

Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser
udgivet af
Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Bind 40, nr. 3

Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk. 40, no. 3 (1963)

STUDIES IN THE
COINAGE OF ANTIOCHUS IV
OF SYRIA

BY

OTTO MØRKHOLM



København 1963

Kommissionær: Ejnar Munksgaard

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Selskabets sekretariat og postadresse: Dantes Plads 5, København V.

The address of the secretariate of the Academy is:

*Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab,
Dantes Plads 5, København V, Denmark.*

Selskabets kommissionær: EJNAR MUNKSGAARD's Forlag, Nørregade 6, København K.

The publications are sold by the agent of the Academy:

*EJNAR MUNKSGAARD, Publishers,
6 Nørregade, København K, Denmark.*

Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk. 40, 2 (1963).

VIGGO STUCKENBERG
SOPHUS CLAUSSEN
EN BREVVEXLING

Rettelser.

Side 114, sidst i Noterne til Brev Nr. 42 (25/2 95), tilføjes foran *Cazals*:

tout le reste est littérature: Slutningslinien i Paul Verlaines Digt »Art poétique«, fra »Jadis et naguère« (1885).

Side 115, sidst i Noterne til Brev Nr. 48 (19/11 96), skal læses:

will kein Gott auf Erden sein &c: Slutningslinierne i Wilh. Müllers Digt »Muth«, fra »Winterreise«, med Musik af Franz Schubert i dennes »Gesänge«, sammen med »Die schöne Müllerin«.

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Abbreviations

AJA	American Journal of Archaeology, New York.
ANS	American Numismatic Society, New York.
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellenique, Paris.
BMC (<i>Seleucid Kings</i>)	<i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. The Seleucid Kings of Syria</i> by Percy Gardner. London 1878.
<i>Boston Cat.</i>	A. Baldwin Brett, <i>Catalogue of Greek Coins, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i> . Boston 1955.
Brett	A. Baldwin Brett, "Seleucid Coins of Ake-Ptolemais in Phoenicia", <i>ANS Museum Notes</i> I, 1946, 17–35.
<i>Coll. de Hirsch</i>	Paul Naster, <i>La collection Lucien de Hirsch. Catalogue des monnaies grecques</i> . Brussels 1959.
<i>Coll. de Luynes</i>	J. Babelon, <i>Catalogue de la collection de Luynes. Monnaies grecques I–IV</i> . Paris 1924–1936.
<i>Coll. de Nanteuil</i>	H. de Nanteuil, <i>Collection de monnaies grecques</i> , Paris 1925.
<i>Coll. Jameson</i>	<i>Collection R. Jameson, Monnaies grecques antiques</i> , I and III–IV, Paris 1913 ff.
ESM	Edward T. Newell, <i>The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints</i> (Numismatic Studies no. 1) New York 1938.
Fabretti	<i>Catalogo generale dei musei di antichita, vol. III, Regio Museo di Torino, Monete greche</i> a cura di A. Fabretti, Turin 1883.
<i>Hunter Coll.</i>	G. Macdonald, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection I–III</i> , Glasgow 1899–1905.
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies, London.
JIAN	Journal international d'archéologie numismatique, Athènes.
Lederer	Ph. Lederer, "Einige Seleukidenmünzen", <i>Berliner Münzblätter</i> N. F. IX, Oktober 1929, 522–530.
<i>McClellan Coll.</i>	S. W. Grose, <i>Catalogue of the McClellan Collection of Greek Coins, Fitzwilliam Museum I–III</i> , Cambridge 1923–1929.

NC	Numismatic Chronicle, London.
NNM	Numismatic Notes and Monographs, New York.
OGIS	Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , Leipzig 1903–1905.
<i>Revue num.</i>	Revue numismatique, Paris.
<i>Rois de Syrie</i>	E. Babelon, <i>Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Les Rois de Syrie</i> , Paris, 1890.
SEHHW	M. Rostovtzeff, <i>A Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World I–III</i> , Oxford 1941.
SMA	Edward T. Newell, “The Seleucid Mint of Antioch”, <i>American Journal of Numismatics</i> LI, 1917–18, 1–151.
SNG	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum.
<i>Svoronos</i>	J. Svoronos, <i>Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων I–IV</i> , Athens 1904–1908.
<i>Weber Coll.</i>	L. Forrer, <i>The Weber Collection of Greek Coins I–III</i> , London 1922–1929.
WSM	Edward T. Newell, <i>The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints</i> (Numismatic Studies no. 4), New York 1941.
Z.f.N.	Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin.

Preface

This paper presents a new classification of the silver and gold coinages of Antiochus IV struck at Antioch on the Orontes and Ace-Ptolemais. The attribution of the coin series in question is not new, but the material here collected has enabled me to suggest changes in the accepted chronology and to investigate for the first time the weight system in some detail. The results may seem trivial at first glance, but further progress in the historical study of this period will, to a large extent, depend upon such painstaking examination of details. For an understanding of Antiochus IV, whose character and ability are still *sub judice*, much can be achieved by a thorough investigation of the numismatic evidence; indeed in certain respects this is our best or only source material. Accordingly I have added to the purely numismatic section two chapters on the portrait of Antiochus IV and on his various titles, where the coins offer decisive evidence.

For practical reasons I have limited my work to two coin series. The silver coinages of the great mints in the eastern part of the Seleucid empire—Seleucia on the Tigris, Susa, and Ecbatana—are still imperfectly known and we must await the publication of the important body of material from the French excavation at Susa, while the silver issues of the other western mints are insignificant in quantity as compared to the substantial issues of Antioch and Ace. They add nothing new to the conclusions outlined here and, furthermore, they involve problems of attribution which can hardly be solved in a study limited to a single reign. On the other hand, the problems of the important and extensive bronze coinages of Antiochus IV are basically different from the problems raised by the silver and are better dealt with separately. I hope to be able to publish a study of the bronze issues at a later date.

I want to express my best thanks to the curators of the various public collections as well as the private collectors, who have placed material at my disposal with never failing patience and courtesy. Special thanks are due to MARGARET THOMPSON of the American Numismatic Society and ROBERT CARSON of the British Museum for their kindness in reading my manuscript and improving my English. The Reverend Mr. HART, Queens College, Cambridge has with a rare generosity made a great body of material available to me, which he himself had collected for a similar study. I beg him to receive my best thanks for this unselfish kindness.

CHAPTER I

Antioch on the Orontes

In 1917 E. T. NEWELL published his first extensive work on Seleucid numismatics. From the vast and intricate coinages of the Syrian kings he succeeded in segregating the issues from the principal mint of Antioch struck during the reigns of Seleucus II (246–266 B. C.) and his successors down to the last Seleucid king, Antiochus XIII (c. 69–65 B. C.).¹ During the last quarter of the second and the early decades of the first century B. C., when the Seleucid empire was falling to pieces, one mint after the other stopped striking Seleucid coins until practically only Antioch was active. From there the coinage still flowed in great quantities to finance the fratricidal wars so characteristic of the end of the Seleucid dynasty.² Right down to Roman imperial times the Antiochene silver coins can be traced in unbroken succession.

A priori one would not hesitate to assign the most extensive silver coinage of Antiochus IV, or any other Seleucid king after Antiochus III, to the great capital on the Orontes river, and the attribution of the coins here to be discussed is guaranteed by their stylistic and technical affinity with the preceeding and succeeding issues in the sequence established by Newell. Further confirmation is offered by the relationship of the silver to various bronze coinages, the provenance of which indicates an Antiochene origin.³

¹ SMA.

² Cf. A. R. BELLINGER, "The End of the Seleucids", *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 38 (1949) 51–102.

³ For the series with "Egyptian" types, see below p. 20 f. and note 21.

Series I 175-c. 173/2 B. C.

Catalogue⁴

Obv. Diademed head of the king r.; fillet border.

Rev. Apollo seated l. on omphalos, holding an arrow in r. hand, l. hand resting on bow; to r. and l. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ || ANTIOXOY;⁵ in l. and r. fields one or two symbols; in exergue monogram.

1. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in l. field tripod, in r. lyre; in exergue ∏.

A 1-P 1	17.05	Paris, <i>Rois de Syrie</i> no. 516. PLATE I.
A 1-P 1	17.11	New York, ANS.
	16.91	Turin, <i>Fabretti</i> no. 4630. ⁶

2. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in l. field tripod, in r. lyre; in exergue ⚡ (SMA no. 44).

A 2-P 2	16.82	Berlin.
A 2-P 3	16.93	London, <i>BMC (Seleucid Kings)</i> 34, no. 3.
A 2-P 3	16.97	The Hague, Six Foundation. PLATE I.
A 2-P 4	17.01	Milan, former Brera Coll. no. 3160.
A 2-P 4	16.70	Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1024 <i>ex</i> Naville Sale V, 1923, no. 2798.
A 3-P 5	17.05	The Hague, inv. no. 7041. PLATE I.
A 3-P 5	17.02	London, <i>BMC (Seleucid Kings)</i> 34, no. 4, pl. xi, 2. SMA pl. iii, 44.

3. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in r. field lyre, in exergue ⚡. In l. field erasure of tripod (SMA no. 43).

A 3-P 6	17.00	The Hague, inv. no. 7043. PLATE I.
A 3-P 6	17.06	Glasgow, <i>Hunter Coll.</i> III, 41, no. 3, pl. lxvi, 8.
A 3-P 6	16.70	Vinchon Sale, May 1959, no. 587 (chisel cut).
	15.41	Turin, <i>Fabretti</i> no. 4627.

⁴ In the lists of coins, the dies have been numbered A1, A2, etc. denoting the obverse (anvil) dies, P1, P2, etc. the reverse (punch) dies of the tetradrachms. For the gold staters Roman numerals have been used (A I-P I). The same system, but with small letters, is used for the lesser denominations: the dies of the drachms being numbered in Arabic, of the hemidrachms in *small* Roman numerals, and of the unique diobol in Greek. The second column gives the weights in grammes, whenever available. The die disposition has not been noted. It is generally † with very few and insignificant variations of the type ↖ or ↗. For specimens from well-known public collections the city of the collection has been given as provenance. For private collections the name of the owner is cited followed by his domicile. The specimens from illustrated sales catalogues are listed by dealers or firms, the name of the owner, when known, appearing in parentheses.

⁵ In the rendering of the inscriptions | indicates a new line while || denotes the continuation of the legend in another part of the field.

⁶ The coins from the Turin cabinet being at present inaccessible, it has not been possible to ascertain their dies.

4. Drachm. *Rev.* in r. field lyre, in exergue \ddagger .
 a 1-p 1 3.91 Paris, *Revue num.* 1959-60, 13, no. 16, pl. ii *ex*
 Coll. Chandon de Briailles. PLATE I.
5. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in l. field lyre, in exergue \ddagger (*SMA* no. 42).
 A 3-P 7 17.1 The Hague, inv. no. 7044. PLATE I.
 A 3-P 7 17.10 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, General Coll.
 A 3-P 7 16.90 Copenhagen, *SNG* part 35, no. 183.
 A 3-P 8 17.00 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 515.
 A 3-P 8 16.96 Berlin.
 A 3-P 9 16.98 New York, *ANS ex Naville Sale X*, 1925, no.
 1023.
 A 3-P 9 17.15 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 514, pl. xii, 1. *Coll. de*
Luynes no. 3309, pl. cxx. *SMA* pl. iii, 42.
 A 3-P 10 16.91 London, British Museum *ex Sotheby Sale 1896*
(Bunbury Coll. II) no. 488.
 A 3-P 11 17.04 Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 41, no. 2.
 A 3-P 12 Münzen und Medaillen A. G., Fixed Price List
 226, Sept.-Oct. 1962, no. 10.
 A 4-P 13 17.13 Berlin. PLATE I.
 17.2 *JIAN* 13 (1911) 150, no. 329.

Commentary

On September 3, 175 B. C. Seleucus IV was killed by his trusted minister Heliodorus, who apparently placed a son of the dead king, a 4 to 5 year old boy named Antiochus, on the Syrian throne, intending no doubt to reserve for himself the practically unlimited power of a prime minister and guardian of a minor. A series of coins was struck with the name and portrait of the young king.⁷ However, other persons were concerned in Syrian affairs. An older son of Seleucus, Demetrius, who was at that time about 11 to 12 years old was prevented from pressing his claims to the throne by the fact that he was a hostage in Rome. The brother of Seleucus, also named Antiochus, was a more serious menace to the new Syrian regime. News of the murder reached him in Athens, where he was spending some time, travelling leisurely from Rome after being exchanged as a hostage with the Demetrius just mentioned. With the help of Eumenes

⁷ Cf. my paper "The Accession of Antiochus IV of Syria", *ANS Museum Notes* XI (in the press), where this issue is listed together with the first silver coinage of Antiochus IV from Antioch. The following short historical outline summarizes the results of this paper.

II, king of Pergamum, he went to Syria with an army and had no difficulty in removing Heliodorus from the position he had usurped. In October or November 175 B. C. he ascended the Seleucid throne to become known to posterity as Antiochus IV. However, he seems to have adopted his homonymous nephew and acknowledged him as co-regent. Perhaps the coinage of the young boy was even continued for a short time.

There can be no doubt that Antiochus IV inaugurated his first coinage at Antioch as soon as possible after his accession. The right to coin money was a royal prerogative,⁸ and after the period of turmoil caused by the murder of Seleucus IV and his own expedition against Heliodorus a few months later, it must have been necessary for Antiochus without delay to make clear that he was now king to the populace in Syria. For his silver coinage Antiochus IV used the common Seleucid types: on the obverse the portrait of the reigning king, on the reverse the seated Apollo, divine ancestor of the dynasty, who had adorned most of the Seleucid silver since the days of Antiochus I.⁹ The inscription also followed the traditional pattern: the royal title and his name in the genitive case with no further epithets. In contrast to the previous coinage of the boy king which was issued with eight different moneymen's monograms, the supervision of the first series of Antiochus IV was in the hands of only two moneymen or mint officials, both already active in the preceding board of magistrates. The concentration of authority went even further, because one of the two (ΓP) signed only a single die (P 1), as far as we know; for most of the period, during which the first series was issued, one mint official (Φ) was functioning. At the same time the output of the mint at Antioch seems to have decreased, as a study of the symbols used on the reverses will show. Groups 1 and 2 use two symbols, in the left field a tripod (as on the issue of the boy king) and, in the right field, another Apolline symbol, a lyre or *kithara*. Now the single reverse die of group 3 (P 6) was originally quite similar, but for some unknown reason the tripod to the left was erased from the die, before the coins, as we have them now, were struck from it. In group 5 the lyre symbol is again used alone, but is now transposed to the left

⁸ Cf. BIKERMAN, *Institutions des Séleucides* (1938) 211.

⁹ Cf. WSM 385.

field. All this implies a period, how short or long we cannot tell, of experimentation at the mint. What is important for our purpose is that during this time only a single obverse die (A 3) was used. Normally a mint like Antioch would have employed a number of obverse dies simultaneously; this is true of the issues of Series II and III, and if the coinage of the boy king Antiochus was struck over only a few months, his three known obverse dies must also have been in use at one and the same time. Thus from the coin material itself we may conclude that at the mint of Antioch the period covered by the first coin series of Antiochus IV was remarkable for its small production. Does this imply some sort of financial crisis or economic distress? Not necessarily. There might have been so many older coins in circulation, that the supply was deemed sufficient. In this connexion it is worth remembering that a great part of the money circulating in Syria at this period consisted of foreign coins, especially issues from various cities in Asia Minor. A positive balance of trade brought these coins to Syria, where they circulated freely as a supplement to the standard royal issues.¹⁰

Series II. C. 173/2–c. 169/8 B. C.

Catalogue

- Obv.* Diademed head of the king r., the two ends of the diadem adorned with stars (often off flan); fillet border.
- Rev.* Zeus seated l. on throne with high back, the two vertical posts of which are visible behind the god, l. foot forward, r. foot drawn back; on the extended r. hand he holds a Nike crowning him, in l. hand a sceptre; to r. and l. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXΟΥ || ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

6. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue Δ (*SMA* no. 54).

A 4–P 14 17.04 Berlin.

A 4–P 14 17.08 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, *McClellan Coll.* no. 9282, pl. 338,5.

¹⁰ Cf. ROSTOVITZ, "Some Remarks on the Monetary and Commercial Policy of the Seleucids and Attalids, *Anatolian Studies Presented to W. H. Buckler* (1939) 277–298, and *SEHHW* II, 655 ff. Some time between 189 and 164 B. C. the Syrian government countermarked a large number of silver tetradrachms from Asia Minor with the Seleucid anchor. Cf. SEYRIG, *Syria* 35 (1958) 187–197.

A 4-P 14	16.85	Copenhagen, new acquisition. PLATE II.
A 5-P 15	16.54	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. PLATE II.
A 5-P 16	16.6	The Hague, inv. no. 7052.
A 5-P 17	16.55	The Hague, v. Rede no. 2454 a.
A 5-P 17	16.66	New York, ANS.
A 5-P 18	16.72	Henri Seyrig Coll., Beirut.
A 5-P 18	16.77	Glendining Sale, April 1955, no. 572 <i>ex</i> Helbing Sale, November 1928, no. 4066.
A 5-P 19	16.65	London, <i>BMC (Seleucid Kings)</i> 35, no. 14.
A 5-P 20	16.58	New York, ANS.
A 5-P 21	16.56	New York, ANS.
A 5-P 22	16.76	Brussels, <i>Coll. de Hirsch</i> no. 1669, pl. xc.
A 6-P 23	16.68	Glasgow, <i>Hunter Coll.</i> III, 44, no. 22, pl. lxvi, 13. PLATE II.
A 6-P 24	16.75	London, <i>BMC (Seleucid Kings)</i> 35, no. 13.
A 6-P 25		Modena.
A 6-P 25	16.41	The Hague, Six Foundation.
A 6-P 26	16.13	Wilkinson Coll., Toronto.
A 6-P 27	16.78	Oslo. PLATE II.
A 7-P 28 ¹¹	16.48	Glasgow, <i>Hunter Coll.</i> III, 44, no. 21. PLATE II.
A 7-P 28	16.77	Glendining Sale, July 1950 (Platt Hall Coll.) no. 176 <i>ex</i> Hamburger Sale 96, October 1932, no. 163. <i>Rev.</i> double struck.
A 7-P 29 ¹¹		Gerhard Hirsch Sale, June 1960, no. 141.

7. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* no monogram (SMA no. 56).

A 6-P 30	16.65	The Hague, inv. no. 7050. PLATE II.
A 6-P 31	16.47	New York, ANS. <i>SMA</i> pl. iv, no. 56.
A 6-P 32	14.74	H. P. R. Frey Sale, April 1955, no. 1182. Cast. ¹²
A 7-P 33	16.65	<i>Boston Cat.</i> no. 2164, pl. 100 <i>ex</i> Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1040.
A 7-P 33	16.75	Berlin. PLATE II.
A 7-P 34	15.90	New York, ANS.
A 7-P 34	16.52	Egger Sale 46, May 1914, no. 2445.
A 7-P 35	16.60	Leningrad, Hermitage Museum <i>ex</i> Helbing Sale, April 1913 (Zschesche & Köder) no. 692.
A 7-P 36	16.60	Ratto Sale, April 1927, no. 2461.
A 7-P 37	16.65	Berlin.
A 7-P 38	16.72	Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1041.
A 7-P 39	16.52	Glasgow, <i>Hunter Coll.</i> III, 44, no. 23.
A 7-P 40		Leningrad, Hermitage Museum.
A 8-P 41	16.58	Brussels. PLATE III.

¹¹ On P 28 and P 29 the monogram assumes a form close to the Greek letter Φ.

¹² The weight of this specimen is abnormally low and the illustration gives further reason for suspicion. However, it has been included here to represent the undoubtedly genuine original from which it was cast.

- A 9-P 42 16.43 New York, ANS. PLATE III.
 A 10-P 43 16.53 Copenhagen, *SNG* part 35, no. 187 *ex Coll. Jameson* vol. I, no. 1697. PLATE III.
 A 10-P 43 16.73 New York, ANS.
 A 10-P 44 16.13 London, *BMC (Seleucid Kings)* 35, no. 12. Pierced.
 A 10-P 44 16.60 Ciani Sale 1935 (Grandprey Coll.) no. 205.
 A 10-P 45 16.52 Aberdeen, *SNG* vol. I, part II, no. 391.
 A 10-P 46 16.34 Glendining Sale, February 1961 (Lockett Coll.) no. 2585. *SNG* vol. III (Lockett Coll.) no. 3126 *ex Naville Sale I, 1920* (Pozzi Coll.) no. 2962.
 A 10-P 46 16.1 Dorotheum Sale, October 1962 (Hollscheck Coll. XVI) no. 693.
 A 10-P 47 16.50 Berlin.
 A 10-P 48 Beirut, American University, inv. no. 2505.
 A 10-P 49 15.79 New York, ANS, *SNG* (Berry Coll.) II, no. 1360.
 A 11-P 50 16.65 Paris *Rois de Syrie* no. 532. PLATE III.
 A 11-P 51 16.64 *Coll. de Nanteuil* no. 493, pl. xxxi *ex Ciani Sale, December 1921*, no. 83.
 A 11-P 52 16.54 Frankfurt, inv. no. 1392.
 A 12-P 53 16.75 Former Gotha Coll.
 A 12-P 54 16.61 London, *BMC (Seleucid Kings)* 35, no. 11. PLATE III.
 A 12-P 54 16.70 Aberdeen, *SNG* vol. I, part II, no. 390.
 A 12-P 55 16.75 Jacob Hirsch Sale XXI, 1908 (Consul Weber Coll. I) no. 4066.
 A 13-P 56 16.86 Kricheldorf Sale, May 1956, no. 1119 *ex Kress Sale, November 1951*, no. 95. PLATE III.
 A 13-P 56 Münzen und Medaillen A. G., Fixed Price List 211, May 1961, no. 8.

Obv. Diademed head of the king r., the two ends of the diadem adorned with stars; fillet border.

Rev. Apollo seated l. on omphalos, holding arrow in extended r. hand, l. hand resting on bow; to r. and l. downwards
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXΟΥ || ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

8. Drachms.

- a 2-p 2 4.11 New York, ANS. PLATE III.
 a 2-p 3 4.08 London, British Museum. *NC* 1959, 43, no. 23, pl. vi.
 a 2-p 4 4.05 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 528.
 a 2-p 4 3.92 Copenhagen, new acquisition.
 a 2-p 5 3.68 Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1038.
 a 2-p 6 4.10 Berlin.

Obv. As preceding.

Rev. Eagle standing r. on thunderbolt; to r. and l. downwards
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY || ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

9. Drachms (*SMA* no. 57).

a 2-p 7 3.82 Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 48, no. 51, pl. lxvi, 19.
SMA pl. iv, no. 57. PLATE III.

a 3-p 8 4.03 Henri Seyrig Coll., Beirut. PLATE III.

Obv. Radiate head of the king r.; dotted border.

Rev. Outspread aegis, having in its centre a head of Medusa;
 to r. and l. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY || ΘΕΟΥ |
 ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

10. Hemidrachms (*SMA* no. 65).

a i-p i 1.80 Copenhagen, new acquisition *ex* Münzen und Me-
 dailen A. G., Fixed Price List 219, February 1962,
 no. 8. PLATE III.

a i-p i 1.85 *Coll. Jameson* vol. III, no. 2348, pl. cxxv.

a i-p ii Leningrad, Hermitage Museum.

a i-p iii 1.88 New York, ANS *ex* Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1039
ex Walcher de Molthein Coll., 1895, no. 2935,
 pl. xxv.

a i-p iv 1.90 Henri Seyrig Coll., Beirut. PLATE III.

a i-p iv 1.55 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 530.

a i-p v 1.90 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 529, pl. xii, 7. *SMA* pl.
 iv, 65.

a i-p vi 1.65 Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 45, no. 27.

Obv. As preceding.

Rev. Tripod-lebes; to r. and l. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTI-
 OXOY || ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

11. Diobol (*SMA* no. 66).

a α-p α 1.17 London, *BMC (Seleucid Kings)* 35, no. 10, pl.
 xi, 6. *SMA* pl. iv, 66. PLATE III.

Obv. Diademed head of the king r., the two ends of the diadem
 adorned with stars; fillet border.

Rev. Zeus seated l. on throne with only one vertical post of the
 back visible, l. foot forward, r. foot drawn back; on the
 extended r. hand he holds a Nike crowning him, in l. hand
 a sceptre; to r. and l. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY ||
 ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ; in exergue monogram or letters.

12. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue \ddagger (*SMA* no. 54).
- A 14-P 57 16.60 Brussels, *Coll. de Hirsch* no. 1668, pl. xc.
- A 14-P 58 16.72 Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 44, no. 24. PLATE IV.
- A 14-P 59 16.70 Sotheby Sale 1958 (Haughton Coll.) no. 192 *ex* Egger Sale, January 1908, no. 590 (16.65 gr.).
- A 14-P 59 16.83 Münzhandlung Basel Sale 8, March 1937, no. 388.
- A 15-P 60 16.77 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Leake Coll. PLATE IV.
- A 15-P 61 16.75 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, General Coll.
- A 15-P 62 16.39 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
- A 15-P 63 16.90 Copenhagen, *SNG* part 35, no. 186.
- A 15-P 64 16.82 London, *BMC (Seleucid Kings)* 35, no. 15, pl. xi, 8. *SMA* pl. iii, no. 54.
- A 15-P 65 16.5 The Hague, inv. no. 7053.
- A 15-P 66 16.30 E. Bourgey Sale, March 1960 (Coll. Chandon de Briailles) no. 130.
- A 15-P 67 16.7 Vienna.
- A 15-P 68 16.67 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.
- A 16-P 69 16.53 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, *McClellan Coll.* no. 9281, pl. 338,4.
- A 16-P 70 16.53 Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1042.
- A 16-P 71 16.25 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 531. PLATE IV.
- A 16-P 72 16.60 London, British Museum.
- A 16-P 73 16.58 Naville Sale XIII, 1928, no. 919 *ex* Sotheby Sale 1909 (Benson Coll.) no. 759 *ex* Sotheby Sale 1896 (Bunbury Coll. II), no. 491.
- A 16-P 74 16.80 P. & P. Santamaria Sale, October 1949, no. 81 *ex* A. E. Cahn Sale, November 1933, no. 410.
- A 16-P 75 *Hesperia Art Bulletin* XVIII, no. 53.
- A 17-P 76 16.9 Glendining Sale 1929 (Nordheim Coll.) no. 782 (16.68 gr.) *ex* A. E. Cahn Sale, November 1913, no. 210.
- A 17-P 76 16.50 Ciani & Vinchon Sale 1956 (Coll. Hindamian) no. 608 *ex* Feuardent Sale 1929 (Coll. Collignon) no. 389. *Rev.* double struck.
- A 17-P 76 16.9 A. E. Cahn Sale 61, 1928, no. 164. Overstruck.
- A 17-P 76 16.56 In commerce 1959. PLATE IV.
- A 17-P 77 16.77 J. Ward, *Greek Coins and their Parent Cities.* London 1902, no. 786, pl. xix.
- A 17-P 78 Bagdad, inv. no. 904.
- A 17-P 79 16.76 Milan, former Brera Coll. no. 3162.
- A 18-P 80 16.60 Paris, *Revue num.* 1910, 133, no. 492 (Valton Coll.) *ex* Sotheby Sale 1895 (Ashburnham Coll.) no. 211 (16.65 gr.). PLATE IV.

13. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue ΙΣ (*SMA* no. 55).
- | | | |
|-----------|-------|---|
| A 19-P 81 | 16.65 | Paris, <i>Rois de Syrie</i> no. 533, pl. xii, 8. <i>SMA</i> pl. iii, 55. |
| A 19-P 82 | 16.5 | The Hague, inv. no. 7051. PLATE IV. |
| A 19-P 83 | 16.82 | New York, ANS. |
| A 19-P 84 | 16.55 | Budapest. |
| A 20-P 85 | 16.73 | <i>Boston Cat.</i> no. 2163, pl. 100. Regling, <i>Sammlung Warren</i> (1906) 203, no. 1300. PLATE IV. |
| | 14.88 | <i>JIAN XIII</i> , 1911, 151, no. 344 (?) |

Commentary

With the introduction of Series II great and definitive changes were made in the established pattern of the most important Seleucid coin, the silver tetradrachm. On the reverse the seated Apollo was replaced by a seated Zeus Nicephorus, a conception of the god going back to the famous cult statue of Phidias in Olympia. The new coin type presented the die engravers with some problems. In the first issues (groups 6 and 7) the throne on which Zeus is seated is presented in a frontal view, both vertical posts of the high back being visible behind the god, while Zeus himself is drawn from the side with head and legs in pure profile but with the naked upper part of the body twisted to a three-quarter view as required by the position of his hands, the right one carrying Nike in front of him, the left grasping the long sceptre behind. An identical Zeus figure is found on earlier Seleucid issues. In continuation of the well known Alexander coinage Seleucus I had frequently used a seated Zeus as the reverse type of his silver. After his expedition to the east, c. 305-04 B. C., he had occasionally followed a precedent set by Antigonos Monophthalmus in substituting a Nike on the hand of Zeus for the more common eagle inherited from Alexander, and this type had also been used by Antiochus I (281-266 B. C.).¹³

The pose of the seated Zeus is also familiar from the Seleucid representations of Apollo; even a detail such as the position of the feet, one placed forward and the other drawn back, is repeated. Thus it becomes a question whether the die cutters of Antiochus IV went back to the old Seleucid Zeus type or copied

¹³ Cf. *WSM* 380 and 383. BELLINGER & BERLINCOURT, "Victory as a coin type", *NJM* 149 (1962) 25 ff.

the schematic position of the immediately preceding Apollo coins. However, this may be, it cannot be denied that this scheme was more successful in the case of the Apollo, who in a quite natural way holds the arrow in front of him in the right hand and grasps with the left the upper part of the bow behind him (PLATE I). The desired three-quarter view of the chest (a chest in profile is difficult to draw and gives no opportunity for showing the muscles of the body effectively) is here entirely appropriate. On the other hand it is, if not impossible, at least very uncomfortable to hold a sceptre in the way indicated on the Zeus reverses. In a sculptural representation Zeus holds both Nike and sceptre in front of himself, the latter placed a little sideways perhaps, but never behind.¹⁴ Furthermore the combination of the god seen partly in profile and the frontal throne is not a happy one. Apparently this was realized by the artists, and on the reverses of groups 12 and 13 only one vertical post of the high back can be seen, that is to say the throne is also drawn from the side. A further difficulty was presented by the position of the god's legs, practically covering one of the two visible legs of the throne. Sometimes this one leg is simply omitted (e. g. P 82 and 85), or Zeus is placed on the edge of the seat so that both legs of the throne are fully visible (e. g. P 30). In both cases some awkwardness results. An attempt to draw the throne in the proper perspective, as was sometimes done on coins from the classical period,¹⁵ is never made.

In spite of the precedent from the time of the first two Seleucid kings it must have been thought very revolutionary when Antiochus IV about a hundred years later reintroduced on his tetradrachms the type which had so long ago given way to Apollo. The reason for the change must be sought in the personal preference of the king. From the literary sources we hear of various manifestations of Antiochus' particular interest in Zeus (see below pp. 58 f.).

A second daring innovation on the reverse of the new coins was the introduction of the title "God Manifest". Up to that time

¹⁴ See e. g. the rendering of the seated Zeus on the bronze coin from Elis, in LACROIX, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques* (1949) pl. xxii, 7.

¹⁵ E. g. at Tarentum and Rhegium in the late 5th century B. C. See GUÉPIN, "Sophists and Coins", *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de antieke Beschaving te 'S-Gravenhage* XXXV, 1960, 56.

all Seleucid coins had been inscribed only with the name of the reigning king and the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ¹⁶. However, a discussion of the various titles of Antiochus IV is better reserved for one of the concluding chapters.

A stylistic analysis of the obverse portrait will also be presented separately. Here it will suffice to note that a pronounced change of style in the rendering of the king's head accompanies the changes in reverse type. One obverse die, A 4, is carried over from Series I to which it belongs stylistically, but all the other dies from A 5 onwards are of the new type. An interesting new feature is the two stars adorning the loose end of the royal diadem. This is already found on obverse die A 4 and thus may have preceded the introduction of the Zeus reverse by a short period. However, the diadem ends are off flan on the single coin A 4—P 13, which combines this obverse with the old Apollo type, so that the possibility cannot be excluded that the stars were only engraved on the die *after* the transition to Series II. Be this as it may, the stars reflect in the same way as the new legend the wish of the king to be regarded as a god on earth, separated from the rest of mankind by his divine and celestial nature.

During the minting of Series II the mint of Antioch increased its production, although the supervision was still largely carried out by the official ⚡. Only with group 13 the moneyer ΙΣ appears as his companion. The groups 7 to 11 are remarkable for the absence of any magistrate's signature. As regards the tetradrachms, two periods can be distinguished, the first comprising groups 6 and 7, the second groups 12 and 13. Their relative position is determined by the fact that die A 4 is transferred from Series I to Series II, group 6, and another die, A 20, in the same way from Series II, group 13, to Series III. However, within these two periods the arrangement of the coins in the list above is only a matter of convenience with no further implications as to the exact sequence of the dies. In fact there can be no doubt that groups 6 and 7 were struck concurrently. The proof of this is given by an examination of die A 6 which was used in both groups (PLATE II). The two coins of group 6 struck from A 6

¹⁶ A small coinage in silver and bronze, inscribed ANTIOXOY ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, has been shown by NEWELL, WSM 163 to be a posthumous issue in the name of Antiochus I dating from the years 246–244 B. C.

and the reverse dies P 23 and P 24 show the obverse die in splendid condition. On the following coins of this group (A 6 coupled with P 25, P 26, P 27) a die break has developed above the head of the king. The coins of group 7 struck from the same obverse also show the die in two different stages. When used with P 30 and P 31, A 6 looks perhaps a little more worn than at the first striking in group 6, while the coin A 6-P 32 shows on the obverse the same die break as the later coins of group 6. The following table is intended to bring out the chronological sequence of these coins more clearly:

	Group 6	Group 7
1. stage	A 6-P 23 A 6-P 24	A 6-P 30 A 6-P 31
2. stage (die break)	A 6-P 25 A 6-P 26 A 6-P 27	A 6-P 32

In the same way groups 12 and 13 were contemporaneous as can be inferred from the fact that besides the obverse die A 20 from group 13 a whole series of reverse dies of the type represented by group 12 was recut and put into use in Series III (see below P 114-16). Thus immediately before the change from Series II to Series III coins of both types were minted. A further implication of this contemporaneity of the groups is that more than one obverse die was in use at a given time during the striking of Series II.

Groups 8 to 11 consist of various small denominations: drachms, hemidrachms, and a unique diobol. The form of the inscription and the absence of a moneyer's monogram or initial point to their connexion with group 7.¹⁷

As regards the types of the lower denominations some important observations can be made. The portrait head of Antiochus IV on the drachms (groups 8 and 9) is simply a re-

¹⁷ NEWELL (*SMA* 28) listed the hemidrachms and the diobol together with some later issues which he connected with the festival at Daphne. However, the form of the inscription tells strongly against this arrangement.

petition from the tetradrachms, but the obverses of the rare hemidrachms (group 10) and the unique diobol (group 11) show a radiate head of the king, the rays being placed on the royal diadem. This is another innovation of Antiochus. Even if a single precedent within the Seleucid coin series can be cited,¹⁸ this transient use of the radiate crown cannot be compared to its very frequent occurrence under Antiochus IV, when not only the smaller denominations under discussion but also most of the bronze coinages show the new device. Furthermore, the radiate head type of Antiochus IV was not confined to the coins, as a number of clay *bullae* or seal impressions from Warka demonstrate.¹⁹ The radiate crown was the normal attribute of Helios, the Sun-god, and well known as such in Hellenistic numismatics from its occurrence on the very common coins of Rhodes. Before the days of Antiochus it had been adopted by Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy V of Egypt on an ostentatious series of gold coins, mostly octodrachms,²⁰ and it is quite likely that the Syrian king took the idea from them.

While the drachms of group 8, continuing on the reverse the normal Seleucid Apollo type, and the diobol with the Apolline tripod demand no further explanations, the two drachms of group 9 present us with a more interesting reverse: an eagle standing to the right on a thunderbolt. From the time of Ptolemy I an eagle on a thunderbolt had been the Egyptian coin type *par excellence*, used on the great majority of the silver and bronze issues. At Antioch also the rare drachms of group 9 were accompanied by a substantial bronze coinage in five denominations, all with the same eagle reverse type and identical legend. On the obverse the three heaviest denominations carry a head of Serapis,

¹⁸ A bronze coin in Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 576, pl. xiii 11, attributed to Antiochus IV, belongs to Antiochus III. By its monograms it is connected with WSM nos. 1060–61. On the other hand, BABELON is wrong in seeing a radiate crown on the tetradrachm *Rois de Syrie* no. 209, pl. vi, 10. Cf. the better preserved specimens WSM no. 1456, pl. lxi, 1–2.

¹⁹ Cf. ROSTOVITZEFF, "Seleucid Babylonia", *Yale Classical Studies* III, 28, nos. 6–10, and 44, no. 67, pl. v, 1–2. As ROSTOVITZEFF points out, the style of these portraits is very close to the portrait style on an extensive series of bronze coins from Seleucia on the Tigris.

²⁰ *Svoronos*, III pl. xxxvi, 1–2, 4–9 (struck by Ptolemy IV with the portrait of Ptolemy III) and pl. xli, 15, 17–18 (Ptolemy V). W. W. TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd ed. 1951) 188 f. finds it "difficult to dissociate the crown of Helios from some connection with world-rule". However, the reverse type of the Ptolemaic gold coins, a *cornucopiae* with the royal diadem attached and the crown of rays at the mouth (PLATE XV, 7), points to another interpretation, also mentioned by Tarn, viz. the bringing of fertility and prosperity.

identified by the small "basileion" fastened to the laureal wreath above his forehead (PLATE XV, 1). The fourth denomination shows the head of Isis, adorned with a corn wreath surmounted by the peculiar head dress of this goddess: the disc of the full moon flanked by two cow's horns (PLATE XV, 2). The fifth and smallest denomination has the radiate head of Antiochus IV as its obverse type (PLATE XV, 3).²¹ Even if the old theory regarding Serapis as a creation of the first Ptolemy intended to be the religious vehicle for an imperialistic Egyptian policy has recently been discredited,²² and even if Isis was also popular all over the Hellenistic world on her own merits, rather than as a result of a determined religious propaganda by the Ptolemies, one cannot but feel the strong Egyptian "flavour" of this outstanding new Syrian bronze coinage. The idea of such heavy denominations must also have been imported from Egypt, where they had been used extensively since the reign of Ptolemy II.²³ However, it is worth noticing that the common obverse type of the Egyptian heavy bronze was the head of Zeus Ammon, not Serapis. Exact prototypes for the Syrian representations of Serapis and Isis can be found on a beautiful but rather small series of silver tetradrachms minted during the first years of Ptolemy IV (221–204 B. C.), the obverse of which is adorned by the jugate busts of the two deities (PLATE XV, 6).²⁴ The Syrian die cutters

²¹ From the material at my disposal I have compiled the following table:

1. denomination (Serapis/eagle) average weight from 5 specimens: 71.67 gr.
2. denomination (Serapis/eagle) average weight from 4 specimens: 56.15 gr.
3. denomination (Serapis/eagle) average weight from 56 specimens: 36.30 gr.
4. denomination (Isis/eagle) average weight from 65 specimens: 17.86 gr.
5. denomination (Radiate king/eagle) average weight from 28 specimens: 8.78 gr.

The attribution to Antioch of this issue (SMA 25) has been questioned by MARGARET THOMPSON, *Hesperia* XX (1951) 361 with note 19. However, it seems to be confirmed by the coin finds from Antioch. Cf. *Antioch on the Orontes* IV, part 2, 11, nos. 112–113. Furthermore the reverse type was imitated in Armenia, another indication of Syrian origin. Cf. SEYRIG, *Revue num.* 1955, 126, note 44.

²² Cf. C. B. WELLES, "The Discovery of Sarapis and the Foundation of Alexandria", *Historia* XI (1962) 271–298, and P. M. FRASER, "Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World", *Opuscula Atheniensia* III (1960) 1–54.

²³ Cf. *Svoronos* III, pl. xvii, 1 ff. Except for the series under discussion, the heaviest Seleucid bronze coins known are the octuples of Timarchus from Ecbatana, which weigh approximately the same as the third denomination of the Serapis/eagle issue. Cf. BELLINGER, "The Bronze Coins of Timarchus", *ANS Museum Notes* I (1946) 37.

²⁴ Cf. *Svoronos* III, pl. xxxvi, 13–15, and pl. xliii, 11. On the date, see NEWELL, "Two recent Egyptian hoards", *NM* 33 (1927) 7 f. For the *basileia* attached to the wreaths cf. SEYRIG "Deux notes d'épigraphie relatives aux cultes alexandrins", *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* vol. XIII (1953) 603–610.

took care to reproduce the different wreaths and ornaments attached to them with the utmost fidelity.

Before raising the question of the purpose and function of the Egyptian types on our Syrian silver and bronze coins, two preliminaries must be established. In the first place Antiochus did *not* imitate the common Egyptian coin types. As already mentioned, his Serapis and Isis are taken from a moderately large series struck about 40 to 45 years before his accession. The radiate crown occurs also rather sporadically in Egypt. The eagle on a thunderbolt on the other hand is extremely common for the Ptolemies, but nearly always turned to the left.²⁵ Thus the Syrian coins are typologically, not to mention the explicit inscription, easily distinguishable from the contemporary Ptolemaic coinage. Secondly, as pointed out by Newell, Antiochus' coins were struck at Antioch and intended for circulation in Syria. They are never found in Egypt. The Antiochene provenance established by NEWELL²⁶ is further confirmed by the obverse die link between groups 8 and 9 (a 2). And yet the connection with Egypt cannot be denied. As is well known, in 170/169 and 168 B. C. Antiochus undertook two expeditions to Egypt, conquered most of the country, and was only turned back by Roman intervention, when C. Popilius Laenas drew his famous circle around him and asked him to answer the Roman ultimatum, bidding him to leave Egypt with his army, before crossing the line.²⁷ This is not the place to go into a detailed discussion of Antiochus' Egyptian policy.²⁸ As I see it, his endeavour was to establish a Syrian protectorate over the neighbour to the south without going to the extreme of bluntly annexing it to his own kingdom, a policy which would never have succeeded against almost certain Roman opposition. Now it is impossible to decide with certainty if An-

²⁵ For a Ptolemaic eagle looking right, see *Svoronos* III, pl. xxxvii, 1.

²⁶ Cf. above p. 21 note 21.

²⁷ The number of Syrian expeditions to Egypt and their dates have recently been the subject of much discussion. I hope to take up this question elsewhere. In my opinion our written sources imply two expeditions. For the dates the most sensible view is that of BIKERMAN, *Chronique d'Égypte* 27 (1952) 396-403, and SKEAT, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1961, 107 ff.

²⁸ WALTER OTTO, "Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers", *Abh. der Bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt.* NF 11 (München 1934) 82-88 and W. W. TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd ed., Cambridge 1951) 192, may be cited as representatives of the extremely divergent views on Antiochus' policy against Egypt.

Antiochus' "Egyptianizing" coins were struck during his expeditions or somewhat earlier. Already in the beginning of Antiochus' reign, the conflict between Egypt and Syria was looming large on the horizon.²⁹ The number of bronze coins preserved to the present day and the very impressive number of different dies used in their production suggest a minting period of some length and, consequently, favour an early date for the beginning of this series. However, this may be, the choice of these unusual types can best be explained as a propaganda measure, to make the populace of Syria acquainted with the king's policy toward Egypt and perhaps to prepare them for war. The important thing to keep in mind is that whatever "message" the new coin series propagated, it must have been intended for "home consumption" in Syria, as is obvious from its occurrence on drachms and bronze coins only. For an international propaganda the tetradrachms would have been the suitable medium.

Another unusual reverse type is the outspread *aegis* with the head of Medusa found on the hemidrachms (group 10). In contrast to all other representations of this subject on Greek coins, where the head of Medusa tends to become the dominating feature, the interest of the artist has here been concentrated on the *aegis* itself, the head being subordinated to the whole. Furthermore the *aegis* is not the usual pliable goat-skin, normally drawn with a circular outline,³⁰ but gives the impression of being made of a hard and stiff material such as wood or metal carved into a peculiar shape. On some of the dies (p i and p ii) there are indications that the *aegis* was to be fastened with six nails, one at each corner and one in the middle of each vertical side, to a wall or similar structure. On the other dies the *aegis* appears to be fastened only at the four corners.

Already in 1890 BABELON, when treating this type, drew the attention to two passages in Pausanias. In his description of the temple of Zeus in Olympia Pausanias mentions a curtain in front of the cult statue given by a king Antiochus, and refers to another gift of the same king, a golden *aegis* and Medusa fastened to the south wall of the Athenian Acropolis above the theatre of Dion-

²⁹ Cf. Macc. II, 4, 21-22. The embassy of Apollonius here mentioned can only be dated loosely to the first years of Antiochus IV's reign.

³⁰ See e. g. the coins from Amisus (*SNG Cop.* part 18, nos. 167 ff.).

ysus.³¹ It is tempting to identify the Antiochus mentioned by Pausanias with Antiochus IV, in view of his friendly relations with Athens and his well-known generosity towards this centre of Greek culture. This identification is confirmed by the coin type under discussion. The anomalous aspects of the representation of the aegis find their natural explanation if this is meant to be a picture of this spectacular work of art, the golden Medusa and aegis from the Acropolis, which would remind posterity of the magnanimity of the Syrian king.³²

Series III. C. 169/8–164 B. C.

Catalogue

Obv. Head of Zeus r., laureate and bearded; fillet border.

Rev. Zeus seated l. on throne with one vertical post of the back visible, his legs parallel to one another, holding on extended r. hand a Nike who crowns him (P 86–P 99) or the inscription to l. (P 100–P 106), in l. hand sceptre; to r. and l. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXΟΥ || ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑ-
ΝΟΥΣ; in exergue ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ.

14. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* no monogram. (SMA no. 63).³³

A 21–P 86 16.82 Munich.

A 21–P 87 16.30 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 544, pl. xii, 11. SMA pl. iv, 63.

A 21–P 87 16.58 Berlin.

A 21–P 88 14.22 Berlin. Cut at the edge.

A 21–P 89 16.66 Henri Seyrig Coll., Beirut. PLATE V.

A 21–P 90 16.46 Naville Sale 1921 (Pozzi Coll.) no. 2963.

A 22–P 90 16.46 Winterthur. PLATE V.

A 22–P 91 16.78 Copenhagen *ex* Glendining Sale, February 1961, (Lockett Coll.) no. 2587 *ex* SNG vol. III (Lockett Coll.) no. 3128 *ex* Schlesinger Sale, February 1935, no. 1450. *JIAN* 13, 1911, 151, no. 349 (16.75 gr.).

A 22–P 92 16.49 Sotheby Sale 1958 (Haughton Coll.) no. 194 *ex* Glendining Sale 1950 (Platt Hall Coll.) no. 179.

³¹ Pausanias V, 12,4 referring to I 21, 3. Cf. *Rois de Syrie* p. xcii.

³² A. PELLETIER, *Syria* 32 (1955) 289–307, argues that Antiochus III was the donor, but seems to have overlooked the evidence of our coin type. On the other hand, Pelletier is undoubtedly right in denying any connection between the curtain given to Olympia and the veil taken from the temple of Jerusalem by Antiochus IV.

³³ For a barbarous imitation of this type, see *Revue num.* 1910, 133, no. 494 (Paris, Coll. Valton).

A 22-P 93	16.69	Monnaies et Médailles, Bâle, Sale June 1959, no. 539.
A 23-P 94	16.71	The Hague, inv. no. 7063. PLATE V.
A 23-P 95	16.73	<i>Boston Cat.</i> no. 2165, pl. 100 <i>ex</i> Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1048.
A 23-P 96	16.79	Arthur S. Dewing Coll., Boston <i>ex</i> Egger Sale 41, 1912, no. 684.
A 23-P 97		Plaster cast in ANS without provenance.
A 23-P 98	16.73	Naville Sale VII, 1924 (Bement Coll.) no. 1683. PLATE V.
A 23-P 99	15.50	Paris, <i>Rois de Syrie</i> no. 545. <i>Coll. de Luynes</i> , no. 3313, pl. cxxi.
A 24-P 100	16.6	The Hague, inv. no. 7062. PLATE V.
A 24-P 101	16.80	<i>Coll. Jameson</i> vol. III, no. 2347, pl. cxxv.
A 24-P 101	16.44	Glasgow, <i>Hunter Coll.</i> III, 48, no. 50.
A 24-P 102	16.70	Paris, <i>Rois de Syrie</i> no. 546.
A 25-P 103	16.67	A. Hess Sale, April 1954, no. 183 <i>ex Coll. Jameson</i> vol. I, no. 1700, pl. lxxxv <i>ex</i> Sotheby, Rome Sale, no. 165.
A 25-P 104	16.58	Copenhagen <i>ex</i> Kress Sale, May 1962, no. 483. PLATE V.
A 26-P 105	16.83	London, <i>BMC (Seleucid Kings)</i> 36, no. 22, pl. xi, 9.
A 26-P 106	15.99	Paris, <i>Revue num.</i> 1910, 133, no. 493 (Valton Coll.). PLATE V.
	16.77	Turin, <i>Fabretti</i> no. 4640.

Obv. Diademed head of the king r., the ends of the diadem adorned with stars;³⁴ fillet border.

Rev. Zeus seated l. on throne with one vertical post of the back visible, parallel legs, *himation* over shoulder, holding on extended r. hand Nike crowning the inscription to l., in l. hand sceptre; to r. and l. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXΟΥ || ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ; in exergue ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ; in outer l. field monogram or letters.

15. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in l. field ΙΣ (*SMA* no. 68).

A 20-P 107 16.61 London, *BMC (Seleucid Kings)* 35, no. 16. PLATE VI.

A 20-P 108 16.63 A. Hess Sale 207, 1931 (H. Otto Coll.) no. 656 *ex* Egger Sale 45, 1913, no. 674.

³⁴ More often than not the stars at the ends of the diadem are off flan. Their presence is certain on obverse dies A 20, 27, 28, 31, 34, 39, 40, 43, 44, 46, 47, and I see no reason to doubt that all obverses were adorned in the same way.

- A 20-P 108 Glending Sale, November 1957, no. 185.
 A 20-P 109 16.6 The Hague, inv. no. 7054. Restruck.
 A 20-P 110 16.52 Cambridge, Leake Coll. *Rev.* on l. [I]Σ.
 A 20-P 110 16.52 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.
 A 20-P 111 16.6 The Hague, inv. no. 7056. *Rev.* IΣ erased.
 PLATE VI.
 A 20-P 112 16.54 New York, ANS. *Rev.* IΣ erased.
 A 27-P 113 16.47 Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1046. *Rev.* IΣ en-
 graved over Δ. PLATE VI.
 16.92 Turin, *Fabretti* no. 4638.
16. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in l. field Δ (SMA no. 67).
 A 28-P 114 16.67 Copenhagen, new acquisition. *Rev.* recut on
 rev. die from group 12. PLATE VI.
 A 28-P 115 16.78 London, *BMC (Seleucid Kings)* 35, no. 18. *Rev.*
 recut on *rev.* die from group 12.
 A 28-P 116 16.9 R. Ball Sale VI, February 1932, no. 381 *ex*
 Schulman Sale 1904 (White King Coll.) no.
 550. *Rev.* recut on *rev.* die from group 12.
 A 28-P 117 16.74 London, *BMC (Seleucid Kings)* 35, no. 17.
 A 28-P 118 16.56 Sotheby Sale 1910 (American Artist) no. 119,
 SMA pl. iv, 67.
 A 28-P 119 16.64 Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, *ex* Naville
 Sale X, 1925, no. 1045.
 A 28-P 120 16.48 Copenhagen, *SNG* part 35, no. 194.
 A 28-P 121 16.90 Ciani Sale 1925 (Alotte de la Fuÿe Coll.) no.
 812 *ex* Egger Sale, January 1908, no. 591
 (16.45 gr.).
 A 28-P 122 15.85 Ciani Sale 1925 (Alotte de la Fuÿe Coll.) no.
 813.
 A 28-P 123 16.96 Milan, former Brera Coll. no. 3164.
 A 28-P 124 16.79 Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 48, no. 47. PLATE
 VI.
 A 29-P 125 16.57 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. PLATE VI.
 A 29-P 125 16.25 New York, ANS.
 A 29-P 126 16.75 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 536, pl. xii, 10.
 A 29-P 127 16.13 Egger Sale 45, 1913, no. 754.
 A 30-P 128 16.65 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, General Coll.
 A 30-P 129 16.43 Winterthur *ex* Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1044.
 A 30-P 130 16.63 New York, ANS *ex* Aleppo hoard (NNM 78,
 no. 31).
 A 30-P 131 16.78 Frankfurt, inv. no. 1398.³⁵ PLATE VI.
 A 31-P 132 16.63 Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer). PLATE VII.

³⁵ The forgery of Becker – G. F. HILL, *Becker the Counterfeiter* I (1924) pl. vii, 110 – is copied from this coin.

- A 31-P 133 16.59 Henri Seyrig Coll., Beirut.
 A 31-P 134 16.45 Henri Seyrig Coll., Beirut.
 A 31-P 134 16.70 Monnaies et Médailles, Bâle, Sale VII, no. 494.
 A 31-P 135 16.17 Knud Fabricius Coll., Copenhagen.
 A 31-P 136 16.50 Glendining Sale 1951 (Cunningham Coll.) no. 264 (16.48 gr.) *ex* A. Hess Sale, December 1933, no. 101 *ex* Naville Sale VII, 1924 (Bement Coll.) no. 1682 *ex* Jacob Hirsch Sale xxx, 1911, no. 590.
 A 32-P 137 16.78 Brussels, *Coll. de Hirsch* no. 1671. *Rev.* monogram off flan. PLATE VII.
 A 32-P 138 16.28 Kricheldorf Sale, October 1957, no. 361 (16.27 gr.) *ex* Naville Sale V, 1923 (British Museum Duplicates) no. 2799 *ex* *Weber Coll.* III, no. 7885, pl. 288.
 A 32-P 139 15.62 Aberdeen, *SNG* vol. I, part II, no. 393 (worn).
 A 32-P 140 16.44 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.
 A 33-P 141 16.60 Naville Sale XII, 1926, no. 1962 *ex* Locker Lampson Coll. no. 346. PLATE VII.
 A 33-P 141 Platt Sale 1922 (Luneau Coll.) no. 729.
 A 34-P 142 16.32 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum *ex* Glendining Sale, December 1927, no. 668. PLATE VII.
 A 34-P 143 16.40 *Z.f.N.* 1928, 128, no. 87, pl. xiii (Babylon hoard, *NNM* 78, no. 116).
 A 34-P 144 16.3 The Hague, inv. no. 7059.
 A 34-P 145 Sàngiorgi Sale, April 1907 (Strozzi Coll.) no. 1669.
 A 34-P 146 16.58 Berlin.
 A 34-P 147 16.65 Naples, F 8725.
 A 34-P 148 16.69 Berlin.
 A 34-P 148 16.50 Sotheby Sale 1958 (Houghton Coll.) no. 193.
 A 34-P 149 16.3 A. Hess Sale 1907 (Berlin Duplicates) no. 1162. Pierced.
 A 34-P 150 16.52 Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, *ex* Sotheby Sale, December 1924, no. 196.
 A 34-P 151 15.76 In commerce 1959 (worn).
 A 34-P 152 16.55 Yale, University Coll.
 A 35-P 153 15.40 Walcher de Moltheim Coll., 1895, no. 2934, pl. xxv (worn). PLATE VII.
 16.27 Turin, *Fabretti* no. 4639.
17. Tetrachms. *Rev.* in l. field \square (*SMA* no. 72).
 A 35-P 154 16.2 Schlessinger Sale, February 1935, no. 1447, *JIAN* XIII, 1911, 151 no. 345 (16.3 gr.)? PLATE VII.
 A 35-P 155 16.25 In commerce 1963.

- A 36-P 156 16.54 Sotheby Sale 1958 (Haughton Coll.) no. 190
ex Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1043. *Rev.* \square
recut over Δ . PLATE VII.
- A 36-P 157 14.70? Warsaw.
- A 36-P 158 16.60 Copenhagen *ex* Gerhard Hirsch Sale 27, May
1961, no. 785. PLATE VIII.
- A 36-P 159 16.9 Numismatic Fine Arts, Mail Bid Sale 15, May
1955, no. 155 *ex* Glendining Sale, March 1931,
no. 1149 *ex* P. & P. Santamaria Sale, March
1928, no. 280.
- A 36-P 159 16.55 Glendining Sale 9th July 1963, no. 55.
- A 36-P 160 16.40 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 538.
- A 36-P 161 16.19 Berlin (broken and soldered).
- A 37-P 162 16.30 E. Bourgey Sale, March 1960, no. 133. PLATE
VIII.
- A 38-P 163 16.72 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 537. PLATE VIII.
- A 39-P 164 16.66 London, British Museum *ex* Oman Coll.
- A 39-P 165 16.26 New York, ANS, SNG (Berry Coll.) II, no.
1361. PLATE VIII.
- A 40-P 166 16.75 Berlin.
- A 40-P 167 16.57 Plaster cast in the possession of M. Henri
Seyrig (Provenance, Bagdad?). PLATE VIII.
- A 40-P 168 15.80 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.
- A 41-P 169 16.41 London, British Museum *ex* Hamburger Coll.
PLATE VIII.
- A 41-P 170 16.45 New York, ANS.
- A 41-P 171 16.36 Hess/Leu Sale, March 1959, no. 290.
- A 42-P 172 16.82 Proschowsky Coll., Copenhagen. PLATE VIII.
- A 42-P 173 16.71 New York, ANS *ex* Egger Sale 41, 1912, no. 682.
- A 42-P 174 16.69 New York, ANS *ex* Aleppo hoard (NNM 78,
no. 31).
- A 42-P 175 16.83 New York, ANS.
- A 42-P 176 16.64 Glendining Sale, March 1957, no. 340.
- A 43-P 177 16.60 Berlin. PLATE IX.
- A 43-P 178 16.38 Naville Sale XVII, 1934, no. 597.
- A 43-P 178 16.74 Private collection, Switzerland. "*Meisterwerke
griechischer Kunst*" (Basel 1960) 306, no. 545.
- A 43-P 179 16.70 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 535. *Coll. de Luynes*
no. 3312, pl. cxxi.
- A 44-P 180 16.8 The Hague, inv. no. 7055.
- A 44-P 181 16.75 Bagdad, inv. no. 905. PLATE IX.
- A 45-P 182 16.61 New York, ANS. PLATE IX.
18. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in l. field \square or \square (SMA no. 70).
- A 46-P 183 16.65 Munich. PLATE IX.
- A 46-P 184 16.28 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, *McClellan
Coll.* III, no. 9280, pl. 338, 3.

- A 46-P 184 16.65 New York, ANS.
 A 46-P 185 16.21 A. Hess Sale, December 1931, no. 684.
 A 46-P 186 16.40 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 539.
 A 46-P 186 16.78 Berlin.
 A 46-P 187 15.38 New York, ANS.
 A 46-P 188 16.40 New York, ANS.
 A 46-P 189 17.00? Warsaw. Chisel cut.
 A 46-P 190 15.80 E. Bourgey Sale, March 1960 (Coll. Chandon de Briailles) no. 132.
 A 46-P 191 16.25 Athens. Found at Naupactus; cf. *BCH* 1960, 501.
 A 47-P 192 16.60 Naville Sale VII, 1924 (Bement Coll.) no. 1681 *ex* Sotheby Sale 1911 (Butler Coll.) no. 250. *SMA* pl. iv, 70.
 A 47-P 193 16.82 Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 48, no. 48. PLATE IX.
 A 47-P 194 16.41 Monnaies et Médailles, Bâle, Sale X, 1951, no. 311.
 A 47-P 195 16.00 Warsaw.
 A 48-P 196 16.84 Aberdeen, *SNG* vol. I, part II, no. 392. PLATE IX.
 A 48-P 197 (17.40) Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 540. Mounted.
19. Tetradrachm. *Rev.* in l. field \mathfrak{R} .
 A 49-P 198 16.86 Brussels, *Coll. de Hirsch* no. 1670, pl. xc. PLATE IX.
20. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in l. field \mathfrak{A} (*SMA* no. 69).
 A 50-P 199 16.67 Newell Coll. *SMA* pl. iv, 69. Presumably *ex* Sotheby Sale 1908 (O'Hagan Coll.) no. 661 *ex* Sotheby Sale 1897 (Montagu Coll. II) no. 342. PLATE X.
 A 51-P 200 16.10 Asociacion Numismatica Española Sale, April-May 1959, no. 364 *ex* Gerhard Hirsch Sale, April 1957, no. 171 b. PLATE X.
21. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in l. field M (*SMA* no. 73).
 A 52-P 201 16.52 Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 48, no. 49, pl. lxvi, 18. PLATE X.
 A 52-P 202 16.71 A. E. Cahn Sale 66, 1930, no. 369 *ex* A. E. Cahn Sale 60, 1928, no. 1041.
 A 52-P 203 16.42 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.
22. Tetradrachm. *Rev.* in l. field H.
 A 53-P 204 16.61 Former Gotha Coll. PLATE X.

Special issues 166 B. C.

Same types as preceding.

23. Gold staters. *Rev.* no monogram (*SMA* no. 62).
 A I-P I 8.60 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 534, pl. xii, 9. *SMA*
 pl. iv, 62. PLATE X.
 A II-P II 8.57 London, British Museum. *NC* 1912, 146, no.
 27, pl. vii, 11. *Obv.* border of dots. PLATE X.

Obv. Laureate head of Apollo r.; fillet border.

Rev. Apollo Kitharoidos standing r., holding in extended r. hand
 patera, in l. kithara; to r. and l. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ |
 ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ | ΘΕΟΥ || ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ.

24. Tetradrachms (*SMA* no. 64).
 A 54-P 205 16.85 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 547, pl. xii, 12.
 PLATE X.
 A 54-P 205 16.23 E. Bourgey Sale, March 1960 (Coll. Chandon
 de Briailles) no. 131.
 A 55-P 206 16.12 *Coll. Jameson* I, no. 1699, pl. lxxxv *ex* Hirsch
 Sale XXI, 1908 (Consul Weber I) no. 4069
 (16.15 gr.). *SMA* pl. iv, 64.
 A 55-P 207 15.78 Henri Seyrig Coll., Beirut. PLATE X.

Commentary

The third series of silver coins from Antioch consists of specimens with the title ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ added to the inscription of the reverse. I have placed group 14 first in this series, because its reverses show an evolution of the type which in some respects makes it intermediate between groups 12 and 13 on one hand and groups 15 ff. on the other. Even on the first dies (P 86-P 97) two changes from the preceding reverses can be noted: the new legend and the position of Zeus' legs and feet. They are now drawn parallel to each other instead of one foot forward and the other drawn back. From P 98 onward a fold of the *himation* is thrown over the left shoulder of the god, whereas previously the upper part of the body was entirely naked. With P 100 a further change is introduced. The Nike on the god's right hand is turned away from him and now faces the inscription in the left field. A few dies (P 100-P 102) show her trying to squeeze

her wreath between the letters of the inscription in a very awkward way, but from P 103 she has learned what to do and places the wreath just above the initial letter of ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. The symbolism is obvious. Nike herself, as the emissary of Zeus, is giving the wreath of victory to the king.³⁶ For the rest of Antiochus IV's reign the reverse type of the ordinary tetradrachms remains unchanged. It should be noted that P 90 offers the only example in the material at hand of a reverse die coupled with two different obverses.

The obverse type of group 14 is a remarkable head of Zeus, another innovation in the Seleucid coinage which since the days of Antiochus I had, with very few exceptions,³⁷ used the heads of the various kings in this place on the tetradrachms. On dies A 21 to A 24 the treatment of the god's features is rather stiff and dry. Characteristic is the stylized rendering of the hair on the crown of the head and the beard as compact masses, the separate locks of which are drawn by fine lines and kept strictly within a single contour. Also the formal arrangement of the curls above the forehead gives the impression of a certain stiffness. By contrast the last two dies in the group, A 25 and A 26, present a much more animated conception of the greatest among gods. The hair is composed of locks waving around the head, and the beard now ends in several separate tufts, while the serene tranquillity of the god's face is enhanced by the lively motion of hair and beard. Die A 26 especially is an outstanding work of art.

The typological evolution of the reverses of group 14 indicates that these coins were struck for some time. After a while, however, it was decided to revert to the old practice of placing the king's head on the obverse of the tetradrachms. The reasons for this step escape our knowledge. Of course, one might guess that the innovation had met with no sympathy among the population of Syria, but to construe a change in Antiochus IV's religious policy from the change of coin types would certainly be rash since a number of more trivial factors, unknown to posterity, might have

³⁶ The motif of Nike crowning the name of a ruler was introduced shortly after 300 B. C. by Lysimachus of Thrace on his extensive coinage in gold and silver. Cf. BELLINGER and BERLINCOURT, "Victory as a Coin Type", *NNM* 149 (1962) 30 f., pl. iii, 3-4.

³⁷ At a few mints like Susa and Laodicea ad mare, the old Alexander type was used for the tetradrachms far down in the 3rd century B. C. See *ESM* 107 ff. and *WSM* 180 ff.

been involved. From the coin material we can only establish as a fact that the Zeus series for some time was the only tetradrachm coinage struck at Antioch, and that subsequently the portrait of the king came back as the obverse type. The time necessary for the striking of group 14 is difficult to evaluate, but it cannot have been too long, as several dies from Series II were still in existence and were put into use again when the minting of groups 15 and 16 commenced. Thus A 20 was carried over from Series II group 13 to Series III group 15 and no less than three reverse dies were transferred from Series II group 12 to Series III group 16 (P 114–116).

However, the reverse dies had to be recut at several places to conform to the new pattern. In the exergue, ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ was engraved over the monogram Δ which was only imperfectly erased so that traces are still clearly visible. A new Δ was engraved in the empty outer left field. The necessary changes in the position of Zeus were more difficult. His right foot, originally drawn back and visible behind the leg of the throne, was erased, and a new right foot and lower leg was cut parallel to the god's left leg. A recutting of a finished die is a rather difficult procedure and the space at the engraver's disposal was very narrow. No wonder then that the new right leg looks rather wooden. Finally, by erasure and reengraving the Nike was turned from the god to the inscription on the left. Dies P 114 and P 115 were left at that, but on P 116 a fold of the *himation* was added over the god's left shoulder so that here the metamorphosis was complete.

During the period covered by Series III the output of the mint seems to have been maintained on a high level. After the experiment with the new Zeus obverses groups 15 and 16 must have been issued concurrently, as can be inferred from the use of dies carried over from Series II. A further indication of contemporaneity is the fact that on a single reverse die (P 113) $\text{I}\Sigma$ was recut over Δ . Intensive productivity is also evident from the number of moneymen signing the dies. In addition to the officials covered by the initials $\text{I}\Sigma$ and Δ , already known from Series II, we meet M , M , R , M , and H . A (group 20) is most probably a new man, even if we cannot be sure that he is not identical with the well known Δ . At the same time a marked decline in the style both of the portrait and the enthroned Zeus can be ob-

served, and this may be a further confirmation of the high production rate. Many of the royal portraits are typologically so close to the portraits of Series II that the same die cutters must have been at work, but obviously some new die cutters were used, to whom we are indebted for such atrocities as A 44 (PLATE IX) and a number of related dies. The new portrait is found with several of the monograms listed above, indicating that these were used more or less simultaneously. Besides an obverse die link between groups 16 and 17 (A 35) we have here a second example of the recutting of one monogram over another (P 156, Π over Δ). Thus the coins of groups 15 to 22 form a closely interrelated whole.

Within Series III two special issues stand out. The gold staters (group 23) are remarkable simply on account of their metal. The types are the common ones of the silver issues, groups 15 ff. In the second century B. C. gold was coined only on rare occasions in the Seleucid empire and an explanation can usually be found,³⁸ but the specific occasion for the issue of gold coins during the reign of Antiochus IV is rather difficult to establish. Recently it has been proposed that they were struck immediately before the first expedition to Egypt in the year 170/69 B. C., because Polybius records that Antiochus during this campaign presented a gold stater to each of the Greek citizens of Naucratis.³⁹ However, he may have used earlier Seleucid gold issues still on hand or, more probably, Egyptian gold coins in his possession. In any event, this early date can hardly be maintained because the coins of group 14 would have to be dated still earlier, thus leaving too little time for the issues of Series I and II. Accordingly, I have with some reservations followed Newell in connecting the gold issue with the renowned festival at Daphne outside Antioch in the year 166 B. C.,⁴⁰ when Antiochus made a successful attempt to outdo the games of Aemilius Paullus in Amphipolis after the Roman victory over Perseus in the Macedonian war of 171–168 B. C. The splendour of the pageant at Daphne, officially designed to celebrate the king's victories in Egypt, echoed all over the Mediterranean world and greatly enhanced the prestige of the Syrian king.⁴¹

³⁸ Cf. BIKERMAN, *Institutions des Séleucides* (1938) 214 ff.

³⁹ Polybius XXVIII, 20, 10–11. Cf. JENKINS, *NC* 1959, 43.

⁴⁰ *SMA* 28. Newell gives a wrong date, 167 B. C., for the festival.

⁴¹ Cf. Polybius XXX, 25–26; Diod. Sic. XXXI, 16.

With the tetradrachms of group 24 we are on firmer ground. The obverse type is a head of Apollo, obviously related to the roughly contemporary representations of the god on a series of tetradrachms from Miletus.⁴² The question of priority is impossible to decide owing to the uncertainty as to the exact dating of the Milesian issue. However, it is worth noting that Antiochus IV had some connexion with the rich city of Asia Minor through two of his favourites and important officials, the brothers Heraclides and Timarchus, who were secretary of finance and satrap of Media respectively. These two dignitaries were Milesians by birth and remembered their native city by dedicating a new *bouleuterion* there on behalf of their Syrian master.⁴³ On the reverse of the Syrian tetradrachms under discussion there is a full length figure of Apollo. His attitude with the kithara in the left hand and a patera in the right corresponds exactly with Libanius' description of the famous cult statue in Apollo's temple at Daphne outside Antioch.⁴⁴ It was ascribed to Bryaxis, who was active in the fourth century B. C., and accordingly must have been dedicated by one of the predecessors of Antiochus IV.

The choice of types makes the connection with Daphne obvious, and a more appropriate occasion for the striking of these coins than the great festival in the year 166 B. C. can hardly be found. A special issue to commemorate this politically significant event would have great propaganda value. Perhaps another argument for the commemorative character of the Apollo tetradrachms can be based on the fact that the average weight of the four known specimens (16.245 grammes) is unusually low. In the case of a "festival" issue less attention might be paid to the exact standardization of the weights than with the ordinary trade coins, but admittedly the material is too small to warrant any definite conclusions.

Chronology and Weights

The reign of Antiochus IV began in October or November 175 B. C. and his death occurred in the month of December 164

⁴² See e. g. *Coll. de Hirsch* no. 1515, pl. lxxx.

⁴³ WIEGAND, *Milet* II (1908) 95-99. Cf. Appian *Syr.* 45.

⁴⁴ Libanius or. LX, 7 (ed. Foerster IV p. 317). Cf. *Rois de Syrie* p. xcvi. The unlikely theory that Antiochus IV placed a copy of the Olympian Zeus in the temple of Apollo at Daphne has been disproved by LACROIX, *BCH* 73 (1949) 165 f., by a new interpretation of Ammianus Marcellinus XXII, 13, 1.

B. C.⁴⁵ How are the three coin series of Antioch to be distributed within the 11 years at our disposal? Very few points of contact exist between the coin material and well-known and datable historical events. The special issue group 24 can be connected with the festival at Daphne in 166 B. C., as demonstrated above. The eagle reverse type of group 9 has some affinity with Antiochus' Egyptian adventures, but this consideration does not yield a certain date as the striking of the type might very well have preceded the outbreak of open hostilities in 170/169 B. C. Accordingly we are left to construe a probable dating scheme from the coins themselves.

Only the tetradrachms have been preserved in quantity sufficient for statistical purposes. The material listed above comprises the following number of specimens and obverse dies:⁴⁶

Series I	23 specimens struck from	4 obverse dies
Series II	89 specimens struck from	17 obverse dies
Series III	136 specimens struck from	36 obverse dies

The first question to be asked is whether this material is sufficient to allow any conclusions to be drawn from it. Of course, the number of surviving specimens amounts to only a small fraction of the number of coins actually struck. The same applies to the reverse dies. As in other Hellenistic coinages their number is so high (207 to 248 specimens) that any number of new reverse dies may be expected to turn up as the material increases. With the obverse dies it is another matter. In her recent publication of the Athenian "new style" silver coinage Margaret Thompson has pointed out with due caution, that when the ratio of specimens to obverse dies in a given coin series is 6 to 1 or better, the statistic probability indicates that all the obverse dies of this series are known.⁴⁷ Applying this rule of thumb to our material we may assume that the record of obverse dies is virtually complete for Series I, very nearly so for Series II, but somewhat deficient for Series III where the ratio drops below 4:1. Even if too much confidence cannot be placed in

⁴⁵ Cf. MØRKHOLM, *ANS Museum Notes XI* (in the press).

⁴⁶ Only specimens, the dies of which are known, have been included. Of the obverse dies, A 4 and A 20 have been counted twice as they appear in two different series.

⁴⁷ See MARGARET THOMPSON, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (1961) 711.

these calculations, it seems safe to conclude that Series III was originally issued in a greater quantity than appears from the proportions between the various series in the table above.

In SMA Newell established the following dates: Series I 176/175 to 170/169 B. C., Series II 169 to 167 B. C., and Series III 167 to 165/164 B. C. As far as I know, his chronology has been almost unanimously accepted.⁴⁸ However, the dates do not seem consistent with the coin material now available. Even though the analysis of the various series has shown, from internal criteria, that the output of the mint was greatly increased during the production of Series II and III as compared with Series I, it seems impossible that the four obverse dies known from this series, where our record is most complete, should have sufficed for nearly half the reign, five years out of eleven. Furthermore Newell dated the beginning of Series III to 167 B. C., connecting it with the festival at Daphne. But the true date of the festival is undoubtedly 166 B. C.⁴⁹ If we follow Newell's reasoning we shall have to move the introduction of Series III forward, i. e. this great issue must be compressed within the two and a half years from spring 166 to December 164 B. C.

A more probable date for Series III can, in my opinion, be established from an investigation of the bronze coinages of Antioch. We have various issues which by the form of the legend are clearly related to Series I and II of the silver,⁵⁰ but no bronze coins with ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ in the inscription exist. Their place is filled by an extensive municipal issue in two or three denominations with a radiate head of Antiochus IV on the obverse and the legend ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ on the reverse.⁵¹ A few coins of this issue, presumably the first to be struck, show in the exergue of the reverse the Seleucid date ΔΜΡ or year 144, which according to the Macedonian calendar used in Syria ran from about October 169 to about October 168 B. C.⁵² The ad-

⁴⁸ The only exception known to me is JENKINS, NC 1959, 43. See above p. 33, note 39.

⁴⁹ Cf. TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 193 with note 6.

⁵⁰ See SMA 21 and 24. Newell's attributions have been confirmed by coins found at Antioch: *Antioch on the Orontes* IV, part 2, 11, nos. 105-111.

⁵¹ Cf. *Rois de Syrie* no. 624 ff.; *BMC (Seleucid Kings)* 40, nos. 61 ff.; *Hunter Coll.* III, 50, nos. 58 ff.; *SNG Cop.* part 35, nos. 210-214.

⁵² Cf. BIKERMAN, *Institutions des Séleucides*, 231 (in Berlin), and *JIAN XIII* (1911) 152, no. 375 (Leningrad). Besides these two specimens, I know of three more: Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 630 (PLATE XV, 4) British Museum ex Rogers; former Gotha Collection.

ministrative regulations for the municipal coinages of Antioch and a number of other cities were probably laid down in the winter 169/168 B. C. in the interval between the two Syrian invasions of Egypt.⁵³ It is not absolutely certain that the bronze and silver issues of Antioch run parallel, but it is at least a probability worth considering, and a date late in 169 or early in 168 B. C. for the introduction of Series III fits better with the amount of material on record than does Newell's date. Moreover, on this theory the epithet ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ was introduced immediately after the first victorious campaign of Antiochus IV in Egypt, certainly an event apt to produce this amplification of the royal title.

For the transition from Series I to II we have no evidence except the indications furnished by the numerical relationship of the two series. Keeping in mind on one hand the limited output but low production rate for Series I and, on the other hand, the increase of material for Series II we cannot be too far off the mark in selecting a date c. 173/2 B. C. My tentative conclusions are summarized in the following table:

Series I late 175–c. 173/2 2 years 4 obv. dies (2 obv. dies per year).

Series II c. 173/2–c. 169/8 4 years 17 obv. dies (c. 4 obv. dies per year).

Series III c. 169/8–164 5 years 36 obv. dies (c. 7 obv. dies per year).

This distribution of the coins which takes into account both the uneven production rate and the increase of material from the later series, also fits well with the general historical setting. It is only natural that the first, rather uneventful, years of the reign demanded a small output. During the period covered by Series II the first expedition against Egypt took place. The second expedition to that country (168 B. C.), the festival at Daphne (166 B. C.), the armaments for the king's expedition to the East (165 B. C.), and from 167 B. C. the warfare against the Maccabean rebels in Judea, all these events combine to explain the great volume of Series III.

⁵³ Cf. MÖRKHOLM, "The Municipal Coinages with Portrait of Antiochus IV of Syria", *Atti, Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica, Roma 1961* (in the press).

	Series I	Series II
17.20-29	x	
17.10-19	XXXXX	
17.00-09	XXXXXXXXX	XX
16.90-99	XXXXXXX	XXX
16.80-89	x	XXXXXX
16.70-79	XX	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
16.60-69		XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
16.50-59		XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
16.40-49		XXXX
16.30-39		XXX
16.20-29		x
16.10-19		XXX
16.00-09		
below 16.00	x	XXXX

Series III

	Group 14	Groups 15-22	Group 24
17.20-29			
17.10-19			
17.00-09		x	
16.90-99		XXXXX	
16.80-89	XXX	XXXXXX	x
16.70-79	XXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
16.60-69	XXXX	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
16.50-59	XX	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
16.40-49	XXXX	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
16.30-39	x	XXXXXX	
16.20-29		XXXXXXXXXX	x
16.10-19		XXXX	x
16.00-09		x	
below 16.00	XXX	XXXXXXX	x

Fig. 1. Tables of weights. Tetradrachms of Antiochus IV from Antioch.

The material listed above provides the foundation for an inquiry into the weight standard used for the tetradrachms at the mint of Antioch. Many of the individual weights appearing in the lists may of course be inexact, especially when derived from old sales catalogues. It is a warning that in some cases different weights are given for the same coin in different catalogues. How-

		Seleucus IV	
17.30-39	.....	x	
17.20-29	.....	xx	
17.10-19	.....	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	
17.00-09	xx	
16.90-99	.....	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	
16.80-89	.....	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	
16.70-79	.....	xxxx	
16.60-69	.....	x	
16.50-59	.....	x	
16.40-49	.....	xxx	
16.30-39	.....	
16.20-29	.....	xx	
16.10-19	.....	
16.00-09	.....	xxx	
below 16.00	.....	xxxx	

		the boy Antiochus	Antiochus V
17.20-29	.....	xxx	
17.10-19	.....	xxxxxx	
17.00-09	.....	xxxxxxxxxxxx	
16.90-99	.....	xxxx	
16.80-89	.....	x	xxxx
16.70-79	.....	x	xxxxxxxxxxxx
16.60-69	.....	xxx	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
16.50-59	.....	x	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
16.40-49	.....		xxxxxxx
16.30-39	.....	x	xxxxxxx
16.20-29	.....		xxxxxxx
16.10-19	.....		xx
16.00-09	.....		xx
below 16.00	.....	x	xxxxxxx

Fig. 2. Tables of weights. Tetradrachms of Antioch.

ever, from a statistical point of view the errors which undoubtedly exist should tend to counterbalance each other.

In three frequency tables with intervals of 0.10 grammes I have listed the available weights of tetradrachms from Antioch (fig. 1).⁵⁴ One result stands out clearly. Between Series I and II

⁵⁴ On the advantage of the frequency table over the calculation of the average weight, see G. F. HILL, "The Frequency Table", *NC* 1924, 76 ff. Weights below 16.00 grammes can safely be left out of account as they are due to excessive wear, piercing etc.

we find a perceptible lowering of the weight, which can only follow from an administrative decision. The great majority of weights from the first series (20 out of 25 specimens) falls in the intervals 16.90 to 17.19 grammes. In the second series the concentration has moved to the three intervals 16.50 to 16.79 grammes which account for 56 weights out of 82. With Series III it stays at the same level although a greater proportion of lighter coins is found. It is nearly too good to be true that the only two coins of Series II weighing above 17.00 grammes are both struck from obverse die A 4 which was transferred from Series I. Thus they can with certainty be placed at the beginning of Series II and we may infer that the slight reduction of the weight of the tetradrachms was introduced together with the new portrait style of A 5 ff. shortly after the inauguration of Series II.

It might be objected that the material from Series I is too small for statistical purposes. To establish the reality of the weight reduction within the issues of Antiochus IV similar frequency tables have been compiled for the Antiochene tetradrachms struck by his predecessors as well as his successor, Antiochus V (fig. 2).⁵⁵ The coinage of Seleucus IV (187–175 B. C.) and the small issue of the boy king Antiochus, struck immediately before the accession of Antiochus IV to the Syrian throne, both show exactly the same distribution of weights as the first series of Antiochus IV, the highest concentration occurring between 17.00 and 17.09 grammes and the majority of the weights falling in the intervals 16.90 to 17.19 grammes. On the other hand the coin weights from the time of Antiochus V (164–162 B. C.) confirm the pattern established for Series II and III of Antiochus IV. An almost imperceptible reduction seems to have continued through these series, the point of highest concentration moving downwards from 16.70–79 in Series II to 16.60–69 in Series III and again to 16.50–59 with the coins of Antiochus V. However, the variations are so small that they might be considered fortuitous.

Having thus established the fact of a weight reduction at the mint of Antioch about 173/2 B. C., we must explain it. The ob-

⁵⁵ The weights are taken from material in my possession collected for a planned *corpus* of the Seleucid coinage after Antiochus III. The individual weights of the coins of the boy king Antiochus are given in my paper in *ANS Museum Notes* XI (in the press).

		Pergamum c. 205–190 B. C.	Perseus of Macedonia c. 179–171 B. C.
		Group VI B | Group VII	
17.30–39	.....		x
17.20–29	.....		xx
17.10–19	.....		xxxxxxx
17.00–09	..... xxx		xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
16.90–99	..... xxxxxxxx	xxxx	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
16.80–89 xxxxxxxxxx	xxxxxxxx	xx
16.70–79	..... xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
16.60–69	..... xxxxxxxxxx	xx	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
16.50–59	..... xx	xxxx	xxxxxxxxxxxx
16.40–49	..... xx	x	xx
16.30–39	..... xx	xxx	xxxx
16.20–29	.....	xx	xxxxxx
16.10–19	.....	xx	xxx
16.00–09	..... x		x
below 16.00	.. xxxxx	xxxxxxx	xxxxxxxxxxxx

Fig. 3. Tables of weights. Tetradrachms of Pergamum and Macedonia.

vious line of approach is to look at the financial circumstances of Antiochus IV and his kingdom. Perhaps we should not overrate the disastrous effect on the Syrian economy of the war indemnity, 15.000 silver talents, exacted by the Romans in the peace treaty of Apamea 188 B. C.⁵⁶ In 173 B. C. Antiochus IV still had to pay an instalment of this debt, although the money ought to have been paid during the twelve years following the treaty.⁵⁷ Moreover Antiochus IV has often been regarded as a spendthrift, always seeking new sources of income to fill his depleted treasury. What would be more natural, in these circumstances, than to take the first step on the dangerous path of devaluation by reducing the metal content of the coins in order to reap the momentary profit from this operation? However, before jumping to a conclusion on these lines of reasoning we should in all fairness investigate other contemporary coin series from

⁵⁶ Polybius XXI, 45. On the economic conditions in Syria after Apamea, see *SEHHW* II, 695 ff.

⁵⁷ Livy XLII, 6, 6 f. Still later, in 165 B. C., Macc. II, 8, 10, mentions a sum of 2000 talents owed by the Syrian king to the Romans, but the passage in Livy seems to imply that the last instalment of the Syrian debt was actually paid in 173 B. C.

the area adhering to the Attic weight system to see how the frequency tables correspond to the Syrian material. Only a few issues have been published with sufficiently detailed information on the weights, but their evidence is very interesting (fig. 3). The Attic standard coinage of Perganum has recently been the subject of a monograph by ULLA WESTERMARK.⁵⁸ A frequency table of the last two issues (Groups VI B and VII, c. 205–190 B. C.) shows that around 200 B. C. the Pergamene kings were striking their coins on a somewhat lighter standard than the one used at Antioch twenty years later. The majority of the weights falls in the intervals 16.60 to 16.99 grammes, the peak being reached at 16.90–99 grammes. The tetradrachms of Perseus of Macedonia (179–178 B. C.), struck before the reduction of 171 B. C., show a similar distribution pattern.⁵⁹ The standardization of weights in this series seems to have been less exact than at Antioch with the result that the marks in the frequency table are distributed over more intervals. However, a peak of concentration is easily discernible at 16.80–89 on the scale. From the consideration of the Pergamene and Macedonian coins it becomes clear that down to the weight reduction in 173/2 B. C. the Seleucid coins from Antioch were struck on a slightly heavier standard than at least some of the contemporary issues. Further information is now available in Margaret Thompson's recent *corpus* of the Athenian "new style" silver coins. In the chapter on weights we find two frequency tables relevant to our investigation.⁶⁰ The first, covering the years 196/5 to 187/6 B. C., shows a concentration about 16.90 grammes. In the other, comprising four big issues between 171 and 166 B. C., the peak is found at 16.70 grammes. We have here an exact and contemporary parallel to the Syrian weight reduction of 173/2 B. C., only at Athens the decrease in weight was slightly smaller, about 0.20 grammes as against 0.30–0.40 grammes at Antioch. The Syrian coins before the reduction were a little heavier than the contemporary Athenian, but after 173/2 B. C. there is virtually no difference.

To sum up, this survey has shown that down to 173/2 B. C. the mint at Antioch maintained a rather heavy variant of the

⁵⁸ ULLA WESTERMARK, *Das Bildnis des Philetairos von Pergamon* (1961) 68–74.

⁵⁹ The weights are derived from the material collected by MAMROTH, *Z.f.N.* 1928, 1–28, nos. 1–17, 18 a, 19 a, 20 a, 21 a.

⁶⁰ MARGARET THOMPSON, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (1961) 646.

Attic standard. Consequently the weight reduction of Antiochus IV can partly be explained as an adjustment of the Syrian coinage to conditions prevailing elsewhere. The simultaneous reduction at Athens and Antioch seems to indicate that the rest of the explanation lies in economic factors affecting a larger area than Syria. Unfortunately we have no evidence to define the exact nature of these factors. In any case the coin material cannot be used to support or confirm any theory of economic disaster in Syria at this time nor to confirm the supposed financial inability of the king. With free import of foreign coins of the Attic standard into Syria, there was absolutely no reason to maintain the weight of the local coins on a higher level than the majority of the imported specimens.

CHAPTER II

Ace-Ptolemais

A palm branch and the monogram AB are the characteristic marks of the tetradrachms listed below as the issues of a single mint. The material was first brought together by PHILIP LEDERER and more recently assigned to Ace-Ptolemais by Mrs. AGNES BALDWIN BRETT, relying on a suggestion of E. T. NEWELL.⁶¹ The monogram and palm branch are found not only on tetradrachms of Attic standard, struck by Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV, and Antiochus V, but also on a few tetradrachms of the last mentioned king which are distinguished from the others by their Phoenician weight and reverse type (the Ptolemaic eagle on a thunderbolt). From the time of Alexander Balas coins of this class were minted in the great cities of the Phoenician coast, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, and Ace-Ptolemais. At a later date Ascalon also issued coins on the same standard. From an examination of the different symbols and mintmarks peculiar to the various cities as well as small local variations of the reverse type, Mrs. Brett arrives at the conclusion that Ace-Ptolemais is the likely place of minting for the coin series under discussion.

This attribution is confirmed by other considerations. The monogram P of groups 3 and 12 in the list below is found on some coins of a municipal issue of Ace with the radiate head of Antiochus IV on the reverse and the legend $\text{ANTIOXEW}\text{N T}\text{WN EN PTOLEMAID}\text{I}$.⁶² Of importance are the recorded provenances of a copious series of small bronze coins of Antiochus IV con-

⁶¹ See the two papers cited as *Lederer* and *Brett* in the list of abbreviations. I have now ruefully relinquished my earlier attempt (*NC* 1957, 6-8) to divide this series between Antioch and Ace-Ptolemais. It is quite obvious that all the coins must belong to one and the same mint.

⁶² Unpublished specimens in Berlin, The Hague, and British Museum. This variant is omitted by L. KADMAN, *The coins of Akko-Ptolemais* (1961) 92-93.

nected with the silver by the monogram $\text{A}\beta$ placed on the obverse behind the radiate head of the king (PLATE XV, 5). At Samaria and Beth-Zur, a citadel between Hebron and Jerusalem, great quantities of these coins have been found during archaeological excavations, while two specimens turned up at Lachish and a single one at Sepphoris. Recent excavations at Shechem have brought two coins of this issue to light, and several specimens are known to have been found in the Gaza district.⁶³ Outside Palestine single specimens have been found at Antioch and Susa,⁶⁴ but the type has not been listed among the numerous coins of Antiochus IV found at Dura and Seleucia on the Tigris. The distribution points to a mint in southern Phoenicia or Palestine and the great number of surviving coins indicates one of the important cities of that region as the place of origin. Of the two obvious possibilities, Tyre and Ace-Ptolemais, the first is ruled out simply because its coinage is already well known⁶⁵ and shows no point of contact with the series under discussion. Thus by elimination we are left with Ace-Ptolemais which was situated on the border of Palestine and was thus the natural entrance for Syro-hellenic influence into the country.

Series I. C. 170–168 B. C.

Catalogue

Obv. Diademed head of the king r.; above forehead star; dotted border.

Rev. Apollo seated l. on omphalos, holding an arrow in r. hand, l. hand resting on bow; to r. and l. downwards $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\omega\Sigma$ || ANTIOXOY ; in outer l. field palm branch, in inner l. field $\text{A}\beta$, in exergue monogram; dotted border.

1. Tetradrachm. *Rev.* in exergue $\text{I}\rho$ (*Lederer* no. 4).

A 1–P 1 16.90 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 524. PLATE XI.

⁶³ The type is *Rois de Syrie* nos. 572 ff. For the finds cf.: G. A. REISNER, *Excavations at Samaria* I (1924) 259, nos. 8–11 (38 specimens); O. R. SELLERS, *The Citadel of Beth-Zur* (1931) 88, nos. 98–198 (101 specimens); *Lachish* III (1953) 413, nos. 38 and 40 a; L. WATERMAN, *Excavations at Sepphoris* (1937) 37, no. 2; O. R. SELLERS, "Coins from the 1960 Excavation at Schechem", *The Biblical Archaeologist* XXV (1962) 87–92.

⁶⁴ *Antioch on the Orontes* IV, part 2, 13, no. 126; *Mémoires de la mission arch. de Perse* vol. XXV (1934) 92, no. 10.

⁶⁵ NEWELL, *NNM* 10 (1921) and *NNM* 73 (1936).

2. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue $\overset{A}{P}$ (*Lederer* nos. 1–2; *Brett* nos. 5–6).
 A 1–P 2 17.10 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 523, pl. xii, 3. *Coll. de Luynes* no. 3310, pl. cxxi. PLATE XI.
 A 1–P 2 17.13 Berlin (Fox).
 A 1–P 2 16.94 London, *BMC (Seleucid Kings)* 34, no. 2, pl. xi, 1.
 17.02 Turin, *Fabretti* no. 4625 (?).

Obv. Diademed head of the king r., the two ends of the diadem adorned with stars; fillet border.

Rev. Similar to preceding.

3. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue $\overset{A}{P}$ (*Lederer* no. 3; *Brett* no. 7).
 A 2–P 3 16.92 Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 41, no. 4, pl. lxvi, 9. PLATE XI.
 A 2–P 4 16.85 Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. *JIAN* 13, 1911, 151, no. 340. Schlessinger Sale, February 1935, no. 1446 (16.9 gr.).
 A 2–P 5 17.05 Berlin (Morel).
 16.97 Turin, *Fabretti* no. 4624.

Commentary

The first series of silver coins from Ace-Ptolemais is a very small one, only two obverse dies being known. The types and inscription are the standard Seleucid ones, also found on the coins of Series I from Antioch. In contrast to the practice at that mint, where the obverses were surrounded by a fillet border while the reverses had no border at all, here obverse A 1 and all reverse dies show a dotted circle around the type. With A 2 the fillet border appears at Ace, but in a very thick form quite dissimilar to the elegant fillet used at Antioch. The remarkable style of the royal portrait will be dealt with below in the chapter on the portrait of Antiochus IV (p. 57 ff.). The most interesting features of the obverses are the single star above the forehead of the king on A 1 and the two stars attached to the free ends of the diadem on A 2, certain indications of the king's divinity. The two stars are well known from Series II and III of Antioch, and a single star above the king's portrait is found on two other tetradrachm issues of Antiochus IV, both from unidentified mints.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ *Lederer* p. 523, pl. 118, 1; and *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1962, 130, no. 12 (eastern mint, possibly Ecbatana; two more specimens are known to exist in a

Furthermore the same device makes its appearance on a series of bronze coins from Tyre dated 144 S. E. or 169/8 B. C., thus offering a welcome *terminus ad quem*.⁶⁷ On the reverse the monogram $\text{A}\beta$, found on all the tetradrachms of this mint and apparently the sign of a supervisor of high rank, is always placed in the inner left field immediately below the outstretched right arm of Apollo. Various subordinates place their monograms in the exergue.

To all appearances the coin production at Ace during this period was based on the use of a single obverse die at a time, A 1 being succeeded by A 2, as can be inferred from the fact that the latter was transferred and reused in Series II.

Series II. C. 168-164 B. C.

Catalogue

Obv. Diademed head of the king r., the two ends of the diadem adorned with stars; fillet border.

Rev. Apollo seated l. on omphalos, holding an arrow in r. hand, l. hand resting on bow; to r. and l. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXΟΥ || ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ; in outer l. field palm branch, in inner l. field $\text{A}\beta$, in exergue monogram; dotted border.

4. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue $\text{A}\beta$ (*Lederer* no. 5; *Brett* no. 8).

A 2-P 6	17.01	The Hague, inv. no. 7046. <i>Rev.</i> monogram partly off flan. PLATE XI.
A 3-P 7	16.91	London, <i>BMC (Seleucid Kings)</i> 34, no. 5, pl. xi, 3.
A 3-P 7	16.93	Glasgow, <i>Hunter Coll.</i> III, 47, no. 43. PLATE XI.
A 3-P 8	16.89	Berlin.
A 3-P 8	17.20	Copenhagen, new acquisition.
A 3-P 9	16.78	Milan, former Brera Coll. no. 3163.
	16.07	Vienna, <i>Schotten-Stift</i> no. 3687.
	16.55	<i>JIAN</i> 13, 1911, 151, no. 348.

private collection in Persia). *Rois de Syrie* no. 525 and *BMC (Seleucid Kings)* 34, no. 1 (western mint, possibly Seleucia Pieria).

⁶⁷ An unpublished coin in Copenhagen shows the star. On this specimen the date is illegible, but on other coins struck from the same obverse die the date ΔMP is clearly visible.

5. Tetradrachm. *Rev.* in exergue ΑΓ (*Lederer* no. 6; *Brett* no. 9).
 A 3-P 10 15.32 Berlin *ex* Babylon hoard (NNM 78, no. 116).
Z.f.N. 38, 1928, 128, no. 86, pl. xiii. PLATE XI.
- 4-5. Tetradrachm. *Rev.* in exergue monogram or letters off flan.
 A 3-P 11 17.03 London, *BMC* (*Seleucid Kings*) 34, no. 6.


Obv. Diademed head of the king r., the two ends of the diadem adorned with stars (often off flan), behind Α; fillet border.




Rev. Zeus seated l. on throne with two pillars of the back visible, holding in l. hand long sceptre, on extended r. Nike crowning him with wreath; to r. and l. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΧΟΥ || ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ; in outer l. field palm branch, in exergue monogram or letters; no border.

6. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue ΙΡ (*Lederer* no. 7; *Brett* no. 14).
 A 4-P 12 16.95 Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 47, no. 44. PLATE XI.
 A 4-P 13 16.40 New York, ANS (worn).
 A 5-P 14 16.79 New York, ANS. PLATE XII.
 A 6-P 15 17.11 Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer). PLATE XII.
 A 7-P 16 17.15 The Hague, inv. no. 7061. PLATE XII.
7. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue ΑΓ (*Lederer* nos. 10-11; *Brett* no. 12).
 A 4-P 17 16.57 Berlin, inv. no. 21575. PLATE XII.
 A 5-P 18 17.13 London, *BMC* (*Seleucid Kings*) 35, no. 19, pl. xi, 7.
 A 5-P 18 17.06 Schlessinger Sale, February 1935, no. 1448. *JIAN* 13, 1911, 151, no. 347. PLATE XII.
 A 5-P 19 17.01 Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1047 *ex* Egger Sale XLI, 1912, no. 683.
 A 6-P 20 17.10 Vienna. PLATE XII.
 A 6-P 21 17.1 The Hague, inv. no. 7060.
 A 6-P 21 16.35 Ciani Sale 1925 (Alotte de la Fuÿe Coll.) no. 811.
 A 6-P 22 17.0 Schlessinger Sale, February 1935, no. 1449. *JIAN* 13, 1911, 151, no. 346.
 A 6-P 22 17.05 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 542.
 A 6-P 23 16.96 Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 47, no. 46. PLATE XII.
 A 6-P 23 17.01 Milan, former Brera Coll. no. 3180 (double struck).
 A 6-P 24 16.05 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 541 (pierced).
 A 6-P 25 17.12 Berlin.
 16.87 Turin, *Fabretti* no. 4634.

8. Tetradrachm. *Rev.* in exergue ΑΣ.
 A 7-P 26 16.78 Copenhagen *ex* Glendining Sale, February 1961 (Lockett Coll.) no. 2586. *SNG* vol. III (Lockett Coll.) no. 3127. PLATE XIII.
9. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue Μ (*Lederer* no. 8; *Brett* no. 13).
 A 4-P 27 Cast in Copenhagen. PLATE XIII.
 A 4-P 28 15.71 Aberdeen, *SNG* vol. I, part II, no. 394.
 A 6-P 29 17.04 Glasgow, *Hunter Coll.* III, 47, no. 45, pl. lxvi, 17. PLATE XIII.
 A 6-P 30 16.78 A. E. Cahn Sale 68, 1930 (M. Simon Coll.) no. 1527.
 A 6-P 31 17.15 Vienna.
 A 6-P 32 17.25 Vienna. PLATE XIII.
 A 6-P 32 17.19 Berlin (Löbbecke).
 A 6-P 33 17.10 Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 543 (pierced).
 A 6-P 34 16.76 London, British Museum *ex* Payne Knight.
 A 6-P 35 Leningrad, Hermitage Museum.
 A 6-P 35 16.56 Berlin (Prokesh-Osten).
 ?-P 35 16.10 *Z.f.N.* 38, 1928, 129, no. 88, pl. xiii (reverse only) *ex* Babylon hoard (*NNM* 78, no. 116).
 A 7-P 36 16.75 Warsaw.
 A 7-P 37 16.89 Munich. PLATE XIII.
 A 7-P 38 Leningrad, Hermitage Museum.
 A 8-P 39 16.30 London, *BMC (Seleucid Kings)* 35, no. 21. *Rev.* inscription ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. PLATE XIII.
 17.17 Turin, *Fabretti* no. 4636.

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. Similar to preceding, but in exergue  and monogram or letters.

10. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue  and Π (*Lederer* no. 13; *Brett* no. 10).
 A 8-P 40 16.78 Berlin (Prokesh-Osten). PLATE XIII.
 A 9-P 41 17.00 New York, *ANS ex* Parthian hoard (*NNM* 78, no. 1081). PLATE XIV.
 A 9-P 42 Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. *Rev.*  placed under the throne.
11. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue  and Μ (*Lederer* no. 14).
 A 9-P 43 16.99 Monnaies et Médailles, Bâle, Sale XIX, 1959, no. 538. PLATE XIV.

- A 9-P 43 17.13 Stockholm, *Otto Smith Coll.* no. 318, pl. viii *ex* Sotheby Sale 1909 (Cumberland Clark Coll.) no. 265.
- A 9-P 43 15.68 London, British Museum (very worn).
16.97 Turin, *Fabretti* no. 4635.
12. Tetradrachm. *Rev.* in exergue A and P .
A 9-P 44 Beirut, American University, inv. no. 2506. PLATE XIV.
13. Tetradrachm. *Rev.* in exergue A and PA (*Lederer* no. 16).
A 10-P 45 16.95 *Lederer*, 525, pl. 118, no. 2. PLATE XIV.
14. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue A and $\text{A}\Sigma$ (*Lederer* no. 15; *Brett* no. 11).
A 11-P 46 16.95 New York, ANS *ex Weber Coll.* no. 7888, pl. 288 (16.84 gr.) *ex* Sotheby Sale 1896 (Bunbury Coll. II) no. 494. PLATE XIV.
A 12-P 47 17.10 London, *BMC (Seleucid Kings)* 35, no. 20. PLATE XIV.
- 6-14. Tetradrachms. *Rev.* in exergue monograms off flan.
A 13-P 48 16.93 Copenhagen, *SNG* part 35, no. 197. PLATE XIV.
16.92 Turin, *Fabretti* no. 4633.

Commentary

With Series II the long inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, known from Series III of Antioch, was introduced at Ace-Ptolemais, but the Apollo type of the reverse was left unchanged for a time (groups 4-5). As already mentioned, obverse die A 2 was carried over from Series I, proving beyond doubt that the royal title of the second series from Antioch, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, was never used at Ace. With A 3 a new and far more idealized style of portraiture, strongly reminiscent of the "new" style introduced at the beginning of the second Antiochene series, makes its appearance. At the same time the fillet border assumes the elegant form normally used at the capital. The low production rate of the first series continued apparently for the period covered by obverse dies A 2 and A 3.

Further changes were made from group 6 onward. The mono-

gram Λ was now regularly placed on the obverse of the coins behind the king's portrait and on the reverse the seated Zeus took the place of Apollo. In all details the new reverse type was copied from groups 6-7 of the second series of Antiochene tetradrachms except that a fold of the *himation* was arranged over the left shoulder of the god. However, the style is rather different. The tall and slim figure of the god and the awkward conspicuousness of such minor elements of the composition as the Nike and her wreath are the most noteworthy local peculiarities. At Ace the die cutters also seem to have paid more attention to the rendering of the throne. The god is always placed on the edge of the seat in order to leave both front legs of the throne fully visible and the distance between these two legs is very narrow. It is remarkable that the distance between the two vertical posts of the back of the throne, visible behind the god, is invariably greater although in reality it should be the same since the posts are simply continuations of the invisible rear legs of the throne. At this stage the dotted border disappears from the reverse, which from now on has no encircling frame just as at Antioch.

At the same time production was greatly increased. Groups 6 to 9 show the same few obverse dies constantly reappearing. No less than 33 coins were struck from these four obverse dies, 19 of them from A 6. This die which was used till the bitter end, the royal head in its last stages a mere shadow of its former self, illustrates convincingly the contemporaneity of groups 6 to 9. It was in splendid condition when A 6-P 20 (PLATE XII) was struck, but very worn at the striking of A 6-P 23 (PLATE XII) of the same issue (group 7). Within group 9 the same two stages are met with, exemplified on PLATE XIII by A 6-P 29 (obverse die excellent) and A 6-P 32 (obverse die worn). The closely interwoven pattern of groups 6 to 9 can be further demonstrated. In group 6 A 6-P 15 (PLATE XII), from the obverse die in a rather worn condition, was definitely struck after A 6-P 20, but before A 6-P 23, both illustrated on the same PLATE. On the other hand, from the condition of the obverse die it can be inferred that A 4-P 12 was struck before A 4-P 17 (PLATE XI-XII). Thus it becomes evident that groups 6 and 7 cannot be arranged in any chronological sequence; they must be contemporary.

The last issues from Ace-Ptolemais (groups 10–14) are distinguished from the preceding by the occurrence of the same monogram A on both obverse and reverse. On the reverse it is placed in the exergue together with the monogram or initials of a subordinate mint official. The position of groups 10–14 after groups 6–9 follows from the observation, already made by Lederer, that the single Attic weight tetradrachm of Antiochus V from this mint carries the monogram A on both sides. Another detail points to the same conclusion. On reverse die P 46 (PLATE XIV) the legs of the throne are decorated with small sphinxes. The same peculiar design appears on the left leg of the throne on the tetradrachm of Antiochus V.⁶⁸

Chronology and Weights

The establishment of the chronological limits for the two coin series of Ace-Ptolemais must necessarily depend on the results arrived at above by the examination of the material from Antioch. In this connexion I am working on the assumption that any change in the traditional pattern of the Seleucid coinage, both as regards types and inscription, is more likely to have appeared first at the great central mint of Antioch, to be copied only later in the secondary mints such as Ace. In other words, the occurrence of an innovation at Antioch is considered a *terminus post quem* for the appearance of the same phenomenon at Ace. Even if this assumption is beyond explicit proof, it seems to me a natural one.

The very first coins from Ace deviate from the normal pattern by the star attributes on the obverses. A similar phenomenon occurs on the second series from Antioch, dated above to the years 173/2 to 169/8 B. C. As already mentioned (p. 47 with note 67), a single star above the king's forehead is found on a bronze coin from Tyre dated 169/8 B. C., but of course this can only be used as a rather loose *terminus ad quem*. From these parallels I conclude that the coins from Ace listed above as Series I were struck *after* the year 173/2 B. C. This dating creates

⁶⁸ *Rois de Syrie* no. 698, pl. xv, 10. This detail is hardly visible on the illustration. M. GEORGE LE RIDER has kindly confirmed its existence from an inspection of the coin.

a gap of at least three years between the coinage of Seleucus IV⁶⁹ and the first coins of Antiochus IV struck at Ace. From the material at hand we can only conclude that the mint was closed during this interval, but it must be kept in mind that the appearance of a single new coin may ruin this argument *e silentio*.

For the date of the transition from Series I to II at Ace we have again to rely on our earlier investigation. According to this, Series III at Antioch was introduced 169/8 B. C. On account of the similar inscription this date becomes the *terminus post quem* for the introduction of Series II at Ace. The time lag between Antioch and Ace is impossible to determine, but it need not be considerable. The number of coins and dies from the second series of Ace argues for a rather early date. The following distribution seems to me the most plausible, but it cannot be stressed too much that the available material only allows a tentative dating:

Series I. C. 170–168 B. C. 2 years 2 obv. dies (1 obv. die per year).

Series II. C. 168–164 B. C. 4 years 12 obv. dies (3 obv. dies per year).

The two obverse dies of Series I may well, in a period of restricted output, have lasted for two or even three years.⁷⁰ The re-opening of the mint at Ace about 170 B. C. most probably has some connexion with the imminent or already existing war with Egypt. At several occasions in the fourth century B. C. the geographical position of Ace made it the base of the Persians in their various attempts to subdue the rebellious Egyptians.⁷¹ The great increase in the coin production from group 6 onward is explained by the troubles in Judaea, which had their beginning in 167 B. C., and the various Syrian expeditions against the Maccabean rebels during the following years.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Brett* 22, no. 1 (wrongly described as having a wreath on the obverse). Besides the McClean coin in Cambridge listed by Mrs. Brett, four specimens with the same obverse die are known: British Museum (*ex Weber Coll.* no. 7881); Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 474; ANS, New York; former Gotha Coll. *Brett* nos. 2–4 belong to another mint, perhaps Nisibis.

⁷⁰ For obverse dies of tetradrachms lasting a couple of years or more, see E. T. NEWELL, *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, Yale Oriental Series vol. II (1916) 68, and *BMC (Phoenicia)* Introduction p. xxxiii.



⁷¹ Cf. *Diod. Sic.* XV, 41, 3.

	Series I	Series II
17.20-29		XX
17.10-19	XX	XXXXXXXXXXXXX
17.00-09	XX	XXXXXXXXXX
16.90-99	XXXX	XXXXXXXXXXXXX
16.80-89	X	XXX
16.70-79		XXXXXXX
16.60-69		
16.50-59		XXX
16.40-49		X
16.30-39		XX
16.20-29		
16.10-19		X
16.00-09		XX
below 16.00		XXX

Fig. 4. Tables of weights. Tetradrachms of Antiochus IV from Ace-Ptolemais.

The tabular survey of the weights of the Ace tetradrachms (fig. 4) is quite surprising. While the number of coins from Series I is too small to be of any real importance for a statistical investigation, the material from Series II is large enough to place beyond doubt the astonishing fact that at Ace the relatively heavy form of the Attic standard, used at Antioch until 173/2 B. C. and then relinquished in favour of a slightly lighter variant, was continued to the end of the reign. The distribution on the frequency table shows the majority of weights falling in the intervals 16.90 to 17.19, exactly as was the case with Series I from Antioch (p. 38).

A very important aspect of the examination of the Ace mint is, to my mind, the very useful corrections it makes in the picture derived from the investigation of the Antiochene material. It is no surprise that widely divergent local styles are met with at the two places, the portrait heads of A 1 and A 2 from Ace being absolutely unparalleled at Antioch. It has long been common knowledge that, if not every mint town, at least every district within the Seleucid empire had its peculiar style. The same applies to minor technical details such as the encircling border, whether it be dotted or filleted, the exact position of the loose ends of the diadem and so forth. Here variations according to

local usage are only to be expected. More astonishing is the fact that the organization at the two mints must have differed considerably. At Antioch we find only one magistrate signing the dies with his initials or monogram, and a number of issues (groups 7–11, 14, 23–24) are unsigned. At Ace, however, we have always two monograms on each coin, the one being invariably . This mark must conceal a high official, a supervisor or director of the mint. Combined with  are a number of monograms, denoting at least five moneyers, each signing his own dies. A few years later, under Demetrius I, a similar system with two men signing each coin was introduced at Antioch.⁷²

Strange as this co-existence of different administrative systems may seem to us, other divergencies are even more curious. From our investigation we must conclude that Antiochus IV and his government made no serious attempt to standardize the issue of tetradrachms from the two most important mints in the west as to types, legend, and weight. While Antioch was issuing Series II with the new Zeus reverse and the expanded legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, the mint of Ace was still using the old Apollo reverse and the short inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. As we have seen, Series II of Ace from the beginning copied the inscription then used at Antioch (Series III). Only at a later stage (group 6 ff.) the Zeus reverse, which had by now been used for four or five years at Antioch, was imitated at the Phoenician mint. This system of copying first one and later another of the new devices, regardless of the order of appearance at Antioch, seems to me to suggest strongly that the imitation was done at random according to the preference of the local officials, who acted on their own initiative without any interference from the central administration.⁷³ The autonomy is further illustrated by the examination of the weights, showing that the secondary mint paid absolutely no attention to the reduction of the weight system at Antioch about 173/2 B. C. This complete independence

⁷² SMA 44.

⁷³ This conclusion is confirmed by the material from Tarsus. Here the short legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ is found on all coins. A tetradrachm in Glasgow (*Hunter* III, pl. lxvi, 10 = *NNM* 10, 27, no. 37; here PLATE XV, 8) shows a portrait which is clearly imitated from the latest tetradrachms of Antioch and thus must be dated to the last years of the reign. For the attribution to Tarsus of the coins formerly ascribed to Tyre cf. MÖRKHOLM, "Seleucid Coins from Cilicia c. 220–150 B. C.", *ANS Museum Notes XI* (in the press).

is nearly incomprehensible to the modern mind. From all analogies we should expect a close parallelism to exist between the issues of different mints within the same realm, in so far as the coins produced at the various places were intended to circulate freely in the same area, as was undoubtedly the case with the coinages here under discussion. However, we have to accept the facts. A better illustration of the loose organization of the Seleucid kingdom, often commented upon and contrasted to the rigorous centralization of Ptolemaic Egypt, can hardly be found.

CHAPTER III

The Portrait

For the iconography of Antiochus IV the coins offer by far the most extensive and authentic material. In this paper 60 different obverse dies with the head of the king are collected, 47 from Antioch and 13 from Ace-Ptolemais, counting only the tetradrachms since these for obvious reasons are best suited to a stylistical analysis. At a fair estimate this amounts to about 80 per cent of the tetradrachm portraits known at present, thus affording a solid basis for an iconographical study.

Even a superficial perusal of the plates will give an idea of the wide variation in the royal portrait, and the question naturally arises as to which representation offers the true likeness of the man Antiochus. At Antioch at least three different portrait types can be distinguished. Series I (A 1–A 4) shows a neat and elegant head, rather small in proportion to the available flans and worked in a comparatively high relief. The fine features are evidently idealized and the king appears as a young man. Dies A 3 and A 4, which are closely comparable and probably made by the same artist, show a delicately-curved nose and an incipient baldness, the hair receding very high at the temple, an individual trait which may have been hereditary as it is also met with on coin portraits of Antiochus III and Seleucus IV.⁷⁴ In or about 173 B. C. an abrupt change in style takes place with obverse dies A 5 ff. The head becomes much larger, but simultaneously the relief is considerably flattened with the result that the sculptural quality of Series I gives way to the effect of a drawing. Some dies like A 8 and A 11 (from the same hand?) still show the high forehead and thus retain a certain degree of individuality, but generally the idealization is carried one step further than that of the dies of Series I. At the same time more passion is intro-

⁷⁴ Cf. e. g. *WSM* pl. xxxi, 15–19, and *SMA* pl. ii, 35; iii, 37–40.

duced into the portrait. Good examples of this are offered by A 5 and A 6. Here the luxuriant, flowing hair (note the heavy curl at the neck below the diadem) and the large, but extremely regular features with the straight nose and full lips combine to create a beautiful representation, from which, however, all individual and personal traits have been deliberately removed. It is worth pointing out that since the days of Alexander this superhuman beauty, often enhanced by an exuberant mane of hair, had been thought characteristic of the deified ruler.⁷⁵ Other dies are distinguished by the shorter hair at the neck.⁷⁶ but the general impression is much the same. There can be no doubt that in Series II the portrait of the living person has disappeared. In its place we find a pathetic representation of a god or hero, separated from mankind in timeless youthfulness.

This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that at the same time the loose ends of the diadem were adorned with stars and the reverse legend extended by the addition of the epithets ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. The new portrait was the die engraver's solution to the problem of representing the god manifest.

The opinion is very widely held that the head of Zeus on dies A 21–A 26, the first issue of Series III, was given the features of Antiochus IV, and the most far reaching conclusions as to the king's assimilation to and identification with Zeus Olympius have been drawn from this "observation".⁷⁷ As supporting evidence for the theory of an assimilation with Zeus one can adduce the king's peculiar and genuine interest in this deity, which is already apparent from the introduction of the Zeus reverse on Series II of Antioch. The literary tradition contains many allusions to the king's preference. By far his most famous enterprise as a philhellenic benefactor was the resumption of work on the enormous temple of the Olympian Zeus in Athens, left unfinished by the Peisistratids.⁷⁸ His gift of a curtain to Olympia, the main center

⁷⁵ Cf. L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (Oslo 1947), 28 ff.

⁷⁶ See A 7, A 9–10, A 12, A 14, A 16–17, A 20.

⁷⁷ Most recently L. CERFAUX and J. TONDRIAU, *Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine* (Tournai 1957), 241 ff. with the bibliography pp. 45–49. The attempt to see in the apocalyptic utterances of Daniel 11, 36–38 a reference to the king's assimilation with Zeus is not convincing, and to base any interpretation of the coins on the text of Daniel would be to explain *obscurum per obscurius*.

⁷⁸ Polybius XXVI, 1 a. Livy XLI, 20, 8. Strabo IX, 1, 17. Velleius Paterculus I, 10, 1. Vitruv. VII praef. 15.

of the god's worship in old Greece, has been mentioned above (p. 23). In his capital, Antioch on the Orontes, Antiochus IV began building a splendid temple for Jupiter Capitolinus, the Roman equivalent of Zeus Olympius, which like the great temple in Athens was still unfinished when he died prematurely in 164 B. C.⁷⁹ The late epitomist of Livy, Granius Licinianus, mentions two colossal bronze statues of Zeus and Jupiter dedicated by Antiochus.⁸⁰ During the religious persecution in Judaea in 167 B. C. the temple at Jerusalem was dedicated to the Olympian Zeus, and at the same time the cult of Zeus Xenios was introduced at the Samaritan center of worship on Mount Garizim.⁸¹ Naturally enough this rich documentation has induced scholars to look for the hand of Antiochus in other connexions. Thus it has been suggested that he was behind the work carried out on the Boiotian temple of Zeus at Lebadeia in the 170's B. C.⁸² Within his own kingdom worship of Zeus Olympius is also attested at Dura-Europus, Gerasa in the Decapolis, and Nysa-Scythopolis (modern Beth Shan) in Samaria, and in spite of the lack of any explicit information, Antiochus IV has been connected with these cults.⁸³ But even discounting the mere possibilities our evidence for the king's attachment to the greatest of the Greek gods is admittedly very rich.

However, I must insist that this interest or attachment, or whatever we may call it, does not amount to proof that Antiochus ever identified himself with Zeus. The proof has generally been sought in the coin type under discussion, but in my opinion this is to press the numismatic evidence much too far. As stated above (p. 31), we are dealing with two different artistic conceptions of Zeus. The first, A 21 to A 24 with the stiff and formal treatment of the god's head, is in all probability derived from a sculptural prototype, while the second, A 25 and A 26, is a free

⁷⁹ Livy XLI, 20, 9.

⁸⁰ Granius Licinianus p. 6, 5 (ed. Flemisch).

⁸¹ Macc. II, 6, 2.

⁸² C. FABRICIUS, *De architectura graeca commentationes epigraphicae* (Berlin 1881) 15. This theory is accepted by WILHELM, *Athenische Mitteilungen* 1897, 179-182, and BARRAT, *JHS* 1932, 96. A cautious reserve is expressed by J. A. BUNDGAARD, *Classica et Mediaevalia* VIII (1946) 34.

⁸³ M. ROSTOVTZEFF, *Mélanges Dussaud* I (1939) 293 ff. and FRANK E. BROWN, *AJA* 1941, 94 (Dura). Carl H. KRAELING, *Gerasa - City of Decapolis* (1938) 30 f. H. THIERSCH, *Nachr. von der Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-Hist. Klasse* 1932, 69 (Nysa-Scythopolis).

and more up-to-date creation of an independent die engraver. Can both types reflect the assimilation of the king with Zeus? Furthermore, on close inspection the resemblance between the king and the god consists only of a very general similarity of profile. Here it should be borne in mind that all the coin portraits of Antiochus IV from Antioch are idealized, especially the heads of Series II and III, which are always used for comparison with the Zeus head. As already stated these royal portraits appear to be practically devoid of personal characteristics. It must also be remembered that the Antiochene die engravers had, for the years covered by Series II (c. 173–169/8 B. C.), been accustomed to follow a well-established and fixed pattern in the rendering of the royal portrait. When faced with the task of making the new obverse dies for the Zeus issue, it would have been only natural for them, unintentionally and simply as a result of long practice, to create a type with a certain superficial similarity to their earlier products. When cutting the profile of the god, for example, their hands would automatically trace the usual lines. We have other instances in Greek numismatics of the convention of a mint being strong enough to impress not only a uniform style, but also a physiognomical identity in the rendering of different heads on its dies, regardless of the type itself. Thus in Alexandria under Ptolemy I the peculiar characteristics of the king's portrait—his deep-set eyes, the bulging brow, and so forth—are sometimes found on a series of bronze coins with the laureate head of Zeus as type.⁸⁴ Nobody has ever contended that this issue could be used as evidence that Ptolemy I identified himself with Zeus. And yet the similarity between ruler and god is much more pronounced here than in Antioch under Antiochus IV.

My view that the general resemblance between the royal portrait and the Zeus head is unintentional and due to the tradition at the mint is confirmed by the Apollo heads of group 24 (A 54 and A 55). Owing chiefly to the lack of the beard these heads look really more similar to the portraits of Antiochus IV than do the representations of Zeus. But to assume, as has been done,⁸⁵ that Antiochus identified himself with both Zeus and Apollo,

⁸⁴ *Sporonos* III, pl. x, 12, where the resemblance to the portraits of Ptolemy I is especially clear.

⁸⁵ THIESSCH, *op. laud.* 74.

amounts in my mind to a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole theory.

Having disposed of both the Zeus issue and the Apollo issue as portraits of Antiochus IV we can now return to the ordinary portrait coins of Series III at Antioch. Here we find a number of obverse dies which stylistically are identical with the portraits of Series II, but a new type also makes its appearance. On some dies⁸⁶ the proportions of the head are altered: it becomes broader and lower. The forehead is often more sloping and the nose more pointed, producing a sharp and angular profile. However, the most remarkable innovation involves the position of the head. Generally these coins, when illustrated, give the impression that the king is leaning forward in a most awkward way. This cannot have been the intention of the artists. In my plates the obverses in question are placed in what I think to be the intended position, the neck following a natural vertical line. The result is a pronounced backward tilt to the heads so that the king appears to be gazing into the sky. Again this phenomenon can be paralleled in official portraiture of Hellenistic and later times where the heavenward gaze becomes an outer sign of the divinely-inspired ruler, revealing his connexion with the celestial powers from which he has emanated.⁸⁷ One die of this new type, A 31, is a very good work of art and may have been the prototype of the whole series, but it cannot be denied that generally the aesthetic effect of the new portrait is rather unpleasant. On representations like A 32 or A 44, the receding forehead, the angular profile, and the weak mouth make the king look almost like an imbecile. That the earlier "classical" type of portrait was continued alongside the new "angular" type can be inferred from the fact that both types are met with under Antiochus V.⁸⁸ The explanation of the co-existence of these two different conceptions of the royal portrait must lie in the very great demand for obverse dies for the extensive third series of Antiochene tetradrachms. Apparently this led to the establishment of two different workshops for the production of obverse dies, each with its own characteristic style. During the short reign of Antiochus V (164–162 B. C.) the output

⁸⁶ See A 31–33, A 39–45, A 52–53.

⁸⁷ Cf. L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis* 19 ff. (Alexander the Great), 40 (Hellenistic kings), 88 referring to fig. 60 a (Gallienus), 91 ff. (Constantine the Great and his house).

⁸⁸ See SMA pl. iv, 74 ("classical") and 75–76 ("angular").

of the mint was still enormous, and therefore the two workshops continued their separate existence.

Turning from the idealizing and pathetic portraiture of the Antioch mint with its insistence on the divine nature of the king, it comes as something of a shock to observe the first obverse dies from Ace-Ptolemais (A 1 and A 2). From a superhuman sphere we are brought abruptly back to earth. Die A 1 in particular must be classed among the masterpieces of realistic portraiture from the Hellenistic period. The head is rather small and the relief high as in the first series from Antioch, but here the similarity ends. The form of the skull is clearly visible under the short hair, the forehead is high and its bony structure revealed by the lack of hair at the temple. The nose is relatively small, the lips thin and firmly pressed together, the chin energetic. At the nose and the corner of the mouth two furrows indicate mature age. The overall impression is one of a commanding personality. We are looking at a person in his forties, but still of unimpaired strength and energy.⁸⁹ There can be no doubt that this die gives us the most trustworthy portrait of the man Antiochus.

A 3 of Ace-Ptolemais in many respects represents an intermediate stage in the evolution of the portrait at that mint. The head becomes larger and more regular. The treatment of the hair is more detailed with small curls at the forehead. The king looks decidedly younger than on the preceding dies, but there is still a certain attempt at individualization. With A 4 ff. the full impact of the second Antiochene portrait style is felt. Here the portraits are radically transformed into an ideal and pathetic representation of the god manifest of everlasting youth and beauty. The features become classical and regular. The hair at the nape of the neck is exorbitantly long (see especially A 10, A 12, A 13). On die A 8 the high bald forehead is still visible, but generally this individual trait disappears. A 4 and A 7 show an arrangement of the hair over the forehead which recalls the famous *anastole* of Alexander the Great.⁹⁰ The local style overemphasizes some picturesque elements of the Antiochene model, such as the

⁸⁹ BABELON, *Rois de Syrie* xciii, undoubtedly had this representation in mind when he spoke of "le portrait d'un homme qui a dépassé la quarantaine". In the absence of any literary evidence, most scholars have followed Babelon and placed the birth of Antiochus IV c. 215 B. C.

⁹⁰ Cf. THIERSCH, *op. laud.* 56, and L'Orange, *Apotheosis* 30.

flowing hair, but there can be no doubt that the main endeavour of the die cutters was to copy this prototype as closely as possible.

At various times representations in other materials have been identified as portraits of Antiochus IV. Some of these attributions are already obsolete. This applies to two gold rings in the Louvre with the same portrait of a king.⁹¹ In one case he is depicted with the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, and this has been used to confirm a very doubtful tradition, that Antiochus IV during one of his Egyptian expeditions was formally crowned king of Egypt.⁹² Recently, however, the appearance of a new Ptolemaic silver tetradrachm, showing the same portrait as the two rings, has identified the person represented as one of the Ptolemies, presumably Ptolemy VI Philometor.⁹³ A similar fortune has befallen a cast bronze medaillon from Galjub in Egypt with a bust of Heracles. The individuality of the hero's features makes it certain that a king posing as Heracles is represented, and in the original publication Antiochus IV was suggested as the model, but later a more probable identification with Ptolemy III of Egypt was proposed.⁹⁴

In Nysa-Scythopolis (modern Beth Shan) in the Decapolis a colossal marble head of a cult statue from the Hellenistic period was found, and in a paper of 1932 H. THIERSCH⁹⁵ proposed to see in this a contamination of Dionysus, Zeus Olympius, and Antiochus IV, basing his argument on the supposition that Antiochus IV identified himself with Zeus. Since this premise is far from certain (see above pp. 58 ff.), all conclusions derived from it are highly speculative, and the whole edifice of more or less possible hypotheses built up by Thiersch must be examined in the light of our few facts. In the first place no evidence exists

⁹¹ A. FURTWÄNGLER, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Leipzig 1900) pl. xxxi, 25–26. The attribution to Antiochus IV was made by Sieveking, "Portraits d'Antiochus IV Épiphané", *Revue archéologique* I (1903) 343–346.

⁹² Porphyrius fr. 49 a (JACOBY, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* II B, no. 260). Cf. W. OTTO, "Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers", *Abh. der Bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt.* NF 11 (Munich 1934), 53–55.

⁹³ DAWSON KIANG, "An Unpublished Coin Portrait of Ptolemy VI Philometor", *ANS Museum Notes* X (1962) 69–76.

⁹⁴ A. Ippel, *Der Bronzefund von Galjüb* (1922), 64 f., no. 73, pl. vii (Antiochus IV), and BIEBER, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (1955) 91, fig. 341 (Ptolemy III).

⁹⁵ H. THIERSCH, "Ein hellenistischer Kolossalkopf aus Besan", *Nachr. von der Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 1932, 52–76.



Fig. 5. Bronze mask found at Shami. After Sir Aurel Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*, pl. iv.

explicitly connecting Antiochus IV with the cults of Nysa-Scythopolis. Secondly the head in question shows absolutely no resemblance to the more individual coin portraits of this king. That the head is the work of the same pathetic and idealizing school of Hellenistic art as some of the coins is definitely an insufficient basis for the identification.

A fragment of a bronze mask, found in the ruins of a temple at Shami in Susiane and now in Teheran (fig. 5), has repeatedly



Fig. 6. Diorite bust. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Rogers fund, 1916).

been claimed as a portrait of Antiochus IV.⁹⁶ The head was damaged in antiquity, being practically cleaved by a series of severe blows. The destruction of the temple in which the head was found has been dated to the second or first century B. C. As the head is described as wearing a royal diadem (this detail is not visible on any of the illustrations I have seen), it must represent one of the earlier rulers of this district, in all probability a Seleucid king. However, a comparison with the coin

⁹⁶ SIR AUREL STEIN, *Old Routes of Western Iran* (London 1940) 141–159, pl. iv. ROSTOVITZEFF, *SEHHW* I, pl. x, 1. L. VANDEN BERGHE, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (Leiden 1959) 64, pl. 64 c. R. GHIRSHMAN, *Iran, Parther und Sassaniden* (Universum der Kunst III) 1962, 21, fig. 26.

portraits of Antiochus IV invalidates the attribution to this king. In particular the heavy sweep of hair which leaves only a small part of the forehead visible above the brow is incompatible with the high and bald forehead known from all realistic representations of Antiochus IV. On the other hand I do find some resemblance between the bronze head and the portrait of Seleucus II on his rare tetradrachms from Susa, the Seleucid mint nearest to Shami.⁹⁷ The heavy neck, the large and somewhat coarse features, and the arrangement of the hair are similar in both cases. Unfortunately at Susa the Alexander types were used for the coinage down to the reign of Seleucus II, so that no coin portraits of Antiochus I and II are known. Consequently we cannot exclude the possibility that one of these kings was represented. In any case, after comparing the Seleucid portrait coins from Susa with our head, I feel confident that it cannot be ascribed to any of the successors of Seleucus II. It must be dated to his reign or earlier.

Finally we have a diorite portrait bust of a man in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 6). In the catalogue of Greek sculptures in this collection the bust is dated to the second century B. C. and tentatively identified as Eumenes II of Pergamum, but J. Charbonneau reviewing Miss Richter's catalogue, attributed it to Antiochus IV⁹⁸ and this has been accepted by the museum authorities, so that the bust now carries the name of the Syrian king. Charbonneau ingeniously explained the absence of the royal diadem by assuming that the bust was made during Antiochus' stay in Rome as a hostage (189–c. 176 B. C.) before he ascended the throne, and referred to the coin portraits in general as evidence for his attribution. Particularly he pointed to the form of the skull, the arrangement of the hair, the form of the nose and the chin as revealing the identity of the person portrayed. To assess the validity of these arguments we must compare the bust with the best realistic coin portrait of Antiochus IV, die A 1 from Ace-Ptolemais. According to my dating (above p. 53) this die was made c. 170 B. C., when Antiochus was presumably about 45 years old, while the bust, on Charbon-

⁹⁷ Cf. *ESM* 133, pl. xxvii, 13 and pl. xxviii, 3.

⁹⁸ GISELA M. A. RICHTER, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures, Metropolitan Museum* (New York 1954) no. 189. Reviewed by CHARBONNEAU, *AJA* 1955, 254.

neaux' hypotheses, must represent him somewhere in his thirties. Thus the incipient baldness of the coin portrait as contrasted with the bust may be explained as due to the toll of the intervening years, but this explanation will hardly hold good for the other physiognomical details mentioned by Charbonneaux. The form of the skull is decidedly different, the back of the head being much larger and more rounded on the coin. Further the nose of the coin portrait is small, straight, and less protruding in comparison with the rather dominant nose of the bust. The two chins are fairly similar, but the coin portrait's small and firm mouth with the thin lips is definitely at variance with the mouth of the bust with its slightly parted, full lips. All in all a careful comparison does not seem to me to support Charbonneaux' attribution. As far as I can see we must relegate the bust to the class of *anonymi* of the Hellenistic period.

The somewhat disappointing result of this iconographical survey is that, besides the coins and the already mentioned clay *bullae* and seal impressions from Warka (above p. 20), we do not possess a single representation which can with any probability be identified as a portrait of Antiochus IV.

CHAPTER IV

The God Manifest

In the preceding chapter we have seen how the portrait of the king at both Antioch and Ace-Ptolemais was altered to conform to a new conception of the divine ruler. Besides the physiognomical alterations, this trend found its expression in the introduction of various celestial attributes, such as the two stars at the ends of the diadem, the single star above the forehead on A 1 from Ace, and the radiate diadem.⁹⁹ These devices are quite new in Seleucid numismatics, but similar phenomena can be found still earlier in Egypt. On the whole the use of this cosmic symbolism in the ruler cult is well attested in art and literature of the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁰

However, the most explicit indication of the king's divine status, or rather of the new and unusual emphasis laid on it, is offered by the development of the coin legend. In the two series treated here we have seen three successive stages: (1) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (2) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ and (3) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. The chronological implications have been dealt with above; it remains to discuss the meaning of these epithets and try to establish how and why they were adopted.

We have already seen (p. 55) that the use of the different legends was not uniform at the two mints, Ace-Ptolemais using only the first and third forms of the inscription. Furthermore the first form was apparently used at a time when the second version had already been introduced at Antioch. The picture becomes even more confused when other mints are taken into consideration. At Tarsus, for instance, the first legend without epithets was

⁹⁹ See above pp. 20, 46f. with note 20 and notes 66-67.

¹⁰⁰ C. L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis* 23, fig. 7 and 35.

used down to the end of the reign. A coin of this mint in the Hunterian Collection in Glasgow (PLATE XV, 8) shows a portrait which is certainly copied from a late Antiochene portrait of the so-called "angular" type, but still the legend reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.¹⁰¹ The same applies to the important eastern mints of Seleucia on the Tigris and Susa.¹⁰² At Ecbatana we find a few tetradrachms with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ and a single drachm, out of an enormous issue, reading ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.¹⁰³ Thus the coin material provides us with *four* different legends, the use of which varies in the most inconsistent way from mint to mint, baffling any attempt at a neat and systematic arrangement.

Now let us take a look at the available epigraphical and literary evidence. The contemporary material from the kingdom of Antiochus consists of very few items:¹⁰⁴ An inscription from Babylon of the year 167/66 or 166/65 B. C. has recently been restored to read "King Antiochus Theos Epiphanes".¹⁰⁵ The same title occurs in a letter of the Samaritans addressed to the king in the same Seleucid year as the Babylonian inscription, while the king's answer, in accordance with the rules of the Hellenistic chancelleries, shows the short title "King Antiochus".¹⁰⁶ A small papyrus fragment, containing the first few lines of a

¹⁰¹ See above note 73.

¹⁰² For specimens of these issues see *SNG Cop.* part 35, no. 178 (Seleucia on the Tigris); Naville Sale X, 1925, no. 1025, and *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1962, 130, fig. 14 (Susa). The eastern material will be examined by G. LE RIDER in his publication of the finds from Susa. In all probability a great part of the eastern issues dates from Antiochus' expedition to the east 165/64 B. C.

¹⁰³ Cf. *Rois de Syrie* no. 526, pl. xii, 5, and a specimen now in Berlin, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 1870, 266 (wrongly attributed to Antiochus II). On the drachm, *Revue suisse de numismatique* 1917, 52, no. 57, the titles ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ were obviously added after the die was finished.

¹⁰⁴ I am not including the letter (Macc. II, 9, 19) with the unique title βασιλεύς καὶ στρατηγός Ἀντίοχος, which in my opinion is spurious, nor any of the inscriptions from Susa (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* VII (1934) nos. 15, 19, 24) because their attribution to Antiochus IV is uncertain. *OGIS* no. 246, which was found on Teos but presumably originated somewhere on the Phoenician coast (cf. BIKERMAN, *Institution des Séleucides* 245, note 7) dates after the reign of Antiochus IV and gives most of the deceased Seleucid kings the epithet "Theos".

¹⁰⁵ *OGIS* no. 253. For the new reading see ZAMBELLI, "L'ascesa al trono di Antioco IV Epiphane di Siria", *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica* 38 (1960) 378. The formula νν. 2-3 σωτήρως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ κτίσ[του καὶ εὐεργέτου] τῆς πύλωνος does not belong to the title proper.

¹⁰⁶ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XII, 258 and 262. On the genuineness of these documents cf. BIKERMAN, "Un document relatif à la persécution d'Antiochos IV Epiphane", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 115 (1937) 188-223.

prostagma issued by Antiochus IV, probably during his second Egyptian campaign in 168 B. C., has the normal opening formula βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου προστάξαντος.¹⁰⁷

Outside the Seleucid kingdom we find a number of documents mentioning Antiochus IV. In some cases they contain only a passing reference to the king, and then he is generally called simply "King Antiochus".¹⁰⁸ Two dedications, from Delos and Dyme in Achaia, which are made to him or on his behalf, show the same title.¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately we have no means of deciding whether they belong to the first years of his reign or the later period.

More interesting is the occurrence of a form of the title, which we have not met with before. Two dedications from Delos have been restored to read "King Antiochus Epiphanes", but the restorations are not quite certain.¹¹⁰ The same title appears twice in a list of Panathenaic victors from Athens, but only as a patronymic, so that the list must date after the death of Antiochus IV.¹¹¹ However, the use of this title outside Syria during his lifetime is proved by the important inscription on the *bouleuterion* at Miletus, dedicated by the brothers Heracleides and Timarchus ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς.¹¹² The important fact that this form of the title was never used by Antiochus within the borders of his kingdom has not been duly appreciated until now,¹¹³ because various coin series with this inscription were wrongly dated

¹⁰⁷ *Tebtunis Papyri* III, 1 (1933) no. 698. The opening formula is only known from Egypt, but may have been used in the Seleucid chancellery as well. Cf. HOLLEAUX, *Etudes d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* III (1942) 207, note 1.

¹⁰⁸ (1) *OGIS* no. 248 from the first year of the reign, cf. HOLLEAUX, *Etudes d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* II (1938), 127–147. (2) *OGIS* no. 241 attributed to Antiochus III; see, however, G. DAUX, *Délyphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle*, (1936) 512. (3) *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* II, no. 644 vv. 23, 35–36. (4) *Hesperia* 1957, 47–51; cf. ROBERT, *Hellenica* XI–XII (1961) 92–111. In my opinion the king Antiochus mentioned in *OGIS* 771, dated by S. Dow, *Hesperia* IV (1935) 91, to the year 159 B. C., is most probably Antiochus IV.

¹⁰⁹ *OGIS* nos. 251 and 252.

¹¹⁰ *OGIS* nos. 249 and 250.

¹¹¹ *Inscriptiones Graecae* II/III² no. 2317 vv. 37 and 47. The two entries are restored βασιλεύς Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς, and consequently the list has been dated to the Panathenaic festival of 162 B. C. However, as the final sigma is the only letter left of the first name one might equally well read [Βασιλεύς Ἀλέξανδρου] . . . and date the inscription to the festival of 146 B. C., when Alexander Balas, who was supposed to be a natural son of Antiochus IV, was reigning in Syria.

¹¹² TH. WIEGAND, *Milet* II (1908) 95–99.

¹¹³ See e. g. A. D. NOCK, "Notes on Ruler Cult", *JHS* 1928, 41; BIKERMAN, *Institutions des Séleucides* 240; F. TAEGER, *Charisma* I (1957) 318.

to his reign. This applies to a posthumous series of tetradrachms, drachms and bronzes which has only recently been shown to date from the year 146/45 B. C. or nearly twenty years after his death.¹¹⁴ Confusion is still being caused by another series of bronze coins, although Newell as long ago as 1917 attributed it to the first reign of Antiochus VIII in Antioch, 121–113 B. C.¹¹⁵

Finally it must be kept in mind that “King Antiochus Epiphanes” is also the name given to the king in the literary sources. Thus Appian tells us that just after his accession Antiochus was hailed with the name Epiphanes by the populace of Antioch, because he appeared to them as a real king after the usurpation of Heliodorus (see p. 9), and from Polybius we learn that a popular witticism changed the epithet ἑπιφανής into ἑπιμωής, the mad.¹¹⁶

The conclusions to which this survey has led may be summarized as follows: During the lifetime of Antiochus IV we find four variant forms of the royal title used in his kingdom. Once the first and simple form “King Antiochus” is expanded, the word “Theos” makes its appearance and it is *never* omitted. The form “King Antiochus Epiphanes” is used only posthumously in Syria. On the other hand, a title including “Theos” never appears outside the boundaries of the Seleucid kingdom. When an expanded form is used, we find invariably “King Antiochus Epiphanes”, both during the king’s lifetime and posthumously. Naturally enough this was the form adopted by the authors.

This distinction between the title used in Syria and the one used in the west appears to me of cardinal importance. The epithet Epiphanes alone has a very wide meaning ranging from “famous” or “illustrious” in a purely human sphere to the god “appearing” to his worshippers,¹¹⁷ but when it is joined to the word “Theos” it can, of course, only have the last meaning. Thus we see that Antiochus was presented to the Greeks in the

¹¹⁴ Cf. LE RIDER, *Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Iran* 38 (1960) 33 f., and MORKHOLM, “A Posthumous Issue of Antiochus IV of Syria”, *NC* 1960, 25–30.

¹¹⁵ Cf. *SMA* 95, fig. 20. BIKERMAN, *Institutions des Séleucides* (1938) 240 with note 6 still ascribes one of these coins to Antiochus IV.

¹¹⁶ Appian, *Syr.* 45. Polybius XXVI, 1. Appian’s explanation of the epithet is undoubtedly wrong. According to the coins no epithets were introduced immediately after the accession, and when they appeared in 173/2 B. C. “Epiphanes” alone is never used within the borders of the kingdom.

¹¹⁷ Cf. A. D. NOCK, “Notes on Ruler Cult”, *JHS* 1928, 38–41, and *R. E. Suppl.* IV (1924) s. v. “Epiphanie” col. 306 ff.

west with an epithet of a convenient vagueness, which need not imply deification, while to his own subjects he was undoubtedly the God Manifest. Only after his death was he remembered in Syria simply as Epiphanes.

The third coin legend at Antioch added "Nicephorus" to the title. This word, when applied to human beings, means little more than "victorious". It is also frequently used of gods as "dispensers of victory". Now it has often been assumed that on the coins of Antiochus IV both meanings were in a sense combined, because the king identified himself with Zeus, the most exalted dispenser of victory, and placed the god's effigy on the reverse of his tetradrachms.¹¹⁸ However, shortly after the introduction of the third legend at Antioch we have noted a slight change in the type: the Nike on Zeus' right hand turns to crown the king's title instead of offering her wreath to Zeus. We thus get a rather complicated symbolism with Antiochus in the guise of Zeus giving victory to himself. This is not very convincing, and the whole theory is ruined by the simple fact that the legend including "Nicephorus" is also found on reverses with an Apollo type, both at Antioch (group 24) and Ace-Ptolemais (groups 4-5). Thus there is no specific connection between the Zeus type and this epithet. We may conclude that it is applied to the king in the human connotation of "victorious"; in my opinion it refers to his victorious campaign in Egypt (above p. 37). It should be noted that the title "Nicephorus" is restricted to the coins. It is never found in the epigraphical or literary sources.

As regards any further investigation we are hampered, above all, by the almost complete lack of literary evidence as to the personal religious attitude of Antiochus. I have already entered a note of warning against using the unintelligible apocalyptic utterances of Daniel as evidence for Antiochus' religious ideas (p. 58). At most the prophet can be used to confirm other evidence, to rely on him alone is impossible. To the authors of the first and second book of the Maccabees Antiochus was the $\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\tau\omega\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, the great persecutor of the Jewish people, impious, cruel and arrogant. Quite naturally we do not hear a single

¹¹⁸ This theory goes back to E. R. BEVAN, "A Note on Antiochos Epiphanes", *JHS* 1900, 26-30. See, however, DREXLER in Roscher, *Lexicon der gr. und röm. Mythologie* III, 358 f.

word of his religious beliefs which must have been a closed book to the orthodox Jews. We are not much better off as regards the Greek historical tradition, which almost entirely derives from Polybius. Here the magnanimity of the king and his generosity towards the cults of the Greek gods is praised in general terms.¹¹⁹ We have already seen that Appian gave a rationalizing, and undoubtedly wrong, explanation of the epithet "Epiphanes". From a fragmentary papyrus scroll from Herculaneum we learn that Antiochus was not entirely averse to the philosophical teachings of his day, having been won over by Philonides to look with favour on the Epicurean doctrine.¹²⁰ Only one other passage is relevant to our purpose, a short notice in Granius Licinianus that Antiochus married Diana of Hierapolis in Syria in order to rob her of her sacred vases and other belongings.¹²¹ It is characteristic of the rationalism of the Polybian tradition that this incidence, which might after all have had a profound religious significance (one is tempted to think of a *ἱερὸς γάμος*), is presented as a stratagem to obtain the treasures of the goddess.

Under these circumstances it becomes extremely difficult to explain the introduction of the epithets on the coins of Antiochus IV. There can hardly be any doubt that this innovation somehow derived from the personal attitude of the king. In all probability he was the first Hellenistic ruler to place divine epithets on his coins.¹²² On the other hand, the careful distinction between the titles used in Syria, proclaiming Antiochus as a god, and the more vague honorific form of the title used abroad, implies, in my opinion, that political considerations played a large part in the new arrangement. Apparently Antiochus wanted to play the

¹¹⁹ Livy XLI, 20, 5.

¹²⁰ CRÖNERT, *Sitzungsber. der kgl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin* 1900, 953, vv. 30-33.

¹²¹ Granius Licinianus p. 5, 3 (ed. Flemisch).

¹²² LEAKE, *Numismata Hellenica* (1854), 26, published a bronze coin of Seleucus IV with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. However, after having examined the coin, which is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, I do not feel confident of its genuineness. A series of Cappadocian silver inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ, commonly dated about 190 B. C., belongs to the 130's (MÖRKHOLM, "Some Cappadocian Problems", *NC* 1962, 408 f.). A very difficult problem is presented by the Bactrian coins with royal epithets, especially the issues of Antimachus Theos, which W. W. TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd ed. 1951) 91 and A. K. NARAIN, *The Indo-Greeks* (1957) 47, agree in dating before the reign of Antiochus IV. In view of the general uncertainty of the Bactrian chronology this is far from certain.

rôle of the enlightened philhellene in the Greek world (the same motive was behind his interest in philosophy and his generosity toward the cities of the Greek homeland) while to his own subjects, whatever their ethnical origins, he preferred to appear as a deity, even if he never went so far as to identify himself with one particular god. It has often been assumed that he saw in the ruler cult a means to unite the peoples under his sway, erecting, so to speak, a common religious superstructure above the various local cults. However, this theory is generally combined with the hypothesis of the identification of the king with Zeus Olympius, for which there is no conclusive evidence. Furthermore the predecessors of Antiochus IV certainly enjoyed divine honours; the existence of a state cult for the ruling king and his queen is attested from the reign of Antiochus III.¹²³ The religious innovations of Antiochus IV may accordingly be interpreted as attempts to infuse new vigour into old and time-honoured concepts, rather than as startling revolutionary measures. However, this may be, Antiochus succeeded in striking a note which resounded throughout the Hellenistic world. His successors in Syria used these divine epithets on their coins and by the middle of the second century B. C. the same practice was being followed in Parthia, Bactria, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia. Only the rulers of Egypt and Pergamum seem to have abstained from this easy method of self-glorification.

Even if political considerations were chiefly responsible for the introduction of the epithets on coins, this need not exclude a genuine religious feeling on the part of the king. But here we are dealing with matters beyond our knowledge. In the last analysis we must admit that we have no means of fathoming the inner religious experience of King Antiochus God Manifest.

¹²³ Cf. BIKERMAN, *Institutions des Séleucides* (1938) 247 ff.; NILSSON, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* II (1950) 156 ff.

Key to Plate XV

1. Antiochus IV, Antioch on the Orontes, Æ (*obv.*). Brussels.
 2. Antiochus IV, Antioch on the Orontes, Æ. Coll. Henri Seyrig, Beirut.
 3. Antiochus IV, Antioch on the Orontes, Æ. Munich.
 4. Antiochus IV, Antioch on the Orontes, Æ. Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 630.
 5. Antiochus IV, Ace-Ptolemais, Æ. Paris, *Rois de Syrie* no. 572.
 6. Ptolemy IV of Egypt, tetradrachm. Copenhagen.
 7. Ptolemy IV of Egypt (with portrait of Ptolemy III), goldoctodrachm. Copenhagen.
 8. Antiochus IV, Tarsus, tetradrachm. *Hunter Coll.* III, 42, no. 5, pl. lxvi, 10.
-



A1 - P1



A2 - P3



A3 - P5



A3 - P6



A3 - P7



A4 - P13



a1 - p1



A 4 - P 14



A 5 - P 15



A 6 - P 23



A 6 - P 27



A 7 - P 28



A 6 - P 30



A 7 - P 33



A 8 - P 41



A 9 - P 42



A 10 - P 43



A 11 - P 50



A 12 - P 54



A 13 - P 56



a 2 - p 2



a 2 - p 7



a 3 - p 8



ai - pi



ai - piv



aα - pα





A 14 - P 58



A 15 - P 60



A 16 - P 71



A 17 - P 76



A 18 - P 80



A 19 - P 82



A 20 - P 85



A 21 - P 89



A 22 - P 90



A 23 - P 94



A 23 - P 98



A 24 - P 100



A 25 - P 104



A 26 - P 106



A 20 - P 107



A 20 - P 111



A 27 - P 113



A 28 - P 114



A 28 - P 124



A 29 - P 125



A 30 - P 131



A 36 - P 158



A 37 - P 162



A 38 - P 163



A 39 - P 165



A 40 - P 167



A 41 - P 169



A 42 - P 172



A 43 - P 177



A 44 - P 181



A 45 - P 182



A 46 - P 183



A 47 - P 193



A 48 - P 196



A 49 - P 198



A 50 - P 199



A 51 - P 200



A 52 - P 201



A I - P I



A II - P II



A 53 - P 204



A 54 - P 205



A 55 - P 207





A1 - P1



A1 - P2



A2 - P3



A2 - P6



A3 - P7



A3 - P10



A4 - P12



A 5 - P 14



A 6 - P 15



A 7 - P 16



A 4 - P 17



A 5 - P 18



A 6 - P 20



A 6 - P 23



A 7 - P 26



A 4 - P 27



A 6 - P 29



A 6 - P 32



A 7 - P 37



A 8 - P 39



A 8 - P 40





A 9 - P 41



A 9 - P 43



A 9 - P 44



A 10 - P 45



A 11 - P 46



A 12 - P 47



A 13 - P 48





1



2



3



4



5



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7



8



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