GEÇ HELLENİSTİK DÖNEM KAPADOKYA PORTRELERİ:
ARIOBARZANES HANEDANI

Öz

Anahtar kelimeler: Kapadokya, Ariobarzanes Hanedanlığı, Portre, Helenistik.
CAPPADOCIAN PORTRAITS OF LATE HELLENISTIC PERIOD: 
THE ARIOBARZANES DYNASTY

Abstract

This study focuses on the portraits of Ariobarzanes Dynasty in Cappadocia in the 1st century BC. It aims to present the development of the regional portrait art in this period known as Late Hellenistic or Late Roman Republic by evaluating it in terms of both Cappadocia and the period. As there is no Cappadocian sculpture surviving to the day, the coin portraits belonging to the four kings of Ariobarzanes Dynasty were used as the source. Thanks to the coins which are as detailed as a work of sculpture, Ariobarzanes Dynasty of the Cappadocian kingdom portraits are revealed. The resulting data is important to evaluate the portraits’ representation of the period and to determine the regional portraiture influenced by the political developments, which will also be beneficial for Late Hellenistic sculpture.

Keywords: Cappadocia, Ariobarzanes Dynasty, Portrait, Hellenistic.

1. Introduction

The political turbulence during the first century BC resulted in a different significance for the Hellenistic period. Although it is defined as the late Hellenistic period, the art of this era has both Hellenistic and Roman features. The reason for this change in art is the political events and the consequent Roman hegemony. This period was scene to the struggles where the weak was crushed and the powerful was subdued, which resulted in the constant change of the political map. Rome acquired total dominance as a result of the weakening and final collapse of Hellenistic kingdoms.

Hellenistic kingdoms fell on after another in a domino effect towards the end of the Hellenistic period. The Seleucid, who lost some of their lands after the Treaty of Apamea, could not regain their power and eventually collapsed as Pompey dethroned Antiochus XIII in 64 BC (Koester, 1995: 32). Pergamon king Attalos III left his kingdom as inheritance to Rome (Strabo, Geog.: 13.4.2; Valerius Maximus, Fact. et Dict.: 5.2.3). The Battle of Actium against Rome in 31 BC caused the fall of the Ptolemaic Dynasty. Another Hellenistic kingdom, Armenia could only keep its existence as subduing to Rome in 66 BC (Ridgway, 1989: 8-9).

Pontus proved to be the greatest challenge for Rome during these political struggles. The first and the most bloody war among the Mithridatic Wars was fought in 89 BC Gaining the control of most of Anatolia, Mithradates orders in the following year the massacre of all Roman and Italic people in Pergamon, Ephesus and the surrounding region. It became to be known historically as the Ephesus Night in history during which tens of thousands of people were killed (Arslan, 2007: 159-174). Afterwards, Mithradates suffered a heavy defeat in the third Mithridatic War (73-63 BC) against the Roman forces commanded by Pompey and ran away to Colchis where he committed suicide (Arslan, 2007: 505-506). On the other hand, as Mithradates wished to throne his son Ariarathes IX for Cappadocia, his reign also proved to be a source of Pontic danger and turbulence for the area. Therefore, the political struggles of the century are
made up of the rivalries among and weakening of Hellenistic kings and obviously the increasing Roman influence over them. Another effect of Rome on the late Hellenistic period is seen in art.

In this period, “the last struggles to continue Greek fame and freedom were played by little monarchies” (Ridgeway, 1989: 8). However, it proved futile as the effect of Late Republican Rome was not limited to politics but spread into city life and arts. Nevertheless, it was not a one-way effect. Namely, it is not possible to define the arts as purely Hellenistic or Roman. One of the fields where this effect and change in arts can be in terms of style is the portraiture. It is because the portraiture of the time displays a mix of two different civilizations due to the political upheavals. Although the Hellenistic idealism, heroism, or godly appearance still continued (Özgan, 2013: 33), realistic portraits were also made in this period. There are three different groups of portraits in this era: The group consisting Mithradates portraits, the group of eastern portraits, and the last group named as philorhomaioi, which includes the portraits different from the first two groups (Smith, 1988: 99).

As the Seleucid started to use the portrait head on their coins since the mid-three century BC, some Anatolian kingdoms including Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia also began to place the heads of their respective kings on their coins. This application continued in the late Hellenistic period. On the other hand, the king’s image displays features based on the characteristic of the era and region. Accordingly, the middle aged, short haircut, and tough and realistic look as portrait features are a new style for this period, and this depiction became the basic portrait type of the period (Smith, 2013: 260). It is an art of portraiture which is not ideal but seems realistic because of a clear forehead starting from temples, mimic wrinkles, and protruding lips. This depiction style became dominant all the Mediterranean from Syria to Rome in the late Hellenistic period. While this new portraiture was regarded as a Roman style, it is actually a Greek adaptation and application of Roman portrait style (Smith, 2013: 259-260; Özgan, 2013: 32-33).

The region where this alteration in Anatolian portraiture is seen best is Cappadocia. A new era both in politics and portraiture started in the region following the demise of Ariarathes Dynasty. Late Hellenistic or late Republican period refers to Ariarathes Dynasty in the region. The portraits of the said dynasty clearly depict the portraiture of the period and the politics of the century through their descriptive features. These portraits thoroughly mirror the royal propaganda in Cappadocia. However, there is no comprehensive study so far on the local portraits to benefit the region and the period together. It results in a significant deficiency on the late Hellenistic portraiture in Anatolia.

As no sculptural work from the late Hellenistic period survived, this study only deals with Cappadocian portraits based on the portraits on the obverse of the coins. The Ariobarzanes Dynasty starts with Ariobarzanes I and continues until the execution of Ariarathes X by Marcus Antonius in 36 BC. The coins of the Ariobarzanes Dynasty which have survived in a good state provide kings’ depictions as detailed as those that can be found on sculptures. Therefore, it is possible to track the new Roman style in the region on the coins which are as important as sculptures. Consequently, this study on the portrait descriptions on Cappadocian coins will be sufficient to make up for the gap in the field.

As Cappadocian coins are among the best examples for the changing portraiture in Anatolia during the late Hellenistic period, it is surprising that no study has been done so far on them. After the Ariarathes Dynasty which were depicted with slightly facing upwards, young, and
dynamic portraits of the Hellenistic period, Ariobarzanes I brings a new dynasty as well as a new depiction style.

2. Portraits of the Ariobarzanes Dynasty

2.1. Ariobarzanes Philoromaios I (Ἀριοβαρζάνης Φιλορωμαίος) (95-63/62 BC)

After the demise of the Ariarathes Dynasty in 95 BC, Mithradates VI attempts to throne his son Ariarathes IX on the Cappadocian throne. However, according to Strabo (Geog.: 12.2.11), Rome refuses and proposes the Cappadocians the right to abide their own laws and live free. The locals do not view the idea of freedom as ideal, and they state that they cannot live without a king. Afterwards, Ariobarzanes I rises to power following an election and Rome’s approval, which consequently starts a new dynasty in the region after a long time. Nevertheless, Ariobarzanes is under constant threat of Mithradates IV following his rise to the throne. Being dethroned or leaving it for six times, Ariobarzanes is brought back on the throne each time by Rome (Appian, Mithr. Wars: 15; 57-58; Cassius Dio, Hist. Rom.: 31.99.2; Strabo, Geog.: 12.3.40).

The wife of Ariobarzenes I was Athenais Philostorgos, a noble Athenian (Dittenberger, 1903: 568, 354). His son was Arionarzanes II, who was to succeed him, and his daughter was Isias, wife to Antiochus Theos the king of Commagene (Dittenberger, 1903: 568, 356). In his work (Fact. et Dict.: 5.7), Valerius Maximus depicts how happy Ariobarzanes I was as he left the throne to his son upon the request by Pompey and how sad his son was as he ascended to the throne when his father was still alive. The epithet philoromaios acquired by Ariobarzanes I means friend of Rome. His reign started a new and Roman era in the region, confirming this epithet. Ariobarzanes demonstrated his political allegiance to Rome not only by acquiring this epithet but also with the portrait style seen on his coins.

On the obverse of the silver drachmas with his own portrait, Ariobarzanes I has the realistic portrait features with middle age and short hair of the late Hellenistic period. Ariobarzanes does not possess a dynamic, majestic, or divine appearance although facing upwards as seen in the typical king portraits of Hellenistic period and those in Cappadocia. Despite facing upwards, the facial features of the king are realistic because he is depicted as middle-aged or old. Therefore, there is a king purposefully portrayed realistically instead of the idealized portrait features of the Hellenistic period. In this depiction, Ariobarzanes I looks like a total Roman (Smith, 1988: 130-131), and philorhomaiot style portraiture starts with him in the region. Additionally, the impression on Ariobarzanes’ face is rather serious as if to speak of the political turbulence during his reign (Richter, 1965: Fig. 1945).

There are two portrait types based on the depictions on the coins (see Plate 1-2) (Richter, 1965: Fig. 1945; Simonetta, 1977: Pl. V.10). In his early period portraits, Ariobarzanes I is depicted as aged at the end of his forties, and his later portraits are seen as being in his early for-
ties. Accordingly, the king’s head is diademed, which is true for all Hellenistic period king portraits. He has a large and fat face, a fat and thick neck, and a large forehead with an opening between his temples. His large eyes seem to be tired. His proportionally big and pointy nose results in a portrait with rather unideal facial features. There are mimic wrinkles on his forehead and at the tips of his mouth. There are some examples where his thin top lip and thick bottom lip are slightly open. His vaguely protuberant jaw is fleshly and bulge.

While the general portrait features are the same in the later portraits of Ariobarzanes I, his mimic wrinkles are rather less and vague compared to the earlier portraits. The cavity around the eye sockets which showed him older is also not seen in these depictions. Another difference between his earlier and later portraits is that his face is less fat and droopy.

![Plate 1. I. Ariobarzanes, early period portrait type](image1)

![Plate 2. I. Ariobarzanes, late period portrait type](image2)

2.2. Ariobarzanes Philopator II (Ἀριοβαρζάνης Φιλοπάτωρ) (63/62-52 BC)

Ariobarzanes II ascended to the throne upon his father’s request and was not happy to rise to the throne in this way. With the epithet *philopator* (Φιλοπάτωρ) which meant *loving his father*, Ariobarzanes II refers to his specific ascension to the throne. His wife is Athenais Philostorgos II, daughter of Pontic king Mithradates II (Dittenberger, 1903: 568, 356; Sullivan, 1980: 1137), and therefore it shows this dynasty is continued through the Pontic. His short reign was very troublesome. He was killed shortly before Cicero’s appointment as the governor of Cilicia (Cicero, Epist. ad Fam.: 5.2.1-2). Ariobarzanes II donated to the reconstruction of the Odeon of Pericles, which is claimed to be purposefully burnt by the Athenians during the invasion by Sulla. However, it is very important to note that the Roman influence was not limited to

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3 The epithet of philopator was also used by Mithradates IV (169-150 BC) of Pontus, Antiochus IX (113-95 BC) of Seleucid, Orodes II (58-37 BC) of Parthia, Deiotarus (35-31 BC) of Paphlagonia, and Tigranes III of Armenia (De Callatay ve Lorber, 2011: 452).
politics but extended to the city and the art as the task of reconstruction was appointed to Roman architects Gaius and Marcus Stallius along with Greek Melanippos.

Only a statue base belonging to Ariobarzanes II and his family was found in Eleusis, and it was placed there by the Athenians with an inscription on it. Therefore, the portraits of Ariobarzanes II are evaluated through numismatic data. The king inherited his father’s apparent and great nose as seen in the overall features of his portraits (Newell, 1937: 54). However, his is depicted as middle aged, which means as a king younger than his father (see Plate 3-4) (Richter, 1965: Fig. 1946; Simonetta, 1977: Pl. vi. 8; Tekin, 2008: 1141, Fig. 23, 24). His head in his portrait is seen as facing forward. He has the looks of an elegant king with a wide, lean, and bony facial construction. He wears short hair, and his hair dropping on the diadem around his head comes down to the upper tips of his ear in slightly-wavy curls. There is no opening on the temples as seen on the portraits of Ariobarzanes I. He has large almond eye, and his eye-droppers are apparent. With a large eye socket and insignificant cheekbone, Ariobarzanes II appears to have a slim body. He has thin lips and a slightly-plump chin with mimic wrinkles around his mouth. The Adam’s apple on his neck can be seen clearly.

Plate 3. Ariobarzanes II
Plate 4. Ariobarzanes II

2.3. Ariobarzanes III Eusebes Philoromaios (Ἀριοβαρζάνης Εὐσεβής Φιλορώμαιος) (52-42 BC)

The king used the epithets of eusebes, which means religious, and philoromaios, which means friend of Rome as Ariobarzenes I. Ariobarzanes III, was married to Mithradates IV’s younger daughter. The fact that there is a star and crescent on the reverse of the coins leads to the presumption that the king was under Pontic influence. During the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, the king sided with Pompey. Pompey invested great trust on his eastern supporters, especially in Cappadocia. Ariobarzanes III placed his brother Ariarathes X in command of the 500 horsemen (Caesar, Comm. de Bell. Civ.: 3.4) he sent to Pompey (Appian, Civil Wars: 2.71). As Pompey lost the war, Ariobarzanes begged for Caesar’s mercy and was pardoned. Additionally, Caesar assigned half of the Armenia Minor to Cappadocia following his victory in

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4 ὁ δῆμος βασιλέα Αριοβαρζάνην Φιλοσάδων τὸν ἐκ βασιλέας Αριοβαρζάνου Φιλορώμαιον ἀνέθηκεν. This base is located in Archaeological Museum of Elefsis with 1094 access code (IG II², 1931: 3426; Clinton, 2005: 164).

5 This epithet was also adopted by Ariarathes V, Ariarathes IX, and Ariarathes X in Cappadocia. Outside this region, it is known to be used by Antiochus X of Seleucid (De Callatay and Lorber, 2011: 451).
Zela against Pharnakes II (Cassius Dio, Hist. Rom.: 42.48.3). After Caesar’s death, Brutus and Cassius regarded Rhodesians, Lydians, and Cappadocians as their opponents and attacked them. Ariobarzanes III was arrested and executed upon the orders by Cassius in 42 BC (Cassius Dio, Hist. Rom.: 47.33.4).

Ariobarzanes III is the first king who was depicted as bearded in Cappadocia (see Plate 5-6) (Richter, 1965: Fig. 1947; Simonetta, 1977: Pl. VI.10). Although his face generally resembles that of his father Ariobarzanes II, he has a forward-looking, young and dynamic portrait style. His slightly-curly hair is depicted as going from the forehead to the temples and covering half of the ear. His face is generally thin and bony. He has large almond eyes, a nose relatively large for his face, small and slightly fleshy lips. His beard starts from where his hair ends above the ears and continues down to the chin bone. It is depicted to have grown downwards starting from the lower lip. His short beard is appropriate for a young king. It is possible to see Adam’s apple on some coins.

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Plate 5. Ariobarzanes III
Plate 6. Ariobarzanes III

2.4. Ariarathes X Eusebes Philadelphos (Ἀριαράθης Εὐσεβὴς Φιλαδέλφος) (42-36 BC)

Ariarathes X, the last king of the Ariobarzanes dynasty, is the brother of Ariobarzanes III. He is known with the epithets eusebes and philadelphos, meaning religious and sibling-loving, respectively. He ascended to the throne with the help from Marcus Antonius after his brother’s death. His reign in Cappadocia only lasted six years. He was executed by Marcus Antonius with whom he conflicted later in 36 BC (Valerius Maximus, Fact. et Dict.: 9.15). Following his death, Sisines, who was a member of the priest families in Comana Cappadocia and renamed as Archelaus, was placed on the throne by Marcus Antonius.

Ariarathes X is the second and last Cappadocian king depicted as bearded (see Plate 7) (Richter, 1965: Fig. 1948). He is depicted as a young king on his coin portraits. His nose is too large for his face and distorts his facial proportion (Newell, 1937: 55; Richter, 1965: Fig. 1948). However, this depiction leads us to conclude that the king has a realistic portrait style. A diadem surrounds his voluminous hair with thick curls from the back. His hair that drops on his forehead in front of the diadem is shaped as a trident. His cheekbone is not highlighted, and his face looks sunken, especially below his eye. The section between his nose and upper lip is too narrow, which creates a physiognomic defect. His beard starting from the tip of the ear and continuing down to the chinbone is depicted to have grown more on the chin. The beard on the chinbone is also seen to go up to the lower lip. His portrait features are very close to those of Ariobarzanes III.

6 The epithet philadelphos was used by Mithradates IV (169-150 BC) of Pontus, Demetrios II (145-138 BC) of Seleucid, Antiochus XI (94-3 BC), Deiotarus of Paphlagonia, and Artabanus I (127-124 BC) of Parthia (De Callatay and Lorber, 2011: 451). Additionally, this epithet was used by Queen Arsinoe II of Alexandria (Koçak, 2016: 261).
barzanes III. The hair of Ariobarzanes X moves on the forehead down to the ear and ends there leaving the ear open. The hair drawn for Ariobarzanes III covers half of his ear.

3. Conclusion

The end of the Ariarathes Dynasty in Cappadocia started a new period both politically and artistically. The portraits of the dynasty depicted a total Hellenistic style for a long time. During the reign of Ariobarzanes Dynasty in the Late Hellenistic period, the political changes and the side Cappadocia took accordingly effected the portrait art and resulted in a new concept for portraits.

The portrait type for Ariobarzanes I, who ascended to the throne upon Roman order, displayed a Roman look in Cappadocia in 1st century BC, stating the political allegiance of the kingdom. Thus, Cappadocia is one of the best examples for how the art is abused for politics. Ariobarzanes I expressed his political ties with his epithet meaning *fried of Rome* and his artistic ties with his portrait style.

In addition to his Roman appearance, Ariobarzanes I speaks of the political disturbances during his reign through his serious facial expression and slightly open mouth. The distinctive features in his portraits are his short-cut wavy hear, middle-aged face, and proportionally large nose. This depiction style is the proof of a new portrait art for both the period and the region. His descendants follow his style with their large eyes and noses to state their blood ties. Each king has similarities with one another in addition to the certain personal traits they have. Ariobarzanes II has a wide, lean, and bony facial construction. Ariobarzanes III and Ariarathes X are depicted as bearded. Additionally, Ariobarzanes II and III are seen to be clearly drawn with an Adam’s apple.

Ariobarzanes III is significant for being depicted with a beard for the first time in the region. Ariarathes X who is his heir and also has a beard on his portraits have the same depiction with his brother despite a few small but distinctive details. The hair of Ariobarzanes X moves on the forehead down to the ear and ends there leaving the ear open while the hair drawn for Ariobarzanes III covers half of his ear. It seems to be usual for the two brother kings who are successor and predecessor to each other, however, because Ariarathes X used the epithet *philadelphos*, such a similarity is actually regarded as a conscious choice of depiction.

Consequently, the depiction style on the coin portraits of Ariobarzanes Dynasty in the Late Hellenistic period is realistic and displays their family ties. Therefore, this style can be concluded to reflect the changing art of the period. It is true that one of the reasons underlying this change is the effect of Rome, and it resulted in the realistic physiognomic features based on the Roman style starting from Ariobarzanes I.
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