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## More Than It Would Seem: The Use of Coinage by the Romans in Late Hellenistic Asia Minor (133–63 BC)

PLATES 8–10

FRANÇOIS DE CALLATAY\*

This article mainly covers the period between 133 BC and the end of the Mithridatic wars (63 BC). It challenges the view that Romans were very discreet in the East. Indeed, even if *denarii* failed to circulate (but see now the overstrikes of the drachms of Philip VI Andronicus) and positive evidence remains scarce (such as the gold staters of Flamininus or the tetradrachms in the name of Aesillas), it is likely that Romans were active behind a full range of civic coinages. Looking for facts, 1) die-studies are now available for important coinages such as Ephesian *cistophori*, the drachms of Ariobarzanes I, the tetradrachms of Aesillas, the First Macedonian Meris, Mithridates VI, Nicomedes IV, Arados, and Laodicea. These die-studies allow us to correlate the level of production with the presence of Roman armies. To this crucial information, we may add two less significant kinds of evidence: 2) overstrikes, which sometimes allow for the development of hypotheses about metal provenance (cistophoric tetradrachms of Ephesus and Tralles, tetradrachms of Tenedos and Abydos), and 3) technical features which, put into perspective, seem characteristic of a Roman production methods (brockages [Ephesus and Nysa], letters on the obverse [Nicomedes, Lucullus, Aesillas, Oinoanda] or style of engraving [Athens, Fimbria]). At last, we must face the existence of 4) unexpected coinages, unlikely to have been commercial, and well adapted for use by Roman armies (Ainianes and Oinoanda [?]). As a result, a broader and enriched panorama emerges in which the Romans appear as the leading force behind many coinages before 63 BC, when Pompey reorganized the monetary system to explicitly affirm Roman authority.

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Roman numismatic involvement in Asia Minor was comprehensively treated twice some twenty years ago (Crawford 1985: 152–160 and Kinns 1987). Both Michael Crawford and Philip Kinns subscribed to and reinforced the previously proposed view that, from a numismatic standpoint, the Romans were very discreet in the East. As Crawford states: “Roman armies in the course of their campaigns east of the Adriatic regularly used local currencies for that part of stipendium of the soldiers which was not held back for payment on their return. Presumably they obtained them through normal banking channels and presumably at any rate in theory the demand might stimulate increased output by a local mint, though I know of no certain example” (Crawford 1985: 118). Up until now, these views have been generally accepted.

This article mainly covers the period between 133 BC and the end of the Mithridatic Wars (63 BC),<sup>1</sup> taking into account new evidence and proposing new lines of enquiry. In the end, it challenges the view that: “the most astonishing feature of the monetary history of Asia under Roman rule is the evidence it provides of the absence of an interventionist approach on the part of the Romans” (Crawford 1985: 160). The “Romans” here are to be understood as a generic term, which includes several classes of persons, but mainly high officials such as proconsuls or *imperatores*. It is unlikely that the monetary decisions discussed here were officially taken by the Senate in Rome.

This article leaves aside the many indirect consequences of Roman politics on local coinages. As shown in several publications by Kinns (see mainly 1980 and 1987), the penalty imposed by Sulla on the province of Asia at the treaty of Dardanos (85 BC) had a deep effect at a monetary level. The bronze system was renewed: cities started to strike large bronzes with a presumably high value and many old currencies were overstruck in the process. These changes were certainly forced in a way by the Romans, but more as a consequence of their demand for war reparations than as conscious monetary policy. This article, in order to provide some perspective, also deals with continental Greece, but leaves aside the much debated case of the Achaean League coinage.

### 1. ABSENCE OF ROMAN *DENARII* IN THE EAST?

Roman Republican *denarii* made a late appearance in the Greek world. In Thrace, to judge from the many hoards we have, they remained uncommon before the 60s BC (see Crawford 1977, proposing a linkage not with military campaigns, but with the slave-trade in the 60s). In Greece, despite some early occurrences discussed below, it is doubtful that *denarii* circulated *en masse* before the second half of the

<sup>1</sup> For the period before 133 BC, see the negative statement of Philip Kinns: “At any rate, the notion of direct Roman involvement in these important currency developments seems a chimaera, and we can now turn our attention to the period *after* 133, when Roman intervention can justifiably be expected” (Kinns 1987: 107).

first century BC (Giovannini 1978: 27–29; Knöpfler 1988: 283–286).<sup>2</sup> As it seems from a Thessalian inscription (*IG IX 2 414c*, ll. 55 and 84), Augustus took a measure (*diorthôma*) in c. 27 BC to impose the conversion rate of *denarii*, and we have good reasons to believe that this applied to the entire province of Achaia (Knöpfler 1988: 284–285, n. 72). In Armenia, we have several hoards that attest to the presence of Roman *denarii* in the second half of the first century. It is likely that these coins were brought by the troops of Mark Antony.<sup>3</sup>

This absence of *denarii* is even more pronounced for Asia Minor. Out of the 549 hoards gathered by M. Crawford for Republican *denarii* down to 27 BC, not a single one is reported to have been found in modern Turkey (Crawford 1969, with the exception of *RRCH 292*: Nisibis—see *infra*), despite the fact that some Republican issues of *denarii* were apparently struck on Asian soil during the 40s (see now *RPC I*: 368 [but part of this evidence is questionable]). Close to Asia Minor, the island of Chios offers meager evidence with a unique *denarius* in a hoard buried c. 75 BC, if the piece of L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (*RRC 340/1*, c. 90 BC) is not intrusive (*CH IX 558*—Gridia, 1959 = *CH VI 46* = *CH VII 134*).

Republican *denarii* are not absent from Turkish museums but they are pretty rare,<sup>4</sup> and there is no reason to suspect that they came before the last decades of the first century BC, just as in Greece and Armenia.<sup>5</sup> The epigraphic evidence seems consistent as well. Although the Delian inventories mention *denarii* as early as in 154 BC,<sup>6</sup> the number of *denarii* always seems to be low, not exceeding 20.<sup>7</sup>

2 See *RRCH 121* (Kalaureia, 1894), buried c. 208–150 BC: 8 *denarii*; *IGCH 233* (Thebes, 1965—c. 168 BC): one denarius out of 16 AR and 42 AE; *CH VIII 431* (Vonitsa, Acarnania, 1993—c. 168 BC): 1 denarius (c. 206–200 BC) out of 148+ silver coins; *IGCH 271* = *RRCH 158* (Agrinion, 1959—c. 140 BC): 39 *denarii* out of 1,348 silver coins; *IGCH 346* = *RRCH 228* (Greece, 1921—c. 85–80 BC): c. 50 *denarii* down to L.TITVRI; *IGCH 317* (Naupactus, 1967—end of second century BC): 3 *denarii* with 1 AR; *RRCH 242* (Peiraeus, 1927) buried c. 91–79 BC.

3 See *IGCH 1743* (Mingechaur, 1949—mid first century BC): 4 *denarii* with 2 drachms of Tigranes; *IGCH 1745* (Khinisly, 1958—c. 50–25 BC): 1 denarius (*RRC 354/1*: c. 84 BC) out of 330+ silver coins; *CH IX 580* (Parakar, 1959—c. 38 BC): 3 *denarii* (*RRC 385/1*, 465/3 and 494/36) with 5 silver Armenian or Parthian coins; *IGCH 1746* (Sarnakunk, 1945—c. 30/25 BC): 95 *denarii* (to 34 BC) out of 178+ silver coins; *IGCH 1788* = *RRCH 292* (Nisibis, 1955—after 31 BC): 1 denarius, the unique silver coin together with 623 AE.

4 We may note the 6 *denarii* in Amasya Museum (Ireland 2000: 53, nos. 2080–2085 [of which 4 were struck in the 40s] of a total of 4,568 coins); but there are no *denarii* in Amasya Museum (Ireland and Ateşoğulları 1996 [of a total of 396 coins]). For a survey, see Rodewald 1976: 24–26.

5 Among the 95 *denarii* found in a hoard of Southern Euboea (Vyrra—*RRCH 467*), the earliest was struck in c. 125 BC and the latest in 32/1 BC (Mark Antony). The authors link this hoard with the movement of troops made by Antony (Tsourti and Papageorgiadou-Bani 1996: 175). Additional hoards with the same pattern are *RRCH 465* (Delos), *RRCH 473* (Preveza).

6 *ID 1421*, Face A, fragment b, column I, line 3.

7 See *ID 1422*, 1439, 1441, 1442, 1443 (15 *quinarii*), 1449, 1450 (the last mention in

These sparse early occurrences hardly indicate the significant circulation of *denarii* before Imperial times. Let us recall that, at Delphi, the first slave emancipation given in *denarii* dates from the beginning of the first century AD (Knöpfler 1988: 284, n. 71).

Does this mean that large numbers of Republican *denarii* never circulated in Greece and Asia Minor before 50 BC, even with the armies? Caution is advisable here.

For Greece, a couple of hoards seem to imply the opposite view. The Agrinion hoard is the classic example (IGCH 271, 1959, c. 145–135 BC—see Hersh 1966 and Thompson 1968). Much ink has been spilled on the chronology of the hoard, very little on its significance. With 39 *denarii* out of a total of 1,348 silver coins (including 838 triobols of the Achaean League), it clearly belongs to a military context, but it is better not to take Thompson too literally when she writes: “there is every reason to regard the admixture of currencies in the Agrinion Hoard as a true reflection of the kind of money circulating in northwestern Aetolia in the middle decades of the second century” (Thompson 1968: 108). A slightly different view is to assume that Roman *denarii* found their way with Roman troops but did not stay in circulation. Another interesting example is IGCH 346 (Greece [?], c. 1921—buried in 85–80 BC). Its content mixes c. 50 *denarii* with 14 Athenian stephanephoric tetradrachms (the so-called “New Style” coinage) and 20 “Sullan” tetradrachms (on these issues, see below): a perfect assemblage for a Roman soldier fighting with Sulla during the First Mithridatic War.<sup>8</sup>

### The Drachms of Philip VI Andriskos of Macedon

A different but fascinating piece of evidence has been recently put forward. A group of three previously unpublished drachms in the name of King Philip appeared on the market in the years 1999–2002. All of them were overstruck, one on a drachm of the Thessalian League and the two others on the same issue of Republican *denarii*, those in the name of C. Terentius Lucanus (Crawford 1974: 217/1).<sup>9</sup>

1. O1 R1 a) H. Berk 127, 25 June 2002, 147 (4.10 g—overstruck on a drachm of the Thessalian League).
2. O2 R2 a) Lanz 92, 4–5 June 1999, 223 (3.81 g, 11h—overstruck on a *denarius* of C. Terentius Lucanus) = Triton III, 30 Nov.–1 Dec. 1999, lot 397 (3.81 g) = Zhuyuetang coll., no. 119 (3.81 g, 23.6 mm, 11h) (Pl. 8, 1).

140/39 BC). There is even a mention of a “tin *denarius*” (Διναρίον καττιτερινόν—ID 1439 and 1441, c. 150 BC).

<sup>8</sup> To these two hoards, we may add IGCH 317 (Naupactus, 1967—end of second century BC: 3 *denarii* and 1 Athenian tetradrachm) and RRCH 242 (Peiraeus, 1927—c. 91–79 BC).

<sup>9</sup> Some doubt has been cast on the authenticity of these coins. Two main reasons militate for their genuineness: 1) the number of dies (2 obverses and 3 reverses) and 2) the fact that the Roman Republican overstruck type is a close fit with the chronology of M. Crawford. This would be too splendid for a modern forger.

3. O2 R3 a) Tkalec 18 Feb. 2002, 33 (overstruck on a *denarius* of C. Terentius Lucanus) = Triton VIII, 11 Jan. 2005, lot 202 (3.35 g, 12h) = Classical Numismatic Group 70, 21 Sep. 2005, lot 143 (3.35 g, 12h).

The *denarii* of C. Terentius Lucanus were previously dated to 147 BC (Crawford 1974: 55 and 256; Crawford now agrees that a revised date of 150/49 BC is not unreasonable [see Lanz 92, lot 223]). This issue circulated widely in Italy (Crawford 1974: 642-3) and it is unlikely that it was struck elsewhere. It is assumed that the “King Philip” on this coin is the Macedonian pretender, Andriskos, who tried to be accepted as Philip VI, the son of Perseus and Laodike. In 149 BC, he invaded Macedon but, after several minor successes, was defeated by Q. Caecilius Metellus (Macedonicus). If these coins are genuine—which I think they are—it implies that in 149/8 BC very fresh Republican *denarii* circulated in Macedonia, presumably brought by Roman troops. This supports the idea that Roman soldiers fighting in Macedon were paid with brand new coins, not coins taken from circulation.

For Asia Minor, the evidence is weaker. The owner of the Poggio Picenze hoard in the Abruzzi (*IGCH* 2056 = *RRCH* 255) clearly participated in the campaigns of Sulla against Mithradates VI Eupator. He was certainly in Greece, and there is a chance that he traveled to Asia Minor as well, since coins of *Nicomedes* III and Ariarathes IX (which were included in the hoard) have not yet been found in hoards recovered in continental Greece. Of course, we may form many hypotheses about how and when the c. 200 *denarii* entered this hoard, but we cannot exclude the possibility that they were still part of it in Asia. Although the Hierapytna hoard (*IGCH* 352 = *RRCH* 374, see Raven 1938) was buried later, it is interesting to observe that c. 200 *denarii*, more than a half of the total of 360+ silver coins, were present in Crete in 44-42 BC (during the struggle between Mark Antony and Brutus).

If the Romans did not export their *denarii* in order to pay their commitments in late Hellenistic Asia Minor, what coinages did they use? We will start by considering the few cases of explicit Roman names on coins in the East.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. EXPLICIT ROMAN NAMES

### 2.1. Attic Staters: Flamininus in Greece (c. 196 BC)

Titus Quinctius Flamininus struck an extraordinary issue of Attic gold staters with his head on the obverse and his name (T. QVINCTI) on the reverse. It has been supposed that these now very rare coins were minted at Chalcis in Euboea, at the time when Flamininus gave the Isthmian Games to celebrate his victory.<sup>11</sup> This provides

<sup>10</sup> A bronze issue with the legend ΑΣΙΝΙΟΥ/ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ, allegedly struck in Atarneus (Mysia), was long dated to the years 79–76 BC (see Head 1911: 522). These rare coins (2 specimens known) are given now to the 308 BC (Stumpf 1991: 80–83, pl. 5, no. 5).

<sup>11</sup> On these coins, see Boyce 1962, Ferrary 1988: 92–93, n. 155 and Botrè 1994/1995 and 1997.

a plausible context indeed, but is by no means certain. It may be worthwhile to provide a die-study of these staters:<sup>12</sup>

Legend T. QVINCTI (upwards)

1. O<sub>1</sub> R<sub>1</sub> a) Paris (8.50 g—see Bahrfeldt 1923: pl. 2, 25 and Feb. 1988: cover).
2. O<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub> a) Leu 20, 25 Apr. 1978, lot 79 (8.38 g, 12h).
3. O<sub>1</sub> R<sub>3</sub> a) Sotheby's (New York), 19 June 1990 (Nelson Bunker Hunt coll.), 111 (8.50 g, 20.5 mm, 1h—"found in Sicily").
4. O<sub>2</sub> R<sub>4</sub> a) Athens (8.53 g—see Bahrfeldt 1923: pl. 2, 24 and Galani-Krikou 1996: 174).
5. O<sub>2</sub> R<sub>4</sub> b) Leu, 81, 16 May 2001, lot 187 (8.44 g, 12h) = Leu, 93, 10 May 2005, lot 1 (8.44 g, 12h) (Pl. 8, 2).
6. O<sub>3</sub> R<sub>4</sub> a) Münzen & Medaillen, 73, 17 Oct. 1988, lot 149 (8.50 g—see Botrè 1994/1995: 52 and Botrè 1997: 68).

Legend T. QVINCTI (downwards)

7. O<sub>4</sub> R<sub>5</sub> a) Berlin, 1883 (8.55 g—see Friedländer 1885: pl. 7, no. 2; Bahrfeldt 1923: pl. 2, 23 and Botrè 1997: pl. 10, 1). Said to come from Terranova in Sicily (*IGCH* 2143—Gela, 1883) by Friedländer 1885: 2–3, although the evidence makes this assumption unlikely (see the comment of C. M. Kraay in *IGCH*: "The bulk of the hd. suggests a date of burial c. 320 BC; the stater of Flamininus minted more than a century later is an anomaly").
8. O<sub>4</sub> R<sub>5</sub> a) Münzen & Medaillen, 61, 7 Oct. 1982, lot 104 = Numismatica Ars Classica, 4, 27 Feb. 1991, lot 110 (8.46 g) = Lanz 70, 21 Nov. 1994 (Ley coll.), lot 65 = Triton III, 30 Nov. 1999, lot 815 = Zhuyuetang coll. no. 117 (Kan coll.).
9. O<sub>5</sub> R<sub>5</sub> a) London, BM 1954-10-9-1 (8.44 g—see Carson 1959: pl. I, 4).

Despite their rarity today (10 known specimens: 4 in museums [Athens, Berlin, London, and Paris] and 6 in private collections) and their artistic merit, the Flamininus staters look like a real monetary issue, and not a solely "medallic" one, made to be distributed as a souvenir to high officers and friends.<sup>13</sup> With 5 known obverses and reverses (and possibly a dozen originally engraved), it is likely that

<sup>12</sup> Enlargements provided for these much praised coins allow the detection of how dies (O<sub>1</sub> for example) were slightly recut. One coin is missing (*Bolletino di Numismatica* 1989: 136).

<sup>13</sup> The Delian inventories of the temple of Artemis mention in 192 BC "Three *chrysoi* in a wooden case, offering of Quintus the Roman" (*ID* 399, Face B, line 141: see Melville Jones 1993: 188–189, no. 258). This is repeated in 179 BC (*ID* 442, Face B, l. 201), 178 BC (*ID* 443, Face B, fragment b, ll. 125–126) and 169 BC (*ID* 461, Face B, fragment b, ll. 33–34). The offering is quoted a last time in 166 BC but the text now reports that they are three gold *Philippeioi* (*ID* 1409, Face B, fragment a, column I, ll. 99–100). It is tempting to see a gift of three staters of Titus Quinctius Flamininus.

more than 100,000 of these coins once existed. Some of them are supposed to come from Sicily (nos. 3 and 7), thus prompting the idea that these pieces were brought back home by veterans, although the evidence itself is doubtful.

In any case, this issue represents the exception to the normal Roman practice of not making explicit their presence on coinages they used, promoted, or struck in the East.

## 2.2. Cistophoric Tetradrachms: Atinius at Ephesus (Sept. 122–Sept. 121 BC)

Roman names of proconsuls (and sometimes *imperatores*) appear systematically on *cistophori* of Apamea, Ephesus, Pergamum, and Tralles from 59/8 BC onwards, but not before.<sup>14</sup> There is one exception to this rule. A Roman name appears on some of the *cistophori* struck at Ephesus during the thirteenth year of the city's era,<sup>15</sup> which is 122/1 BC (Kleiner 1972: 25, no. 19, Stumpf 1985 and 1991: 5–12, French 1991, and Callataÿ 1997: 179).<sup>16</sup> The legend on the reverse reads C. AT I/N C. F. (Plate 8, 3). This has been identified with C. Atinius C. f. Labeo Macerio, who appears in an inscription of Priene (*I. Priene* 12—see Stumpf 1986 and Broughton 1986: 27–28). This same Atinius appears, with the same legend (C.AT IN.C.F.), on a unique stater now in the Kayseri Museum (8.43 g, 22 mm—Jenkins 1987: 184 and pl. B, no. 4 and French 1991). This stater was discovered during controlled excavations in a tumulus, near Caesarea (which seems a strange find-spot for such a piece).

In both cases, Atinius' name emerges in the midst of a dated sequence of issues. For *cistophori*, we do have coins of the thirteenth year not signed by Atinius and, to judge from the amount of wear on the obverse die which links the two reverses, it is clear that these unsigned *cistophori* were struck after the ones in the name of Atinius (Pl. 8, 4–5).<sup>17</sup>

14 The cistophoric issue with the monogram ATPA on the reverse has been given by some to M. Antonius M. f. and dated to 113/12 BC (Stumpf 1991: 13–17). It is better to give it to an Atratinus who is likely to be L. Sempronius Atratinus, the consul of 34 BC.

15 The classic article for the Ephesian era is Rigsby 1979, who showed that it started in autumn 134 BC (and not 133 BC as believed before). See also Leschhorn 1993: 204–208. I am not convinced by the recent attempt of Müller to downdate the sequence of some 5 years (Müller 1998: 79 [where he mentions my disagreement]).

16 Among the few known specimens (less than ten), we may quote: 1) Berlin (12.64 g, 12h); 2) Dewing coll. 2275 (12.45 g—acquired in Athens in 1956, see Kleiner 1972: pl. 13, no. 5); 3) Lanz, 30, 26 Nov. 1984, lot 255 (12.42 g, 29 mm, 11h—see Stumpf 1985: pl. 7a); 4) Classical Numismatic Group 69, 8 June 2005, lot 396 (12.55 g, 12h) = Witschonke coll. We may discard the reading C. ASIN. CF. made by Head 1911: 575, which is likely to be erroneous.

17 I am very grateful to Philip Kinns who provided me with photographs of coins belonging to himself, and to Richard Ashton who informed me about their existence.

### 2.3. Attic Tetradrachms: Quintus Sura at Thasos and in Macedonia (c. 90 BC)

The same pattern may be observed a generation later in Thasos (Thrace). The letters SVR or Q/SVR appear on—so far—3 reverse dies, all connected with the same obverse, of late Hellenistic Thasian tetradrachms (Callataï 1998a: 115–116 and pl. 11). It may be worthwhile to give an up-to-date die-study of the six known specimens, all struck from the same obverse die.<sup>18</sup>

#### The Thasian Tetradrachms of Quintus Sura

##### Legend SVR

1. O1 R1 a) Cambridge, *SNG Fitzwilliam* 1828 (16.32 g, 12h).

##### Legend Q/SVR

2. O1 R2 a) Brussels II82788 (16.78 g, 33 mm, 12h) = Rietdijk 360, 1 Dec. 1995, lot 1365.
3. O1 R2 b) Nova Zagora, Padarevo Hoard 3 (16.85 g, 30 mm, 1h).
4. O1 R2 c) Lanz, 102, 28 May 2001, 131 (16.67 g, 12h) = Witschonke coll. (Pl. 8, 6).
5. O1 R3 a) Paris, BNF 2072 (16.25 g, 31 mm, 12h).
6. O1 R4 a) Private Bulgarian coll. (16.53 g, 32 mm).

At a certain point in the Thasian sequence, the name of Q. SVR replaced the common monogram MH with which these tetradrachms are linked by the obverse die (O1). The same phenomenon occurred with the Macedonian tetradrachms in the name of Aesillas the *quaestor*. For a short time, the legend SVVRA LEG PRO Q replaced the name AESILLAS. All five known Macedonian coins with this new and ephemeral legend were struck from the same obverse die, inserted in the middle of the sequence (Callataï 1996a: 128 [obverse 19 of a total of 93]; Bauslaugh 2000: 47 [obverse 17 of a total of 103]). Moreover, as at Thasos, we know of other coins (at least 6) struck, apparently later, with the same obverse die but with the reverse legend AESILLAS (see Callataï 1998a: 114–115 and Bauslaugh 2000: 23–26 and 47–49). As reported by Appian (*Mithridates* 29) and Plutarch (*Sulla* 11.6–8), as well as by two honorific inscriptions (a statue base from Larissa and a decree from Thespieae), Q. Braetius Sura was legate of the governor Sentius in Macedonia during the years 93–87 BC. We shall not reopen here the many questions, partly resolved, regarding the Aesillas coinage (including the non-Roman nature of the name “Aesillas”, and the coins with the legend CAE. PR. MAKEΔONΩN, for Caesar Praetor of Macedonians).

<sup>18</sup> To compare with Callataï 1998a, this die-study recognizes only 1 (and not 2) obverse dies, and it adds a new specimen (no. 4) which was recently sol. In addition, a cast copy is kept at the Bucarest National Museum of Romanian History (no. 4457—13.51 g, 35 mm, 12h; see Lukanc 1996: 120, no. 1930 and pl. 169).

The question, for both Atinius and Sura, is this: why does the name of a Roman official appear so briefly (not even the full lifetime of one obverse die) and then disappear? We may discard the hypothesis put forward by Bauslaugh for Aesillas. Giving undue weight to the existence of one plated imitation (in the British Museum), he suggests that “recipients might have very quickly refused to accept any SVVRA issue for fear of receiving the nearly worthless counterfeits” (Bauslaugh 2000: 49). This is unlikely in many ways, and supposes that the issuer reacted promptly to a user’s complaint. Alternatively, it would be hard to consider these brief appearances as marks of honor, especially as the type itself was not modified. Since they merely take the place of some rather obscure monograms or symbols, it is doubtful that users paid attention to these Roman names. A technical explanation is more likely. Could it be that Atinius and Sura provided the metal for the coinage struck in their names? We know from Plutarch (*Pompey* 20.1) that Pompey used his fortune to pay his troops who fought in Spain against Sertorius. As tempting as this hypothesis may appear, it is not supported by the extreme rarity of occurrences (2 cases) for what must have been a rather common situation. Given the current limitations in our knowledge, it may be wise to resist favoring one specific explanation. But since these issues were apparently not conceived by civic powers as honorary marks, they presumably represent a Roman impact on what look otherwise like civic coinages.

#### 2.4. Cistophoric Tetradrachms: Fimbria in Asia (c. 85 BC)

Three specimens of a cistophoric tetradrachm are presently known with the reverse legend FIMBRIA (in r. field) IMPERAT (in l. field) flanking a winged caduceus and a standard (better than “a scepter surmounted by a crescent”—Witschonke and Amandry 2004–2005: 90).<sup>19</sup> There is no die-link among the three specimens, suggesting “a larger issue than one might assume from its rarity today” (Witschonke and Amandry, pers. comm.). With weights between 11.24 g and 11.51 g, this issue is noticeably lighter than contemporary *cistophori* (Callataÿ 1997: 166 for Ephesus), but this may be accounted for by the fact that all three specimens are somewhat corroded. The alloy (97.3% silver and 1.4% copper, see Witschonke and Amandry 2004–2005: 91) pleads favorably for a date c. 85 BC (and not in the forties as some have proposed—see Walker 1976: 26–28 and 33–34 to put these data into perspective—see *infra* 5.2). This is the period in which C. Flavius Fimbria, a Marian, killed his commander L. Valerius Flaccus in northwestern Asia, declared himself *imperator*, had several successes against Pontic armies, and, upon the desertion of his troops, was forced to commit suicide by Sulla in Pergamum. It should be noted that Fimbria introduced a novel reverse type for the cistophoric coinage (caduceus and standard), and was the first Roman to proclaim himself *imperator*

<sup>19</sup> Two of them were purchased from R. Hecht in Rome (Ashmolean Museum in 1959 and Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1987). A third one appeared recently and is now in a private collection.

on the coinage (preceding Sulla by a year or two) (Pl. 8, 7). This proclamation was made in Latin, rendering comprehension by a non-Roman user problematic. We may suppose that these coins were struck to pay Fimbria's Roman troops (hence the use of a standard for the type) and that, conversely, the normal currency to pay Roman troops in Asia was the cistophoric coinage.

The caduceus symbol seems to have had some special attraction for the Romans in Asia. For example, we find it on the cistophoric issue of Atinius in 122/1 BC at Ephesus (Callataï 1997: 323–324) and on a bronze issue struck in Atarneus (Mysia) in c. 79–76 BC (?) in the name of Asinius (see *infra*).

### 2.5. Roman *Praenomina* Written in Greek: Quintus in Athens (c. 89–85 BC) and Caius in Stratonikeia (c. 80 BC)

Greeks used to refer to Romans by only their *praenomina*. One of the two moneyers who signed the Athenian stephanephoric tetradrachms in 89/8 BC (low chronology) bears a Roman name: KOINTOΣ for Quintus (Thompson 1961: 467). With his colleague ΚΛΕΑΣ, this Quintus/KOINTOS used Nike crowning a seated Roma as a symbol.<sup>20</sup>

The same KOINTOΣ appears a second time a few years later with ΧΑΡΜΟΣΤΡΑ(ΤΟΣ) as a colleague (86/5 BC). His second issue is supposed to come just after the Mithridatic issue in the names of ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ and ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ (87/6 BC).<sup>21</sup> A Roman name appears thus twice in critical historical contexts, but written in Greek and associated with an Athenian citizen. Believing in liturgies, M. Thompson felt no discomfort with this situation (and no need to connect this Quintus with a famous historical homonym).<sup>22</sup>

The name ΓΑΙΟΥ (for Caius), appears twice in a Hellenistic context: in Macedonia, in a clear Roman set of issues of the mid-second century BC in the name of Gaius Publilius the *quaestor* and at Stratonikeia in the 80s, about the time of the First Mithridatic War (Group 3 of Meadows 2002b: 91 and pl. 27, 3b, and 4a—see Pl. 8, 8).

An ingenious hypothesis formulated by Meadows would see in this group of pieces of c. 2.00–2.10 g, a weight reduction “to bring it into line with the Roman *quinarius* of the period” (Meadows 2002b: 109). Since the *quinarius* and *denarius* did not circulate in Asia before Augustus, I remain sceptical about this hypothesis. Here too, we do not need to invent a suitable Roman context, since we know from a long letter of Sulla dated to 81 BC that Stratonikeia resisted the Pontic invasion (OGIS 441—see Sherk 1984: 75–78, no. 63 for a convenient English translation).

20 It seems very likely that this issue KOINTOΣ/ΚΛΕΑΣ was struck the same year and after that of ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ/ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ (90/89 BC) with the symbol Roma alone (see Callataï 1997: 305–306).

21 Again, the month-pattern makes it likely that the Mithridatic issue and the KOINTOΣ/ΧΑΡΜΟΣΤΡΑ issue were struck the same year (but, without die-links here, the hypothesis is not as strong as for that in the preceding footnote).

22 Thompson 1961: 362 and 467: “Surely many men of Roman origin, active in civic affairs at this period throughout the Greek-speaking world, bore the same name.”

### 3. LESS EXPLICIT TRACES

Beyond explicit Roman names, Roman activity may be inferred from less obvious—mainly technical—but still visible traces. The purpose here is not to push this kind of evidence too far, but merely to call some attention to these neglected criteria.

#### 3.1. Symbols: Cistophoric Tetradrachms at Ephesus (70/69–68/7 BC)

Close scrutiny of the sequence of symbols displayed on the cistophoric tetradrachms of Ephesus shows a change for the years 70/69–68/7 BC (years 55–57 of the Ephesian era). Instead of one symbol on the reverse, these years are characterized by several symbols (3 for the years 56 and 57) used separately each year. As it has been shown (Callataÿ 1997: 172–174 and 361), these symbols—a thyrus, a palm and a grain ear, always presented between two cornucopias—must be connected with the program of Lucullus who, back from his Pontic expedition, is said by Plutarch (*Lucullus* 23.1–2) to have given “processions” in Ephesus: large parties and games to celebrate the return of peace. The chronology fits admirably with the text of Plutarch: Lucullus made use of the cistophoric coinage to advertise his policy (see also 5.2).

#### 3.2. Symbols: Athenian Stephanephoric Tetradrachms (c. 90–80 BC)

The symbol of a seated Roma has been noted on Athenian stephanephoric tetradrachms. It appears first alone with the moneyers ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ/ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ (Pl. 8, 9) and—in the same year (c. 89/8 BC)—with a standing Nike and the names ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ/ΚΛΕΑΣ.

On one tetradrachm of the issue ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ/ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ, Roma has been erased intentionally (Thompson 1961: 362 and pl. 123, 1118b; Pl. 9, 10).

This rare phenomenon is also documented for one tetradrachm of the Mithradatic issue where the Pontic symbols (an eight-rayed star and two crescents) have been replaced by an Isis headdress (Callataÿ 1997: 304 and pl. 52, F [Paris, BnF, R2993—acquired in 1962]; Pl. 9, 11).

The Isis headdress appears as the symbol of the ΔΗΜΕΑΣ/ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ issue, now dated precisely to 91/0 BC (since this is an issue with an intercalary month—Müller 1991: 89; for the chronology in general, see Mørkholm 1984), while a standing Isis is the symbol on the issue ΑΡΧΙΤΙΜΟΣ/ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ struck shortly after the First Mithridatic War (in c. 83/82 BC?) (Pl. 9, 12).

#### 3.3. Letters on the Obverse: Nicomedes, Crete, Lucullus, Aesillas, and Oinoanda (c. 86–81 BC?)

To find a letter on the obverse die of a Greek coin is rather rare.<sup>23</sup> Letters, as symbols or monograms, were normally engraved on the reverse for the technical

<sup>23</sup> For Ionia, Philip Kinns points to occurrences at Magnesia and Smyrna. It would be difficult to postulate Roman influence to explain some of these..

reason that reverse dies are changed more frequently. However, it turns out that, among the exceptions we do have, several could be associated with the Romans during the First Mithridatic War (89–85 BC) or slightly after.

A letter Β (2) or Γ (3) appears quite unexpectedly on the obverses of Bithynian royal tetradrachms for the year 84/3 BC (year 214 = ΔΙΣ) (CallataÏ 1997a : 64–65). The year after, in 83/82 BC, there are no letters on the obverses, but a Β appears in the inner right field of five reverse dies (CallataÏ 1997a : 65, R<sub>1</sub>–R<sub>5</sub>). Then, with this issue, the royal Bithynian coinage, issued nearly without interruption for more than half a century, stops. It resumes briefly (and posthumously—CallataÏ 1986: 24–30) in the years ΓΚΣ and ΔΚΣ (75/4 and 74/3 BC).

At about the same time (86–83 BC?), some Athenian imitations struck by Lucullus in Gortyna have a Β before the neck of Athena (Le Rider 1968: 320) while several others are marked with an Α or a Β on the reverse. The meaning of these anomalous letters remains obscure; Le Rider cautiously proposed the hypothesis that the letters refer to the bullion source (Le Rider 1968: 327). As a possible parallel, the Athenian Lucullan issues have a single Α on the amphora.

Tetradrachms in the name of Aesillas were nearly all systematically marked with a letter on the obverse, most of them with a Θ which has been interpreted as a mintmark for Thessalonika; but some others have a Β (with or without a horizontal *hasta*) (see Bauslaugh 2000: 84–89). We may note that the same letters, Β and Θ (but no others), appear on the reverses of the Ephesian gold staters (Jenkins 1987—see 2.2). This may be coincidental but, personally, I am not convinced that these letters are mintmarks or dates.

The astonishing silver coinage of Oinoanda also has letters on the obverse (Α and Β) or reverse (Γ). As discussed below, I am tempted to link this coinage with the Roman troops of Murena at the end of the 80s (CallataÏ 2007).

It is beyond the scope of this article to define the purpose of these single letters put on obverses. Note that these letters appear not only on obverses but “move” to reverses, which is without parallel.

To find a letter on an obverse die is much more common with Roman Republican *denarii*. This practice is particularly common in the period under discussion (*RRC* 361/1c: Crepusius, c. 82 BC; *RRC* 364/1c: Q. Antonius Balbus, c. 83/2 BC, or *RRC* 382/1a: C. Naevius Balbus, c. 79 BC). To place a name on the obverse is, in the late first century BC “a clear sign of the creeping Romanisation of coin design” (Meadows 2002b: 110).

#### 3.4. Engraving of Letters: Athenian Stephanephoric Tetradrachms and Fimbrian Cistophoric Tetradrachms (c. 86–83 BC)

The name ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ (Quintus) on Athenian tetradrachms has already been noted (see 2.5). There is another issue with this name, associated with ΧΑΡΜΟΣΤΡΑ(ΤΟΣ). This issue is now dated to 86/5 BC, just after the Mithridatic issue of 87/6 BC. However, all the coins of this rare issue were once rejected by Thompson as imitations,

although admittedly “the most controversial of the imitations entries” (Thompson 1961: 464 and pl. 159, nos. 1427–1428). She wrote: “In view of the cited anomalies of both obverse and reverse style, one can keep Kointos’ coinage at Athens only by positing a die cutter working at the Athenian mint for a single year ... who broke sharply with current tradition and turned out a limited number of obverse and reverse dies strikingly dissimilar to the work of his contemporaries...” (1961: 466). The hypothesis that these dies were engraved by a Roman die-cutter must be considered.

A general characteristic of late Hellenistic coinages is the presence of letters with dotted ends. This characteristic could be quite prominent, as with the tetradrachms of Philip Philadelphus and their copies under Roman rule in Syria. Although offering a less dramatic example, the Athenian stephanephoric coinage also shows this feature. There is just one exception to the rule: the so-called Sullan Issues, whose two monograms end with straight lines instead of dots (Thompson 1961: 424–439, nos. 1273–1345; Pl. 9, 13).

In Rome, the practice of engraving letters with dotted ends was far less pronounced than in the Greek world, and was quite similar to the way letters were engraved on the ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ/ΧΑΡΜΟΣΤΡΑ issue. It is tempting to attribute these issues to engravers who were not ungifted or untrained, but who just did their job differently. Also, interestingly, dies of Roman Republican *denarii* were not, as a rule, reengraved to correct errors, except for one single issue: *denarii* struck by Sulla after his return from Greece (RRC 359/2—see Callataÿ 1996b: 30–31 and Hollstein 2000).

The recent article of Witschonke and Amandry (2004–2005: pl. 19) gives pictures of the three known Fimbrian *cistophori*. The letters’ ends are very weakly dotted, but the same may be said of the rare letters or monograms on many *cistophoric* issues. Considerably more work in this area will be necessary in order to draw firm conclusions.

### 3.5. Brockages: Cistophoric Tetradrachms at Ephesus and Nysa (c. 133–125 BC?)

Brockages are fairly rare for Greek coinages in general, and certainly for Asia Minor. Conversely, this kind of technical error is rather common for Roman Republican *denarii*. It is thus remarkable to find a couple of brockages for *cistophori*. I am aware of specimens where it happens for Nysa (133/132 BC) and Ephesus (126/125 BC) (Pl. 9, 14–15).<sup>24</sup>

Brockages are not the result of a different minting technique but, as it seems, of less careful control after striking. The occurrence of these brockages is thus possibly an additional argument for placing these issues in the orbit of the Romans.

Between Greeks and Romans, there were indeed technical numismatic dif-

<sup>24</sup> Nysa: Münzen&Medaillen Deutschland 13, 9 Oct. 2003, lot 326 (year 2 = 133/2 BC) = Witschonke coll. Ephesus: Künker 111, 18 March 2006, lot 6244 (year 9 = 126/5 BC).

ferences that are worthy of study. To summarize them briefly, Romans produced brockages, paid no attention to die-axis, and sometimes put letters on the obverse, but did not engrave these letters with heavily dotted ends, as in the Greek world.

#### 4. THE MOVEMENT OF COINS: OVERSTRIKES AND CIRCULATION PATTERNS

The observation here and there of a Roman technical characteristic in the coinages of Greece and Asia is interesting, but not nearly as significant as the conclusions we can draw from the movement of coins in these provinces and, above all, from the patterns of mintage peaks and mint closures that we observe in Asia Minor during the decades before 63 BC.

##### 4.1. Overstrikes: Cistophoric Tetradrachms (c. 150–140 BC)

Recognizable overstrikes are rarely found for large silver coins in Late Hellenistic Asia Minor. However, several *cistophori* struck at Ephesus and Tralles show traces of overstrikes. Here is a list of the known cases:

##### Ephesus

1. Triton VII, 12 Jan. 2004, lot 233 (star and laurel branch—struck c. 150–140 BC, overstruck on Macedonian First Meris) (Pl. 9, 16).
2. New York, ANS (see Kleiner 1972: pl. 15, no. 7 and Kleiner and Noe 1977: 47, pl. XV, no. 1 [star and laurel branch])—struck c. 150–140 BC, overstruck on Thasos).
3. *CH* II 94—Ionia 1974, fig. 11 (star and laurel branch—struck c. 150–140 BC, overstruck on Thasos).
4. London, BM 145 (see Kleiner 1972: pl. 11, no. 1 and Kleiner and Noe 1977: 50, pl. XVI, no. 1—year 20 = 140/39 BC, overstruck on Macedonian First Meris).
5. Lanz 125, 28 Nov. 2005, lot 362 (year 20 = 140/39 BC, overstruck on Macedonian First Meris) = Classical Numismatic Group 72, 14 June 2006, lot 729 = Witschonke coll. (Pl. 10, 17).

##### Tralles

1. New York, ANS, E.T. Newell (see Kleiner 1972: pl. 15, no. 6 and Kleiner & Noe 1977: 67, pl. XXIII, no. 12 [Series 23: filleted tripod])—struck c. 155–145 BC, overstruck on Macedonian First Meris).
2. Classical Numismatic Group 57, 4 Apr. 2001, lot 440 (Series 23: filleted tripod—struck c. 155–145 BC, overstruck on Macedonian First Meris) (Pl. 10, 18).
3. Berlin (Kleiner 1972: 31—didrachm overstruck on a Rhodian didrachm).

##### Unidentified

1. Künker 111, 18 March 2006, lot 6244 (Ephesus, year 20 = struck in 140/39 BC) = Gorny & Mosch 118, 15 Oct. 2002, lot 1434.

Out of the 8 identified overstrikes, 5 were overstruck on Macedonian First Meris tetradrachms and 2 on Thasian tetradrachms. Moreover, these overstrikes occur only with specific issues: 2 for Ephesus (star and laurel branch [c. 150–140 BC], K and Artemis [140/39 BC]) and 1 for Tralles (filleted tripod [c. 155–145 BC]), which all belong to the same period: the years before the end of the Attalid kingdom (c. 155–139 BC). It should be noted that, since the weight differs between *cistophori* and Attic tetradrachms, these overstrikes required that the weight of the Macedonian or Thasian tetradrachms be reduced by one fourth. Thus, at the end of the Attalid dominion, tetradrachms coming from the Northern Aegean area were chosen intentionally to issue some specific batches of cistophoric tetradrachms. This was not a random process, since there is no reason to believe that coins from the First Macedonian Meris or Thasos were particularly common at the border of the Asian Province. Hellenistic Thasian tetradrachms are never found in Asia Minor. For the First Macedonian Meris, we know of two possible hoards, both characterized by a very mixed content, in which Macedonian tetradrachms played a minor role, and buried before c. 150–140 BC.<sup>25</sup>

The question is: which power organized this movement of coinage? To my mind, the answer points in the Roman direction, even with Asia Minor still technically under Attalid rule.

#### 4.2. Overstrikes: Tetradrachms of Tenedos and Abydos (c. 100–80 BC)

The first varieties of the late Hellenistic tetradrachms struck at Tenedos (now dated sometime during the first two decades of the first century BC) were also often overstruck on Thasian tetradrachms (Callataÿ 1998b: 100–102 and 113–114 [3 identified]). Considering the proportion of coins visibly overstruck (6 out of the first 11 pieces of the catalogue), we may reasonably suspect that all of the first phase of this coinage was produced by overstriking silver tetradrachms from Thasos (Pl. 10, 19).

A Thasian tetradrachm was also reused at Alexandria Troas in 86/5 BC (year 216—see Imhoof-Blumer 1883: 261, no. 164; Overbeck 1889: pl. 2, no. 68 and pl. 5, no. 25; Bellinger 1961: 99, no. A157; and Callataÿ 1997a: 152).

In the same area, we also have an overstrike of a Late Hellenistic tetradrachm of Abydos (the only one known for this coinage) on a coin of Aesillas, the Macedonian *quaestor* (Callataÿ 1996c), whose tetradrachms are never found in Asia Minor (Pl. 10, 20).

These overstrikes, among others, were decisive in the lowering of the chronologies of these coinages to the first decades of the first century BC. But again, although the geographical context makes it less likely, may we suppose that these coins arrived naturally through the channels of trade? The strong pattern of over-

25 1) IGCH 1432, Southern Asia Minor, 1964, c. 150 BC; 2) CH IX 527, unknown findspot, 1993, c. 140 BC. Although far from the province of Asia, the Ordu hoard (CH I 80 = CH II 89 = CH III 58 = CH VIII 442 = CH IX 530, Ordu, 1970, c. 140–120 BC) contained no less than 17 Macedonian tetradrachms.

strikes at Tenedos, at least, argues for a negative answer. First Macedonian Meris, Thasos and Aesillas tetradrachms are all “Roman” coinages.

#### 4.3. Circulation Pattern: Athenian Stephanephoric Tetradrachms (c. 126–122 BC)

A strange circulation pattern has been noted for the Athenian stephanephoric tetradrachms (Callataï 1991–1992; Mattingly 1997; and Meadows 2002a). Nearly the complete production of four successive years (126/5–123/2 BC) found its way into Northern Aegean hoards. The issues involved are:

ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗ/ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ/ΑΛΚΗΤΗΣ

ΚΑΡΑΙΧ/ΕΡΓΟΚΛΕ and

ΜΙΚΙΩΝ/ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ (Pl. 10, 21).

It is a commonly-held belief that this large and international coinage was primarily issued for trade, and the many hoards found in Delos seem to confirm this presumption (see recently Picard 2000). We should note the possible confusion here between economic and historical causes: hoards are numerous in Delos chiefly because of the Mithradatic sacks of 88 and 69 BC. However, it would be unreasonable to attribute to trade the massive transfer of four Athenian years of production to the Northern Aegean (Macedon and Thrace). And as any explanation involving an Athenian decision looks problematic, the best (and in fact only) guess we can reasonably make is a Roman request, in order to pay the troops stationed in Macedon.

### 5. RATE OF PRODUCTION: PEAKS AND CLOSURES

There are several important cases where we may prove, or at least infer, that Romans took measures in order either to stop or to promote local coinages in Asia, both civic and royal. What follows deals with the Mithradatic Wars and extends to some examples taken from adjacent areas.

#### 5.1. Peaks of Production and Roman Armies: Ariobarzanes I Philoromaïos of Cappadocia (c. 83–65 BC)

The official epithet of Ariobarzanes found on his coins is Philoromaïos. The truth is that the study of his coinage fully confirms such an inclination. Even if we still lack a die-study for his full reign (for technical reasons, I restricted mine to the regnal years 1–16 [95/4–80/79 BC]—Callataï 1997a: 209–214), it is entirely clear that there were two peaks in the production (see Fig. 1).

The first peak occurred during the years 83/2 BC (ΙΓ = 25 obverses for 42 drachms in my database), 82/1 BC (ΙΔ = 11 obverses for 25 drachms) and, to a less-

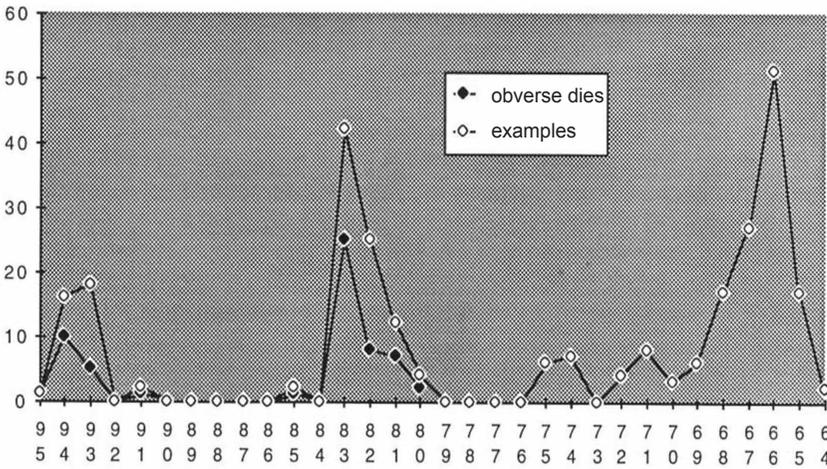


Figure 1. Drachm production of Ariobarzanes I Philoromaios. After Callataÿ 1997a: 211.

er extent, 81/0 BC (IE = 5 obverses for 10 drachms). There is no historical record of any action taken by Ariobarzanes during these years, but we know that Murena, at the head of the Fimbrian soldiers, used the area as a base to invade Pontus, wintering in Cappadocia in 83/2 BC.

The other peak came later, chiefly in the years 67/6 (27 drachms) and 66/5 BC (51 drachms), which exactly corresponds to the presence of Pompey's armies, after their victory over the pirates in Cilicia.

It is thus obvious that, under Ariobarzanes, the bulk of the royal production of Cappadocian drachms was issued for the needs of Roman troops. Crawford guessed that "the demand (to pay Roman armies) might stimulate increased output by a local mint", and he added "though I know of no certain example" (Crawford 1985: 118). This is at least one sure case.

It would be interesting to analyze the metal content of these royal Cappadocian drachms, since it may be that these silver coins were debased in 83/2 BC. Hoards indicate that drachms struck before 83/2 BC failed to circulate after that date (*IGCH* 1741 and *CHI* 102). One drachm of Ariobarzanes dated 83/2 BC (year  $\Pi$ ) was overstruck on another (not identified) royal drachm of Cappadocia (Myers 2, 11–12 May 1972, lot 149). And finally, although buried in a ceramic vase, the drachms of *IGCH* 1741 (Asvan) are corroded with green incrustations.

## 5.2. Peaks of Production and Roman Armies: Cistophoric Tetradrachms (c. 85–67 BC)

As the cistophoric tetradrachms of Ephesus are dated, they allow researchers to follow the annual rate of their production (see Callataÿ 1997a: 171–179 and below, Fig. 2).

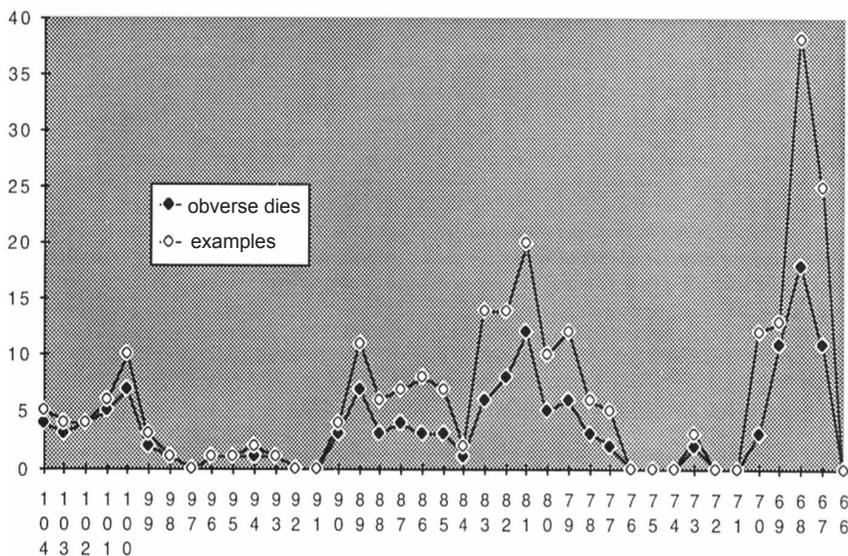


Figure 2. Cistophoric tetradrachm production at Ephesus (105/4-68/7 BC).  
After Callataï 1997a: 176.

The end of the sequence is the most remarkable, since it is characterized by a high peak for the years 70/69-68/7 BC (ΞΕ-ΞΖ: 40 obverses for 75 coins), after which the mint closed until 59/8 BC. As already noted (see 3.1), the years 70/69-68/7 BC were marked by an iconographic innovation: three symbols used during each of three years (grain ear, palm, and thyrsus). The link with Lucullus' presence at this time at Ephesus, after his victory over Mithridates and before he was replaced by Pompey, is unmistakable.

Although less clear, another peak of the Ephesian production may be located in the years 84/3-80/79 BC (NA-NE: 37 obverses for 70 coins). This peak is also probably connected with Lucullus, left by Sulla in Asia in order, among other duties, to restore the finances of the cities.

What was the case for Ephesus was also true for Tralles and Apamea: cistophoric tetradrachms were intensively issued during these years. We may estimate tentatively that c. 200 obverse dies were engraved for the cistophoric tetradrachms in the years 84/3-78/7 BC, a number comparable to the number of obverse dies for all the tetradrachms struck over 30 years by Mithradates Eupator himself (Callataï 1997a: 26-27). At an average of 20,000 coins per die, this would represent 4,000,000 pieces, for a value of 2,667 Attic talents (or c. 75 tons of coined silver).

In addition, we should note a small peak in 89/8 BC (7 obverse dies for the year ME-45), which fits very well with the outbreak of the First Mithridatic War, and

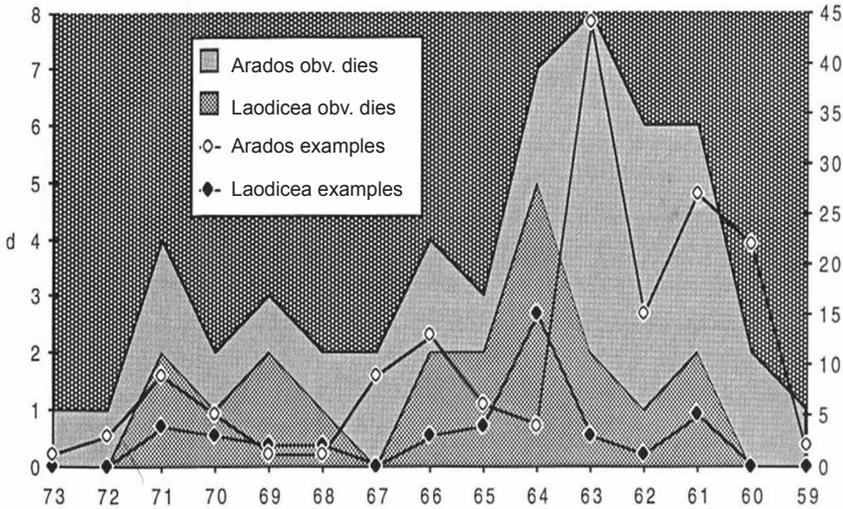


Figure 3. Tetradrachm production at Arados and Laodicea (73/2–59/8 BC).  
After Callataÿ 1997a: 176.

may be connected with some intensive but unsuccessful late military preparations under the command of Manius Aquilius (Callataÿ 1997a: 282-3).

David Walker, whose results must be taken with some caution, described the progression of the silver debasement for the Ephesian cistophoric tetradrachms (Walker 1976: 26–34). From c. 98% silver before 85 BC, these coins were debased to c. 95% between 85 and 81 BC, and c. 80% for the years 70–68 BC. As noted by Kinns, “Post-Sullan hoards contain few pre-85 issues, and it is probable that they had been withdrawn and re-struck” (Kinns 1987: 111). We have just pointed out what is probably a similar situation for Cappadocia. “Implicit in the observed debasement of the *cistophori* is greater Roman involvement with the coinage after the Mithradatic revolt, and it now becomes realistic to speak of a province-wide monetary policy” (*ibid.*).

### 5.3. Peaks of Production and Roman Armies: Arados and Laodicea (c. 65–63 BC)

The presence of Roman armies could affect the rate of any civic local coinage. An example is furnished by the silver tetradrachms struck in the 60s by the Syrian mints of Arados and Laodicea ad Mare (Callataÿ 1997a: 383–384 and Duyrat 2005: 167 and 282. See Fig. 3). In both cases, a die-study reveals a peak during the same period. The tip of the peak is reached in 64 BC at Laodicea and in 64/3 BC at Arados (7 obverses in 64/3 BC, 5 in 63/2 and 62/1 BC—Duyrat 2005: 282).

This is precisely the time Pompey’s troops sojourned in the area. Although the graph points to a link with the presence of the Roman army, this does not prove

that the increase in these civic productions was dictated by the Romans, nor that even part of the Roman troops were paid with these Syrian tetradrachms.

#### 5.4. New Coinage and Roman Armies?: Silver of the Ainianes in Thessaly (c. 87–85 BC?)

A most fascinating line of enquiry is to consider large coinages struck suddenly by cities which apparently had little political or economic power. The most reasonable explanation, I believe, must be that, despite their civic appearance, these coinages were struck for the benefit of a more powerful issuer.

The tribe of the Ainianes in Thessaly furnishes a good example. At the end of the Hellenistic period, a rich coinage of silver “didrachms”, the heaviest denominations of the time for the area, and “tetrobols” was produced with their name (c. 40 obverse dies for these coins of c. 7.5 g) (Pl. 10, 22). As many personal names (c. 50) are inscribed on the reverses, it has long been thought that this coinage was struck annually for half a century in the second century BC.

A die-study ruins this hypothesis, since one obverse die can be linked with as many as 9 different reverse names (Callataï 2004). A full analysis of these coins leads one to lower the chronology, to concentrate the issues, and to link the coinage with the Roman presence in Greece during the First Mithridatic War. To enumerate some of the arguments: the style is so close to Cretan imitations of Athenian tetradrachms made at the instigation of Lucullus that we may postulate the work of the same engravers; a trophy appears as a symbol, which is exactly the same as the one used by Sulla both on his *denarii* and on some rare Athenian tetradrachms (with two trophies to commemorate the victories of Orchomenus and Chaeronea); and the choice of the head of Athena Parthenos fits very well with the general Roman policy of the moment.<sup>26</sup>

#### 5.5. New Coinage and Roman Armies?: Staters of Oinoanda (c. 83–82 BC?)

I also think that the silver didrachms (c. 8.10–8.39 g) of Oinoanda in northern Lycia may constitute a similar case. This coinage was known from a single specimen until a hoard of approximately 100 coins surfaced on the market in 2002 (Pl. 10, 23). This is a heavy coinage, without silver fractions, struck in an uncommon denomination, possibly the only one known for the city, and issued in a short period (apparently three years as the letters A, B and Γ would seem to indicate). Why and when did Oinoanda strike these remarkable coins?

Richard Ashton recently published a full study of this coinage (Ashton 2005). In his view, based mainly on stylistic considerations, these didrachms were struck after the Peace of Apamea (188 BC); the letters are dates of a local era, and the coinage may have been issued to repair war damage, i.e. to pay workers reconstructing

<sup>26</sup> The staters of Leucas may constitute another example (see Price 1987: 98 and Callataï 2004: 143).

civic buildings such as the city-wall (or perhaps part of it since, with only 4 known obverses, this was not a large coinage).

To summarize my own views (see Callataÿ 2007), this coinage is best placed at the beginning of the first century BC; letters on the obverses and reverses are reminiscent of Roman mint practices (see 3.3), and we know that Murena (see 5.1) passed through Oinoanda during the so-called Second Mithridatic War. The case is not settled but, certainly, I would favor for this “remarkably isolated coinage” (Ashton 2005: 74) a military explanation instead of a recurrent one such as paying for civic buildings.

### 5.5. Closures: Ephesus, Cappadocia, and Bithynia (86-63 BC)

At Ephesus, cistophoric production ceased in 67 BC, and the same must be true for the other cistophoric mints. In 1937, Broughton proposed the idea, which failed to receive any support, that Pompey’s suppression of piracy heavily stimulated trade, and thus, for commercial reasons, Rome was hungry and absorbed the coined silver of the East (Broughton 1937). The actual reasons are probably far from this typically modernist view expressed in the 1930s. It is highly probable that the sudden closure of the cistophoric mints was a decision of Pompey, as part of the measures taken to suppress Lucullus’ authority. Indeed, the iconography of the Ephesian cistophoric coinage was at the time dictated by Lucullus (see 3.1). But the lack of metal certainly played a role.

It is worthwhile to note that both Alexandria Troas, whose last issue is dated to 66/5 BC (Callataÿ 1997a: 156–158 and 380) and Ilium (Kinns 1987: 111) ceased to strike tetradrachms around the same year. It is not entirely unreasonable to suppose that the Pompeian decision regarding *cistophori* was extended even to civic coinages outside the province of Asia.

As already noted by Kinns, “bullion must have been diverted elsewhere, some of it perhaps to the regal mints of Cappadocia, which may have provided coinage for the last campaigns against Tigranes and Mithradates” (Kinns 1987: 111).

Table 1 (below) summarizes the production for Ephesus, Nicomedes IV, and Ariobarzanes Philoromaïos, giving first the number of obverse dies and then the number of specimens as mentioned in Callataÿ 1997a.<sup>27</sup> It reinforces the Cappadocian hypothesis.

Another curious and rather abrupt closure occurred in 82 BC with the royal coinage of Bithynia. We have already mentioned the last two years of this coinage (84/3 and 83/2 BC) as having letters on the obverse (see 3.3). Again, put into perspective, it turns out that this coinage stopped at the time when *cistophori* were struck on a large scale (we have to take all the mints into account), not to mention the less important “Murena/Ariobarzanes” coinage in Cappadocia. It seems as if,

<sup>27</sup> It should certainly be feasible to enlarge considerably this material, but it gives as such a detailed yearly impression whose proportions are unlikely to change.

after the Peace of Dardanos in 85 BC, the Romans intervened to restart the striking of Bithynian royal tetradrachms, but quickly stopped (CallataÏ 1997a: 330).<sup>28</sup>

Table 1

Dates	Ephesus	Nicomedes IV	Ariobarzanes I
87/6 BC	3/8	2/4	
86/5 BC	3/7	3/4	
85/4 BC	1/2	1/1	1/2
84/3 BC	6/14	8/10	—
83/2 BC	8/14	6/8	25/42
82/1 BC	12/20	—	11/25
81/0 BC	5/10	—	7/10
80/79 BC	6/12	—	2/4
79/8 BC	3/6	—	—
78/7 BC	2/5	—	—
77/6 BC	—	—	—
76/5 BC	—	—	?/6
75/4 BC	—	5/11	?/7
74/3 BC	2/3	3/4	—
73/2 BC	—	—	?/4
72/1 BC	—	—	?/8
71/0 BC	3/12	—	?/3
70/69 BC	11/13	—	?/5
69/8 BC	18/38	—	?/17
68/7 BC	12/25	—	?/27
67/6 BC	—	—	?/51
66/5 BC	—	—	?/17
65/4 BC	—	—	?/2
64/3 BC	—	—	—

<sup>28</sup> The last issues of royal Bithynian tetradrachms in 75/4 and 74/3 BC were certainly not struck by Nicomedes IV (who would have been so friendly for future historians as to indicate the time of his death). On the contrary, they must be posthumous (CallataÏ 1986: 24–30).

## CONCLUSION

Scholars have been reluctant to identify as “Roman” coinages the cistophoric tetradrachms of Asia after 134 BC, or the Athenian stephanephoric tetradrachms at the end of the second century and during the first century BC. There is a straightforward reason for this reluctance: these coinages did not cease when the fierce enemy of the Romans, Mithridates Eupator, was master of Asia and Athens.<sup>29</sup> For cistophoric tetradrachms, it has been established that the Ephesian era started one year before the creation of the province in 133 BC. Thus, this is not a “Roman era” for a “Roman coinage” (Kinns 1987: 107; Leschhorn 1993: 207). “It seems necessary to conclude that the *cistophori*, for all their use by the Romans, were apparently still not regarded as a Roman coinage” (Kinns 1987: 110), although this coinage was submitted to the Roman authority (Crawford 1982: 158–160 and 1985: 159). Price reaches approximately the same conclusion for Athens. He admits as likely “the idea that the Romans might be using this outwardly civic coinage for military purposes” (Price 1987: 96). Furthermore, he asserts that if a tribute was paid to the Romans, it must have been in Athenian *stephanephoroi* (Price 1987: 96).

This paper points out the many aspects of probable Roman influence on these coinages. For the cistophoric coinage, especially from the dated Ephesian evidence, it seems that Romans could and did control the size of issues and the quality of the alloy. It is likely that they controlled the bullion market and were able to import or export silver even before the official end of Attalid rule. The Athenian stephanephoric coinage experienced a similar fate. Romans could dispatch four years of production to the North. The fact that they utilize the iconography of the Athenian coinage for their emergency issues (Lucullan tetradrachms in Crete, Sullan issues in Greece, “didrachms” of the Ainiades in Thessaly) is in itself very significant. To what extent “Athens as a free city was able to strike an enormous coinage” (Price 1987: 95) is questionable. Various technical features with a Roman flavor appear here and there, suggesting a Roman presence in the mint.

The idea of a “submitted coinage” necessarily deals with the much-debated question of autonomy. A long-held *communis opinio*, inspired by medieval and modern examples, holds that the privilege of striking money was only allowed to autonomous cities. Every civic coinage was thus a manifestation of autonomy. As may be abundantly demonstrated, this view is not consistent with the Greek evidence. To find an explanation for this contradiction, some have recently tried to minimize the importance of issuing coins to a minor right, not included in the real set of criteria a city had to meet in order to be declared autonomous (Martin

<sup>29</sup> Three cistophoric tetradrachms (Pergamum, Ephesus [90/89 BC] and Apameia) found their way to Pontus, with a typical assemblage brought back by a Mithridatic soldier (*IGCH* 1383 = *CH* I 113, Giresun, 1933: Mithridates, Athens, Nicomedes and Cappadocia—see Kleiner 1973 and Callataÿ 1997a: 290, n. 76). Found in Asia, the Çesme (Erythrae) hoard (*IGCH* 1359) offers a similar profile (Kleiner 1973: 19–23).

1985, Meadows 2001, and Oliver 2001). This, in turn, would imply that monetary matters were of little interest for rulers, kings and princes. The opposite was true: coined silver was so important for rulers that they did not hesitate to continue existing coinages at their own expense, without any explicit references to themselves (Callataï 2003: 226). Obviously, this argues against the propaganda value of ancient coins, and demonstrates that Ancients were essentially pragmatic in their monetary affairs (which, I am convinced, is the right approach to correctly understanding ancient coinages). Mithridates himself supported or made use of the coinages of his enemies (Nicomedes IV and *cistophori*). The Romans were no different in their pragmatic approach to coinage.

The Romans were monetarily active even before the disappearance of their client kings. They may have furnished bullion to Attalus III; they encouraged a last issue of Nicomedes IV (if he was still ruling) and then decided to suspend his coinage, while Ariobarzanes Philoromaïos seems to have lived on perpetual stand-by, waiting for a Roman request to strike coins with his name and portrait, but to the benefit of Roman armies.

Regarding the two main currencies in the East, Athenian stephanephoric tetradrachms in mainland Greece and cistophoric tetradrachms in Asia (leaving aside the northern Aegean area), the Romans used them freely: they could modify the alloy (*cistophori*), lower the average weight, concentrate the circulation for a while (Athenian coinage in the North), and increase or stop production. On a more restricted level, some issues attest Roman names or utilize Roman symbols. Others display what look like Roman features (brockages, letters without dotted ends, letters on the obverse, non-aligned dies).

Roman control was not restricted to these coinages. The presence of Roman troops could affect any civic coinage (see Arados and Laodicea in Syria, and tetradrachms in Troad). Sometimes, they may have furnished the silver bullion. Finally, the Romans seem to be behind coinages which were issued either briefly (Ainïanes) or intensively (Oinoanda?) by unlikely authorities.

The main conclusion of this article is thus to reframe the Roman monetary involvement in Asia and to give it a major role. What has changed since Crawford and Kinns published their studies in the 1980s? I would argue for two general ideas (and their consequences) and four categories of evidence.

Today, largely following the views of Crawford and Kinns, Greek and Roman coinages are seen primarily as being connected with public expenditures, mainly military, rather than as an instrument of commerce. This viewpoint has developed during the last two decades, and is now accepted by more general historians.

Another important trend is to look at ancient coinages as the result of decisions that are basically pragmatic rather than propagandistic. Consequently, the idea that civic coinages could have been struck under the dominion of, and to the benefit of an external power seems now more acceptable.

As for the evidence bearing on these questions: 1) die-studies (or at least partial die-studies) are now available for important coinages such as Ephesian *cistophori*, drachms of Ariobarzanes, tetradrachms of Aesillas, First Macedonian Meris, Mithridates, and Nicomedes. These die-studies allow us to estimate the size of the issues, and thereby to study the level of production. To that crucial information we may add two less significant kinds of evidence: 2) overstrikes, which sometimes allow us to draw inferences regarding the source of the metal employed, and 3) technical features which, put into perspective, seem characteristically Roman. Finally, having rejected the tight linkage between the right of coinage and autonomy, we may deal with the cases of 4) unexpected coinages for which a commercial explanation is unlikely.

As a result, a broader and richer panorama emerges wherein the Romans were the leading force behind many coinages before 63 BC, when Pompey reorganized the monetary system, explicitly affirming Roman monetary authority.

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Plate 8



More Than It Would Seem



10



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More Than It Would Seem



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More Than It Would Seem