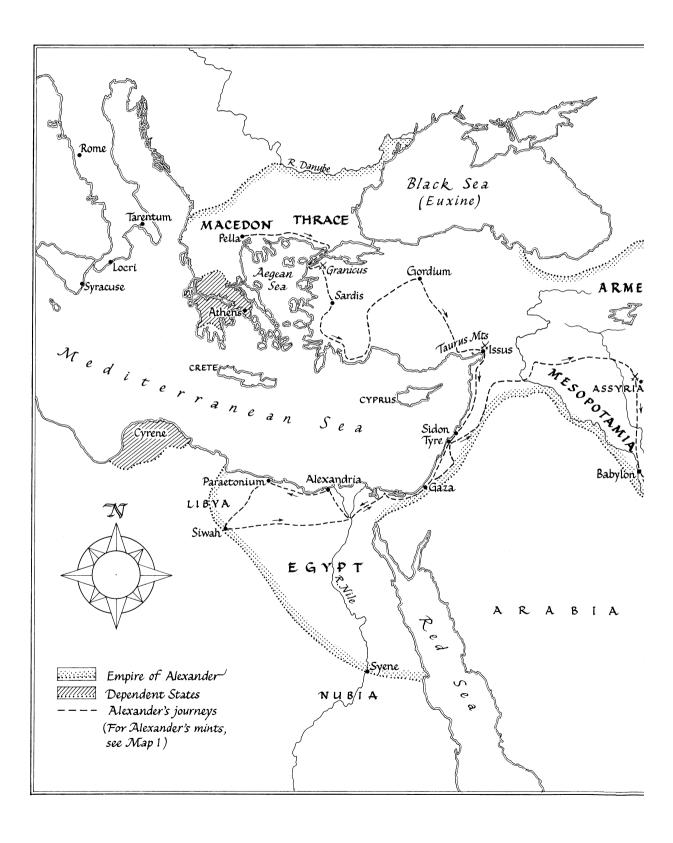


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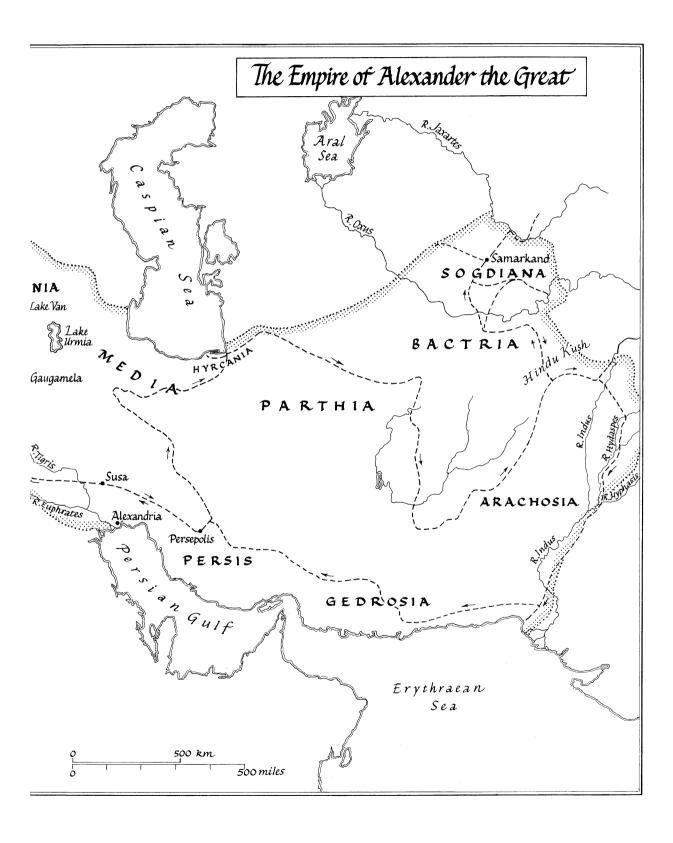


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This is the first full study of early Hellenistic coinage to be published. It provides a general history of the coinage of Alexander the Great and his successors, and of the cities of Greece and Asia Minor, over the century and a half 336–188 B.C. Dr Mørkholm gives special attention to the imitative coinages bearing the names of Philip of Macedon, Alexander and Lysimachus which can now, as a result of the work of the great American numismatist Edward T. Newell and subsequent scholars, be confidently attributed to later periods and to different regions in the Hellenistic world.

Dr Mørkholm's original intention was to write a survey of Hellenistic coinage down to the Roman acquisition of Egypt in 30 B.C., but he died with his project only half finished. His survey of early Hellenistic coinage, however, is complete in itself. A short epilogue has been added by Professor Grierson describing the main features of the coinage after 188 B.C.

The book is fully annotated, so that the reader can follow the most recent discussion of each theme, and a select bibliography covers the period down to 30 B.C. The forty-five plates, based mainly on material in the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet and illustrating over 600 coins, include virtually all types struck prior to 188 and a selection of those minted subsequently. Dr Mørkholm's detailed descriptions of the coins will provide a standard work of reference for ancient historians, numismatists and collectors.





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By the late

OTTO MØRKHOLM

Edited by

PHILIP GRIERSON and ULLA WESTERMARK





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### FOREWORD

#### PHILIP GRIERSON

In 1974 Otto Mørkholm, Keeper of the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet at Copenhagen and one of the most distinguished numismatists of this century, accepted an invitation to write a book entitled *Hellenistic Greek Coins* as a contribution to the Methuen series. 'The Library of Numismatics'. His study of the coinage of Antiochus IV, published in 1963, had been the prelude to a doctoral thesis (1966) on the same ruler, and the bulk of his publications during the following decade had been concerned with Hellenistic numismatics. Once the contract was signed he began to systematize his research with a view to producing a general survey, and in the spring of 1977 he spent three months' leave at Princeton and wrote the first of the five sections he had planned. Much of his time over the next few years had to be devoted to preparations for the celebration of the Bicentenary of the Copenhagen Coin Cabinet in March 1981, but he nonetheless managed to achieve a massive output of scholarly articles preparatory to returning to Princeton in the autumn of 1982 for another and hopefully final period of uninterrupted composition.

This was not to be. Shortly after the Bicentenary he fell ill, and in June 1981 he was operated on for cancer. He appeared at first to have made a good recovery and could resume his normal activities, but by autumn 1982 he was again seriously ill. The projected American trip was abandoned, and it was in Copenhagen that, in September, he returned to writing the book. In November he had two further operations, and although he returned to the Coin Cabinet in January 1983 it was plain that he had not much longer to live. His activity in the following months was prodigious, partly devoted to such articles as he thought might be completed in the time left to him, partly trying to get through as much as possible of the book that would sum up his knowledge of the coinage which had been his main interest in the previous three decades. For a time he had two typists turning his material into finished form to be submitted to Margaret Thompson or myself for such revision as the contents or the English might require. But in May he had a serious relapse and on 16 July, twelve days before his fifty-third birthday, he died. He was working on the manuscript and related articles till one or two days before his death, and his last finished paper, published posthumously, was written only a week before he died.

Otto Mørkholm's tragic death in such circumstances and at such a relatively early age was a sad loss equally to Greek numismatics and to his family and many friends. The joint memorial volume for him and Colin Kraay, who died in 1982, is a reflection of the esteem in which his



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scholarship is held and also of the depth of affection felt for a man who was one of the most widely liked numismatists of his generation.\*

By July 1983 Mørkholm was not quite half-way through the projected volume, but the chapters that he left – a general introduction and an account of the coinages down to the Peace of Apamea – were complete in themselves. His literary executors, in association with myself as General Editor of the Methuen series, were faced with the alternatives of either publishing the section as it stood or inviting some other scholar to continue it to 30 B.C., the date envisaged for its ending. Kenneth Jenkins, who had recently retired as Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, and who is one of the most eminent scholars in the field, volunteered to provide such a continuation, but he made it clear that other commitments would prevent his starting work at once. Early in 1989 he had to let us know that because of increasing eyesight problems he would have, regretfully, to abandon it.

In view of the length of time that has elapsed since Mørkholm's death we have come to the conclusion that a further delay is unacceptable, and that the manuscript should be published as it stands under a revised title, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*. Such a volume would not easily fit into the Methuen series, and the representatives of this firm have generously renounced their claim to the manuscript so that the work could be published by the Cambridge University Press.

The bulk of the volume – the text of chapters I–II, the contents of the footnotes, and part A of the Epilogue – are essentially as Mørkholm finished them in 1983. Mørkholm's continuous text ended with what is here chapter II. What was intended to be the next group of chapters, describing Western coinage in the third century, were never written. He composed, however, a substantial section of the chapter intended to follow these, covering essentially the end of Macedonian coinage, and this has been included here as part A of an Epilogue. Beyond that he had written no more than three pages of typescript on the early second–century coins of Chalcis and Euboea and the origins of the New Style coinage of Athens. These seemed too fragmentary to be worth reproducing, more especially since his views on the dating of the New Style coins are available in a closely reasoned article (Mørkholm 1984b) that appeared after his death. Instead, at the request of the Press, I have supplied a summary sketch of later Hellenistic coinage to round off the volume.

The text of Mørkholm's introductory section (chapters 1–3) has been left unchanged despite being intended for a book originally planned to cover the second and first centuries B.C., since it seemed worth putting on record the author's views on some general aspects of the later coinage even if he did not have time to deal with this in detail. I have, however, altered the arrangement of the chapters, for chapter 3 was originally intended to be chapter 1. Elsewhere my editorial work has been largely confined to changes in words or phrasing, though Mørkholm's

<sup>\*</sup> Kraay-Mørkholm Essays. Numismatic Studies in Memory of C.M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm (Studia Lovaniensia 10, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1989). This includes a bibliography of his publications by Jørgen Steen Jensen and an appreciation of him by Margaret Thompson. See also the obituary by Rudi Thomsen in Det kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Virksomhed 1984–85, 143–9, and the appreciation of his work, particularly for the Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen, by Jan Zahle in the Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad 1985, 59–68.



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command of both spoken and written English was so perfect that relatively little editing of this kind proved necessary. No attempt has been made to update the text systematically in the light of subsequent research, but I have drawn attention to the views of other scholars, and cited more recent publications, where they seemed of particular consequence. Additions of substance have been put in square brackets to distinguish them from Mørkholm's own text, but it has not seemed necessary to distinguish many minor adjustments in dates made to bring these into line with those in the third volume of N.G.L. Hammond and F.W. Walbank, A History of Macedonia, and in the revised Vol. VII, Part I, of The Cambridge Ancient History, both published since Mørkholm's death. I have also added lists of rulers, a chronological table of events, a bibliography, and a glossary.

Ulla Westermark's contribution has been of a more creative character. Mørkholm's hope was that the volume should as far as possible be illustrated by material in the Royal Danish Collection, of which he had been Keeper and which now houses his great collection of casts, and this has been done. The arrangement of the plates and the captions are almost entirely her work. She has also supplied the monograms and been consistently helpful in the occasional updating of Mørkholm's text and of the bibliography and in the very necessary revision of my own section of the Epilogue. This has also profited from the comments of Kevin Butcher, for which I am most grateful.

Since the projected book of which this volume forms only a part was intended by Mørkholm as his opus majus, summarizing the results of over twenty years of study, it is proper here to thank, on his behalf, the many persons and institutions who actively supported his work: the Danish National Museum, of which the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals forms a part; State Antiquarians P.V. Glob and Olaf Olsen, successive Directors of the Museum; the Carlsberg Foundation and the Rask-Ørsted Foundation, the latter now incorporated in the Danish Research Council for the Humanities; the Numismatic Foundation of Axel and Alfrida Ernst, which made a substantial grant for the plates of the volume; the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton and the Fulbright Commission for Educational Exchange between Denmark and the United States; the American Numismatic Society, which enabled him repeatedly to visit New York and work in its Museum in association with Margaret Thompson. It may seem invidious to pick out for special mention any of the many coin cabinets in which he worked for longer or shorter periods, but it should be recorded that the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum and the Museum of the American Numismatic Society held a particular place in his affections. He also owed a special debt of gratitude to an individual who played a major role in the planning and writing of this book, his wife Annelis Thygesen Mørkholm, who was for many years his assistant in the Royal Coin Cabinet.

In preparing the book for the press I am grateful for much help and advice to Jørgen Steen Jensen and Martin Price, who have readily answered the many queries I have had to put to them. Ulla Westermark and Dorothy Thompson have been endlessly helpful in the revision of the manuscript, and Richard Ashton has given much advice on the sections dealing with Rhodes. Dorothy Thompson and Professor F.W. Walbank have been of especial assistance in determining matters of chronology, more particularly in relation to the lists of rulers. For the dates of Bactrian kings I have relied on my friend Osmund Bopearachchi of the CNRS in Paris,



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who has been preparing the catalogue of Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins in the Cabinet des Médailles. The lay-out of the volume owes much to the skilled attention of the staff of Cambridge University Press. I should like to express my special thanks to Ann Johnston, a friend of many years' standing who copy-edited the book for the Press so meticulously as almost to make her a co-editor, to Ted Buttrey, who generously volunteered to check my supposedly corrected proofs while I was in America and put me to shame on my return by the number of errors he had spotted which I had overlooked, and to Mrs Edna Pilmer for her careful initial typing of what was sometimes a difficult manuscript. Ulla Westermark and myself must also express our warmest gratitude to the authorities of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, the Münzkabinett of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, the Numismatiko Mouseio at Athens, the Institut für Alte Geschichte at Saarbrücken, and the Numismatische Abteilung of Bank Leu AG of Zürich for supplying photographs of the material required for the plates and not available in the Royal Cabinets at Copenhagen or Stockholm.



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### ABBREVIATIONS

The list includes abbreviations used in the text and notes. Abbreviations of catalogues, periodicals, Festschriften and other publications are given at the beginning of the Bibliography (p. 209).

**ANS** American Numismatic Society, New York BMBritish Museum, London BN Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris circa с. d. died ed. editor(s) edn edition gramme(s) illus. illustrated millimetre(s) mm obv. obverse plate(s) pl. right reprinted repr. reverse rev. variety var.