delicate features come closest to the contemporary issues of Mint A, and this may be used as an argument for locating the mint at Ariaratheia, a Hellenistic foundation about sixty km east of Mazaca-Caesarea ¹³. It must – however – be understood that while the identifications of Mints A and B with Mazaca and Tyana respectively seem plausible and probable, the locations of Mints C and D at Comana and Ariaratheia cannot pretend to be more than guesswork. They are mentioned here in order to demonstrate that it is possible to find room for four different mints within Cappadocia.

If we combine the numismatic evidence with the other historical information available it becomes possible to sketch the political development in Cappadocia from the death of Ariarathes V in c. 130 B.C. until the end of Ariarathes VIII in c. 98 B.C. ¹⁴.

At the death of her husband Ariarathes V, Queen Nysa took over the kingdom and, according to Justinus, killed five of her six sons in order to preserve her own power. One was saved and became king as Ariarathes VI, when the Cappadocians had deposed Nysa and killed her. The actual rule of Nysa is confirmed by the coin p. 144, no. 1, which shows her in a predominant position together with Ariarathes VI. Apparently Ariarathes VI was born about 140. It is difficult to evaluate for how long Nysa was in power, but although we may be sceptical of Justinus' horrifying tale of multi-murder in the royal house, a duration of some years must be allowed to Nysa's rule. I do not think that we can get closer than to say that it must have

¹² On Comana see Strabo XII, 2, 3; cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* (Bibliothèque archéol. et hist. de l'Institut franç. d'archéol. d'Istanbul vol. XIII, 1963), pp. 436–438. On Enyô-Mâ and her sanctuary see L. Franck, *Sources classiques concernant la Cappadoce*, *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* XXIV, 1966, p. 95 and pp. 100–101.

¹³ On Ariaratheia see L. Robert, *Hellenica* II (1946), pp. 84–85 and *Noms indigènes* p. 497.

¹⁴ Our only continuous narrative source is Justinus XXXVII, 1, 2–5 and XXXVIII, 1–2. Among modern works, mention should be made of Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator, roi de Pont* (Paris 1890), pp. 97–100, and D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor I* (Princeton 1950), pp. 200–205.

ended between 130 (if Ariarathes V died in 132) and 125, the date suggested by Th. Reinach and accepted by most modern scholars ¹⁵.

From the reign of Ariarathes VI on, the relations with Pontus become of prime importance. After having invaded Cappadocia Mithradates V of Pontus offered his daughter Laodice to the young Cappadocian king. The marriage took place some time before 120, and two sons were born to the royal couple, Ariarathes VII and VIII. Ariarathes VI was killed by a certain Gordius, a Cappadocian nobleman, who was working for Mithradates VI of Pontus, brother-in-law of the murdered king. Now Mithradates VI, who was born in 132 or 131, established his sole rule in Pontus, after killing his mother and brother, about 114 or 112. Consequently the death of Ariarathes VI must be dated somewhat later, between 112 and 110 ¹⁶. The coinage shows that he continued to use Eusebeia-Mazaca as his main mint. At some point of the reign new mints were established at Eusebeia-Tyana (Mint B) and Comana (?) (Mint C). Towards the end of his rule he may have interrupted the production at Eusebeia-Mazaca (see above p. 146).

After the death of Ariarathes VI the actual power again went to the Dowager Queen Laodice, as the elder son was only about ten years old. In contrast to Nysa, however, Laodice apparently only assumed a regency for her son, Ariarathes VII with the epithet Philometor. Some years later Mithradates VI and Nicomedes III of Bithynia both wanted to extend their influence in Cappadocia. Laodice first asked her brother for help against the Bithynian invader, but later changed her mind and married Nicomedes. Mithradates, however, drove his sister and her new husband from Cappadocia and confirmed Ariarathes VII in his rights. Soon afterwards, when Ariarathes showed some signs of independence, refusing to receive his father's murderer Gordius back into Cappadocia, Mithradates killed him with his own hands during a personal interview. *The terminus post quem* for this deed is given by an inscription from Delos, which shows that Ariarathes VII was alive and officially on friendly terms with Mithradates in 102/101 ¹⁷.

The quantity of coins produced at the various mints indicates that the central role of Eusebeia-Mazaca was reduced. Eusebeia-Tyana became the most important mint with Comana (?) in the third place. An assistant mint may have functioned at Ariarathia (?) for a short period. The changed pattern in the coin production may have been caused by the troubles with the Bithynian and Pontic kings. Tyana, being farthest away from Pontus and close to Seleucid territory may have been thought safer for the Cappadocian administration.

¹⁵ Cf. Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator* p. 90 and 476. Of the coins attributed by B. Simonetta, *Sulla prima monetazione di Ariarathes VI di Cappadocia*, SM 25, Feb. 1975, pp. 4-7, to the first year of Ariarathes VI, which he equates with 130 B.C., figures 2-5 belong to Ariarathes IV, figures 6-7 to Ariarathes VIII.

¹⁶ Cf. Mørkholm, NC 1969, p. 28.

¹⁷ *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger (Leipzig 1903-1905), no. 353, wrongly dated to 110 B.C. For the right date cf. W. H. Gross, *Die Mithradates-Kapelle auf Delos*, *Antike und Abendland* IV, 1954, pp. 105-117.

After the murder of his nephew, Mithradates VI placed his own son, a boy of eight, on the Cappadocian throne as Ariarathes IX. Gordius was appointed guardian of the young king, who was able to set up his administration at Eusebeia-Mazaca at once (Mint A). However, a faction among the Cappadocian nobles preferred the brother of their former king to the Pontic prince. He was called back to Cappadocia from the Roman province of Asia, and installed as Ariarathes VIII. Eusebeia-Tyana became his centre of power and for a short while also Comana (?) came under his rule. Backed by the power of his father, Ariarathes IX was soon able to conquer Comana (?). He also acquired Eusebeia-Tyana, but in this region the position of Ariarathes VIII was stronger and the town changed hands twice again before Ariarathes IX emerged as the final victor in or about 98 B.C.

Plate 40 Mint A

Ariarathes VI

1. Paris, 3.83 g
2. Vienna, 4.2 g
3. Copenhagen ex IGCH 1419, 4.14 g
4. Oxford ex IGCH 1417, 4.14 g
5. In commerce ex IGCH 1419, 4.00 g
6. Winterthur ex IGCH 1419, 4.01 g
7. London, BM ex IGCH 1417, 4.10 g
8. London, BMC Ariarathes VI, no. 1, 4.18 g
9. Copenhagen ex IGCH 1419, 4.13 g
10. Copenhagen ex IGCH 1419, 4.11 g
11. London, BM ex IGCH 1417, 4.17 g
12. New York, ANS, 4.14 g
13. Oxford ex IGCH 1417, 4.18 g
14. von Aulock Coll., Istanbul, SNG 6278, 4.17 g
15. London, BMC Ariarathes VI, no. 3, 4.12 g
16. Winterthur ex IGCH 1419, 4.10 g
17. Paris, 4.14 g
18. The Hague, inv. no. 6774, 4.08 g
19. London, BM ex IGCH 1417, 4.22 g
20. Berlin, 4.04 g
21. London, BM, 4.09 g
22. von Aulock Coll., Istanbul, SNG 6277, 4.17 g
23. von Aulock Coll., Istanbul, SNG 6276, 4.25 g
24. Munich, 4.07 g

Ariarathes VII

1. Berlin, 3.54 g
2. Copenhagen ex IGCH 1419, 4.22 g
3. In commerce, IGCH 1419, 4.13 g
4. In commerce, IGCH 1419, 3.85 g
5. In commerce, IGCH 1419, 3.64 g
6. Copenhagen ex IGCH 1419, 4.17 g
7. Berlin, 3.85 g
8. In commerce, IGCH 1419, 3.97 g
9. In commerce, IGCH 1419, 4.28 g
10. Copenhagen ex IGCH 1419, 4.12 g
11. In commerce, IGCH 1419, 4.20 g
12. Paris, 3.94 g
13. Cambridge, SNG IV, vi, no. 5413, 3.96 g
14. In commerce, IGCH 1419, 4.07 g
15. Winterthur ex IGCH 1419, 3.98 g
16. Paris, 4.09 g
17. Glasgow, Hunter Coll. II, p. 526, Ar. VII, no. 3, 3.94 g
18. Paris, 3.54 g

Ariarathes IX

19. Oxford, 3.97 g. Essays Robinson, p. 245, 3, a 1 – p 3
20. Vienna, 3.9 g. Essays Robinson, p. 246, 3, a 5 – p 12

Ariarathes VI

1. Leningrad, 3.76 g
2. Paris, 3.87 g
3. London, BMC Ariarathes VI, no. 5, 3.59 g
4. London, BMC Ariarathes VI, no. 6, 3.95 g
5. Istanbul ex IGCH 1418, 4.14 g
6. London, BMC Ariarathes VI, no. 4, 4.11 g
7. Copenhagen ex IGCH 1419, 4.12 g
8. Leningrad, 3.90 g
9. von Aulock Coll., Istanbul, SNG no. 6280, 4.14 g
10. von Aulock Coll., Istanbul, SNG no. 6281, 4.20 g
11. London, BM, 4.10 g
12. Paris, 4.19 g
13. von Aulock Coll., Istanbul, SNG no. 6282, 4.07 g

Ariarathes VII

14. Bank Leu sale 20, no. 154, 16.23 g
15. London, BMC Ariarathes VII, no. 3, 4.09 g
16. Paris, 3.91 g
17. Copenhagen ex IGCH 1419, 4.17 g
18. Copenhagen ex IGCH 1419, 4.18 g

Plate 43 Mint B

Ariarathes VII

1. Private Coll., 4.07 g
2. Copenhagen ex IGCH 1419, 4.23 g
3. Paris, 3.96 g
4. Copenhagen ex IGCH 1419, 3.49 g
5. Paris, 3.87 g
6. Paris, 3.26 g
7. Private Coll.
8. Berlin, 3.92 g
9. London, BMC Ariarathes VII, no. 1, 3.68 g
10. Paris, 3.70 g
11. Leningrad, 3.89 g

Ariarathes ?

12. Winterthur, 3.75 g

Ariarathes VII

13. Bruxelles, 4.13 g
14. Glasgow, Hunter Coll. II, p. 576, Ar. VII, no. 1, 4.14 g
15. Paris, 4.06 g
16. Berlin, 4.11 g
17. Paris, 4.12 g

Ariarathes VIII

18. Private Coll., 3.99 g

Ariarathes IX

19. Winterthur, 4.04 g
20. Berlin, 3.91 g

Mint C: Ariarathes VI

1. In commerce, 4.19 g
2. von Aulock Coll. Istanbul, SNG 6283, 4.16 g
3. Copenhagen ex IGCH 1419, 4.12 g
4. London BM ex IGCH 1417, 4.20 g
5. London, BM ex IGCH 1417, 4.14 g
6. Paris, 4.08 g
7. Paris, 4.07 g
8. Oxford ex IGCH 1417, 4.14 g
9. Cambridge, SNG IV, vi, no. 5412, 4.02 g
10. Oxford, 4.09 g
11. London, BM ex IGCH 1417, 4.21 g

Mint C: Ariarathes VII

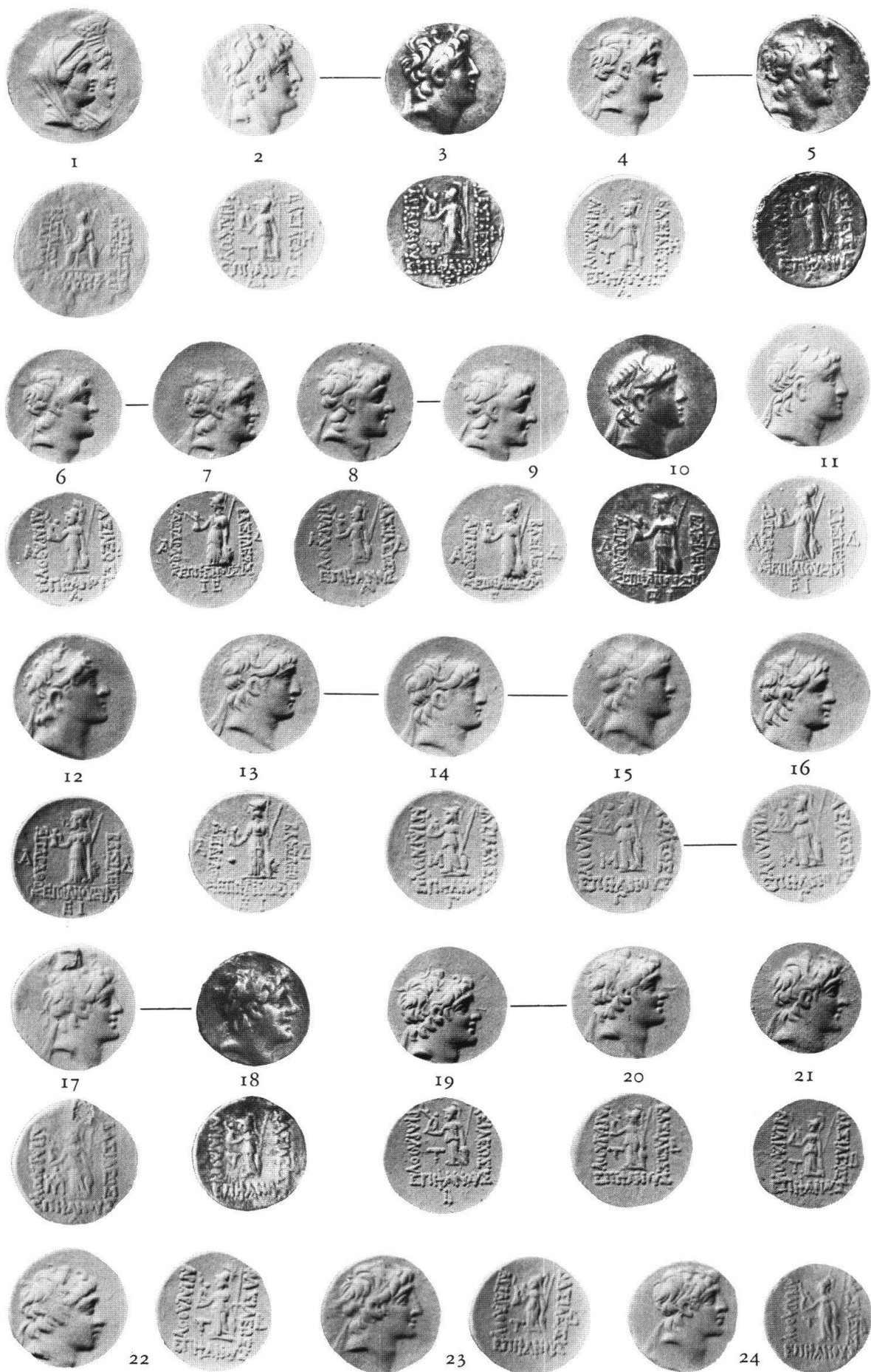
12. London, BMC Ariarathes VII, no. 4, 3.99 g
13. Winterthur ex IGCH 1419, 4.06 g
14. Paris, 3.96 g
15. London, BMC Ariarathes VII, no. 5, 3.92 g
16. Berlin, 3.93 g
17. Berlin, 4.09 g
18. Winterthur ex IGCH 1419, 4.12 g
19. London, BM ex IGCH 1417, 4.17 g

Mint C: Ariarathes VIII

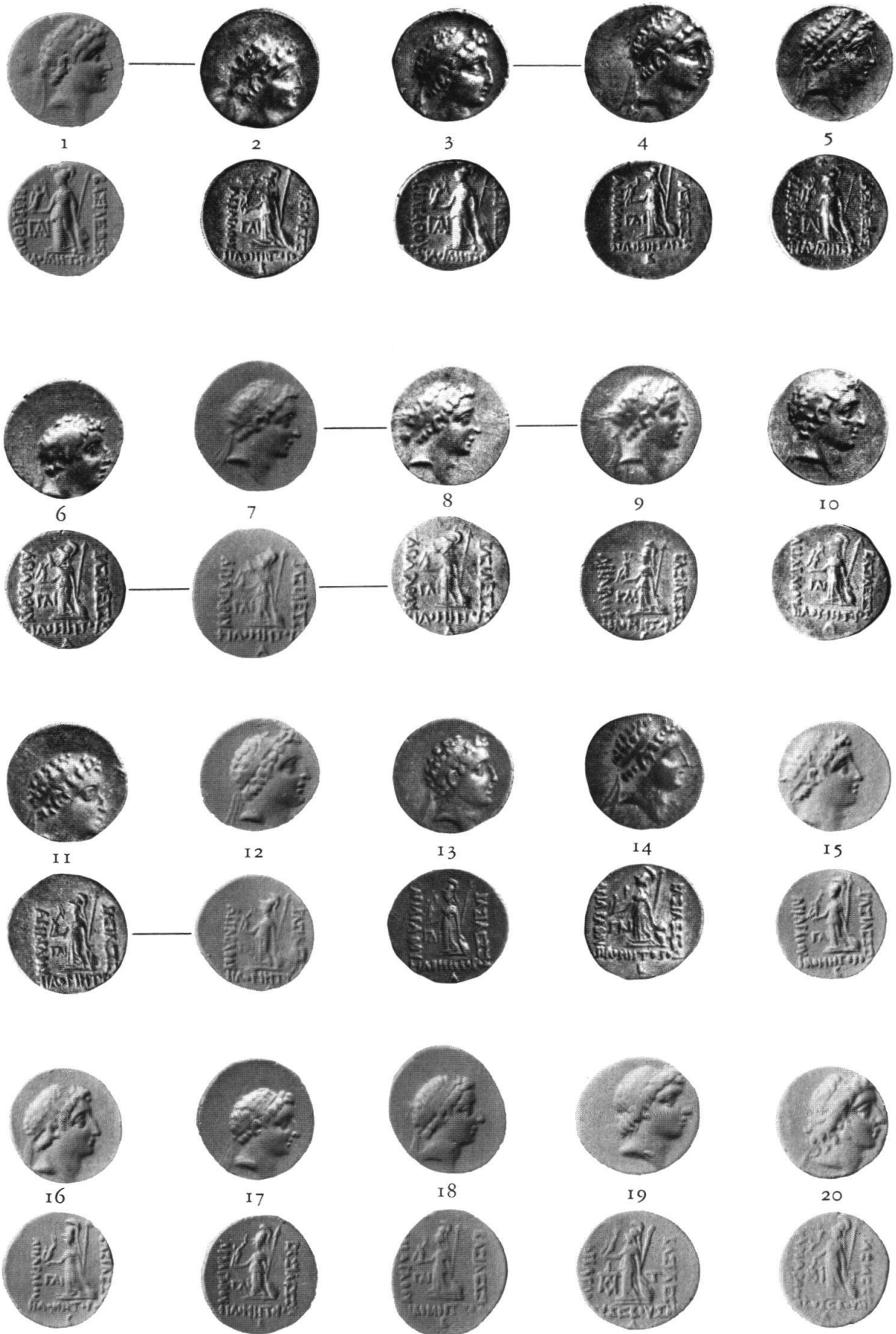
20. Paris, 4.07 g

Mint D: Ariarathes VII

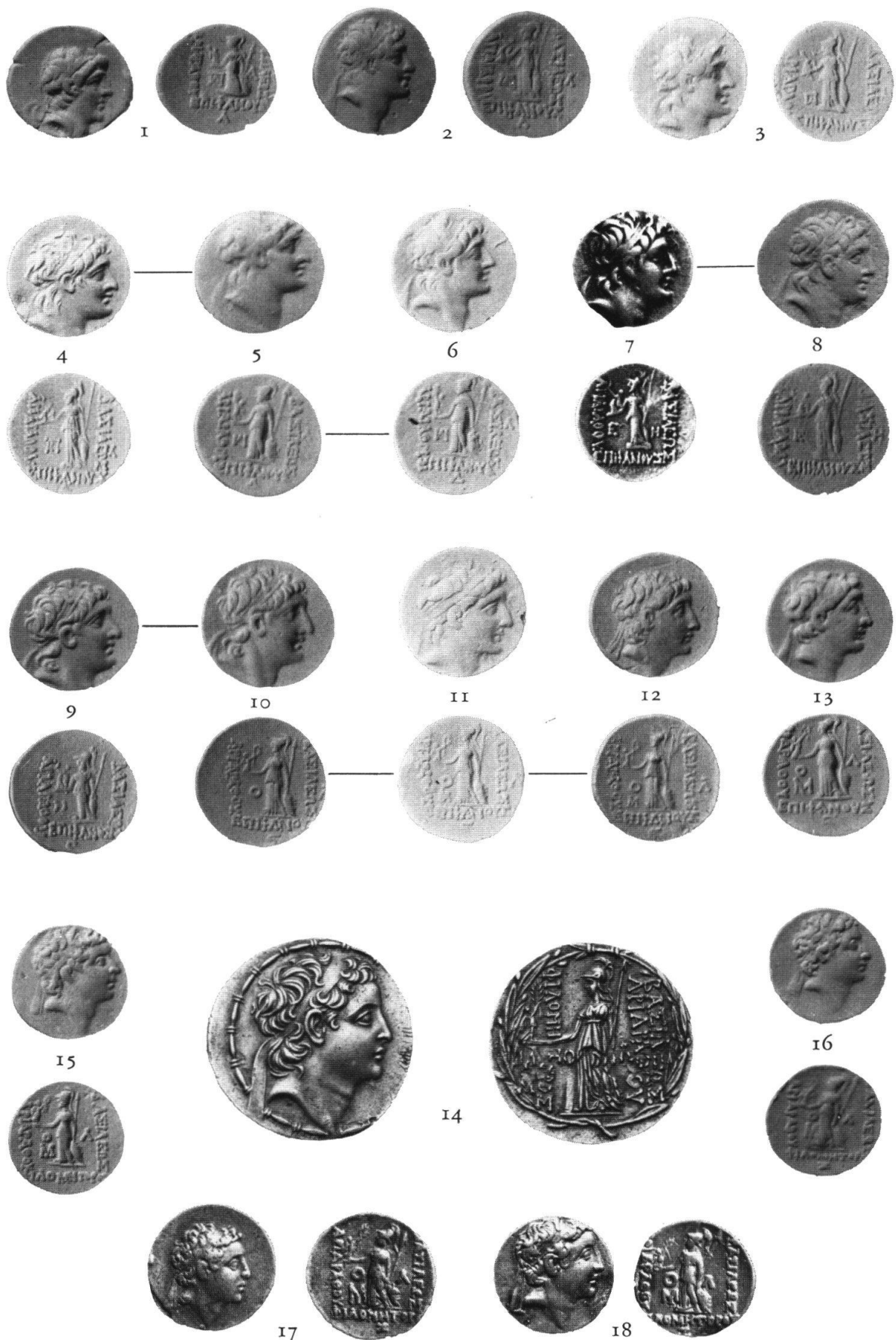
21. London, BM, 4.17 g
22. Paris, 3.95 g
23. New York, ANS, 3.73 g



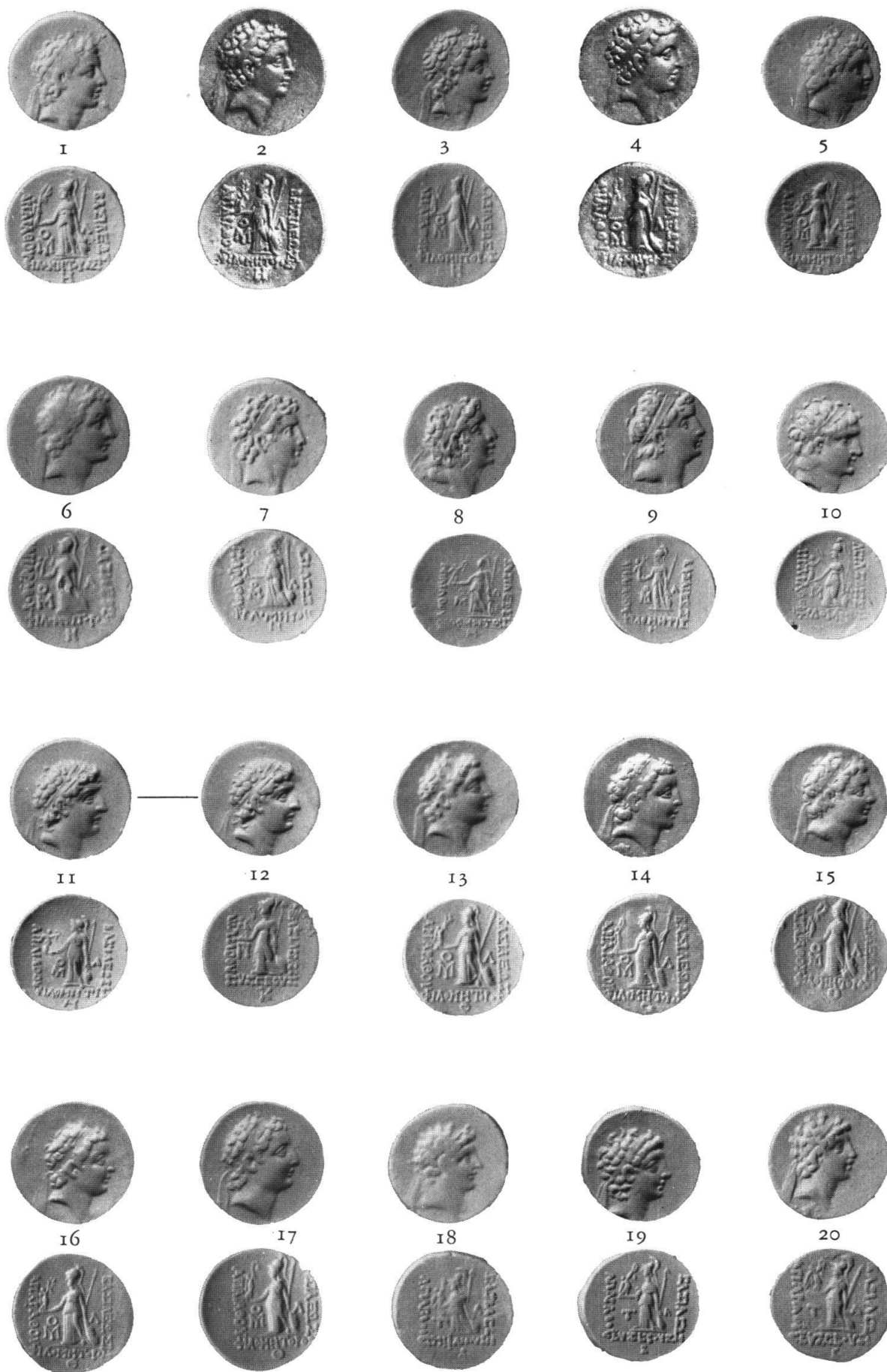
MINT A Ariarathes VI



MINT A Ariarathes VII: 1-18; Ariarathes IX: 19-20



MINT B Ariarathes VI: 1-13; Ariarathes VII: 14-18



MINT B Ariarathes VII: 1-17 (Imit. 4-12); Ariarathes VIII: 18: Ariarathes IX: 19-20



MINT C Ariarathes VI: 1-11; Ariarathes VII: 12-19; Ariarathes VIII: 20



MINT D Ariarathes VII: 21-23