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## ORONTES, SATRAP OF MYSIA

A recently-appeared small bronze of the satrap Orontes of Mysia has provided the impetus for a fresh look at that satrap's coinage and career <sup>1</sup>.

Orontes, a Bactrian by birth, son-in-law of Artaxerxes II Mnemon, led a long and turbulent life <sup>2</sup>. He is first known to us as a satrap of Armenia, harassing the Ten Thousand on their retreat after Cunaxa, in 401 B.C. In the 380's he joined Tiribazus in the command of the Persian expedition against Euagoras of Salamis; and for Orontes' subsequent intrigues against Tiribazus he fell himself into disgrace with the Great King; perhaps at this time he was stripped of his Armenian satrapy and banished to far-off Mysia.

In 362 B.C. we hear of Orontes as «satrap of Mysia». As the experienced and no doubt bitter son-in-law of the King, Orontes was chosen as leader of the widespread coastal satraps' revolt of that year. There is little suggestion of any military action: the revolt was stillborn, largely because Orontes promptly betrayed it, surrendering to the King both the moneys and the emissaries sent him by the other satraps <sup>3</sup>. For this betrayal Orontes did not receive the reward for which he had hoped, the overlordship of the western coast of Asia Minor; but Judeich suggests that the reward may have been the return of his old satrapy of Armenia. Artaxerxes II died soon after; and in 361 and the years following Orontes was back in the East, fighting again in Syria against the heir-apparent Artaxerxes III Ochus, to whom he finally submitted.

By circa 355, Orontes was once more in the West, and from Demosthenes we know that he was a third time in rebellion <sup>4</sup>. To this time must belong fighting against the loyal satrap Autophradates (who had been a co-rebel in 362), in Lydia and in Aeolis, where Orontes seems to have captured Cyme <sup>5</sup>. From an inscription we know that Orontes besieged and captured Pergamum, and then, in the final reversal of his life, turned the city over to Artaxerxes III before Orontes' own death <sup>6</sup>. Another

<sup>1</sup> For information, illustrative material, and advice in the preparation of this paper I thank Herbert A. Cahn of Basel, Dominique Gérin of Paris, Naphtali Lewis of New Haven, Conn., Otto Mørkholm of Copenhagen, Bernhard Overbeck of Munich, and Margaret Thompson and Nancy M. Waggoner of New York. And for bringing the new little coin (7 b, below), the keystone of the article, to my attention in the first place, thanks go to Frank L. Kovacs of San Francisco.

<sup>2</sup> The account of Orontes' life presented here contains little that will not be found in the standard modern histories. The most detailed expositions, with the fullest ancient references, of Orontes' career are those of A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948), *passim*; and, especially, W. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (Marburg, 1892), pp. 205–225. Other specific references will be given only when needed for particular arguments.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. XV. 91: Ὀρόντης τῆς Μυσίας σατράπης.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. XIV, *De Symm.*, 186.

<sup>5</sup> Polyaeus VII. 14. 2–3.

<sup>6</sup> *OGIS* 264.

inscription, long known but recently dated to 348 B.C., records a commercial treaty between Athens and Orontes, wherein Orontes is selling grain to Athens. The inscription is fragmentary, but the grain seems to be for the use of the Athenian force attempting (for it arrived too late) to relieve the Olynthians besieged by Philip II. Mention is made of boats, troops, an expedition, and moneys received from the «contributions» of the allies in Lesbos; but there is no indication that either Orontes or Athens was giving the other military support<sup>7</sup>. After 348, we know nothing more of Orontes.

That Orontes started his career as satrap of Armenia is clear, but his coinage is from western Asia Minor, and it is his position in that area that concerns us here. Diodorus' «satrap of Mysia» is the only description of that position which we have. This title has caused needless modern-day confusion, because Mysia was of course not a satrapy of the Persian Empire, but only part of the formal full satrapy of Dascylium, and as such has often not been considered of sufficient stature to have its own satrap. An emendation to «satrap of Armenia» is repeated by Tarn in the CAH<sup>8</sup>; and elsewhere the title is expanded to «satrap of Mysia (or Dascylium)»<sup>9</sup>. Yet there should be no trouble with τῆς Μυσίας σατράπης. It is clear that σατράπης, σατραπεύειν, and σατραπεῖα were used in antiquity not only for the formal satrapies, but also for subdivisions of those satrapies: Xenophon furnishes one example of such usage close in space and time to Orontes, when he speaks of Mania who succeeded her husband as satrap in Aeolis, appointed by and subject to Pharnabazus, *the* satrap of Dascylium<sup>10</sup>. Orontes was then, simply, satrap of Mysia, but a sub-satrap or ὑπαρχος.

Worse, however, the erroneous title of satrap of Ionia has been given to Orontes in a number of modern numismatic and historical works<sup>11</sup>. This title seems to derive solely from Head in the BMC, who terms Orontes «Satrap of Mysia and Ionia»<sup>12</sup>. There is no apparent basis for the «Ionia» except the coins of Orontes there – and virtually everywhere else since – tentatively attributed to Ionian Clazomenae because of their winged-boar reverse type. From this idea of Orontes as satrap of Ionia derives the date of 345 B.C. sometimes met with as the date of his death (or at least the end

<sup>7</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 207. The interpretation is that of H. W. Parke, «On *Inscriptiones Graecae* II<sup>2</sup>, 207», *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 43, Sect. C, No. 12 (1936), pp. 367–378. It is accepted by H. Bengtson, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, vol. II (Munich-Berlin, 1962), no. 324.

<sup>8</sup> W. W. Tarn in CAH, vol. 6, p. 20: see Judeich (above, note 2), pp. 222–223, note 2.

<sup>9</sup> HN<sup>2</sup>, p. 597; and *Traité* II. 2, p. 106.

<sup>10</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III. 1. 10–28. Mania's satrapy is termed Aeolis, but the many cities named in it are in what we now term the Troad, or Hellespontine Phrygia.

<sup>11</sup> E. g., K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*<sup>2</sup>, III. 2 (Berlin-Leipzig, 1923), pp. 138 and 155; A. Baldwin, «Lampsakos: the Gold Staters, Silver and Bronze Coinage», *AJN* 53, part 3 (1924), pp. 16 and 47; N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Greece*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1959), p. 514 (although he is «Orontes of Mysia» on pp. 547 and 550).

<sup>12</sup> BMC *Ionia* (1892), p. 326.

of his position as a satrap)<sup>13</sup>, for another man is known to have been satrap of Ionia in 344 B. C.

The new coin here published (7 b) destroys the attribution to Clazomenae of any of Orontes' coins. There are no grounds left for considering him satrap of Ionia; and the date of 345 B. C. is meaningless: we know nothing of him after 348.

It is time now to turn to the coins. The following series of issues and attributions is the author's, and reflects the evidence of the new coin, which affects the interpretation of all of Orontes' coinage. Discussion will follow the listing of the issues<sup>14</sup>.

### *The Coins*

#### MYSIA: ADRAMYTEUM

1. Obv. Head of Athena l., wearing crested Attic helmet.

Rev. OPONTA Forepart of winged horse r.

AR tetrobols, or Persic hemi-sigloi.

*Traité* II. 2, 56 (pl. 88, 15), attributed to Lampsacus. Eight examples located: known weights 2.20–2.73, with one exceptional example 3.13<sup>15</sup>.

2. Obv. Laureate head of Zeus r.

Rev. OPONT or OPONTA Forepart of winged horse r.

AE

*Traité* II. 2, 58 (pl. 88, 17–18), attributed to Lampsacus. Seven examples located: known weights 1.47–1.82.

<sup>13</sup> E. g., *HN*<sup>2</sup>, p. 568 (where he is «satrap of the Hellespont, B. C. 352–345»); Beloch (above, note 11), p. 140; Baldwin (above, note 11), pp. 16 and 47.

<sup>14</sup> No attempt has been made to assemble a corpus. References to the *Traité* are given where possible; many known coins and previous publications can be found detailed there. Not included in this paper are several issues at one time or another ascribed to Orontes: *Traité* II. 2, 62 (pl. 88, 25), now universally given to Tissaphernes; *Traité* II. 2, 64 (pl. 88, 23), believed by F. Bodenstein to belong to the fifth century («Satrapen und Dynasten auf Phokäischen Hekten», *SM* 1976, pp. 70–71, no. 1); and E. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides* (Paris, 1893), p. 56, nos. 377–379, long ago rightly rejected as Orontes' by J. P. Six («Monnaies grecques, inédites et incertaines VIII», *NC* 1894, p. 311, note 41) – although they persist in *HN*<sup>2</sup>, p. 598, 2nd–4th issues listed. *Traité* II. 2, 57 (pl. 88, 16) (= *Les Perses Achéménides* 377) is called Lampsacene by Six, but does not appear in Baldwin's compilation of Lampsacene coinage (above, note 11 – although pl. IX, 12–13 there are close); nevertheless its size, the presence of a symbol, and the lack of any letter but a possible T on reverse all argue against assigning it to Orontes. The gold staters with satrapal portrait (*Traité* II. 2, 55 [pl. 88, 14]) are discussed at the end of this article, as are the Phocaean electrum pieces as *Traité* II. 2, 65 (pl. 88, 24).

<sup>15</sup> D. Gérin has kindly verified the anomalous weight of this piece, in the Paris cabinet.

3. Obv. Bearded head of satrap r., wearing tiara without diadem.  
Rev. OPONTA Forepart of winged horse r.  
AE

*Traité* II. 2, 59–60 (pl. 88, 19–20), attributed to Lampsacus. Six examples located: known weights 0.60–1.56.

#### CISTHENE

4. Obv. Hoplite kneeling l., nude but for conical helmet, holding spear and round shield; between his legs, on some examples, T<sup>16</sup>.  
Rev. OPONTA Forepart of winged boar r.  
AR tetrobols, or Persic hemi-sigloi.

*Traité* II. 2, 63 (pl. 88, 22), attributed to Clazomenae. Nine examples located: known weights 2.41–2.79.

5. Obv. Bearded head of satrap r., wearing tiara with diadem.  
Rev. ΚΙΣΘΑ Mounted horseman galloping r.; the upper part of his body is not preserved, but what may be a bow projects behind him; to upper l., trace of uncertain marking at edge of coin.  
AE

*Traité* II. 2, 61 (pl. 88, 21), attributed to Cisthene. Unicum: Munich. Weight 1.51.

6. Obv. Bearded head of satrap r., wearing tiara with diadem tied at rear; below, K.  
Rev. OPONTA Forepart of winged boar r.  
AE

Unicum: *SNG Copenhagen* Ionia 26, attributed to Clazomenae. Weight 0.93.

7. Obv. Bearded head of satrap r., wearing tiara without diadem.  
Rev. ΚΙΣ Forepart of winged boar r.  
AE

Two examples known. a) ANS 0.69 (Hirsch 13, 15 May 1905, 3814: «Unbestimmter Münzort»); traces only of the K of the reverse inscription preserved above; placed by Newell in his trays under Clazomenae. b) Private collection 0.80; ΚΙΣ above on reverse.

<sup>16</sup> See U. Westermark, «Två grekiska mynt med krigarmotiv i Kungl. Myntkabinetter, Stockholm», *Numismatiska Meddelanden* 30 (1965), pp. 7–14. Westermark finds the obverse type a timeless one in Greek art, not to be connected with the Athenian Chabrias as suggested by Waddington and repeated in *Traité* II. 2, p. 115.

### *Cisthene*

Issue 5, with ΚΙΣΘΑ, has long been known, and its inscription of course places it at Cisthene, on the south shore of the Gulf of Adramyteum. That Orontes is the satrap depicted has not always been fully accepted<sup>17</sup>, but seems certain from a comparison of the issue with issues 6 (with his name) and 7.

The new example of issue 7, with its preserved ethnic coupled with the forepart of the winged boar, provides the occasion for a re-examination of Orontes' coinage. The winged boar was, we can now see, the parasemon not only of Ionian Clazomenae but also of the lesser-known Mysian Cisthene, in Orontes' satrapy. There can be little doubt but that to Cisthene belong also the silver issue 4 and the bronze issue 6, both with winged-boar reverses and both for that sole reason previously (if tentatively) attributed to Clazomenae.

The form of the genitive found on the coins, Ὀρόντα, is an unusual one. Here at Cisthene, opposite Lesbos, and in the Lesbian, or Aeolic, dialect area, the genitive is the expected one in the local dialect. Could the form have been used also at thoroughly Ionian Clazomenae, in the Ionian-dialect area, or should it have ruled out an Ionian attribution for the coins in the first place? The question seems not to have arisen, but the answer is not clear.

After Alexander's conquests, the regional Greek dialects were largely abandoned in favor of the «Attic Κοινή» which his troops spread<sup>18</sup>. Thus in virtually all our sources, which, literary or inscriptional, are from Hellenistic or later times, Orontes' name (a Persian one, of course) appears as Ὀρόντης, with the genitive Ὀρόντου<sup>19</sup>. We have only three contemporary notices of the man: the Attic inscription of 348 B.C.<sup>20</sup>, which uses Ὀρόντης and Ὀρόντου; Demosthenes, who mentions him once, as Ὀρόνταν<sup>21</sup>; and Xenophon, who calls him Ὀρόντας, with genitive Ὀρόντα<sup>22</sup>.

There is no firm answer to the question of what genitive form an Ionian-speaking mint official or die cutter would have used shortly before Alexander's arrival. If he thought of the satrap as Ὀρόντης, he would use Ὀρόντέως (the Ionian form), or, more likely, Ὀρόντου (Attic, for this dialect gradually replaced Ionian all through

<sup>17</sup> F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. Münz.*, p. 613, no. 166 (no attempt to identify the satrap); *HN*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 597–598 (given tentatively to Orontes); H. von Fritze, *Die antiken Münzen Mysiens* (Berlin, 1913), p. 220.

<sup>18</sup> General statements about dialect forms and areas of use are based on C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago, 1955), pp. 10, 37–38, 87, and 179. Note that Cisthene's issue 5 has ΚΙΣΘΑ; her later bronze has ΚΙΣΘΗ (von Fritze [above, note 17], p. 222, no. 622).

<sup>19</sup> Two posthumous inscriptions name our man: the genitive Ὀρόντου occurs in *OGIS* 264, from Pergamum in the Attalid period; and Ἀροάνδης (closer to the original Persian: one of a number of variant spellings) with genitive Ἀροάνδου in *OGIS* 390–393, from Nemrud Dag, early in the Christian era. Diodorus and most post-classical writers use Ὀρόντης and Ὀρόντου.

<sup>20</sup> See note 7, above.

<sup>21</sup> See note 4, above.

<sup>22</sup> Xen. *Anab.* III. 4. 13, IV. 3. 4. Xenophon, with his first-hand contemporary knowledge of both Armenia and Mysia, would of course know the forms used there.

the fourth century). If our Ionian workman thought of Orontes as Ὀρόντας, however, he would probably use Ὀρόντω (Ionian) or Ὀρόντου (Attic). There is little analogous material. Ionian coins this early do not bear personal names in the genitive, and there are few helpful inscriptions. One from Miletus from 390/387 has Κλεινίω and Ἑρμίω, for two Ionians named Kleinias and Hermias<sup>23</sup>; another from Erythrae from 342/1 has Ἑρμίου, and this is especially relevant, for the Hermias here being honored is the well-known tyrant of Atarneus in southern Mysia<sup>24</sup>.

But the genitive ending in -α is not impossible for an Ionian-speaking city. Even the Attic inscriptions, which seem invariably to decline natives' names like Kallias as Καλλίου, do on occasion use the -α ending when honoring foreigners from areas where such a dialect form is natural<sup>25</sup>. And a list of archons at Miletus includes for the year 333/2 B.C. one Ἄνδρων Κτήσια, Andron son of Ktesias<sup>26</sup>. But these are exceptional cases, so that we may conclude that Ὀρόντα would be, if not an impossible form to find at an Ionian-speaking city, at least an unusual one. In any case, the numismatic evidence is sufficient to place issues 4–7 all firmly at Cisthene.

These issues are, with the exception of a few small and banal bronzes of later centuries<sup>27</sup>, the only coinage known of little Cisthene. The town, on the south coast of the Gulf of Adramyteum, ten miles southwest of Adramyteum and some twenty-five miles northwest of inland Pergamum, is virtually unknown to history. It is noted by the geographers, Strabo adding that it possessed a harbor, although by his day the town had ceased to exist<sup>28</sup>. It is mentioned elsewhere only once, and obliquely: Isocrates in his Panegyricus, delivered in 380 B.C., compares the Persians' poor treatment of their allies with their liberality towards their enemies, and gives as an example of latter that they had distributed 100 talents among the captors of Cisthene<sup>29</sup> – i.e., bought the city back for that amount. This is a large sum: the explanation would seem that the harbor mentioned by Strabo had strategic importance in the early fourth century.

### *Adramyteum*

The accepted attribution in recent decades of issues 1–3 has been to Lampsacus because the winged-horse protome is of course the well-known type of that major city, and because a connection was assumed with the gold staters of Lampsacus with a satrap's portrait (see below). That perceptive early numismatist Imhoof-Blumer,

<sup>23</sup> *SIG* 134.

<sup>24</sup> *SIG* 229.

<sup>25</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 107 = *SIG* 164: Ἱεροίτα (Hieroitas of Mytilene), and *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 237 = *SIG* 259: Καρφίνα (Karpinas of Aetolia).

<sup>26</sup> *SIG* 272.

<sup>27</sup> *BMC* 1–3; von Fritze (above, note 17), pp. 222–223.

<sup>28</sup> Strab. XIII. 606.

<sup>29</sup> Isoc. *Paneg.* 153.

however, preferred to assign 1–3 to Adramyteum, which also used the winged-horse protome as reverse type<sup>30</sup>.

H. von Fritze, while not agreeing with all of Imhoof's arguments, also considered the Lampsacene gold staters as poor evidence for a Lampsacene mint for Orontes' silver and gold. Von Fritze then presented a good case for considering at least our issue 2 as struck at Adramyteum. He compared the issue with small autonomous bronzes of Adramyteum with the same types but reading AΔPAMY instead of OPONTA or OPONT (*Plate 4, A*). Size, fabric, orientation, the portrait of Zeus, the style of the winged horse, and the unusual arrangement of the inscription (starting at the bottom left, and continuing around the coin counter-clockwise to the upper left, with the final letters inverted) – all are identical for the satrapal and autonomous coins<sup>31</sup>. No such parallelism can be demonstrated for Lampsacus. Von Fritze stopped at this point, however, assigning only our issue 2 to Adramyteum<sup>32</sup>.

That the analogous issues 4–7 are now, rather surprisingly, seen to belong to little-known Cisthene strongly supports the attribution of 1–3 to Adramyteum, only ten miles away, for the two cities' coinages under Orontes are closely parallel. The silver (issues 1 and 4) is the same denomination. There are two similar sizes of bronze at each city: a larger (A, 2, 5) and a smaller, apparently a half-denomination (3, 6, 7). And at each city, a given pair of types is found both with the city's ethnic and the satrap's name (A and 2; 6 and 7).

The styles of the animal protomes also support an attribution of issues 1–3 to Adramyteum rather than to Lampsacus. The animals on 1's and 4's reverses are different animals, of course, but compare the treatment of the visible part of the lowered left wing on each issue, visible directly behind the body truncation. The feathers on 1 and 4 spring from a quite small arc at the middle of the truncation, and the feathers project in a stiff clump hardly wider than the body. The two wing tips could hardly be more similar. No comparison can be made with Lampsacene silver of the period for, perhaps significantly, it did not portray the winged horse. On the contemporary gold staters of Lampsacus, however (*Plate 4, B*) the wing end is far more elaborate, with finely-detailed feathers springing from a large ladder-like crescent, the whole much wider than the horse's body.

As has been argued above, the genitive form Ὀρόντια is also an unlikely (although not impossible) form for an Ionian-speaking city, and Lampsacus was an Ionian

<sup>30</sup> *Monn. gr.*, pp. 245–248, headed «Jolla»: Imhoof attempts to identify Iolla with Adramyteum on p. 247. The identification has little to recommend it; but Iolla also used the winged-horse protome as reverse type.

<sup>31</sup> Both issues are rare and there seem to be no really well-preserved examples. On *Plate 4, A*, however, the M, inverted, can be seen to upper r., and the Y, with its base to left, between the horse's wings to l. On *Plate 4, 2*, OPO is visible below; remains of a T, inverted, above; and an A with its base to left, between the horse's wings to l., just as on A.

<sup>32</sup> H. von Fritze, «Die vorkaiserlichen Münzen von Adramytion», *Nomisma* 5 (1910), pp. 10–12: compare pl. I, 2–3 (Orontes) with 4–5 (Adramyteum). Von Fritze falls just short in his later work also (above, note 17, p. 1) of attributing all of issues 1–3 to Adramyteum.

colony, situated in the center of the Ionian-dialect area on the Hellespont. Ὀρόντα would be the normal form in use, however, at Adramyteum, like Cisthene in the Aeolic, or Lesbian, dialect area.

Nine of Orontes' rare silver coins are known to the present author to have appeared in sales in this century, from 1908 on. Five of these coins first appeared in sales clustered in 1971–1974, strongly suggesting that they derived from a single find which made its way to market in those years. The five coins, all slightly worn, include both issues 1 and 4, another indication that the mints and dates of striking of the two issues were close together<sup>33</sup>. Adramyteum was almost certainly the mint of issues 1–3.

Adramyteum, a town of more importance than Cisthene, was also a port city<sup>34</sup>. It too lay on the land route from Greece to the central western coast of Asia Minor: both Xerxes' army and Xenophon's Ten Thousand passed through it<sup>35</sup>. Its later coinage in silver and bronze – autonomous, cistophoric, and Imperial – was not inconsiderable<sup>36</sup>. Orontes' strikings there are, however, perhaps its earliest.

### *The Coins' Dates*

Orontes' coinage has been universally ascribed in recent decades to «ca. 362 B.C.» because of his role as head of the coastal satraps' revolt of that year. Diodorus, our chief literary source for this period, mentions Orontes only in connection with this revolt. But this uprising was stillborn; it collapsed almost immediately, chiefly through Orontes' own betrayal of it to the King. There is little suggestion of military action or confrontation anywhere: only a series of betrayals, assassinations, and withdrawals. Despite this revolt's historical significance, and its prominence in Diodorus, it seems an unlikely occasion for the striking of coin.

In contrast, we are fortunate to know from scattered mentions and an inscription that Orontes was in rebellion again in the middle 350's, and this time engaged in actual fighting and territorial conquests in Aeolis and Lydia – i.e., the territory directly south of Adramyteum and Cisthene.

This rebellion must be understood in connection with the simultaneous revolt of Orontes' nephew Artabazus, the neighboring satrap to the north. A slight digression is needed. Pharnabazus, satrap of Dascylium, had died in 370 B.C., and when his son Artabazus came of age in 367/6 he (with difficulty) ousted the regent Ariobarzanes and took over his hereditary satrapy. Artabazus remained loyal to the Great King in 362 B.C.: he led troops against the rebellious Datames in Cappadocia, but soon after discovered the lure of «independence». When Artaxerxes III, shortly after

<sup>33</sup> Issue 1: Kölner Münzkabinett 7, 22 April 1971, 34; Bank Leu 7, 9 May 1973, 232; R. J. Myers, FPL Mar. 1974, 76; Spink, *Numismatic Circular* 1974, no. 6, 5095. Issue 4: G. Kastner 6, 26 Nov. 1974, 168.

<sup>34</sup> Strab. XIII. 606.

<sup>35</sup> Hdt. VII. 42; Xen. *Anab.* VII. 8. 8.

<sup>36</sup> *BMC* 1–2; von Fritze (above, note 7), pp. 1–62.

his accession in 357 B.C., ordered all his satraps to disband their hired mercenaries, all obeyed save Artabazus and Orontes. In 356 Artabazus, hard pressed by the King, hired the Athenian mercenary captain Chares, who won a great victory for him over the King's forces, and captured back for him Sigeum and Lampsacus. Artaxerxes' anger at this, and reports of an enormous Persian force being assembled, frightened Athens into recalling Chares, probably by 354 B.C. Artabazus then engaged the Theban Pammenes with another mercenary force; but despite two victories, Pammenes was suspected of double-dealing and sent home. Artabazus' revolt could not be sustained further and with his family he fled into exile with Philip of Macedon, probably by 352 B.C.

Orontes' rebellion quite possibly collapsed around the same time. From the Pergamene inscription<sup>37</sup> we know that Orontes made peace on some terms with Artaxerxes before his own death. The same can be inferred from the Athenian inscription<sup>38</sup>: Athens' general policy considerations would have precluded dealing after 355 or 354 with an open rebel to the King. As that inscription included a grant of Athenian citizenship to Orontes, it would seem quite likely that the grant was in recognition of a relationship of greater duration than a one-time grain sale: i.e., that it may have gone on for a few years. Orontes' revolt in the 350's, then, together with that of Artabazus, will have extended from circa 357 to circa 352 B.C.

This is the period to which Orontes' silver coinage should be attributed<sup>39</sup>. He as well as Artabazus employed Greeks<sup>40</sup>; and the types of his silver – especially and unarguably the hoplite obverse of issue 4 – have military connotations. His modest little bronzes, however, can hardly be considered a war coinage. Most of them bear Orontes' portrait as satrap, and must have been intended for local use; they may well antedate or postdate the revolt of the 350's and the silver coins. As peacetime coins, furthermore, if such they are, they are even firmer evidence than the silver for placing Orontes' territory in southwestern Mysia, on the Aegean rather than the Hellespont.

### *The Gold Staters*

Recent concensus has given to Orontes, in 362 B.C., the gold staters of Lampsacus which bear a satrap's head (*Pl. 4, B*)<sup>41</sup>. There were two chief reasons for the identification of the head as Orontes. One of course was the silver and bronze coins of Orontes with the same reverse type, the winged-horse protome (our issues 1–3);

<sup>37</sup> See note 6, above.

<sup>38</sup> See note 7, above.

<sup>39</sup> The period was suggested long ago, but has lost out in this century to the current «362 B.C.» The last advocate of the 350's was von Fritze (above, note 17), p. 1; for others, see Judeich (above, note 2), p. 213, note 1.

<sup>40</sup> Polyaeus VII. 14. 3–4.

<sup>41</sup> *Traité* II. 2, 55 (pl. 88, 14); Baldwin (above, note 11), issue 21.

when these were understood as Lampsacene, the staters (uninscribed) were naturally associated with them. With issues 1–3 now seen as struck at Adramyteum, and with Orontes' other silver and bronze now seen as struck at Cisthene, the gold stands alone, the only issue attributed to Orontes on the Hellespontine coast.

The second reason was the approximate date of the staters. Baldwin dates all the staters from circa 387–330 B.C. (58 years altogether). She places the satrap-head issue squarely in the middle, numbering it no. 21 out of the 41 issues she knew (each with a different obverse type), and dates it «circa 362»<sup>42</sup>. Two more issues have since emerged, both earlier than the satrap-head coins<sup>43</sup>, making 43 issues in all. As some 18 of these 43 are known from a single coin each, more issues will inevitably appear in time, and it is a reasonable assumption that the issues are annual ones. The satrap-head coins are now issue 23 out of 43; if we accept Baldwin's arrangement of the issues and her overall dates of circa 387–330 B.C., the satrap-head issue might have been struck anywhere from 365 to 350 B.C.

That Chares recovered Lampsacus for Artabazus in 356 B.C. (see above) seems a strong indication that Lampsacus was not Orontes' before that date, for it is hardly likely that it was from Artabazus' kinsman and fellow rebel that Chares took the city. Nor is there any evidence whatever that Orontes ever held the city. Lampsacus may be in Mysia in the *BMC*, but it clearly was in the satrapy of Dascylium in the first half of the fourth century B.C.<sup>44</sup>.

It is strange that Artabazus, hereditary satrap of Dascylium, has never been considered as the issuer of the staters. His campaign against Datames in 362, and, even more strongly, Chares' campaign of 356 which recovered Lampsacus (a year in the approximate middle of our 365–350 B.C. time-span for the satrap-head staters; and an event for which it is known that Artabazus richly rewarded Chares in coin)<sup>45</sup> seem likely occasions.

One may question, however, whether any rebellious satrap would choose for a coin type himself wearing the satrapal tiara – i. e., in his position *as deputy and vassal* of the King. Orontes did not do so on his silver, here and elsewhere always understood as insurrectional; and Datames, who portrayed himself in the tiara when loyal, ceased doing so when in rebellion at Sinope<sup>46</sup>. It is quite possible that the staters' head is that of an unknown loyal satrap, or an idealized one. Lampsacus was evidently in the King's hands at least twice (before 356, and after 352) during the turbulent period in question, and one can easily imagine the city's relief at returning to a relatively stable master.

<sup>42</sup> Baldwin (above, note 11), pp. 16 and 47.

<sup>43</sup> *Münzen und Medaillen* 47, 30 Nov. 1972, 492; and *Münzen und Medaillen* 53, 29 Nov. 1977, 89 (another from the same dies: *Bank Leu* 20, 25 April 1978, 118).

<sup>44</sup> Chares' exploits in 356 associate it with Dascylium; and, as the Troad was in Dascylium a generation earlier, so too must have been the intervening territory around Lampsacus (see note 10, above).

<sup>45</sup> Diod. XVI. 22.

<sup>46</sup> *BMC Tarsus* 32; *BMC Sinope* 8.

But we simply do not know the staters' dates, or the detailed history of the time, well enough to do more than indulge in guesswork about the identity of their satrapal portrait. In any case, the staters are doubtfully Orontes', and the electrum hectes which have been associated with them will not be his, either <sup>47</sup>.

### *Summary*

The coinage of Orontes, satrap (but sub-satrap or ὑπαρχος) of Mysia (not of Dascylium; not of Ionia) consists only of silver and bronze struck at the Mysian cities Adramyteum (not Lampsacus) and Cisthene (not Clazomenae) circa 357–352 (not ca. 362) B.C. Orontes disappears from history in 348 (not 345) B.C. The Lampsacene gold staters with satrap's head are not his.

### *Key to Plate*

All illustrations are double size

1. Hirsch 25, 29 Nov. 1909, 2232.

A. Adramyteum, AE. ANS 1. 49.

2. Paris 1. 76 (*Traité* II. 2, 58 = von Fritze [above, note 32], pl. I, 3).

3. ANS 0.63.

4. Kastner 6, 26 Nov. 1974, 1.68, 2.74 = Münzen und Medaillen, Liste 391, July 1977, 7.

5–7. See issue listings p. 29.

B. Lampsacus, AV, 8.45. Münzen und Medaillen 19, 5 June 1959, 475 = Münzen und Medaillen 13, 17 June 1954, 1159.

<sup>47</sup> *Traité* II. 2, 65 (pl. 88, 24). F. Bodenstedt recently has again equated this Phocaeen issue's portrait with that on the gold staters (above, note 14, p. 76, no. 4). The equation does not seem inevitable to the present author: brow line, juncture of beard and cheek, and tiara and diadem styles all differ – but this does not matter for present purposes if the gold does not portray Orontes.



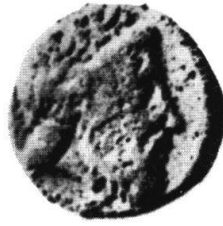
PLATE 4



I



A



2



3



4



5



6



7a



7b



B



