
THE EARLY SELEUCIDS, THEIR GODS AND THEIR
COINS

Volume 1 of 2

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ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that the iconography on Seleucid coins was created in order to appeal to the various ethnic groups within the empire and thereby reinforced the legitimacy of the dynasty. It first examines the iconography of Seleucus I and argues that as Seleucus became more secure in his rule he began to develop a new iconography that was a blend of Alexander's and his own. This pattern changed under Antiochus I. He replaced the Zeus of Alexander and of Seleucus with Apollo-on-the-omphalos. At approximately the same time, a dynastic myth of descent from Apollo was created and promulgated. It is argued that in addition to the traditional view that Apollo was readily identifiable to the Greco-Macedonians within the empire he was also accessible to the Babylonians through the god Nabû and to the Persians as a Greek (or Macedonian) version of the reigning king. This ambiguity made Apollo an ideal figure to represent the multi-ethnic ruling house. This also explains the dynasty's reluctance to deviate from the iconography established by Antiochus I. This thesis continues to explore the role of Apollo and other gods in creating an iconography which represented Seleucid power ending with the reign of Antiochus III. This thesis also incorporates the numismatic representations of the king as divine into the debate on ruler cult. This evidence suggests that the Seleucids may have had some form of ruler cult before the reign of Antiochus III.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BCHP* Finkel, I. and R.J. van der Spek (Forthcoming). *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period*.
@ <http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html>
- CIG* *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. (1825-1877). Berlin.
- Erythrai* Engelmann, H. and Merkelbach, R. (1972-1973). *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai, Teil I und II. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*. Band 1-2. Bonn.
- ESM* Newell, E.T. and O. Mørkholm (1978). *The coinage of the eastern Seleucid mints, from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*. New York.
- FGrH* Jacoby, Felix. (1923-1962). *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin.
- I. Delos* Durrbach, F. (1926-1937). *Inscriptions de Délos*. Paris.
- I. Didyma* Rehm, A. (1941). *Didyma, ii: Die Inschriften*. Berlin.
- I. Labraunda I* Crampa, J. (1969-1972). *Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches. I. The Greek Inscriptions. Part I: 1-12*. Lund.
- I. Smyrna* Petzel, G. (1982-1990). *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*. Bonn.
- I. Ilion* Frisch, P. (1975). *Die Inschriften von Ilion. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*. Band 3. Bonn.
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*. (1873-). Berlin.
- IGLS* Jalabert, L. Mouterde, R. and J.P. Rey-Coquais. (1929-1970).
Inscriptions grecques et latines de la syrie. Tome 1-7. Paris.
- IMT Skam/NebTaeler* Matthias Barth and Josef Stauber. (1996). *Troas, "Skamander und Nebentäler"*. München.
- LIMC* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (1981-1999)*. 8 vols. Zurich.

- Milet I, 3* Rehm, A. (1914). *Das Delphinon in Milet*. Berlin.
- OGIS* Dittenberger, W. (1903-1905). *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. 1-2. Leipzig.
- PFS* seals in Hallock, R.T. *Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Oriental Institute Publications 92*, Chicago, 1969.
- RC* Welles, C.B. (1934). *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A study in Greek Epigraphy*. New Haven.
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (1923-). Leiden and Amsterdam.
- SNG Spencer* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain, Volume I, Part I. The Collection of Capt. E.G. Spencer-Churchill, M.C., of Northwick Park*. (1931). London.
- Syll.*³ Dittenberger, W. (1915-1924). *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. 3rd edition. Leipzig.
- Teos* McCabe, Donald F. (1985). *Teos Inscriptions. Texts and List*. Princeton.
- WSM* Newell, E.T. and O. Mørkholm (1977). *The coinage of the western Seleucid mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*. Numismatic studies, no. 4, New York.

INTRODUCTION

I: THE PROJECT

This thesis explains how the Seleucid kings used the representations of divine and semi-divine beings on their coinage as a tool for creating and legitimising royal authority during the most stable period of their rule (Seleucus I to Antiochus III: 312/1 – 188 BC). The study is divided chronologically in accordance with the reigns of each Seleucid king, with a cumulative chapter that provides an overarching study of ruler cult, with a special emphasis on coinage, across all of these reigns. The division of chapters by reign allows for a full examination of the contributions and changes in iconography that each king made in order to promote his and his dynasty's legitimacy. In addition to coinage, this study reviews the literary and epigraphic record, limited though it is, for further evidence of the Seleucid kings' efforts to build divine support for their rule. The study attempts to explain the shift from the first divine patron of the Seleucid kingdom, Zeus, to Apollo. Furthermore, it examines how Apollo and other gods were used to create a perception of the dynasty as continuous and stable.

The conditions necessary to establish royal legitimacy were different during each reign. However after Antiochus I, Seleucid iconography on coins became generally consistent and the image of Apollo-on-the-omphalos¹ served as the usual tetradrachm reverse type. This thesis explores why this particular iconography, Apollo-on-the-omphalos, proved so successful. It argues, contrary to prior scholarship, that Apollo need not have been viewed as an exclusively Greek figure by all segments of the empire. Rather, Apollo could have been interpreted in different ways by different subject populations. Furthermore, the Seleucid kings deliberately used the ambiguity inherent in the understanding of Apollo in order to enhance their legitimacy across their entire empire. This better explains why the iconographic type endured so long in the dynasty and helps explain the early Seleucid success in ruling a multi-cultural, multi-centred but united empire.

¹ For a good description of the Seleucid Apollo-on-the-omphalos, although some of his arguments have been superseded see: Wace 1902: 214-219. His suggestion that the type derives from a statue set up by Antiochus I is particularly appealing (219) although there is no evidence to support it.

II: IDENTIFICATION OF DEITIES

One of the most important points to understand when studying the Seleucids is the challenge they faced in controlling a broad and diverse empire. At first glance their coinage, which after Seleucus I (on whose coins Zeus is the most common deity) mostly depicted the quintessentially Greek god Apollo, suggests that the Seleucid rulers were narrowly focused on their Greek-speaking subjects. In his article on Seleucid iconography Zahle suggests that the shift to Apollo from Zeus demonstrated a shift towards a Greek identity for the Seleucid kings, and although this did not necessarily change their actions in relation to local cults, it focused their royal propaganda on solely their Greco-Macedonian audience.² He supports this argument with the statement that the legends appearing on the coins are in Greek and the coin iconography portrays Apollo, a familiar Greek god. However, the coin legends in this period consist of the name of the ruling Seleucid king and the title “king”. Additionally, the majority of coins issued in the eastern Mediterranean prior to Alexander utilised Greek iconography.³ Zahle’s emphasis on Apollo as solely a Greek deity, unlike the more easily syncretised Zeus, may be reflective of the romantic notion that Apollo was “the most Greek of all the gods”.⁴ But this is an overly simplistic view of how individuals reacted to representations of Apollo in the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural areas under Seleucid control. For example, we have evidence discussed below from Strabo that Apollo was syncretised with the local god Nabû at Borsippa.⁵ This study will present two possible interpretations of the Seleucid Apollo by groups within the empire, in addition to his role as a Greek God: the connection between Apollo and Nabû and between Apollo-on-the-omphalos and the royal archer.

In order to help understand how the populations living in the Seleucid empire could have reacted differently to the same divine image, we will briefly examine the opening passage from the second-century AD romance *Leucippe and Clitophon*:

A Greek-speaking traveller enters the sanctuary of Astarte in Sidon to sacrifice in thanks for a safe passage. Among the temple offerings, he sees a painting of a woman riding on a bull at sea. With one hand, the

² Zahle 1990: 127-128.

³ See for example the Datames coinage in Chapter 2: 123ff, for an example of a non-Greek official using Greek iconography with an Aramaic legend; for the use of Persian coinage to pay western mercenaries see: Root 1979: 116-117; for money (perhaps better understood as coinage) as a Greek phenomenon see: Seaford 2004.

⁴ Cf. Dowden 2007: 49; Burkert 1985: 143.

⁵ Strabo *Geography* 11.1.7; cf. Chapter 2: 109ff.

woman steers her mount clasping to its horn, and with the other holds her veil, which billows up behind her in the breeze. The water deepens from red to blue, and a small boy leads the way, as a troop of girls looks on beside a grove, spring, and meadow on the shore.⁶

This narrative describes a culturally ambivalent image, as the woman on a bull is first interpreted as Europa by the traveller, an identification that fits a well-established iconographic profile.⁷ But the image is in the temple dedicated to a non-Greek deity: Astarte. Furthermore, later in the text the protagonist calls the figure Selene, an identification that is only explicable outside of a Greek cultural context.⁸ Within the text, none of these interpretations is a mis-interpretation of the image. Rather, all interpretations are equally valid narratives created by the social environment. Selden identifies in these texts a literary syllepsis, which allows the god's identity to shift based on the cultural background of the viewer.⁹ The ambivalence in the text is the result of the syncretism of Greek and non-Greek deities. As this phenomenon is well documented during the Hellenistic period,¹⁰ a similar process of the identification of a single image with multiple deities in different cultural contexts may well in theory be equally applicable to Seleucid iconography. An image that may have appeared as a perfectly standard representation of a Greek deity to a Greek or Macedonian may have represented a different concept to a Zoroastrian or to a Babylonian, but all would react to the same image designed to have cross-cultural recognition and resonance in a meaningful way. This thesis argues that the Seleucid court deliberately chose the imagery on their coinage so that it could be understood by a large majority of their population within their own immediate cultural context. While each cultural group within the empire may have read the image in a different light, the dominant message of the coinage was that of royal power.

When discussing the advertisement of royal power this thesis uses the term “propaganda” to describe the images created by the court. I use this term despite the various negative connotations it has received in the modern period. In using this term I

⁶ Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon* 1.1-2 trans. Selden 1994: 50.

⁷ Selden 1994: 50.

⁸ Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon* 1.4.3.

⁹ See Selden 1994: 50-51.

¹⁰ See Potter 2003: 419-426 for the different types of religious interactions that characterised the Hellenistic period and for recent bibliography. Here Potter rejects the term syncretism as too broad to be meaningful, however the influence between religious systems on each other is what I am discussing and believe that the term still has some value. See Martin 1983 and Bilde 1990 for individual studies of specific cults. See Allan 2004: 116-120 for a useful definition of different types of syncretism and their applicability to Greek religion in all periods.

have followed Hekster's and Fowler's explanation: "what is essentially meant is dissemination of ideas by people in power in specific periods".¹¹ Coinage fits this definition of propaganda as it represents the authority of the minting body and usually bears ideologically-charged imagery. Both the authority and message of the ruling power are reinforced by coinage's strong relationship to taxation and thus the physical authority of the state.

III: COINAGE

There are several important questions that must be addressed when arguing that the iconography of coinage was a major form of propaganda to express the ideology of the empire. The first major question is: How did the audience which handled these coins react to the images on them or were they even aware of the messages they contained? The second is: Where did the image minted on coins originate, and was it royally mandated? Thirdly: How were the coins disseminated and to whom? The final question and main subject of this thesis is: Why were these particular types minted?

III.1: REACTIONS TO COINS

The first question is in some ways the most difficult to answer as we have little direct evidence for individual reactions to coin types in the Seleucid era, so we are required to look at indirect evidence. In those cases where we do have ancient discussions of Seleucid coins, it tends to be in the context of payments, and in these cases the coins are usually referred to by weight not by particular type. For example, the treaty of Apamea, which the Romans imposed on Antiochus III after his defeat at Magnesia, stipulated that the indemnity be paid in talents of a particular weight standard.¹² This tells us little about how individuals reacted to different coinage types or how foreign governments responded, as the main concern appears to be weight and purity (intrinsic value). Perhaps the best way to assess the reaction without direct evidence is through the change in coin types at the start of new regimes. If the imagery provoked no reactions, why change it? But, as shown below, during the reigns of Seleucus I, Antiochus I, and Seleucus II the iconography was changed, undoubtedly because of a desire to demonstrate a new conception of authority. In the periods of stable rule after the

¹¹ Hekster and Fowler 2005: 17.

¹² Poly. 21.42; Appian, *Syr.* 38.

establishment of a dynastic type the use of similar iconography emphasised the continuation of authority (even when it had been usurped). While the general population may not have had a great interest in what appeared on the coinage they used, the group of individuals who created the types and who oversaw their production were keenly aware of the potential of coinage to convey a message.¹³ Therefore, what I believe we can learn from a study of the coinage is not how an individual reacted to a particular type, but rather the message(s) which the minting authority hoped to express.

III.2: WHO CONTROLLED THE IMAGES ON COINS?

On the most basic level, the coins were produced at local mints which were under the control of a mint official. The mint marks on Seleucid coins often appear to be related to the initials of individuals, most likely the mint official, although to date no study of these individuals has yet been undertaken. Aperghis has suggested that the mints of any given satrapy were under the control of the *dioikētēs* (a royal official and the financial counterpart of the *stratēgos*/satrap).¹⁴ The individual dies would have been cut by craftsmen, who were either brought to the mint with the minting official or by a local artisan. It is highly doubtful that the impetus for the overall design of the coin rested with the individual craftsmen at a local level given the general coordination between coin types across the entire empire. Nevertheless, the individualised features of any particular die may have depended on the skill of the craftsmen and his desire to produce an individualised type. This same argument may also be applied to the individual mint officials, although they may be responsible for the inclusion of particular long-lasting variations at a single mint or a repeated design at various mints during their career.

In addition, the responsibilities for the creation of a particular type may have varied, depending on the value of the coin, the location of the mint, and the obverse and reverse sides of the coin. As bronze coinage had a more limited circulation and significantly less value, the minting authority may have had more leeway in the creation of types for it. Nevertheless, the control of the local mint officials in determining the imagery was limited. In order to ensure a general consistency and acceptability of the currency across the empire, the Seleucids may have circulated sets of written instructions, drawings,

¹³ Cf. Levick 1975 for the use of ideologically loaded phrases on Roman coinage. While the phenomena of long ideologically charged legends on coinage does not occur on Seleucid coinage in the period under discussion, I believe the same critical eye can be used in the examination of the coin types.

¹⁴ Aperghis 2004: 280, 284.

and/or portraits. These would have included the images to be used on each side of the coin, a model for the portrait and the reverse image and the relevant features (diadems, horns, laurel crowns, etc.) to be included.¹⁵ Inspiration for variations within the design may also have been drawn either at the central level or the local level from statues or portraits. While we have no direct evidence for how Seleucid coins were designed, this system would account for the generally widespread similarity of coin types and also explain variation at individual mints.

This system, as with all systems in the Seleucid empire, would have depended on the active participation of the magistrate in charge.¹⁶ Thus as individual magistrates began to assert their independence from the kingdom they had an increasing level of control over the coin types. One of the best examples of this process occurred in Bactria. In the first assertion of independence, the Seleucid reverse type was replaced by a standing Zeus, while the legend and obverse portrait of the Seleucid king were maintained. But as the Diodotid kings were able to use their control over the province to move towards complete independence without interference from the central authority, both the legend and the obverse portrait were replaced.¹⁷ This gradual change suggests that the Seleucids were willing to tolerate a great deal of independence from their satraps. However, their tolerance in this instance may be overstated on account of the particular situation in Bactria and Antiochus II's (and subsequently Seleucus II's) inability to intervene in Bactrian affairs. What the changes in Bactria do demonstrate is that the Seleucid type had already become strongly associated with the dynasty by the reign of Antiochus II (only having been introduced by his father), and the Bactrian dynasts felt the need to assert their own independence by a complete change in local deities. This suggests that the impetus for the Apollo-type coinage in particular originated at the central court.

Another important consideration for determining who issued the coinage was the legend. Almost all Seleucid coinage in this period has the legend "Of King _____". In

¹⁵ See Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 358 for the argument that only written instructions were circulated; for a discussion of official Hellenistic portrait types particularly in regards to statues see: Smith 1988: 27-31. Houghton and Lorber's conclusions seem to fit well within Smith's more general thesis. Their hypothesis that no model image was circulated in addition to the written material seems unnecessary.

¹⁶ See Ramsey Forthcoming-b for a discussion of the ramifications of the degrees of independence of the Seleucid officials, although her discussion does not deal with mint officials her conclusions concerning the independence of officials are still applicable. Cf. Capdetrey 2007: 277-282, 306-321.

¹⁷ See Holt 1999: 92-93 for an analysis of early Diodotid coinage; cf. Price 2005: 117-124 for a similar upswell in local iconography on coinage in periods of relative autonomy. In the period under discussion, Seleucid royal coinage appears fairly tightly controlled and only limited allusions to local types appear.

almost all cases this represents the reigning king. However, a problem arises with this simple formula owing to the particular structure of Seleucid kingship. Beginning during the reign of Seleucus I, a second king was normally appointed to rule over the eastern half of the empire. The duties and authority of these sub-rulers appeared to depend on their age and personal ambition. While these kings may have had a part in the development of coin types in the regions under their control, the legend still normally only referred to the king who had appointed them. This situation appears to be fairly fluid under Seleucus I and Antiochus I's co-reigns but the dominance of the senior figure is more clearly established for the rest of the dynasty. I follow the practice of assigning all coinage to the named (senior) monarch, unless the junior monarch can be shown to have been active in the area in which the coinage was issued.

On the whole, the iconography for Seleucid royal coinage appears to reflect some central planning at the royal court. Furthermore, the adoption of particular coin types appears to match other types of dynastic self-presentation beyond just coinage. In particular, the appearance of Apollo on coinage corresponded to an increased emphasis on Apollo and the choice of this god as the progenitor of the Seleucid royal house.¹⁸

III.3: HOW WERE COINS DISSEMINATED?

The third question, how coins were produced and disseminated in the Seleucid empire, has important ramifications for the study of iconography. While a discussion of the Seleucid financial system is outside the scope of this thesis,¹⁹ there are still two major factors to take into account when discussing Seleucid coinage, their open monetary system and their two-tier value system.

In the period under discussion (the reigns of Seleucus I to Antiochus III, broadly the 3rd Century BC) the Seleucids appear to have had an open monetary system in which any coinage on the Attic weight standard was free to circulate.²⁰ This had two very significant consequences. First, the very large number of tetradrachms produced for Alexander and some of his successors (particularly Lysimachus) continued to circulate

¹⁸ See Chapter 1: 39ff for the discussion of when Apollo first begins to appear as a dynastic god and on coinage and Chapter 2 for a discussion of the possible meanings of the Apollo coinage.

¹⁹ For a good recent synthetic analysis of the Seleucid economy see: Aperghis 2004; for more detailed individual studies see Chankowski and Duyrat 2004; both supersede the analysis of Rostovtzeff 1941.

²⁰ Cf. Houghton 2004; Howgego 1995: 51-52; Mørkholm 1991: 20.

especially in Asia Minor.²¹ Many of these Alexander coins or Lysimachus coins were posthumously issued either by official Seleucid mints or by other cities, and helped to stimulate foreign trade in the west. The situation was reversed in the eastern part of the empire as large numbers of these coins did not circulate, and the bulk of production was made up by Seleucid coinage.²² The introduction and wide circulation of Seleucid coins in the east may have created the need for an image that could be suitably interpreted as a statement of Seleucid power in the eastern empire. Two eastern interpretations of Seleucid symbolism are discussed in chapter 2: the connection between Apollo and Nabû and Apollo and the royal archer.

The second consequence is that unlike in the closed Ptolemaic monetary system²³ Seleucid coinage was forced to compete in an open market, thus the physical value of the coin (weight and purity) must have been at a comparable standard while the iconography must also have been distinctive enough to suggest Seleucid power to the user. After the reign of Seleucus I, individual Seleucid kings produced an increasingly smaller amount of silver coinage. This may have been due to the amount of silver available for minting or that the earlier coinage still in circulation was still largely meeting the needs of the population. However, with the numerous military campaigns undertaken by Antiochus III, this trend was reversed as he produced more coinage than any previous king apart from Seleucus I.²⁴

Under the first Seleucid kings, the state appears to have had a two-tier monetary system which split the currency into, high value coinage (gold and silver) and low-value token coins (bronze). The high-value Seleucid coinage consisted largely of silver tetradrachms which were too valuable to be used in everyday transactions at a local level. Aperghis has estimated that a silver Attic tetradrachm could purchase five and half months' supply of barley in Babylon for a single man.²⁵ This strongly suggests that the silver and gold coinage was of too great a value to have been produced for common local transactions. Nevertheless, silver tetradrachms represent about seventy-eight percent of the total value of Seleucid monetary production in this period.²⁶ Therefore, Aperghis must be correct when he asserts that the tetradrachm was the primary means of

²¹ Houghton 2004: 49-50.

²² Houghton 2004: 49-50.

²³ Howgego 1995: 52-54; Mørkholm 1991: 64 for the date of the shift of the Ptolemaic weight standard.

²⁴ Houghton 2004: 52; cf. Aperghis 2004: table II.I, p. 217.

²⁵ Aperghis 2004: 220.

²⁶ Aperghis 2004: 217.

economic exchange between the state and its subjects.²⁷ This greatly increases the likelihood that silver tetradrachms produced by the state were the primary means of disseminating royal propaganda. The even higher value of gold coinage suggests that it was only used for very large transaction or for interstate trade, primarily with India.²⁸ The other major reason for production of gold coins was for a special prestige issue, more often than not associated with a military campaign or the arrival of the king into a satrapy or city.²⁹ For these reasons, their broad circulation, their high value and their use as the major form of state expenditure, high-value coinage provides the most useful vehicle for analysing Seleucid ideology as expressed through coinage.

At the other end of the spectrum,³⁰ Seleucid royal bronzes were largely a token coinage³¹ with a limited local circulation. This coinage would have functioned as the everyday currency for most of the inhabitants of the empire. While the gold and silver coins of the Seleucids were traded at a value equal to the metal they contained, the bronze coins carried a premium. The overvaluation of bronze coins relative to the intrinsic value of their metal and hence the potential for profit in their production may have been one of the reasons why the Seleucids and other Hellenistic dynasties were reluctant to allow cities under their suzerainty to mint bronze coinage.³² It is the geographically limited circulation of bronze coinage which makes them particularly interesting in terms of Seleucid iconography and ideology. As these coins were less likely to circulate across large geographical areas, they may reflect local peculiarities more explicitly than higher-value coinage. However, most of the Seleucid royal bronze currency shows a strong tendency to display the same dynastic themes as silver currency. As these coins were also often produced in sizes smaller than tetradrachms, they had to use more compressed imagery in order to portray the same message. In these instances, a particular feature, the bow or the cithara of Apollo for example, may stand in for Apollo but they also serve to emphasise particular attributes of the overall iconography. A further important feature of the local nature of this coinage is that it repeated and transformed the symbols of high value coinage in order to emphasise

²⁷ Aperghis 2004: 220; see also Howgego 1995: 35-37 for state expenditure as the primary concern for new coinage.

²⁸ Aperghis 2004: 219-220.

²⁹ Aperghis 2004: 220.

³⁰ It is interesting to note that the Seleucids generally seem to be deficient in a coinage for the middle of the spectrum that could be used for larger everyday purchases, in particular silver drachms. See Houghton 2004: 51.

³¹ Aperghis 2004: 223-224 for the ratio of bronze to gold and silver and the overvaluation of bronze.

³² Mørkholm 1991: 6; cf. Meadows 2001 for the importance of not overestimating a cities independence or dependence based on its production of civic bronze currency.

dynastic continuity as symbols from Seleucus I were combined with those of his son to produce a new image. The innovation of these types may be linked to their value and limited circulation, whereas the generally conservative nature of the high value coinage may be linked to its economic function as an exchange currency.

III.4: CHOICE OF COIN IMAGES

The final question of why particular coin types were chosen forms one of the crucial questions of this thesis. Each chapter discusses the types of coinage issued by each individual king and attempts to explain the possible ideological connotations of the type. First, a few preliminary words must be said on the purpose of creating coin types for the Seleucids. The production and regulation of a particular type of coinage at first seems slightly incongruous with the open monetary policy of the Seleucids. The continued production of Alexander tetradrachms would have fulfilled the economic functions of coinage for trade and commerce. Therefore, we must examine the possible ideological reasons behind the production of dynasty-specific coin types. On the most fundamental level, coinage delivered a political and ideological message to whoever handled it. Furthermore, as this message was delivered almost entirely through images it would have been accessible to a wider audience than any written work. During the period under consideration, the only inscriptions which appeared on Seleucid coinage were “of King _____” with the sole exception of the Antiochus *Soter* coinage which reads “of Antiochus the Saviour”. These very limited legends may undermine Zahle’s contention that the coinage was aimed solely at the Greco-Macedonians as the legend was kept on coinage by the non-Greek successors to the Seleucids (the Parthians) even when not dealing with a specifically Greek-speaking audience. Furthermore in this period, the legend adds little iconographic significance or a separate message to the coinage and serves only as an identifying marker.³³ The distinctive iconography of the Seleucid kings, in particular the repeated image of Apollo-on-the-omphalos, may have rendered the inscription redundant to most of the users. Just as the image of George Washington on the American quarter or the Queen on the English pound are easily identifiable without reading the inscription.

³³ Zahle 1990: 127.

This brings us to a second important consideration and this is the creation of a long-lasting and largely consistent iconography for the dynasty. The creation of the Seleucid type of Apollo-on-the-omphalos by Antiochus I and its adoption by Antiochus II marked an important point in Seleucid ideology.³⁴ With the establishment of an overarching consistent icon of Seleucid rule, the use of the type may have implied that the issuer was the legitimate Seleucid monarch without any other external indicators. The continuation of the Apollo-on-the-omphalos reverse type served the same ideological function as the creation and continuation of the Seleucid era, the insistence on dynastic continuity.

A further reason for the importance of coinage as a vehicle for political and ideological messages was their widespread use. Coinage was more likely to be viewed by any given individual than either a statue or an inscription, or especially the king himself, who would rarely be seen by an individual citizen. In the absence of other forms of media for propaganda, it provided the ideal medium with which to deliver a message to the general population. For this reason, the development of individual portraiture on the obverse was one of the most significant developments of the Hellenistic periods. Antiochus I was the first Seleucid king to place his own portrait on coins and he was followed in this by all of his successors. The similarities between the portraits of individual kings may have helped imply dynastic continuity. On the other hand, increasingly idealised portraits may reflect either fashions at the court, the mint, or may have deeper symbolic meaning even implying the divinity of a deceased king. Therefore, although the function of coinage was primarily economic, there is a large amount of significant information we can draw from examining the symbolic importance of coinage.

III.5 MODERN STUDY OF COINAGE

In order to aid in understanding the iconography of Seleucid coinage, a brief discussion of ancient minting techniques and modern analysis is necessary. All coins produced in the Seleucid empire were struck by hand. In order to strike coins two dies were carved, an obverse and a reverse die. A large number of blank coin flans were also produced. In order to strike a coin, the obverse die was set in an anvil; the flan was set atop it. The

³⁴ See Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 27 for the attempt of Antiochus I to establish a sense of dynasty with the creation of the Apollo types. For a full discussion of these types see Chapter 2: 98ff.

reverse die set in a punch was positioned on the flan. This unit was then struck with a hammer, forcing the designs onto the flan.³⁵ This process gives modern numismatists a variety of methods to help date the coins. The first is through die studies. Die studies rely on a result of the minting process: the obverse die lasted much longer than the reverse die. Thus a single obverse die could be used with numerous reverse dies, creating an overlap between the use of obverse and reverse dies. With a significant number of coins, a linked series can be created. The relative chronology of this linked series can be used to establish an absolute chronology if a fixed point can be found for one or more coins in the series.³⁶ One other feature that can help identify the date of coinage is the use of an era on the coinage. However, Seleucid coinage of the period under discussion lacks this feature.

Other useful information from the minting process includes the die adjustment. When setting the reverse die on top of flan it can be placed in any number of positions. The positioning of adjusted dies (a large number of coins with the reverses positioned in the same way) can give some information on the region in which the coinage was produced.

Other important factors influence the assignment of coinage to a particular mint. The most useful and significant of these are mint marks. Often coinage was produced with an image or set of images which can help to identify the mint at which the coinage was produced. These images are separate from the distinctive iconographic features of the main type and are not discussed as part of Seleucid iconography in the thesis. However, much of the information on the provenance of the coinage used within the thesis comes from the analysis of mint marks.

In the 1940s, Newell's pioneering work created the basic framework for discussions of the provenance and chronology of Seleucid coinage.³⁷ Recently, Newell's work has been re-examined and updated by Houghton and Lorber, this has resulted in a new comprehensive catalogue of Seleucid coinage.³⁸ These studies and individual mint studies have provided the background for this thesis' iconographic analysis.

³⁵ Mørkholm 1991: 15.

³⁶ See Mørkholm 1991: 15-17 for the problems with die linkages and their analysis.

³⁷ *WSM* and *ESM*.

³⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002.

IV: LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES

Along with numismatics this thesis also uses the existing literary sources and epigraphic evidence to explain the development of a Seleucid royal ideology that stressed the royal house's descent from Apollo and emphasised its own legitimacy. But while we have coinage produced by every Seleucid king, the literary and epigraphic record is more sporadic. The most complete narrative literary account of the Seleucid empire comes from the last nineteen sections of Appian's *Syrian Wars*, which contains a brief summary of the dynasty appended to an account of Rome's war with Antiochus III.³⁹ This account is highly selective and was written nearly two centuries after the death of the last Seleucid king. For the second most complete summary of Seleucid history, we must turn to Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus. This summary of the Augustan historian is difficult to evaluate given its nature as a summary and the lack of the original text. For the first years after Alexander the accounts of Diodorus are the most complete. However, they are focused mainly on the wars between Eumenes and Antigonus in the west, and we lack a detailed narrative of Seleucus' campaigns in the east.⁴⁰ After 301, Diodorus is preserved only in fragments. Polybius also covered much of Rome's war with Antiochus III and with Antiochus IV but much of his history after Book 5 is fragmentary and we lack his reflections on the earlier Seleucids. The Roman historian Livy supplies more evidence particularly for the campaigns of Antiochus III against the Romans. For the early Seleucids we have lost much of what was written by local historians: Berossus and Megasthenes survive only in fragments although these are extremely valuable. Beyond these sources we must turn to the later church chroniclers such as Eusebius for the summary of the events of certain reigns. The Jewish writers, Josephus, the authors of I and II Maccabees and the book of Daniel provide some information, but it is focused narrowly on Judea which only became part of the Seleucid empire at the very end of this study's time frame. Finally, we can turn to Athenaeus and his sources for some sporadic notes on the Seleucid kings. Most problematic for this study is the fact that these narratives rarely discuss the iconography or ideology of the state explicitly, although some information may be gathered either from events or the *logoi* within the narratives.

³⁹ Appian, *Syr.* 52-70.

⁴⁰ Diod. 18 and 19.

The evidence from epigraphy is more extensive although its usefulness is limited as it tends to be both geographically specific and biased towards particular kings. The epigraphy is mostly limited to Asia Minor and northern Syria, but there have been some significant finds elsewhere. Epigraphically, Antiochus III's reign has the most to offer and has been recently well examined by John Ma.⁴¹ However, there are other important documents concerning the relations between individual cities and kings. These inscriptions are particularly useful in attempting to determine the origins of Seleucid ruler cult,⁴² but they must be combined with a rigorous investigation of the numismatics in order to provide a complete picture.

Outside of the Greek sources the picture is better in particular for Babylon. The Babylonian astronomical diaries⁴³ provide an invaluable source for Seleucid history. Furthermore, a series of newly translated cuneiform documents also shed considerable light on the situation at early Seleucid Babylon. These documents as well as the Borsippa Cylinder of Antiochus I provide insights into the ideological dealings between the king and his non-Greek subjects that cannot be overlooked.

V: ARGUMENT

The reign of Seleucus I was concerned with the creation of an empire from the fragmentation of Alexander's conquests, and as a result, his iconography is the most diverse and related to Alexander's of the Seleucid kings. The most prominent god on Seleucus I's coinage was Zeus, as it was on Alexander's. This thesis outlines the steps which Seleucus I took to dissociate himself from being just a subordinate of Alexander and to present himself as a Zeus-favoured king in his own right. Antiochus I was required to legitimise his family's rule over the territories his father had conquered and to establish an acceptable dynastic heritage which could justify his rule. This thesis will argue that it was a result of the need to establish dynastic rather than personal legitimacy that the Seleucid image of Apollo and Apollo as the Seleucid ancestor developed during the reign (and co-reign) of Antiochus I. This change required that Zeus largely disappear from the coinage of the Seleucids. The coinage of Antiochus II

⁴¹ Ma 2000.

⁴² For a good discussion of the origins of Seleucid ruler cult, in particularly in the light of epigraphic evidence see: Van Nuffelen 2004.

⁴³ Sachs and Hunger 1988; Sachs and Hunger 1989.

stressed continuity with the coinage of his father and therefore reinforced the dynastic image created by his father.

Antiochus II's multiple marriages led to a different set of problems for his sons. The first of these was determining which of his wives provided the legitimate heir. This problem was eventually solved by the death of one wife and a Ptolemaic invasion. During this struggle both sides stressed dynastic continuity. After establishing his rule against the pro-Ptolemaic faction, Seleucus II was faced with the revolt of his brother, Antiochus Hierax. In this case, both brothers availed themselves of the traditional image of Apollo as divine protector, although each brother differed in his approach. Antiochus Hierax consistently adopted the image produced by his father and grandfather while his brother created his own version of Apollo. It appears that the break with tradition by Seleucus II may have provided his brother with an opportunity to stress his legitimacy through traditional imagery. Interestingly, while Seleucus II was ultimately victorious over his brother, both his sons, Seleucus III and Antiochus III, abandoned the new imagery created by their father and returned to the traditional image utilised by their uncle. The reversion to the traditional Apollo imagery suggests that the dynastic image cultivated by their predecessors had been firmly established and they feared that deviation from the type could undermine their legitimacy. The reigns of these kings showed very little further development of the Apollo image, while showing a significant change in the representation of their own divinity.

The starting and ending dates for this study are chosen on the basis of scholarly tradition of delineating the most stable period of the empire: from the establishment and expansion of the kingdom under Seleucus I to the defeat of Antiochus III by the Romans and to the treaty of Apamea, which constituted a turning point in Seleucid history. Furthermore, ruler cult was expressed in different forms from the reign of Antiochus III. This dissertation argues that ruler cult existed before his reign, but the evidence becomes more plentiful during and after it. There are two other logical points where this study could have stopped. The first is the end of the dynasty; the second is the start of reign of Antiochus IV. While a comprehensive study of the iconography of the entire dynasty would be desirable, the scale of the evidence is too massive to be dealt with on a satisfactory level in a work of this length. This thesis therefore follows the chronological division used in the two major studies of Seleucid coinage; both volumes of Newell cover the reigns of Seleucus I to Antiochus III and this same

division was followed by the recent Houghton and Lorber volumes.⁴⁴ Seleucus IV's relatively uneventful reign could be included as he largely followed the by then traditional Seleucid coinage. However, his reign did involve a significant reaction to the events of Magnesia and the shifting balance of power. His reign is therefore a better starting point for a comparison to the reign of his successor and brother Antiochus IV. Antiochus IV re-introduced Zeus to Seleucid coinage and in the ensuing wars between his offspring and those of Seleucus IV, the choice between Zeus and Apollo imagery became a marker of family lineage. Thus these two kings are better suited for a study for the iconography of the latter half of the Seleucid empire, rather than the end of the first half.

While recent works on the Seleucid empire have begun to re-assess the empire, there has been no systematic study of how Seleucid iconography relates to the ideology of the ruling house. A great deal of attention has been devoted to the problems facing the Seleucids, single aspects of their empire or individual regions, and in addition, there are an increasing number of specialised studies and general surveys.⁴⁵ In numismatics, great progress has been made in the cataloguing and ordering of Seleucid coins which has allowed for greater precision in assessing chronology and in particular in understanding late Seleucid history. However, no attempt has been made to examine why the iconography developed in the way in which it did. I believe that by answering these questions we can better understand how the Seleucid kings related to their native populations in order to reinforce their rule.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ *WSM* and *ESM*; Houghton and Lorber 2002.

⁴⁵ A general survey that focuses largely on the dynasty is Bevan 1902b see also: Grainger 1997; for updated survey of the empire which highlights the importance of non-Greeks in the empire see: Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1987; For Seleucid institutions see: Bikerman 1938b, Capdetrey 2007; For the finances of the kingdom see: Aperghis 2004, Rostovtzeff 1941; For a look at religion in the empire see: Bilde, Engberg-Pedersen et al. 1990 and Downey 1988 for religious architecture; for the interactions of the Seleucids with the temples and their environs in Asia Minor see: Dignas 2002; for a series of studies on Hellenistic Kingship see: Bilde, Engberg-Pedersen et al. 1996; For the chronology of the early Hellenistic period see: Boiy 2007; For a study of Seleucid art see: Fleischer 1991; For a bibliography of Seleucus I see: Grainger 1990, Mehl 1986; For Antiochus III see: Ma 2000, see also: Gruen 1986; The Seleucids are covered more generally in the large surveys of the Hellenistic period: Walbank 1992, Green 1990, and Erskine 2003.

⁴⁶ Cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993 for a multi-centred multi-cultural Seleucid empire

VI: STRUCTURE

The first five chapters of this thesis are divided chronologically by reign or by group of reigns. Each chapter contains a very brief historical introduction in order to place the events which are discussed in their proper historical context.

Chapter 1 argues that Seleucus at first utilised Alexander's coinage imagery before beginning subtle modifications related to himself that allowed him also to be a Zeus-favoured king. As one of the immediate successors to Alexander, Seleucus' claim was partially based on his connection to the king, but as he became more successful he was able to begin to differentiate his own image and promote his own legitimate rule. This chapter also argues that it was because of Antiochus I's need to establish his own legitimacy and to separate it from Alexander and the Ptolemies that Seleucus I became the scion of Apollo and the founder of the Seleucid house, rather than Alexander.

Chapter 2 argues that this subtle attempt to differentiate Seleucus' and Alexander's connections to Zeus were abandoned by Seleucus I's son and successor Antiochus I who preferred to emphasize the god Apollo. I argue that the adoption of Apollo was not a turning away from the syncretistic possibilities of Zeus and Heracles favoured by both Alexander and Seleucus, but rather that Apollo offered an image that more readily lent itself to specific interpretations in the major centres of the empire, the Greek Apollo in Asia Minor, Nabû in Babylonia, and the image of a legitimate King in the east, albeit a Greek one.

Chapter 3 examines how Antiochus II adopted the imagery of his father in an attempt to reinforce his own legitimacy by the continuation of a particularly Seleucid pattern. Antiochus II's intent was not only revealed in his continuation of his father's reverse types but also in the similarity between their portraits which reinforced the family connections to the god.

Chapter 4 discusses how both Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus II used competing images of Apollo to define their own claim to the Seleucid throne. It also notes that while Seleucus II was eventually victorious militarily, the traditional iconography adopted by his rival and brother was restored by his descendants, and that this stressed the

importance of iconographic continuity with Antiochus I. This demonstrates the power of the image created by Antiochus I for the early Seleucid house.

Chapter 5 examines the brief reign of Seleucus III and the longer reign of Antiochus III to demonstrate their generally conservative attitude towards Seleucid royal imagery. The major innovation in this period was a greater emphasis on the king's divinity in the region of Babylonia.

Chapter 6 steps outside the chronological divisions of the rest of the work and looks at the development of ruler cult across the dynasty up until the end of the reign of Antiochus III. This chapter develops discussions from the earlier chapters and departs from previous scholarly views in two ways. The earlier chapters argued that the Seleucids were aware of and exploited the possible interpretations of their imagery in their empire. I argue that this process also applied to ruler cult. Firstly, following Ma's discussion of empire as interaction, this thesis proposes that the creation of ruler cult was a two-way process in which the wishes of the king and the forms of worship acceptable to the cities were reconciled to create an image of the deified king both in the independent cities and in the official cult. Furthermore, the cult need not have been a single entity that was the same throughout the empire, but there were clearly defined differences between local and central cult as the Seleucid kings adapted their forms of self-representation when they encountered differing interpretations of their power. Secondly, the chapter argues that the centrally organised cult may not have been a new creation of Antiochus III, but rather that he codified and modified a variety of existing conceptions of the divinity of the Seleucid monarchs into a royal cult more comparable to that of the Ptolemies.

CHAPTER 1: SELEUCUS I

I: INTRODUCTION

I.1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Seleucus¹, the son of Antiochus² and Laodice³, was born in Europus in c. 358 or c. 354. It was later claimed that he was born in 356 in order to match the date of Alexander's birth and to draw a parallel with the conqueror.⁴ He came to Pella sometime in the mid- to late 340s as a page of Philip II. His place as a *hetairos* of Alexander is confirmed by his promotion around 330 to the command of the Royal *Hypaspists*, taking over the post from Hephaestion.⁵ He likely co-ordinated the infantry against Porus⁶ and would have gained most of his command experience fighting in the east (Bactria, Sogdiana and India). Little is known of his career again until he married Apame, the daughter of Spitamenes, a Bactrian dynast,⁷ at Alexander's mass wedding in Susa. Interestingly, Apame is the only known bride, besides Alexander's own Roxane, from the north-east of the Alexander's empire.⁸ In the aftermath of Alexander's death, Seleucus did not receive his own satrapy at the Babylonian settlement, but was taken as second-in-command by Perdiccas.⁹ With the military failure of Perdiccas against Ptolemy in Egypt in 321, Seleucus along with Antigenes and Peithon mutinied and murdered him.¹⁰ As a result he received the satrapy of Babylonia when the satrapies were redistributed at Triparadisus in the following year.¹¹ After five years of popular rule, he was driven out of his satrapy by Antigonus. He fled to Ptolemy who gave him a naval command against Antigonus.¹² At the battle of Gaza in 312 Ptolemy granted him a small cavalry unit with which he was able to retake his satrapy.¹³ After defeating Nicanor, he

¹ Seleucus has been subject of two recent scholarly bibliographies: Grainger 1990; Mehl 1986; for the often thorny chronology of the early Hellenistic period see: Boiy 2007

² *OGIS* 413; Justin 13.4.17, 15.4.3; Heckel 1992: 254.

³ Justin 15.4.3; Strabo 16.2.4 C750; Appian, *Syr.* 57.

⁴ *FGrH* 156 F1.3; Suda *sv* Seleucus; date of birth Justin 17.1.10; Appian, *Syr.* 53; Eus. *Chron* 1.40.3-4

⁵ Heckel 1992: 255.

⁶ Arr. 5.16.3.

⁷ Arr. 7.4.6; cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 31.5; Appian, *Syr.* 57.

⁸ Mehl 1986: 18.

⁹ Justin 13.4.17; Diod. 18.3.4.

¹⁰ Nepos, *Eum.* 5.1; cf. Diod. 18.33.2ff; Paus. 1.6.3; Strabo 17.1.8 C794.

¹¹ Arr *FGrH* 156 F9.35.

¹² Diod. 19.68.2-4; Paus. 1.6.4.

¹³ Diod. 19.90.1-91.5; Appian, *Syr.* 54.

campaigns successfully in the east finally returning to Babylon in 311.¹⁴ Antigonos, freed by a peace with Seleucus' allies, sent his son Demetrius to invade that same year. The war continued until 309/308 and ended in a clear victory for Seleucus.¹⁵

With his satrapy then secure from the rest of the Diadochoi, Seleucus once again turned east; this time to India where he was defeated by the Mauryan king Chandragupta. He lost the satrapies of Arachosia and Paropamisadai but appears to have gained the support of the other eastern satraps who had remained largely aloof from the fighting in the west.¹⁶ Most importantly he gained a large number of elephants which proved essential in his future successes. With the east secure and stable, Seleucus reunited with his old coalition of Ptolemy, Cassander and Lysimachus to finally defeat Antigonos and Demetrius. At the battle of Ipsus in 301, the coalition was victorious and Seleucus was the primary beneficiary with his territory now stretching from the Taurus to Sinai.¹⁷ However, Ptolemy, who had not been at the battle, had seized Palestine and Phoenicia thus establishing a battleground between the two houses which would last the entire dynasty.¹⁸ Seleucus then married Demetrius' daughter, Stratonice, whom he would eventually marry to his son, in order to neutralise the naval threat Demetrius still posed.¹⁹ Seleucus spent the time until 294 organising his territories and founding new cities, in 294 he took Cilicia from Demetrius.²⁰ In 286, Demetrius was finally able to retake Cilicia but was only able to briefly hold it before he was captured by Seleucus and held in honourable captivity until his death two years later.²¹

Seleucus' final military campaign was against his former ally Lysimachus. With the disparate territories of Macedonia, Thrace and Asia Minor and a house beset with family difficulties, Lysimachus provided an easy target. At the behest of Lysimachus' daughter-in-law and son, Seleucus launched a full scale invasion of Asia Minor and defeated Lysimachus at Corupedium (281).²² Seleucus spent little time attempting to organise this difficult region and left for Europe in 281. Ptolemy Ceraunus was able to

¹⁴ Diod. 19.90.1-92.5.

¹⁵ Diod. 19.100.4-7; Plut. *Dem* 7; Sachs and Hunger 1988: -309.

¹⁶ Appian, *Syr.* 55; Strabo 16.1.5.

¹⁷ Pol. 5.67.3-8.

¹⁸ Diod. 20.113.4.

¹⁹ Plut. *Dem* 32.

²⁰ Plut. *Dem* 35.

²¹ Plut. *Dem* 47-52; Plut *Mor* 183C; Polyainos 4.9.2, 4.9.5.

²² Paus. 1.9.10, 1.10.4; Justin 17.1.7-12; Por F 32.2-4.

lure Seleucus away from his troops and murder him²³ leaving the unfinished business in Asia all the more precarious. Nevertheless, Seleucus, who had started his post-Alexander career in an inferior position to the other successors, was the one who, at the end of his long life, came the closest to reunifying Alexander's empire. Seleucus' empire stretched briefly from Thrace to India and south into northern Syria with only Egypt, Greece and Macedon remaining out of reach. The remarkable ups and downs of his success and his need for legitimation and local support were all expressed in his coin types and his engagement with local religious sanctuaries.

I.2: ICONOGRAPHY

While in general the iconography of Seleucid coins centres on Apollo, this was not the case at the start of the dynasty. As can be expected in the creation of a new ruling entity attempting to define its position in a shifting landscape, the representation of Seleucus I's dynastic images shows the greatest variety and the least consistency of any of the Seleucid monarchs. While both ancient commentators and modern scholarship on the Seleucids emphasise the link between the king and what became his house's patron god and ancestor, this link was not definitively present until the very end of the king's reign. This does not suggest that Seleucus I did not show significant respect for Apollo, especially the Apollo at Didyma, but rather that Apollo was not the only god on which the early dynastic image was centred. This thesis argues that the well-known myth of Seleucus' divine descent from Apollo was a later creation, and also that during his lifetime he associated himself with Zeus to a greater extent than with Apollo.

Additionally, Apollo and Zeus were not the sole gods of the empire and Seleucus took care to offer the appropriate respect to both Greek and native gods throughout his kingdom. Seleucus I adopted the traditional role of the king as a pious benefactor of the gods and he does not seem to have missed any opportunity to reinforce his legitimacy through association with the local gods.²⁴ This is especially evident in Babylon and Hierapolis, where native gods appeared on royal coinage (Ba'al and Atargatis). A variety of Greek gods also appeared on Seleucid coinage; although the majority of Seleucus' coinage was a continuation of the coinage of Alexander.

²³ Appian, *Syr.* 62-63.

²⁴ Walbank 1984: 83-85; Walbank 1992: 210.

Furthermore, Seleucus I modified the traditional coin images of Alexander and the king's relationship with Zeus in a way which allowed Seleucus to be portrayed as a legitimate king in his own right and not only a successor to Alexander.²⁵ Thus it seems that the dominant Seleucid iconography was not a development of the policies and interests of Seleucus I but rather that it was a creation of his son and successor Antiochus I. However the reign of Seleucus I laid important groundwork for the later Seleucid dynastic image and Seleucus I served as the key royal archetype rather than Alexander. The most common image on Seleucid coinage became the Apollo-on-the-omphalos developed during the reign of Antiochus I.

II: APOLLO AND SELEUCUS I

Before examining the connections between Seleucus and Zeus, I will examine the evidence for when Apollo was first presented as the mythical forefather of the Seleucid house. The legend of Seleucus' Apolline birth is preserved in Justin 15.4 and on various later epigraphic testimonies which reveal Apollo as Seleucus' father,²⁶ and the relatively scant Apollo coinage issued during Seleucus I's reign. By the time of the sole reign of Antiochus I Apollo was officially portrayed as a divine ancestor of the Seleucid dynasty. A closer inspection reveals that Apollo was not claimed as an ancestor by Seleucus I during his sole reign. It appears that this claim was the creation of later propaganda, either during the reign or co-reign of Antiochus I.

Part of an argument for an early date of Seleucus I's claim to divine lineage relies on the appearance of Apollo on coinage issued during his reign, but these coin types are relatively rare. They are restricted to five out of forty-seven mints in total (although not all mints operated simultaneously or continuously). Four of these mints were in the eastern half of the empire, and at least three of these eastern coinage issues date from after 294 when Seleucus I associated Antiochus I with himself on the throne and gave him control of the eastern half the kingdom.²⁷

The other coinage which bears Apollo's likeness comes from Antioch and was associated with the creation of an Apollo sanctuary (Daphne) near that city at the time

²⁵ See Erickson Forthcoming-b.

²⁶ *RC* 22; Powell 1925: 140; *OGIS* 219, 26-27.

²⁷ For a full catalogue of the coinage of Seleucus I see: Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 15-110.

of its foundation by Seleucus I in 301.²⁸ This coinage appears entirely separate from the other Apollo coinage in both iconography and purpose. As such it does not seem to be part of the same propaganda programme as the other Apollo coinage, and it should be considered separately within its own local context.

Since the appearance of Apollo on Seleucid coins did not occur before 287, excluding those from Antioch, and the epigraphic evidence suggests that Seleucus I's first dedications to Apollo at Didyma occurred in 288, it appears that 288-287 marks a period of increased interest in Apollo within the royal house. However, neither in his coinage nor in his dedications at Didyma did Seleucus I explicitly claim that Apollo was his ancestor. Only at the very end of his reign or perhaps after his death was Apollo first presented as his ancestor. Therefore, I argue that the shifting emphasis towards Apollo was a result of Antiochus I's propaganda emphasising his own legitimacy, rather than a concept developed by his father. However, this does not mean that Apollo did not hold a significant place in the Seleucid pantheon under Seleucus I, only that his direct relationship to Seleucus was subsidiary to the importance of Zeus and other local gods who appear more frequently than Apollo on his coinage.

II.1 LITERARY EVIDENCE

The legend of Seleucus I's descent from Apollo is related to us by Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus, with Trogus' original narrative dating to the early Augustan period. A second, possibly related, version of the myth is recorded in Appian. The version in Justin relates the divine birth of Seleucus and his receipt of the anchor signet ring from his mother. As Ogden points out, this story mirrors many of the features of the Alexander birth myth and the Augustus birth myth.²⁹

Seleucus' valour also was distinguished, and his origin was miraculous. His mother Laodice, it seems, after she had been married to Antiochus, a distinguished general of Philip's, dreamed that she conceived by sleeping with Apollo, and that, having been made pregnant, she was given a ring by the god as a reward for the sex, its stone was engraved with an

²⁸ Lib. 11.85–8 (Förster i. 2 p. 464–5); see Downey 1961: 42–43; Ogden Forthcoming-b.

²⁹ Ogden Forthcoming-b; See Fraser 1996: 36–9 for the possibility that this story was derived from a now lost *Seleucus Romance*. This narrative would have consisted of the response of Didymean Apollo, the self-kindling fire, the dream of Seleucus' mother, the anchor stone in Babylonia, Seleucus' recovery of Alexander's diadem in the Euphrates, the love story of Antiochus and Stratonice and the magi's trick to delay the construction of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Additionally, I believe that the stories of the horned statues of Seleucus at Alexandria which appear in the gamma recension of the *Alexander Romance* (*Historia Alexandri Magni* 2.28) are also derived from this work.

anchor. Apollo bade her give it to the son she was to bear. The discovery of a ring with the same engraving in the bed the next day made it clear that the vision had been miraculous, as did the appearance of the sign of the anchor on the thigh of the little Seleucus himself. Therefore Laodice gave the ring to Seleucus when he was setting out on the Persian campaign with Alexander the Great, and she told him about his origin.³⁰
- Justin 15.4.2-7

The myth contained in Justin 15.4 can be broken down into two separate parts; namely the story concerning the anchor signet ring and the story of divine birth from Apollo. This myth story appears to be a later amalgamation of the myths surrounding Seleucus I compiled by Pompeius Trogus in the early Augustan period, as the stories do not appear together in any other extant author.³¹ The two myths conflated here may seek to explain two recurring features of Seleucid self-representation, the use of the anchor as a dynastic symbol and the royal houses decent from Apollo. The myth of royal birth from Apollo is not exclusive to Justin and appears in epigraphic sources,³² although the connection to the signet ring may be his (or rather Trogus') invention. A separate story of the ring engraved with an anchor appears in Appian's *Syrian Wars*.

Also that his mother saw in a dream that whatever ring she found she should give him to wear, and that he should be king at the place where he should lose the ring. She did find an iron ring with an anchor engraved on it, and he lost it near the Euphrates. It is said also that at a later period, when he was setting out for Babylon, he stumbled against a stone which, when dug up, was seen to be an anchor. When the soothsayers were alarmed at this prodigy, thinking it portended delay, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who accompanied the expedition, said that an anchor was a sign of safety, not of delay; and for this reason Seleucus, when he became king, used an engraved anchor for his signet-ring.³³
- Appian, *Syr.* 56 (Translation White)

³⁰ Justin 15.4.2-7: *Huius quoque virtus clara et origo admirabilis fuit; 3 siquidem mater eius Laodice, cum nupta esset Antiocho, claro inter Philippi duces viro, visa sibi est per quietem ex concubitu Apollinis concepisse, 4 gravidamque factam munus concubitus a deo anulum accepisse, in cuius gemma anchora sculpta esset; iussaque donum filio, quem peperisset, dare. 5 Admirabilem fecit hunc visum et anulus, qui postera die eiusdem sculpturae in lecto inventus est, et figura anchorae, quae in femore Seleuci nata cum ipso parvulo fuit. 6 Quamobrem Laodice anulum Seleuco eunti cum Alexandro Magno ad Persicam militiam, edocto de origine sua, dedit.*

³¹ If a *Seleucus Romance* existed then both are possibly derived from it.

³² *RC* 22; Powell 1925: 140; *OGIS* 219, 26-27.

³³ Appian, *Syr.* 56: καὶ ὄναρ αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα ἰδεῖν, ὃν ἂν εὗροι δακτύλιον, δοῦναι φόρημα Σελεύκῳ, τὸν δὲ Βασιλεύσειν ἐνθα ἂν ὁ δακτύλιος ἐκπέσῃ. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἠῦρεν ἄγκυραν ὀφθῆναι. θορυβουμένων δὲ τῶν μάντεων ὡς ἐπὶ συμβόλῳ κατοχῆς, Πτολεμαίων τὸν Λάγου παραπέμποντα εἰπεῖν ἀσφαλείας τὴν ἄγκυραν, οὐ κατασχῆς εἶναι σύμβολον. καὶ Σελεύκῳ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἄρα καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἡ σφραγὶς ἄγκυρα ἦν.

Although this story involves divine prophecy, Apollo is not specifically mentioned, nor does the legend involve descent from Apollo. However, Ogden points out the use of the signet ring as part of a traditional folk motif in which the woman received a token after divine intercourse.³⁴ This may suggest a liaison of Apollo and Laodice, but the message is not as explicit as in Justin. This version of the origin of the Seleucid anchor contains some important similarities to the version in Justin. In both versions, the ring was given to Seleucus by his mother after a divine revelation. However, the differences in the two versions are striking. In Appian's version the ring is ultimately connected to his kingship. This is emphasised not only by the story itself but also by its inclusion in a series of stories that foretold Seleucus I's kingship after the death of Alexander.³⁵ Whereas, the story in Justin made no mention of the kingship associated with the ring, only Seleucus I's divine origin, but this divine origin may imply the rightful kingship of Seleucus I. The symbol of the anchor was possibly used by Seleucus I as his signet-ring, as the image of the anchor often appears as the Seleucid countermark early in the reign of Seleucus I. At the very least the anchor symbol held special significance in the Seleucid dynasty from as early as 311 (before Seleucus had even claimed the royal title in 306).³⁶

Signet rings were extremely important in the early succession after Alexander, as the possession of Alexander's ring appears to have played a major role in legitimating Perdikkas' early role.³⁷ In addition to the obvious role of authenticating official documents, Alexander's signet ring seem to have extended his authority to its possessor, much in the same way as the possession of his body helped to legitimate Ptolemy's claims. It is most likely that the story of Seleucus I's signet ring arose from the general importance of royal signet rings and from the image on Seleucus' own ring. Thus the two stories above are two ancient aetiologies that explain the choice of image for Seleucus I's signet ring after it had been adopted by the royal house as a royal symbol.

However, even by taking both sources together, a clear picture of the symbolic purpose of the anchor on the ring does not emerge, nor are the accounts more informative about the role of Apollo. As the other evidence suggests that Apollo was not considered the

³⁴ Ogden Forthcoming-a: chapter 4.

³⁵ Appian, *Syr.* 56-57.

³⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 5-6.

³⁷ Diod. 17.117.3 and 18.2.4; Curtius 10.5.4 and 10.6.4; Justin 12.15.12; Nepos *Eumenes* 2.1; cf. Ogden 1999: 46.

divine ancestor of the house until at least the elevation of Antiochus I to co-ruler, it is impossible for Justin's story to date earlier than that period. As Appian's version foretells Seleucus' kingship it must postdate his actual assumption of the kingship or be dated very near to it.

As the anchor symbol is a key point of comparison its first appearance and its relationship to Seleucus' Apolline heritage is illuminating. The anchor is prominent on Seleucus I's coinage from very early in his reign and coinage that features Apollo does not appear until at least ten years after the first appearance of the anchor. Furthermore, the anchor symbol often appears on coinage that does not feature Apollo. Thus the anchor has independent significance as a Seleucid symbol. Since Appian does not mention Apollo in this prophecy, as he does so with other prophecies in the same passage, we can conclude that the anchor ring was a separate feature of Seleucid mythology from Seleucus' descent from Apollo. We should also conclude that the anchor symbol and the descent from Apollo were two unrelated stories that were combined at the latest by Justin or his source.

Scholars have suggested that the earliest date when Apollo first appeared as a Seleucid ancestor is either after Ipsus in 301 or shortly after the death of Seleucus I in 281. Hadley argues that most of the prophetic *logoi* concerning Seleucus found in Diodorus and Appian date to immediately before or shortly after the battle of Ipsus as they are derived for Hieronymus of Cardia.³⁸ He also relates the myth in Justin to the one in Appian discussed above. With other epigraphic evidence, it is possible to refine the date of the appearance of Apollo as the progenitor of the Seleucid house. In 287, Seleucus sent a delegation with a donation to Apollo at Didyma and did not refer to him as a kinsman or ancestor;³⁹ so it seems highly unlikely that the myth dates earlier than this dedication. Hadley has further argued that the propagation of this myth must have occurred by 278 when we have the first epigraphic testimony for Seleucid descent from Apollo.⁴⁰ Hadley therefore dates this myth between the battle of Ipsus (301) (for our purposes 287) and before 278. It is also possible that the particular version of Seleucus' birth from Apollo was the creation of later propaganda. As Apollo was considered the founder of the Seleucid line not just by Antiochus I but by the entire dynasty, a point of

³⁸ Hadley 1969.

³⁹ *RC* 5, p. 36.

⁴⁰ Hadley 1969: 152; The inscription see: *OGIS* 219, 26-27 τῶι τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι ἀρχηγῶι / τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ.

propaganda stressed by the continuation of Apollo coinage and by later dedications to Apollo as progenitor,⁴¹ this particular myth could also have been given currency at any point after 278. It is also possible that this particular version of the myth was a creation of Pompeius Trogus as it bears some striking similarities to some of the birth legends of Augustus,⁴² or perhaps it derives from a lost *Seleucus Romance* that was highly favourable to the house. In any case, subsequent Seleucid sovereigns clearly presented Apollo as an ancestor. Nevertheless, a date for the creation of the myth after 287 and a version of Seleucus' birth from Apollo by 278 can be safely postulated.

II.2: EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELEUCUS AND APOLLO

In order to determine the timing of the creation of Seleucid descent from Apollo it is necessary to look at all of the contemporary evidence where Apollo appears during the reign of Seleucus I. This evidence is comprised of the coinage sets issued by Seleucus I, several inscribed dedications to the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma near Miletus, a few possibly genuine oracles recorded in the literary sources, and the traditions about the founding of the sanctuary of Apollo at Daphne. However, none of this evidence demonstrates that the story of Seleucus' descent from Apollo existed earlier than the co-reign of Antiochus I. This section will discuss the dedications at Didyma. The following sections will explore the coins and assess the literary accounts.

The epigraphic record details strong connections between Seleucus I and the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma. This evidence does not suggest the kinship between the king and the god; rather the dedications are evidence for Seleucid patronage of a significant religious sanctuary. As such, they were part of the careful diplomatic courting of independent Greek cities to ensure their support, a game played by all of the Hellenistic kings.

The most important dedication of Seleucus I to Apollo at Didyma was the return of the statue of Apollo by Kanachos taken from sanctuary by Xerxes in 479.⁴³ Seleucus would

⁴¹ Cf. *RC* 22, II 2-6.

⁴² See Ogden Forthcoming-a: chapter 4 for relationship of the birth myth to Alexander's and to Augustus' birth myths. Ogden argues that Seleucus' birth myths were a way to engage with the legends surrounding Alexander and thus to ensure his legitimacy and to compete with Ptolemy.

⁴³ Paus. 1.16.3 and 8.46.3; Strabo 14.1.5, 11.2.4, and 17.1.431; Kallisthenes FGrH 124 F14; see Tuchelt 1988: 427-238 for the argument concerning Darius and the sacking of the city, compare Greaves 2002:

have come into possession of this statue when he captured Ecbatana in 312. The most significant precedent for the return of statues by the *diadochoi* was Alexander's return of the statue of the tyrannicides.⁴⁴ The precedent established by Alexander of returning objects which were captured by the Persians to the Greek cities was well known throughout the Greek world. By returning the statue of Apollo to Didyma, Seleucus was able to equal the generosity of Alexander. The reknown that Seleucus gained from this act may have led the Roman author Valerius Maximus to confuse the dedications of Alexander and Seleucus and attribute both to Seleucus by having him return the statue of the tyrannicides to Athens.⁴⁵ Although Valerius Maximus is incorrect in stating that Seleucus returned the tyrannicides statue, his confusion demonstrates the effect of Seleucid propaganda in equating Seleucus' and Alexander's generosity to the Greek cities. In this instance, Seleucus I was not merely emulating the example of Alexander, but was in fact equated with him. As none of the sources for the return of the statue mention a kinship between Seleucus I and Apollo, this suggests that a claim of kinship between the two was not the main incentive for the return of the statue. Therefore the statue represented a political donation to the city, either to secure support against Lysimachus or simply as part of the normal patronage of Greek cities.

Problematically for analysing the intent of this dedication, we are at loss as to when this gift was given. There are limited possibilities for when the statue was returned to the city, the years 312 until Seleucus' death in 281. Since the earliest that Seleucus could have gained possession of the statue is 312 and as Seleucus was mostly concerned with establishing control in the east between 312 and Ipsus in 301, I suggest that the dedication must have taken place after Ipsus. After Ipsus Seleucus both controlled the statue and had significant aims in the Greek world for which the donation of the statue would have been politically useful. Within this period there are two times when Seleucus seems particularly interested in Miletus/Didyma, around 288/7 leading up to

115 for the sacking of the city by Xerxes. The discovery of a colossal model in bronze of a knuckle-bone found in Susa, with a dedicatory inscription from two Milesians to Apollo suggests the statue of Apollo was held there, (Parke 1985: 22, 32) or simply that spoils were taken from Didyma by the Persians. Moggi's (Moggi 1973: 1-42 followed by Habicht 1994: 164-182) assertion that the statue is never mentioned as taken until the Hellenistic period is relevant even in light of the archaeological evidence, although the archaeological evidence should take precedence. Regardless of which Persian king sacked the sanctuary, or if the statue was ever taken, the oracle had ceased to function and Seleucus was able to use the return of a statue for propaganda in the same manner as Alexander had.

⁴⁴ Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.16.8, 7.19.2.

⁴⁵ Valerius Maximus, 2.10.ext.1: Dandum est aliquid loci etiam alienigenis exemplis, ut dometicis aspersa ipsa uarietate delectent. Harmodi et Aristogitonis, qui Athenas tyrannide liberare conati sunt, effigies aeneas Xerxes ea urbe deuicta in regnum suum transtulit. longo deinde interiecto tempore Seleucus in pristinam sedem reportandas curauit.

his battle with Lysimachus and after 281 when he was in control of the city. As the other significant dedications to the sanctuary were sent around 288/7 the statue may have also been sent in this period. If sent prior to Corupedium then this dedication was all the more welcomingly received by the Milesians as they were suffering from the heavy-handed rule of Lysimachus.⁴⁶ A dedication in this period would have brought the obvious benefits of endearing the citizens of the city to him, and reducing their dependence on his opponent. However, the donation of this gift as a reward for their support could also have occurred during the brief time which he controlled the city after his victory over Lysimachus. In either of these cases, the restoration of this Apollo statue occurred after the battle of Ipsus and during a period in which the Seleucids were demonstrating their interest in the god.

Another prominent donation at Didyma by Seleucus I to Apollo is known from a Milesian inscription that describes the dedications sent by Seleucus.⁴⁷ The letter is dated by a separate covering letter inscribed above it which included the information that it was sent by the “Kings Seleucus and Antiochus”.⁴⁸ Welles determined the date of the letter, on the basis of magistrates included in the cover letter, to be 288/7, when the city was under the control of Lysimachus.⁴⁹ The dedication was sent to the temple of Apollo, but specifically to the Saviour Gods. The initial suggestion that this referred to the two kings has been rightly rejected by Welles, who suggests that the Saviour Gods either referred to the Dioscuri or to the Cabeiri of Samothrace.⁵⁰ Since the dedication was sent to the temple of Apollo at Didyma, these gods must somehow be related to the temple of Apollo.⁵¹ It seems significant that although the dedication was sent to Didymeian Apollo, it was not specifically for Apollo and the inscribed items mentioned a variety of gods including Apollo. The animals brought for sacrifice do appear to have been intended for Apollo, as the god referred to is singular.⁵² Although dedications made to multiple gods at a temple were normal practice, the significance for this discussion lies in the fact that no specific dynastic connection was made to Apollo. This can be seen in direct contrast to how Apollo was treated approximately forty-years later when Seleucus

⁴⁶ Grainger 1990: 183.

⁴⁷ *RC* 5, ll. 1-7: Βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Μιλησίων τῆι βουλῆι/ καὶ τῶι δήμωι χαίρειν· ἀφεστάλκαμεν εἰς/ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Διδύμοις/ τήν τε λυχνίαν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ποτήρια/ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ εἰς ἀνάθεσιν τοῖς θεοῖς/ τοῖς Σωτήρσι κομίζοντα Πολιάνθην, ἐπι/ γραφὰς ἔχοντα.

⁴⁸ *RC* 5, p. 36-7.

⁴⁹ *RC* 5, p. 36.

⁵⁰ *RC* 5, p. 36-7.

⁵¹ As dedications to the Saviour gods were normal after the survival of a peril at sea, some unknown naval context may be implied.

⁵² *RC* 5, ll. 52-53.

II sent another letter to Miletus. In this letter, Seleucus II directly referred to his kinship with the Didymean Apollo.⁵³ Therefore, we can conclude that at the time of Seleucus I's dedication to Didymean Apollo in 288/287, he did not claim Apollo as an ancestor and the origin of the Seleucid Apolline lineage must have arisen after this date. The date of this letter from Seleucus becomes even more interesting in light of the dating of the gold Apollo staters discussed below; they are issued c. 288/7. If we include the bronze coins, excluding those from Antioch, which appear to also be issued in these years, there appears to be a surprising amount of activity concerning Apollo in this short period. This may be the beginning of the relationship between Apollo and Seleucus which subsequently developed into the claim that Apollo was the father of Seleucus and the founder of the dynasty.

There are two more pieces of epigraphic evidence that link Seleucus and Apollo, and both are dated after Antiochus I's ascension to the position of co-ruler. The first is a hymn to Seleucus which was found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Erythrae and reads as follows: Ὑμνεῖτε ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς Ἀπόλλωνος κυανοπλοκάμου / παῖδα Σέλευκον.⁵⁴ Powell dates the hymn to 281-280. This dating appears to be logical as Seleucus was only in control of Erythrae in the few months between the battle of Corupedium and his death. Powell's dating suggests that Seleucus was represented as the son of Apollo only very near the end of his life or shortly after his death.⁵⁵

The second piece of evidence is a decree from Ilium which records the honours given to a King Seleucus. These included an altar where annual sacrifices were to be made by the gymnasiarch, the naming of a month after Seleucus, and a "crowned" festival with music, athletic, and horse racing events "as is done at the games of Apollo who is the founder of the dynasty".⁵⁶ This decree is traditionally dated to 281⁵⁷ but the phrase ἀρχηγοῦ τοῦ γένους, founder of the dynasty,⁵⁸ suggests that there had been more than

⁵³ RC 22, II 2-6. τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας/ εὐεργεσίας κατατεθειμένων εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν διὰ τε/ τοὺς ἐγδεδομένους χρησμοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν ἱεροῦ/ τοῦ Διδυμῆως Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν/ συγγένειαν.

⁵⁴ Powell 1925: 140.

⁵⁵ For the relationship of these hymns to ruler cult see Chapter 6.

⁵⁶ OGIS 212: ...στεφανίτην μουσικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν, / ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνος τελεῖται τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τοῦ / γένους αὐτοῦ.

⁵⁷ Walbank 1992: 211; Bevan 1901: 627.

⁵⁸ γένους should normally be translated as house, race or clan. It seems clear from the context that it refers to the Seleucid house and therefore dynasty. The term γένους suggests the existence of a multi-generation family. The use of the term in the first generation is somewhat surprising.

one member of the dynasty and thus implies a later date.⁵⁹ Therefore, it seems likely that this decree did not date to the reign of Seleucus I but rather to a later King Seleucus, most likely Seleucus II. However, the traditional date of this decree cannot be entirely ruled out. If it is accurate, the decree would be evidence for a link between Seleucus I and Apollo, within his lifetime. However, even if the traditional dating of the decree is correct it only establishes a link between Seleucus I and Apollo at the very end of his reign. Therefore, this decree only provides evidence for a Seleucus-Apollo familial link after the co-reign of Antiochus I.

The traditional date of the Ilium decree and the hymn from Erythrae show that at the very end of Seleucus' reign the connection between himself and Apollo was clearly made. I believe the impetus for the choice of Apollo as divine ancestor came from Antiochus I when he was appointed co-ruler, as Seleucid interest in Apollo increases after this date. Furthermore, as chapter 2 discusses, Antiochus is more strongly associated with Apollo.

II.3: NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

We now turn to the coins issued by Seleucus I for evidence concerning the Apollo lineage claims during his reign. In 294, Seleucus took the step of dividing his kingdom with his son on an equal basis, with Seleucus ruling in the west and Antiochus ruling in the east. There is no direct indication of how much authority Antiochus had over the production of coin types issued when he acted as joint monarch. Antiochus does not appear to have been completely subordinate to Seleucus as he founded cities in his own name during the joint reign, a typically royal prerogative.⁶⁰ I believe that Antiochus or those close to him, not Seleucus I, was responsible for creating the Apollo type coinage in the eastern portion of the empire which he ruled.

The previous section has argued that the myth of Apolline ancestry for Seleucus I originated no earlier than 287 and probably very close to the end of his reign. In contrast, Hoover has argued that the Apollo imagery on the coinage was directly related

⁵⁹ Orth 1979: 47; Habicht 1970: 82-3.

⁶⁰ Holt 1999: 27 n. 33; While cities were founded by Seleucus I with the names of his queens, it was the king who remained the founder of the city not his consort. In these cases, Antiochus is acting as founder of the city as well as founding it in his own name.

to myth-making initiated by Seleucus I.⁶¹ This section will argue that coinage was developed by Antiochus I while co-ruler and that the creation of the dynastic myth was related to Antiochus' need to strengthen his legitimacy. This argument is based on the myths involving Seleucus and Apollo in the surviving historical narratives, as discussed above, and the coins minted during the reign of Seleucus I. The problem with creating a direct link between the use of oracular prophecies concerning his future kingship and the myth of a divine birth is that the only explicit connection in literature is the version in Justin considered above. The surviving oracles, which are discussed below, show that Seleucus used Apollo as a source of legitimacy through his prophecies. However, as we have seen above, Seleucus probably did not claim divine descent from Apollo until after 287.

The Apollo or Apollo-related imagery is relatively rare on the coinage of Seleucus I compared to that of all subsequent Seleucid kings. Most of the coinage minted under Seleucus I bore images typical of coinage issued under Alexander. Only a small percentage of the coinage (approximately <3% of all types produced by Seleucus) bore Apollo imagery. Under Seleucus I, images related to Apollo appeared most often on bronze coinage, and on only two gold issues. Unlike all subsequent Seleucid monarchs under discussion, Seleucus I issued no silver coinage with Apollo imagery. Apollo or related imagery appeared on bronze coinage from only three mints: Antioch, an uncertain Babylonian Mint, and the second ("native" or "satrapal") workshop at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.⁶²

Apollo was depicted on the obverse of gold staters from Susa and from an unknown mint in Bactria, possibly Bactra.⁶³ These two gold staters are unique for the reign of Seleucus I as they deviate from the normal Alexandrine type (Obverse: Athena/ Reverse: Nike). The two gold coin sets are of the same type, the obverse features the laureate head of Apollo facing right and the reverse features Artemis in an elephant *biga* facing left with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in exergue (Figure 1).⁶⁴ These coins are dated to c. 287,⁶⁵ a date within the co-regency of Antiochus I, and both were manufactured at eastern mints which were under the control of Antiochus in his role as

⁶¹ Hoover 1996; For brief statements against Hoover and for a dating of the legend to Antiochus I see Mehl 1986: 5-6 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 26-28.

⁶² Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 19-21, 51-52, 65-66.

⁶³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 99.

⁶⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 163 and 257.

⁶⁵ Kritt 1997: 106-108.

king of the Upper Satrapies.⁶⁶ These coins were issued under the authority of Antiochus, acting as co-regent, although they retained the name of the senior monarch. These coins could therefore represent a personal emblem for Antiochus rather than one for his father. Krittr ties these issues to Antiochus' movement between the mints of Susa and the Bactrian mints.⁶⁷

The only potential caveat in assigning this coinage only to the sole efforts of Antiochus is the appearance of his father's name on the coinage. The name Seleucus on the coins is not as problematic as it would first appear. Coins issued in the eastern satrapies used either Seleucus' name (in the majority of mints, including the Bactrian mints), Antiochus' name (Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Ecbatana, and the Drangiana and/or western Arachosia mints), or both names together (the uncertain Drangiana or western Arachosia mints, these are the same mint that issued coinage with only Antiochus' name), with what appears to be no difference in minting authority as Antiochus acted as king in these territories.⁶⁸ Additionally, during this period the foundations of Antiochus in the east bore his name,⁶⁹ not that of his father. This suggests that Antiochus was acting with full authority as king. It is unlikely therefore that Seleucus' input was required for iconographic changes on the coinage of the empire. The strong association between Apollo and Antiochus, discussed in the following chapter, appears to be a better explanation for the origin of these coins than the early adoption of a connection between Seleucus and Apollo.

The reverse image of Artemis in the elephant *biga* is within the same design type as a large range of other coinage issued by Seleucus I celebrating the success of his elephants. The appearance of Artemis is linked to the image of her brother on the obverse as she appears nowhere else on the coinage of Seleucus I.⁷⁰ Perhaps a link between Stratonice (the former step-mother and now wife of Antiochus) and Artemis and Antiochus and Apollo was drawn by this coinage. The image of Artemis in the elephant-drawn chariot is restricted to these gold staters. Elsewhere the elephant either draws Athena in a chariot or the elephant appears alone. Reverses with elephants occur

⁶⁶ Appian, *Syr.* 62; cf. Will 1967: 267-270.

⁶⁷ Krittr 1997: 106-108; see also Will 1967: 271.

⁶⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 4.

⁶⁹ Pliny, *NH*, 6.48, 6.49, 6.58, 6.93: These foundations most likely date to Antiochus' co-regency as he spent much of his sole rule (and also as senior co-ruler) in the west. Cf. Holt 1999: 27.

⁷⁰ If the coins were linked to the entry of Antiochus into the satrapy perhaps his meant to be linked with Apollo and his wife, Stratonice, with Artemis.

at Pergamum, Antioch, Apamea, Tarsus, Ecbatana, Susa, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, and the Bactrian mints.⁷¹ It is notable that the elephant type is particularly prominent in the East, especially on the route that the elephants may have taken west. In the west of the empire the elephant represented Seleucus' victory at Ipsus.⁷² As these were high value gold coins, the use of Apollo on the obverse had special significance and these coins were minted for a special commemorative purpose. It is unclear what this commemorative purpose was, although the elephant reverse perhaps refers to the Seleucid victory at Ipsus. However, as the coins were issued more than a decade after the battle, this link seems tenuous. Alternatively, they may have commemorated some specific dedication made to Apollo, Antiochus' and Stratonice's entry into the satrapy, or to some unknown event worthy of commemoration in the East.

While the gold staters were created for wide circulation, the bronze coins were generally intended for local circulation⁷³ and were therefore more likely to be produced with a special significance for the local region than higher value coinage. This is not always the case as some bronze coinage reflects the iconography of the higher value coinage and therefore lacks a specific local significance.⁷⁴ But it does appear that the bronze coins for Antioch were produced with a special local significance, related to the foundation of the Apollo sanctuary at Daphne. Whereas the coins for Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and the uncertain Babylonian mint do not at first appear to have had local significance the image of Apollo was connected to the local Babylonian god Nabû.⁷⁵ The bronze Apollo coins from the second workshop at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris fall into three denominations all with the same type,⁷⁶ the obverse features the laureate head of Apollo and the reverse features a butting bull with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above and ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ below (Figure 2). These coins date from the 280s.⁷⁷ The reverse of these coins depict a prominent feature of Seleucid mythology, as Seleucus' connection with bull imagery is well documented and discussed below.⁷⁸ It therefore seems likely that given their apparent relatively late date, they are a feature of the shift to Apollo as the Seleucid

⁷¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 5-9.

⁷² Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 5-9.

⁷³ Hadley 1974a: 54.

⁷⁴ See the coins of Heirapolis/Bambyce for bronze coinage with local significance under Seleucus I and the Medusa/Bull bronze coins that were produced across the empire in the 280s for non-local bronze coinage. Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 38 for Hierapolis and no. 21 for an example of the Medusa type.

⁷⁵ For Apollo-Nabû connections, see Chapter 2: 109ff.

⁷⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 148-150.

⁷⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 65.

⁷⁸ Appian, *Syr.* 57; *Lib. Or.* 94; For modern connections of bull horns with Seleucus see Hoover 2002: 51-62 and Miller and Walters 2004: 45-56.

patron. It is impossible on the basis of the coins themselves to firmly associate them either with Seleucus I or Antiochus I. However given Antiochus I's control of the eastern satrapies, it seems logical that the eastern capital, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, fell under his jurisdiction.

The early introduction of Apollo at the Babylonian mints may be related to the special relationship between Antiochus I and the local god Nabû, whom Antiochus I may have identified as Apollo. The bronze Apollo coins from the uncertain Babylonian mint (Houghton and Lorber, Uncertain Mint 8) are of a single denomination but of two separate types.⁷⁹ The obverse of both types is the laureate head of Apollo. The reverse of the first type is the horned horse head facing right with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on left and ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on right (Figure 3).⁸⁰ The reverse of the second type has the head of a bull with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on left and ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on right (Figure 4).⁸¹ These coins do not date earlier than c. 295.⁸² The reverse of these two coin types feature important symbols for Seleucus I and Seleucid mythology and will be examined separately below. These coins appear to be very similar to those of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris in content and therefore message. Therefore these coins were produced either concurrently with those issues or slightly later. Even the earliest date of these coins, c. 295, allows for them to be identified as products of Antiochus I's propaganda.

These Apollo coin types can therefore be organized into two timeframes: before and after the co-regency of Antiochus I. The coins from Antioch and from the uncertain Babylonian mint were produced either shortly before or at the accession of Antiochus I to the position of joint monarch in 294.⁸³ The bronze coins from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and the gold staters were both produced in the Upper Satrapies after Antiochus I was elevated to co-ruler of the empire and ruler of the Upper Satrapies. If the date of the production of the coins of the uncertain Babylonian mint can also be dated to after 294, then only the coins of Antioch were produced before the accession of Antiochus I to the co-regency. Given their eastern origin and their dates, the introduction of these types was ordered on the initiative of Antiochus, rather than that of Seleucus, as he was in control of the region. The only potential problem in assigning these coins to Antiochus

⁷⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 112-113.

⁸⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 112.

⁸¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 113.

⁸² Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 51.

⁸³ Appian, *Syr.* 59, 62; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 23-4; Grainger 1990: 53; Ogden 1999: 121.

is that all were minted with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ and make no reference in their legend to Antiochus, as some coins produced during the co-regency do.⁸⁴ The legend naming only Seleucus does not in fact prohibit the assignment of these coin types to the authority of Antiochus, as coins continued to be minted with the name of Seleucus throughout the entire co-regency period even in the mints in the Upper Satrapies under the control of Antiochus. Additionally, the letter of Seleucus I to Miletus discussed above mentions only King Seleucus, but the cover letter mentions both kings.⁸⁵ It seems as though the naming of the elder king was often sufficient for representing both kings in official documents, and only in specific circumstances was it necessary to name both. Even though Antiochus was appointed co-ruler of the empire and appears to be vested with the normal powers of kingship, he remained subordinate to his father. Perhaps it is for this reason that only in a relatively small number of cases was Antiochus named instead of Seleucus. If these issues can be assigned to Antiochus acting as co-regent with Seleucus, then the elevation of Apollo to the major patron of the royal house should be assigned to the influence of Antiochus rather than to the influence of Seleucus.

The coin issues from Antioch are potentially more problematic as they were minted before 294, and therefore cannot be directly connected to Antiochus I. On account of the fact that these are bronze coins and therefore had a more limited circulation, it is possible to explain them by local events. The foundation of the city of Antioch took place on 22 Artemisios 301/300.⁸⁶ The foundation of the city may have coincided with the dedication of the grove at Daphne to Apollo in the outskirts of the new city.⁸⁷ The Apollo type coins at the site are typically associated with this temple foundation and with the foundation of the city.⁸⁸ Houghton and Lorber divide the bronze coins at Antioch-on-the-Orontes into four series: series 1A, 1B, 2, and 3. Series 1A coins are divided into two denominations: B and C. The coin types of the two denominations are the same, the obverse features the laureate head of Apollo and the reverse features Athena Promachos in a Corinthian helmet standing right, brandishing a spear and shield with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the left (Figure 5).⁸⁹ In series 1B, the types from

⁸⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 233, 235.

⁸⁵ *RC* 5, p. 36-7

⁸⁶ *Lib. Or.* 11.85ff; cf. Downey 1961: 56-57, for arguments concerning the precise date of the founding of the city, a date in 301/300 in precise enough for our purposes here.

⁸⁷ *Lib. Or.* 11.94-99; Downey 1961: 82-83.

⁸⁸ Justin 15.4.

⁸⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 15, 16.

series 1A are used only on the largest denomination, series 1B denomination B.⁹⁰ The type of Series 1B denomination C is an obverse of a laureate head of Apollo, with a reverse of the a tripod, with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the left (Figure 6).⁹¹ Series 1B denomination D features the obverse of the laureate head of Apollo facing right, with hair rolled behind and a wavy lock behind the ear and falling forward over the shoulder, and another long lock down the back of the neck. The reverse features a tripod with the abbreviated legend BA on the right and ΣΕ on the left (Figure 7).⁹² Series 2-3 are defined by a straight edge and a concave reverse. Only coins of denomination D are produced in these series. The obverse features the laureate head of Apollo, and the reverse features a cithara with the abbreviated legend BA on the right and ΣΕ on the left (Figure 8).⁹³

The coins of series 1A and the largest denomination of series 1B are composed with a different iconographic type than the other coins. These coins feature the reverse of Athena which has been connected to the settlers from Antigoneia at Antioch.⁹⁴ This seems unnecessary; Athena was extremely common on the coins of Seleucus I and a prominent Macedonian deity and elsewhere this does not imply a similar connection. The other coin series reflect specific ornaments associated with Apollo. The tripod was the generic symbol of Apollo's oracular power, although Hoover suggests that it may have also had specific association with Apollo at Didyma on account of Seleucus' contemporary return of the Kanachos statue.⁹⁵ Although the tripod is normally associated with Delphi it still served as a generic symbol of Apollo. Furthermore, the cithara can be specifically associated with Apollo Citharoedus, and is another common iconographic feature of Apollo. The cithara coins are traditionally linked with statue of Apollo Citharoedus set up at Daphne by the Seleucids.⁹⁶ The general nature of the Apollo imagery and its specific links to Daphne suggest that this coinage has a local significance more than a connection to Didyma. The assignment of this coinage to a local context is more easily supported than an assertion of a claim to divine ancestry by Seleucus I at a time when it has no parallel.

⁹⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 17.

⁹¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 18.

⁹² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 19.

⁹³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 20.

⁹⁴ Downey 1961: 36.

⁹⁵ Hoover 1996: 16.

⁹⁶ Babelon 1890: xxxiv-xxxv; *WSM*: 96.

It may be possible to link this coinage to the Apollo connections of Antiochus I. While most ancient sources state that Seleucus named the city of Antioch after his father Antiochus,⁹⁷ one text states that the city was also named for his son Antiochus.⁹⁸ In this case, a further argument can be made connecting Apollo and Antiochus. This is consistent with the strong links between Apollo and Antiochus which suggest that Antiochus' interest in the god predated his rise to the position of joint monarch. However, this claim is based on a single late source and it is therefore better to connect the coinage to the local Apollo sanctuary of Daphne.

A parallel for the local significance of the Apollo coinage at Antioch can be found in some of the bronze Zeus coinage minted at Seleucia-in-Pieria. The city issued bronze coins with the obverse of the laureate head of Zeus and reverse of a lightning bolt (sometimes winged). The foundation story preserved in Appian is that a lightning strike portended the foundation of the city and that Seleucus consecrated lightning as the divinity of the city.⁹⁹ As in the case of Antioch, these coins advertise an association between the patron deity of the city, the city and the founder, but can make no further claim. If we discount the coins from Antioch as not being connected to a claim of divine ancestry, then all of the coins which have a potential connection to the claim of divine descent from Apollo date to after the accession of Antiochus I as co-ruler of the empire.

II.4: ORACLES OF APOLLO CONCERNING SELEUCUS I

There are various other stories that connect Seleucus I and Apollo. Some of these may have been generated by Seleucus' court, while others were the product of later propaganda. There are two stories that are directly related to a visit by Seleucus to the oracle at Didyma. The first story is that of Diodorus 19.90.3, "for, when he had consulted the oracle in Branchidae (Didyma), the god had greeted him as King Seleucus, and Alexander standing beside him in a dream had given him a clear sign of the future leadership that was destined to fall to him in the course of time".¹⁰⁰ This story is more likely a creation of later propaganda than its location within Diodorus' narrative

⁹⁷ e.g. Justin 15.4.7.

⁹⁸ Malalas *Chron.* 198–200 Dindorf which has the city named after Antiochus I; cf. Ogden Forthcoming-a: chapter 4.

⁹⁹ Appian, *Syr.* 58; cf. Ogden Forthcoming-b for the use of lightning and the destruction of Typhon/Orontes and its importance for the two cities.

¹⁰⁰ Diod. 19.90.3–4 (translation Geer): ἐν μὲν Βραγχίδαῖς αὐτοῦ χρηστηριαζομένου τὸν θεὸν προσαγορευθεὶς Σέλευκον Βασιλέα, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καθ' ὕπνον ἐπιστάντα φανερώς διασημᾶναι περὶ τῆς ἐσομένης ἡγεμονίας, ἧς δεῖ τυχεῖν αὐτὸν προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου.

allows (during the year 312), as it does not seem possible for Seleucus to be claiming the kingship in 312, six years before he actually did so.¹⁰¹ This piece of propaganda must date to after Seleucus was proclaimed king, and Hadley dates it to before the battle of Ipsus, when Seleucus was still engaged with Antigonos.¹⁰² The story in Diodorus emphasises two separate pieces of propaganda both aimed at providing a legitimate origin for Seleucus' kingship.¹⁰³ The two references to kingship in the passage underscore the importance of this oracle as an oracle concerning kingship and not an oracle concerning a relationship to the god. It is equated with a dream involving Alexander, whom Seleucus never claimed as a relative. This oracle recalls two other oracles involving Alexander. The first is the first oracle of the revived oracular shrine at Didyma¹⁰⁴ which states that Alexander was born from a god, and the second is the famous oracle at Siwa.¹⁰⁵ Recalling these oracles serves to reinforce Seleucus' position as the heir to Alexander's empire and to create an independent and parallel tradition for Seleucus' legitimate right to rule, but they do not reveal anything about his relationship to Apollo.

A second version of this same visit to the oracle is recorded by Appian (or it may represent a separate visit), and Appian's version was more historically probable than Diodorus', as it does not refer to the future kingship of Seleucus. The only date that Seleucus could have consulted the oracle at Didyma before the death of Alexander was in 334 when Miletus was under siege by Alexander's forces. However, this date is impossible as the oracle was silent until 331, when it was re-founded on orders from Alexander. Appian's version of the oracle firmly places it within Alexander's campaign, and states: "Do not hurry back to Europe; Asia will be much better for you".¹⁰⁶ This version contains no reference to kingship, and may have been a *vaticinium ex eventu* which explained Seleucus' death in Europe.¹⁰⁷ Even if the oracle associated with Apollo at Didyma was in fact a genuine oracle, it appears to have no relation to Seleucus' kingship or a relationship with Apollo. Although the content of the oracle seems to have little to do with Seleucus' kingship it is placed among the portents of Seleucus' future

¹⁰¹ Cf. Grainger 1990: 164; Stewart 1993: 313.

¹⁰² Hadley 1974a: 53.

¹⁰³ Hadley 1974a: 53-54.

¹⁰⁴ Kallisthenes 124.14aj *ap.* Strabo 17.1.43, 814.

¹⁰⁵ Plut. *Alex.* 27.5-9; Strabo 814; Diodorus 17.51.1-4; Curtius 4.7.25-8; cf. Hammond 1993: 58-61.

¹⁰⁶ Appian, *Syr.* 56 and 63: μή σπεῦδ' Εὐρώπηνδ' Ἀσίη τοι πολλὸν ἀμείνων.

¹⁰⁷ Parke 1985: 44.

kingship by Appian. This may be a result of an attempt by Appian to place all prophecies concerning Seleucus together regardless of their content.

The other oracle concerning Seleucus' death in Argos is suspect for the same reason.¹⁰⁸

It is said also that once when he specially consulted an oracle about his death he received this answer: - 'If you keep away from Argos you will reach your allotted year, but if you approach that place you will die before your time.' There is an Argos in Peloponnesus, another in Amphilochia, another in Oresteia (whence come the Macedonian Argeadae), and the one on the Ionian sea, said to have been built by Diomedes during his wanderings, - all these, and every place named Argos in every other country, Seleucus inquired about and avoided. But while he was advancing from the Hellespont to Lysimacheia a great and splendid altar presented itself to his view, which he was told had been built either by the Argonauts on their way to Colchis, or by the Achaeans who besieged Troy, for which reason the people in the neighbourhood still called it Argos, either by a corruption of the name of the ship *Argo*, or from the native place of the sons of Atreus. As he was listening to this story, he was killed by Ptolemy, who stabbed him in the back.

- Appian *Syrian Wars* 63 (Translation White)

This story serves as a vindication of the oracle, which must be the oracle at Didyma although it is not made explicit, and as an explanation of the ability of Ptolemy to get Seleucus alone to stab him in the back. However, the story of this oracle connected with Seleucus' death does not appear elsewhere. There is nothing in this story that positively connects Seleucus to Apollo.

The final prophecy concerning Seleucus and Apollo is that the oracle at Didyma prophesied that when he won rule of Syria that he should make Daphne sacred to Apollo.¹⁰⁹ This follows the account of Seleucus finding an arrow of Apollo that was shot when he was pursuing Daphne. It is interesting that Libanius makes no reference to a

¹⁰⁸ Appian, *Syr.* 63: λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου ποτὲ αὐτῷ χρωμένωι λόγιον πριαγορευθῆναι "Ἄργος ἀλευόμενος τὸ πεπρωμένον εἰς ἔτις ἤξεις· εἰ δ' Ἄργει πελάσαις, τότε κεν παρὰ μοῖραν ὄλοιο." ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἄργος τὸ Πελοποννήσιον καὶ Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἄργος τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίωι λεγόμενον οἰκίσαι Διομήδην ἀλώμενον, καὶ εἴ τί που γῆς ἄλλο Ἄργος ἐκαλεῖτο, πάντα ἀνεζήτει καὶ ἐφυλάσσετο· ἀναβαίνοντι δ' ἐς τὴν Λυσιμάχειαν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου βωμὸς ἦν ἐν ὧνι μέγας τε καὶ περιφανής, καὶ πυθόμενος αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας στήσασθαι παραπλέοντας ἐς Κόλχους ἢ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύοντας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτι τὸν βωμὸν τοὺς περιχώρους Ἄργος καλεῖν, ἢ διὰ τὴν ναὺν δυαφθείροντας τὸ ὄνομα ἢ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα τῶν Ἀτρείδων, κτείνεται, ταῦτα ἔτι μανθάνων, ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προσπεσόντος ὀπισθεν.

¹⁰⁹ Lib. *Or.* 11.99.

family connection between Seleucus and Apollo in this section. It seems that Libanius did not know of the birth myth of Seleucus, as he has just described Seleucus as descended from Heracles.¹¹⁰ This confusion surrounding Seleucid descent suggests that by the 4th C AD Seleucid mythology had become poorly known, even in their most famous cities. It appears that Seleucus' origin had become entwined with the more famous Alexander in the four centuries after the end of Seleucid rule. Therefore it is difficult to draw any conclusions from Libanius account other than that there existed alternative origin myths for Seleucus. It is interesting that the alternative origin myth does coincide with other Alexander and successor imagery, including that of Seleucus I.

In conclusion the evidence concerning the relationship between Apollo and Seleucus I does not reveal that a clear kinship link between the two existed during the lifetime of Seleucus I. The relatively small amount of Apollo coinage outside of Antioch may be related to Antiochus I as co-ruler rather than to Seleucus himself. Furthermore, the bronze coinage from Antioch has local in significance rather than a representation of dynastic propaganda. Finally, the oracles received from Apollo do not reveal a relationship between the king and the god, but rather emphasise his "future" kingship. That Apollo grants these oracles seems to be a result of Apollo's function as an oracular god and his prominence in Asia Minor. As a result, if we wish to examine how Seleucus I presented himself in relation to the gods it is necessary to turn away from Apollo and examine the other significant deities for Seleucus I. In this it appears that Seleucus I followed the example set by Alexander and the previous Macedonian kings and looked heavily towards the king of the gods. However, it is also clear that Seleucus I sought to develop his own independent relation towards the gods, in particular Zeus.

III: ZEUS AND SELEUCUS I

As Apollo was not the patron deity of the Seleucid house before 288, it is necessary to determine whether Seleucus had a patron deity prior to 288 and if so why his successor changed to Apollo. Seleucus I's coinage was largely a continuation of Alexander's coinage; therefore the most common deities on his coinage are Zeus and Athena. I will examine the coinage and look for modifications that are made to the Alexandrine type. The most wide ranging modification was the replacement of the eagle in Zeus' hand

¹¹⁰ Lib. *Or.* 11.91.

with the image of Nike on the reverse of many of Seleucus I's coin issues. The reasons for this replacement are unclear, but the image is often thought to link to Seleucus I's success at Ipsus.¹¹¹ If the replacement of the eagle of Zeus with Nike represents a new set of victory coinage which commemorated this victory, then the type suggests that the patron of Seleucus' victory is Zeus. This is not the only link between Zeus and Seleucus I, but Seleucus lays his own claim to divine patronage in a variety of ways. First, stories concerning the city foundations of Seleucus often include divine inspiration from Zeus. Second, in civic cults and post-mortem royal cults Seleucus received the title *Seleucus Zeus Nicator*. The analysis of these examples along with a study of the Zeus type coinage of Seleucus I generate a clearer picture of the role of Zeus in the early Seleucid kingdom.

III.1: NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Seleucus introduced his variation of the Alexandrine type coinage at Sardis, Tarsus, Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Seleucia-in-Pieria, and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. In this variation, Nike replaced the eagle in Zeus' hand. This coinage is often considered victory coinage as the goddess of victory is crowning Zeus.¹¹² The victory alluded to on these coins must be that of Ipsus, as coins of similar types are also used by the other successors after Ipsus to advertise their victories. While each of the successors issued coinage that stressed their victory or supremacy, this message was related to the memory of Alexander. As Seleucus only retains a modified version of the Alexander's reverse types, his links to Alexander as a protector are weaker than some of the other successors who placed the image of Alexander on their coinage. I believe that this is due to a desire by Seleucus to establish his own role as a legitimate sovereign supported by Zeus while simultaneously retaining his position as an heir to Alexander's empire.

After Ipsus the remaining successors all dealt with their claims to Alexander's empire differently. On the reverses of some of Lysimachus' coins, Athena is shown facing left with a spear and shield at her side, while in her left hand she holds a winged Nike. The goddess Nike is reaching out to place a wreath on the Λ in Lysimachus' name as it appears in the legend. The obverse shows a head of Alexander with flowing hair, a

¹¹¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 8.

¹¹² Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 8.

diadem, and a ram's horn (Figure 9).¹¹³ The action of Nike crowning the name Lysimachus clearly represents divine support, in this case from Athena and Nike. Lysimachus also made clear use of Alexander's divine image with the stunning portrait on the obverse, whereas images Seleucus produced were not as clearly connected to Alexander as they lacked a portrait of the dead king.¹¹⁴ Ptolemy, having taken Alexander's body,¹¹⁵ also made use of Alexander's image on his coinage by fashioning multiple portraits of Alexander for his coinage. The Ptolemies eventually added Alexander to their dynastic cult, clearly marking their descent from the Macedonian king. The clearest break with the Alexander traditions came from Demetrius Poliorcetes. Although his coinage contains many of the same elements, it does not always reference Alexander. One of Demetrius' victory types features Nike on the prow of a ship and an archaic Poseidon on the reverse. Even though he was defeated at Ipsus, Demetrius still issued coinage which reinforced his naval supremacy through the use of victory images (Figure 10).¹¹⁶ The lack of a reference to Alexander on Demetrius' coinage may be related to the *logos* in Plutarch in which Demetrius and Antigonos are abandoned by Alexander in a dream before the battle for choosing the watchwords "Zeus and Victory" rather than "Alexander and Victory".¹¹⁷ This *logos* may represent a real shift in propaganda by the successors. Alexander's former lieutenants claimed a close connection to Alexander whereas Demetrius was unable to claim a competing connection after his father's death in the battle. The post-Ipsus coinage reflects the importance of the victory motif for the successors. It also stresses the importance of Alexander either in victory on the Lysimachus' coinage or by his conspicuous absence on some of Demetrius' coinage. Therefore, the choice of Zeus *Nikephoros* (Zeus carrying Nike) as the main deity on the coinage of Seleucus I may represent a desire to be seen as a legitimate continuator of the Alexander's empire and as the Zeus favoured victor of Ipsus.

This practice seems particularly suitable for the early part of his reign when Seleucus had not yet been proclaimed king, and attempted to portray himself as one of

¹¹³ Hadley 1974a: 57, plate VIII; SNG Spencer: no. 106.

¹¹⁴ The continuation of the Herakles obverse may have been enough to suggest that Seleucus was a legitimate successor. This is especially the case if the Herakles obverse has obvious features of Alexander. However, this is not the same claim as placing the clearly recognisable image of Alexander on the coinage.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Erskine 2002

¹¹⁶ Hadley 1974a: 57, plate VIII; SNG Spencer: no. 136; See Bellinger and Berlincourt 1962: 29-30 for a more specific analysis of the message of this coinage.

¹¹⁷ Plut. *Demetrius* 29.

Alexander's legitimate heirs. After 305/4, when Seleucus assumed the royal diadem, significant variation would have been possible. However, Zeus appears on the coins of nearly every one of Seleucus' mints, even after he became king and the shift to Zeus *Nikephoros* does not occur until 301. This suggests that Zeus was particularly significant to Seleucus. The second factor that may have led Seleucus to continue to use Zeus as an obverse and reverse type is his traditional role as the god of kingship.¹¹⁸ By creating a personal connection to Zeus, Seleucus presented himself as a traditional Macedonian king whose rule was supported by the king of the gods.¹¹⁹

Seleucus' other associations with Zeus suggest that he claimed a personal connection to the god and did not only desire to emulate Alexander. Seleucus appears to have taken a middle path between the veneration of Alexander as founder of empire, chosen by Lysimachus and Ptolemy, and the path of self-deification chosen by Demetrius with fewer references to Alexander.¹²⁰ Seleucus appears to have adopted much of the symbolism of Alexander's coins but modified it so that it referred to himself rather than to Alexander. The break with Alexander is clearest on the coinage, whereas the Greco-Roman literary accounts often stress the involvement of Alexander. This may be a reflection of the fact that coinage was directly controlled by the Seleucid court and reflected their agenda, whereas our literary accounts were influenced by the desires of the authors and the considerable role Alexander played in the literary imagination.

The pervasiveness of Zeus on Seleucus' coinage is evident from the limited number of mints which did not produce images of Zeus. These mints are Pergamum, Magnesia-on-the-Meander, Hierapolis/Bambyce, and Houghton and Lorber's Uncertain Mint 8. These four mints produced a limited number of coinage types that are regionally specific. In fact, each mint, with the exception of Magnesia-on-the-Meander, produced a severely limited range of coinage without standard Seleucid iconography. The Apollo coins of Uncertain Mint 8 have been discussed above, and those are the only product of that mint, unless it can be connected to another Babylonian mint in which case the mint would also have produced Zeus type coinage. Hierapolis/Bambyce only produced obols

¹¹⁸ Hesiod, *Theogony*, 81-91; cf. Burkert 1985: 130.

¹¹⁹ See Bohec-Bouhet 2002 for the importance of Zeus to the Macedonian kings, both before and after Alexander.

¹²⁰ For Demetrius' cult which does not include any reference to Alexander before Ipsus see: Plut. *Demetrius* 10.18-22 and Diodorus 20.46.2.

with the image of Atargatis.¹²¹ Pergamum produced tetradrachms for the Seleucids with a horned horse head obverse and an elephant reverse (Figure 11).¹²² This coinage type appears to be designed to show loyalty to the Seleucid house by Philetaerus as it displays two of the most important Seleucid symbols (the horned horse and the elephant) at a time when Philetaerus had switched sides and aided Seleucus against Lysimachus and therefore managed to keep his personal hold over Pergamum. Magnesia-on-the-Meander also issued a limited amount of coinage, a single bronze issue. However, it was of the Medusa/Bull type¹²³ that was common across the empire in the late 280s (Figure 12). Thus the coinage of these four mints generally appears to be separate from the rest of the coinage produced in the empire, with the exception of Magnesia-on-the-Meander. The coins minted at Pergamum and Hierapolis/Bambyce clearly reflected local issues rather than those central to Seleucid concerns. The other two mints produce only limited coinage that seems to have had a specific purpose, a connection with Antiochus I at Uncertain Mint 8 and the provision of bronze coinage for Asia Minor at Magnesia-on-the-Meander. These limited exceptions help to demonstrate the widespread nature of Zeus images on Seleucus I's coinage.

The Zeus imagery on Seleucus' coins can be broadly broken down into three types, first the Alexandrine type of Zeus carrying an eagle (*Zeus Aetophoros*) (Figure 13), the second a variation of the Alexandrine type with Zeus carrying Nike (*Zeus Nikephoros*) (Figure 14), and finally a Zeus/Elephant or Zeus/Elephant Chariot type (Figure 15 and Figure 16). There is one city that is the exception to these broad categories, Seleucia-in-Pieria, which produced bronze coinage with Zeus/thunderbolt and Zeus/anchor on thunderbolt type.¹²⁴ These types from Seleucia-in-Pieria were not reproduced elsewhere in the empire and relate to the foundation myths of the city in which its location is chosen by a thunderbolt from Zeus.¹²⁵ The other three coin types are widespread and the *Zeus Aetophoros* and *Zeus Nikephoros* coin types make up the majority of the coinage produced under Seleucus I.

The *Zeus Aetophoros* type is a continuation of Alexander's coinage and remained popular throughout the reign of Seleucus. Although, at many mints it was gradually

¹²¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 38.

¹²² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1.

¹²³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 8.

¹²⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 32-34.

¹²⁵ Malalas, 8.1999; Appian, *Syr.* 58; see Ogden Forthcoming-b.

replaced by the Zeus *Nikephoros* type. Houghton and Lorber suggest that “the Zeus *Nikephoros* reverse is a logical fusion of Alexander’s gold and silver reverse types, and may also represent an allusion to Phidias’ famous cult statue of Olympian Zeus.”¹²⁶ Houghton and Lorber’s suggestion makes sense, as Nike and Zeus were Alexander’s gold and silver reverse types respectively, and the statue of Olympian Zeus held Nike rather than an eagle. Interestingly, the type may have originated under Seleucus’ rival at Antiochia-on-the-Orontes. These coins, although marking a continuation of the Alexander tradition, suggest an association of Seleucus with Zeus, where Zeus is granting Seleucus victory. The victory alluded to on these coins must be that of Ipsus as they are first minted after that battle. It is striking that Seleucus may have appropriated the coin type of his defeated enemy, especially a coin type from a city that Seleucus destroyed. Therefore, this type must have reflected some propaganda beneficial for Seleucus himself.

One possible benefit is that the image of Zeus carrying the goddess Victory recalls the title which was given to Seleucus: *Nicator*. Appian records two different versions of how Seleucus received the title *Nicator*, the first was his defeat of Nicanor, and the second was in recognition of his victories.¹²⁷ The second was preferred by Appian.¹²⁸ In this case the title given to Seleucus was reinforced by the message of his coinage. The *Nikephoros* type was preferred by the western Seleucid mints from c. 300 onwards. It was introduced at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris c. 295, possibly in connection with Antiochus’ appointment as co-ruler and as a statement on the importance of Zeus to the dynasty. Therefore, in the years after Ipsus the ideological programme of Seleucus’ coinage presents him as the victorious king favoured by Zeus.

The third category of Seleucus’ Zeus coinage is the most interesting as it shows the greatest deviation from his early types, but it still reinforces the message of a victorious martial king supported by Zeus. On these coins Zeus is depicted on the obverse (rather than the reverse) and an elephant or elephant chariot is shown on the reverse. These coins must refer to Seleucus’ elephant corps. These coins advertise a connection to Zeus and a specific reference to Seleucus’ most famous fighting unit. Their importance for Seleucus led Demetrius to disparage Seleucus as the master of the elephants.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 8.

¹²⁷ Appian, *Syr.* 57.

¹²⁸ See Chapter 6 for a further discussion of cult titles; see also Van Nuffelen 2004: 294.

¹²⁹ Plut. *Demetrius* 25.

Furthermore, the elephants played a key role in the victory at Ipsus. The obverse of these coins advertises a connection to Zeus that when combined with the reverse provides a specific reference to Seleucus' most famous fighting unit. The link between Zeus and the elephants also contains a reference to Ipsus and victory (or Seleucus' victorious eastern campaigns) and provided a powerful claim to divine support. As this image does not relate to any image produced by Alexander, we should not view these coins as a simple continuation of the Zeus sponsorship of Alexander, but rather a new emphasis on the connection between Zeus and Seleucus.

Seleucus I's coinage shows strong affinities to the coinage of Alexander. However, these similarities may overstate Seleucus' reliance on Alexander's legacy. Alexander's coinage quickly came to replace the Athenian Owls as one of the standard currencies of the Hellenistic world. Therefore, early in Seleucus I's reign the production of a well-known type may have made his coinage more acceptable. The modification of the type is significant and shows a degree of independence from the Alexander model which is confirmed by the Zeus/Elephant coinage.¹³⁰

III.2: EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The importance of Zeus for Seleucus is often overlooked in favour of the Seleucid association with Apollo. Seleucus was associated with Zeus in cult, and received the cult title *Seleucus Zeus Nicator* in a list of the priests of the Seleucid family.¹³¹ The date of the inscription recording this, the reign of Seleucus IV, demonstrates that the strong association of Seleucus with Zeus was not incompatible with his descent from Apollo. It seems as though the association with Zeus was a remnant of a more prominent association during Seleucus' lifetime. There is little epigraphic evidence suggesting a contemporary connection between the two, although this may be the result of the lack of a major Zeus sanctuary within the boundaries of the kingdom. However, there are a variety of other (non-epigraphic) links between Seleucus and Zeus.

¹³⁰ For the independence of Seleucus from the Alexander model see below; cf. Erickson Forthcoming-b.

¹³¹ *OGIS* 245.

III.3: LITERARY EVIDENCE

A connection between Zeus and Seleucus may also be found in Pausanias' biographical note on Seleucus:

And a little further away (a statue of) Seleucus whose future good fortune was shown by unmistakable signs. For Seleucus, when he set out from Macedonian with Alexander, sacrificed in Pella to Zeus, the wood that lay on the altar advanced of its own accord towards the image and it ignited without the application of fire.¹³²

- Pausanias 1.16.1 (My translation)

This version parallels a version of the *logos* in Appian, although Appian does not specify the god to which he is sacrificing.¹³³ Hadley suggests that this story was ultimately derived from Hieronymus.¹³⁴ It is interesting that Appian does not include the god to whom Seleucus sacrificed, as the specific version suggests a special association between Seleucus and Zeus and the general reference suggests only an ill-defined relationship with the gods.

An interesting association between Seleucus and Zeus was made by the Athenian colonists at Lemnos, where Seleucus' name was substituted for that of Zeus in the festal libation, after his death.¹³⁵ It appears that Lemnos was recognising a mythological connection between Seleucus and Zeus. However, an equally plausible conjecture is that Seleucus as king was associated with the traditional royal god, Zeus. Nevertheless, the most that can be confidently stated is that there was some connection between Seleucus and Zeus at Lemnos.

A different version of Seleucus' origin from the one related by Justin is told in Libanius' *Oration in Praise of Antioch*. Seleucus is said to have been a descendant of Heracles through Temenos: "... and Cretans who are descended from Heracles, who are, I believe, related to Seleucus by means of ancient Temenos".¹³⁶ This mythical origin

¹³² Paus. 1.16.1: ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Σέλευκος, ᾧ καὶ πρότερον ἐγένετο ἐς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν μέλλουσαν σημεῖα οὐκ ἀφανῆ. Σελεύκῳ γάρ, ὡς ὤρμητο ἐκ Μακεδονίας σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, θύοντι ἐν Πέλλῃ τῷ Διὶ τὰ ξύλα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ κείμενα προύβη τε αὐτόματα πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἄνευ πυρὸς ἤφθη.

¹³³ Appian, *Syr.* 63.

¹³⁴ Hadley 1974a: 59; although a version in the lost *Seleucus Romance* remains possible.

¹³⁵ Athen. 6.254f; cf. Bevan 1900: 28; Bevan 1901: 626.

¹³⁶ Lib. Or. 11.91 καὶ Κρητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, οἷς ἦν, οἶμαι, συγγένεια Σελεύκῳ κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν Τήμενον.

links Seleucus both to Zeus and Alexander, although it may be the result of a later attempt to create a more prominent heritage for Seleucus and link him to the more famous Alexander in a period when the Seleucids were all but forgotten. This is not the only reference to Zeus in Libanius' foundation narrative for Antioch; rather the entire narrative reveals Zeus as the city founder, through the story of the eagle of Zeus carrying meat from the altar to the shrine of Zeus Bottiaeus.¹³⁷

And Zeus sent from his sceptre to the altar his companion, the beloved bird. And it flew down into the middle of the fire and seizing the thighs wrapped in flames, carried them off. When the event caught the attention of all eyes and had made clear what was done was not done without the gods, Seleucus put his son on his horse in order to follow the flight from earth and to guide the horse along the path of the bird, wishing to know what the bird would do with the things which it had snatched away. And he, while riding and looking upwards, was led to Emathia by the bird. The eagle, descending there, placed the sacrifice on the altar of Zeus Bottiaeus, which was established by Alexander after the spring refreshed him; and it seemed to all even to those not skilled in interpreting that Zeus was advising to build a city on that place. And thus Alexander's desire for a settlement, and the beginning of the task moved towards its end and the chief of the gods was our founder due to his prophetic sign.
– Libanius *Or.* 11.86-88 (My translation)

The connection between Zeus and Seleucus in Libanius is interesting given the late date of oration (4th C AD), as it would appear that the official Seleucid mythology of descent from Apollo was poorly known in late antiquity. A post-Seleucid connection between Zeus and Seleucus is not unparalleled as two pieces of evidence from Dura-Europus show: the first is an inscription that gives the name of the priest of Seleucus *Nicator* and the second is a relief showing Seleucus crowning Zeus.

There is very little evidence for the continuance of a cult for Seleucus after the end the Seleucid dynasty. However, a deed of sale from Dura-Europus from 180 AD includes a

¹³⁷ Lib. *Or.* 11.86-88 Ζεὺς δὲ κινήσας ἐκ τοῦ σκήπτρου τὸν ἑταῖρον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ φίλον ὄρνιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ εἰς μέσην καταποτώμενος τὴν φλόγα ἀνελόμενος τὰ μηρία γέμοντα πυρὸς ἀπέφερε. 87. τοῦ συμβάνατος δὲ πάντα ὀφθαλμὸν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐπιστρέφοντος καὶ δηλοῦντος ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν ἔδρατο, τὸν υἱὸν ἐφ' ἵππον ἀναβιάσας ὁ Σέλευκος εἰς τὸ τὴν πτήσιν ἀπὸ γῆς διώκειν καὶ τῶι χαλινῶι τὸν ἵππον ἰθύνειν πρὸς τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ πτεροῦ, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι, τί τοῖς ἠρπασμένοις ὁ ὄρνις χρήσεται. 88. ὁ δ' ἱπεύων τε καὶ ἀναβλέπων ἄγεται πρὸς τὴν Ἡμαθίαν ὑπὸ τῆς πτήσεως. οἱ δὲ κατάρας ὁ αἰετὸς ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔθηκε τὸν τοῦ Βοττιαίου Διός, ὃν ἰδρυσάμενος ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἠνίκα αὐτὸν εὐφρανεν ἡ πηγὴ· ἐδόκει τε δὴ πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς οὐ δεινοῖς συμβάλλειν ὁ Ζεὺς εἰσηγεῖσθαι πολίξειν τὸν χώρον. καὶ οὕτως ἢ τε Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς τὸν οἰκισμὸν ὄρμη τε καὶ ἀρχὴ πρὸς τέλος ἦι καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ τῶν θεῶν κορυφαῖος διὰ τῆς μαντείας οἰκιστῆς ἐγίγνετο.

priest of King Seleucus *Nicator*.¹³⁸ It is unclear whether or not this marks the continuance of a cult for Seleucus at Dura-Europus or the re-creation of the office as part of an archaizing Seleucid revival as part of the second sophistic. An interesting relief from Dura-Europus shows Seleucus I *Nicator* crowning Zeus *Olympios/Megistos*.¹³⁹ The relief dates from 158 AD, six years before the Parthians lost control of the city to the Romans. Although this relief also dates to nearly two centuries after the end of Seleucid rule, the inhabitants of Dura-Europus either created a connection between Seleucus and Zeus or continued a Seleucid tradition. However, this does not prevent a different origin myth from arising from the one told by Pompeius Trogus/Justin in the early empire. Perhaps it is by conflation with the other successor mythologies and that of Alexander which created this origin myth for Seleucus. It is important to note that Zeus was the principal god for the Argead kings of Macedon, especially Philip II and Alexander. In fact the Argead kings, after Perdiccas I considered themselves the offspring of Zeus through two routes, descent from Argeas, son of Makedon, son of Zeus and from Temenos, descendant of Heracles, son of Zeus.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, Libanius' account of Seleucus' descent through Temenos links Seleucus with the line of Argead kings that ended with Alexander IV. This is the only evidence of a direct link between the Seleucid royal family and the Argead royal house. This may be a result of the 4th C AD date of this work, a date by which the origin of the Hellenistic monarchs could well have been forgotten and assimilated to the family of Alexander. Or it could be the result of propaganda by other Seleucid successor dynasties seeking to enhance their own legitimacy. In the late 1st century BC Antiochus I of Commagene made the same connection in his royal tomb at Nemrut Dag, where he traces his own lineage through the Seleucid house back to Alexander.¹⁴¹ The basis for the familial connection between the Seleucids and Alexander is unclear and may purely be a result of Antiochus' propaganda, and this may be reflected in Libanius' narrative. However, Seleucus' coinage as well as the earlier evidence suggests that Seleucus advertised a connection to both Alexander and Zeus early in his career as his rivals Ptolemy and Lysimachus did.¹⁴² However as we have seen, Seleucus' connection to Alexander was far more limited than the other new royal houses.

¹³⁸ Welles, Fink et al. 1959: no. 25.

¹³⁹ Downey 1988: 50 gives the god crowned as the Gad of Dura. Drijvers 1980: 67 associates the god with Zeus Olympios/Megistos.

¹⁴⁰ Bohec-Bouhet 2002: 42.

¹⁴¹ *OGIS* 388-401.

¹⁴² Antigonids: See Bohec-Bouhet 2002, 41-50; Lagids: See Theocritus *Idyll* 17.20-27; Lysimachus: See Hadley 1974a, 63-64.

One other potential association between Seleucus I and Zeus can be found in Lucian's version of Stratonice's foundation of the temple at Hierapolis/Bambyce.¹⁴³ Although the connection is not stated by Lucian, the statue of Zeus in the temple seated on bulls¹⁴⁴ may recall an association with Seleucus I, especially if founded by his wife during his reign, rather than during her marriage to Antiochus I.¹⁴⁵ The association of Zeus with bulls may also recall an association with Seleucus, as well as being a symbol of Atargatis' consort Hadad. Although, this connection is little more than idle speculation, it is interesting in light of other connections between Zeus (or a syncretised form of Zeus) and Seleucus.

The Seleucid connection to the sanctuary made by Lucian may be reinforced by the production of silver obols at Hierapolis/Bambyce that bear the obverse of Atargatis wearing a turreted crown and a reverse of Atargatis enthroned holding a phiale (?) and a sceptre with the legend ΣΕ (Figure 17).¹⁴⁶ The inscription on this coin is in Greek rather than Aramaic which had previously been used on coins from the mint. It appears to be a special issue, perhaps commemorating benefits granted by Seleucus. If this is the case then it can also be related to the story of Stratonice in Lucian, and therefore datable to their marriage (c. 298-294). In this case, Seleucus' dedications to the sanctuary occur at the same time as the Zeus coinage.

An inscription from a statue base found at Hierapolis/Bambyce gives us evidence for a dedicatory statue of "Queen Arsinoe daughter of King Ptolemy and of Queen Berenice: Stratonice daughter of King Demetrius".¹⁴⁷ Ferrario has argued that the dedication takes place earlier than Stratonice's marriage to Seleucus.¹⁴⁸ However, this still suggests that she may have had some long standing connection to the sanctuary. Combined with the Lucian story, Stratonice's involvement in the sanctuary may also suggest that Seleucus

¹⁴³ Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 17, 19-31: For the author of the work whom for simplicity I will refer to as Lucian. See Dirven 1997: 153-179 for the argument that the work can be taken seriously if Lucian's authorship is denied. See Lightfoot 2003: 184-208 for the argument both that Lucian is the author and that the work can still have historical value.

¹⁴⁴ Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 31.

¹⁴⁵ Bevan 1901: 639.

¹⁴⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 38; Seyrig 1971: 11-21.

¹⁴⁷ *OGIS* 14:

Βασίλισσαν Ἀρσινόην βασιλέως
Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης
Στρατονίκη βασιλέως Δημητρίου.

¹⁴⁸ Ferrario 1962.

served as patron of this prominent local sanctuary, as he was of other sanctuaries.¹⁴⁹ The relationship between the Seleucids and the prominent sanctuary is unsurprising, and if the god Hadad was interpreted by them as Zeus, a further connection between Seleucus and the god may be tentatively drawn.

Given the connections between Seleucus and Zeus at Lemnos, his cult title, and Zeus' widespread appearance on Seleucus' coinage, it appears that Seleucus had at one point adopted the more common royal Macedonian claim of descent from Heracles and Zeus. The importance of Zeus for Seleucus and the later direct connection between the two seem to suggest that Zeus was a significant god for Seleucus' self-representation.

IV: NATIVE OR LOCAL GODS AND SELEUCUS I

In addition to Zeus and Apollo a variety of local, native and Macedonian gods were depicted on Seleucus' coinage. The use of local imagery allowed Seleucus to present himself in a different light than just as a successor to Alexander. Like the Zeus coinage, this imagery reinforced the message that Seleucus was a legitimate monarch.

IV.1: TAURINE IMAGERY

One of the most important recurring iconographic themes on Seleucus I's coinage is that of the bull or bull horns. Bull horns commonly appeared coming out of the head of a horse on coins from Pergamum, Apamea, Carrhae, Ecbatana, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Bactra and Ai Khanoum (Figure 3).¹⁵⁰ The image was also used by Antiochus I, especially in the East: including a medallic tetradrachm from Sardis with an obverse of Seleucus' horned portrait and a horned horse on the reverse (Figure 18).¹⁵¹ Additionally, Antiochus I minted bronzes at Dura-Europus, and a series with similar types in silver and gold at the Bactrian mints.¹⁵² The horned horse image is also used as a Seleucid seal.¹⁵³ Thus, the image of the horned horse served not only as a coin motif, but also as an official symbol of the empire. The image of a horned horse after Alexander usually

¹⁴⁹ See below on the Pluto sanctuary at Nysa.

¹⁵⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: Pergamum: no. 1, Apamea: no. 35, Carrhae: no 47, Ecbatana: no. 209, 213.

¹⁵¹ Miller and Walters 2004: 49; Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 322.

¹⁵² Houghton and Lorber 2002: Dura-Europas: nos. 363, 367-368, Bactrian mints: nos. 426-434, imitations from Sogdia: nos. 461-466, uncertain far eastern mints: nos. 467-470.

¹⁵³ Rostovzeff 1932: p. 48, plate IX.3 = Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, no. VA 6120.

has been identified with Alexander's horse Bucephalus, whose name means ox-head. When this horse has not been identified as Bucephalus, it has been identified as the horse on which Seleucus fled Antigonus in 312. Hoover has doubted this attribution as we know of no definitive example of Seleucus' horse with horns.¹⁵⁴ While the horned horse becomes a Seleucid symbol, it appears to be tied to the image of a horned-helmeted rider. Likewise, the identification of this rider is linked to the identity of the horse. The possibilities for the identity of the rider are discussed below. Returning to the significance of the bull horns, Miller and Walters correctly suggested that "the depiction of horned beings; e.g., horned humans, horses, elephants on the coinage of the early Seleucid monarchs, derived from a religious motif common throughout the ancient Near East, antedating the accessions of the Seleucids by at least a millennium. The ox's horns were an early symbol in then East of royalty and divinity".¹⁵⁵ The Seleucid use of bull horns as a symbol of divinity allowed them to mine the symbolism of both Near Eastern and Greek culture to publicise his power.

In addition to bull horns, Seleucus also employed the picture of a bull on a wide variety of his coinage. The image of a bull occurs on coinage issues from Sardis, Magnesia-on-the-Meander, Tarsus, Antioch, Carrhae, Uncertain Mint 8, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Susa, Ecbatana, and Aī Khanoum.¹⁵⁶ This broad range of mints spanned the entire empire and this type was the most common image on Seleucus' bronze coinage. The image occurs most prominently on the Medusa/Bull coinage that is discussed below (Figure 19). The bull image can be divided into three general types, the charging/butting bull, the bull head, and the standing bull. The butting bull is portrayed on the Medusa/Bull type but there appears to be little ideological difference in the different bull postures. In creating this coinage, Seleucus I had a wide range of bull imagery to draw upon even if he was not fully aware of the practices of Babylonian religion.¹⁵⁷ Seleucus, during his long stay at Babylon (320-315, 312-c.301) would have been exposed to the myriad of bull images that adorned the city from the bulls of the glazed bricks on the ceremonial gate to the bull horned statues of gods. In addition to the prominent bull imagery in Babylon, the Iranian Persian palaces were replete with taurine imagery. And again the use of the bull

¹⁵⁴ See Hoover 1996: 50 for the identification of the horse with the one he fled from Antigonus on and see Miller and Walters 2004: 51 for the counter argument. Both cite Malalas, *Chron.* 202, for the statue of the horse which does not include horns.

¹⁵⁵ Miller and Walters 2004: 51.

¹⁵⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 6-8, 11, 21-24, 47, 113, 125-127, 148-153, 191-193, 224-225, 238A-288.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Dalley, Reyes et al. 1998: 39 for the image of bull horns as a feature of the divine in Mesopotamian religious iconography.

image on coins may have been chosen to reflect a personal deference to Iranian religion. Finally, the bull was an extremely important in the Zoroastrianism, where Ahura Mazda often appears as “the Fashioner of the Cow”.¹⁵⁸ While Seleucus may have had some understanding of Persian and Babylonian religion or religious imagery from his stays in Iran and Babylon or from his wife, the evidence for Seleucid knowledge of Zoroastrianism is nearly non-existent.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Hoover correctly suggests that “Seleucus probably did have some vague understanding of Iranian Zoroastrianism and may have purposely alluded to it through his bull coinage.”¹⁶⁰ The use of the bull image therefore reflected the religious sentiments of the Babylonian, Persian, and Iranian populations. The bull image allowed Seleucus to appeal to the local populations of his empire in a manner which reflected an appreciation of their customs and traditions. This would have helped to suppress the local religious attacks on the previous Greek rulers as the “destroyer of religion” or as the destroyers of sanctuaries as Antigonus and Demetrius had proved to be.¹⁶¹

While this provides a logical explanation for the coinage within an eastern context, Seleucid iconography incorporated both Greek and non-Greek concepts of the same imagery. It is necessary to look for an explanation that can be understood in purely Greek terms, in addition to the Near Eastern explanation. The role of horns as a symbol of divinity was not unique to the East, but had been used by the successors on their coinage commemorating the deified Alexander.¹⁶² While the general concept of horns as a symbol of divinity does not appear to be problematic for a Greek audience, the specific association of the bull horns and especially the horned horse with Seleucus must be explained. The most prominent connection between Seleucus I and bull horns appears on the controversial victory coinage and horseman coinages from Susa and Ecbatana.

¹⁵⁸ Boyce 1979: 36; Boyce 1989: 209-211.

¹⁵⁹ Hjerrild 1990: 46; for the knowledge of Zoroastrianism available through Greek sources, largely Herodotus see: Jong 1997.

¹⁶⁰ Hoover 1996: 32.

¹⁶¹ For the Zoroastrian view of Alexander: Hjerrild 1990: 144 For the actions of Antigonus and Demetrius in Babylon: *BCHP* 3: Rev: 23-30; Boyce 1979:78-9.

¹⁶² Carradice 1978: 4.

IV.2: VICTORY COINAGE AND HORSEMAN TYPE COINAGE

Two of the most debated coin types of Seleucus involve the identity of the “Helmeted Hero”. While this figure does not necessarily represent divine figures, it merits inclusion within the study of Seleucus’ relation to the divine because the model of the helmet lifts its wearer towards the divine pantheon. The debate concerning the coins centres on the identification of the hero as either Seleucus or Alexander, in either case, the coins offer insight into Seleucus’ view either of his own or his predecessor’s status with regards to divinity. The coins suggest that the figure is not elevated fully into the divine pantheon, but is certainly god-like.

These images are the obverse from the mint of Susa¹⁶³ which shows: the head of Alexander/Seleucus/Dionysus or a Hero incorporating all three, in a helmet covered with a panther’s skin and adorned with the horns and ear of a bull, and a panther skin tied around the neck, facing the right (Figure 20).¹⁶⁴ The debate concerning the figure portrayed has continued since the coin type was first rediscovered in the mid-nineteenth century, Hadley’s 1974 article summed up the scholarly debate of the last hundred years and concluded that the image must have been that of Alexander, as Seleucus would not have portrayed himself with divine attributes on his coinage, without prior sanction from the Greek states. Hadley also argued on the basis of this coinage that Seleucus viewed Alexander as a tutelary deity.¹⁶⁵ This view was accepted by Houghton and Stewart and became the standard view of the figure.¹⁶⁶ This view has been questioned most prominently by Hoover who argues that the figure is most likely Seleucus.¹⁶⁷ Hoover successfully lay to rest the notion that no successor was portrayed with divine attributes before his cult appeared,¹⁶⁸ and rightly questions if Seleucus viewed Alexander as a tutelary deity:

Demetrius had the horns of Poseidon’s bull because he was the master of the sea and Ptolemy wore the aegis of Zeus because, like that god, he too was a saviour. The helmet decorated with the panther skin and bull’s ears and horns follows the same pattern. It links the wearer to Dionysus and

¹⁶³ The coins were previously considered to have come from the mint at Persepolis see *ESM*: p. 154-161), they have been definitively shown to have been produced at Susa, see Houghton 1980a: 5-14.

¹⁶⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 173-176, 195-199.

¹⁶⁵ Hadley 1974b: 50-65.

¹⁶⁶ Houghton 1980a: 5-14; Stewart 1993: 314-315; Smith 1988: 60; Mørkholm 1991: 72; Fleischer 1991: 5-6; Kritt 1997: 108.

¹⁶⁷ Hoover 2002: 51-59.

¹⁶⁸ Hoover 2002: 52-54.

eastern conquests. In the cases of the other two Hellenistic kings it is clear that the wearer of the various divine attributes is not Alexander, but one of the kings themselves. There is no good reason to assume that Seleucus is the exception to this pattern and that instead of having himself depicted in the guise of Dionysus he decided to have Alexander portrayed instead.¹⁶⁹

As the balance of the argument has swayed between identifying the figure as Seleucus or as Alexander, a new scholarly consensus has arisen that identifies the figure as the head of a hero assimilating aspects of Alexander, Seleucus, and Dionysus.¹⁷⁰ I propose that the figure represents only Seleucus (or Seleucus assimilated to Dionysus). The assimilation between Seleucus and Dionysus, although unrecorded elsewhere, does not seem unlikely, given the Greek association between Dionysus, Heracles and the conquest of India. I believe that the helmet can also be identified as deriving from a Near Eastern type. However, this does not rule out a connection to Dionysus as well. It seems certain that Seleucus would have wished to exploit this opportunity to promote himself, although the direct evidence remains scanty.

In order to identify the figure, I will first examine the political message of this coinage. These coins are clearly designed to recall a victory and an association with the divine. The victory was most likely Seleucus' campaigns in the east or his assumption of the royal diadem. Although the identity of the figure remains obscure, and this may have been done deliberately, the message is clear. Seleucus is the victorious king and therefore closely associated with the gods. The image of the horned helmet was typically associated with the divine in the Near East, as gods from Syria, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia often wore horned helmets, and they were adopted by royalty by as early as the twenty-third century BC.¹⁷¹

The question of whether the helmeted figure on the victory coinage from Susa is Alexander or Seleucus has bearing on the identification of the image of a similarly helmeted figure riding on a horse with bull horns. I believe that the king portrayed on the coinage is Seleucus, and will examine how Seleucus is commonly portrayed with

¹⁶⁹ Hoover 2002: 55.

¹⁷⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 6-7; in the most recent examination of the image of Alexander the Great on coins Dahmen 2007 these coins are not included within Seleucus' issues featuring Alexander, supporting the contention that these coins do not represent Alexander.

¹⁷¹ Houghton and Stewart 1999: 30; For the Near Eastern references see: Pritchard 1954: figs. 475, 490, 493, 498, 513-16, 525-27, 529, 537-540, and cf. 309 (Naram-Sin).

bull's horns to establish the identity. In a *logos* that seeks to explain the appearance of bull horns on Seleucus statues, Appian gives us the following: “Physically he (Seleucus) was well-muscled and large, and once when a bull broke free from its bonds at a sacrifice of Alexander’s he blocked it by himself and wrestled it down with his bare hands. For this they add horns to his representations”.¹⁷² This story bears a striking resemblance to other stories of heroic strength by the other diadochs. For example, Lysimachus used the foreparts of a lion as a personal symbol. This may have referred to the story in Curtius in which Lysimachus kills a lion single-handed.¹⁷³ Ptolemy’s heraldic animal was the eagle, which linked him to both Zeus and Alexander, and may have alluded to a story of his birth where he was exposed and saved by the eagle of Zeus.¹⁷⁴ The use of personal symbols tied to important *logoi* by the other successors suggests that the Seleucus-bull *logos* served as an explanation of both the horned representations of Seleucus, and as representation of his might and therefore legitimated his claim to kingship. What this story also reveals is that Seleucus’ statues had bull horns, which suggests that the coin figure was intended to represent Seleucus.

The image of a horned Seleucus was picked up by the anachronistic and inaccurate description of the foundation of Alexandria in the gamma recension of the *Alexander Romance*; “At the East gate, upon the loftiest tower of all he [Alexander] erected his own statue, and surrounded it with the others of Seleucus, Antiochus, and Philip the physician. He made the (statue) of Seleucus recognisable as it bore a horn for courage and invincibility”.¹⁷⁵ It seems logical to conclude that the horn was that of a bull, as Seleucus was only ever represented with a bull horn. Libanius also places bull horns on a statue of Seleucus, this time at Antioch. Here Seleucus’ horns are associated with respect for the local cult of Io.¹⁷⁶ While Libanius may be incorrect in his reasoning behind the horns, we should not doubt that the statue did exist in Antioch in Libanius’ day and that Libanius’ version represented part of the broad array of potential interpretations for the bull horns. Additionally, a horned statue of Seleucus in the

¹⁷² Appian, *Syr.* 56.

¹⁷³ Lysimachus and lion: Curtius 8.1.14-15; Ptolemy and the eagle: the eagle appears as an emblem on most Ptolemaic coinage.

¹⁷⁴ *Suda* s.v. Λάγος = Aelian F283 Domingo-Forasté; cf. Hoover 1996: 26; Ogden Forthcoming-a; for eagles on Ptolemaic reverses see: Mørkholm 1991: Ptolemy I: figs. 97–100, 127 (cf. 485); Ptolemy II: figs.284–6, 291–3, 296, 300–4, 306; cf. also fig. 494. Ptolemy III: figs.309–10, 312, 314–15. Ptolemy IV: figs. 317–18. Ptolemy V: figs. 319, 321, 324–6, 328. Cleopatra Thea: fig. 635.

¹⁷⁵ *Historia Alexandri Magni* 2.28.

¹⁷⁶ Lib. Or. 11.92.

Antakya Museum confirms Seleucus' representations could include horns.¹⁷⁷ The final connection between Seleucus and bull horns is that when Seleucus is deified by his son, horned portraits of him are produced and furthermore Alexander was never shown with bull horns.¹⁷⁸

I will now turn to the image of the horned horse and rider, as the image is not only iconographically inclusive through the use of bull horns but also through the use of Persian dress. These coins feature the typical obverse of Alexander's coins, the head of Heracles in a lion-skin headdress, the reverse features a male rider wearing a horned helmet and holding a spear in his right hand riding a prancing horned horse (Figure 21).¹⁷⁹ The legend reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (of King Seleucus). According to Houghton and Stewart the figure is dressed as follows:

he wears a chlamys that billows behind him, a sleeved tunic (*chitoniskos*) that terminates below the hips; trousers; and soft, wrinkled boots. On his head he wears what is evidently an Attic helmet with cheekpieces and a neckguard. From the helmet rise two curved horns; an animal's ear juts rearward from its base. He sits on a saddle-cloth made of the skin of an animal, which could be a bull, a lion or a panther (only the sinuous tail just above the horse's rump shows clearly.) In his right hand he holds a spear horizontally, close to his side. The horse, bridled and reined, is adorned with horns that curve upward above the head, similar to those that appear on the rider's helmet.¹⁸⁰

Those who have wished to see the figure as Alexander have seen this as a representation of Alexander's adoption of Persian dress. Both Diodorus and Plutarch state that Alexander never adopted Persian trousers or a sleeved jacket, although he adopted other Persian fashions.¹⁸¹ Hoover's argument that this should prevent us from seeing Alexander in this image seems overly pedantic, as this was an image by Seleucus that clearly sought to integrate Greco-Persian cultures, and the trousers were a clear sign of Persian dress.¹⁸² However, this does not mean that we should interpret this image as

¹⁷⁷ Houghton 1986.

¹⁷⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 322.

¹⁷⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 203.

¹⁸⁰ Houghton and Stewart 1999: 28.

¹⁸¹ Diod. 17.77.5; Plut. *Alex.* 45.

¹⁸² Hoover 2002: 51-62; I would like to thank Vesta Curtis and Robin Lane Fox for their suggestion that the figure does not actually wear trousers. However, I agree with Stewart and Houghton that the figure is wearing trousers.

one of Alexander. His adoption of Persian dress was always controversial¹⁸³ and he did not necessarily enjoy the best reputation among the Persian elite.¹⁸⁴ This may have negated any potential benefit that Seleucus could have gained through the use of the image of Alexander. It therefore seems unlikely that Seleucus would have chosen to represent Alexander in such a controversial fashion, whereas, the adoption of Greco-Persian dress by a King of Babylonia and Persia, with an Iranian wife and *mixobarbaros* son no less, would not be out of place and may have even been expected. While the clothes do not firmly identify the figure combined with the horns, the image best represents Seleucus. The clothing provides an avenue for interpretation of this image. The figure is represented as king by means of the helmet. He is identified as a Macedonian by the weapon he carries and manner in which he rides. His clothes are a mix of Persian and Greek costume, identifying him as both Persian and Greek. Finally, the best interpretation of the helmet may be of the heroic Babylonian king or god, which the helmet most closely emulates.¹⁸⁵

The image therefore represents Seleucus' kingdom in about 304, when he controlled Babylonia, Bactria, and the Iranian satrapies and was beginning to look west. The image shows Seleucus as the legitimate ruler in all of these regions by his adoption of regional attributes, while still retaining an image that is more generally recognisable. Images of humans with horns (either directly attached or attached to helmets) was a common iconographical trope to Persian, Babylonian and Greek cultures and would have been immediately recognisable as a symbol of either of divinity or of heroised kingship. This must be the image which Seleucus wished to project if the coins are correctly dated to c. 304, which places them shortly after his eastern anabasis and before his western expansion. At this point, Seleucus would more likely seek to advertise his own recent victories and establishment of power, then to recognise those of Alexander. The audience for the coins was a mix of his military personal and the population near the mints. The two sets of coinage were minted in the heart of the old Persian empire, at Susa and Ecbatana, therefore the audience undoubtedly included some Iranians as well as Babylonians. All three, his Greco-Macedonian soldiers, his Babylonian and Iranian subjects (and probably soldiers), would have slightly different cultural referents for the image, but could all identify the figure as a divine or heroised king.

¹⁸³ Plut. *Alex.* 45.

¹⁸⁴ Hjerrild 1990: 144.

¹⁸⁵ The famous Namar-Sin tablet shows a divinised Babylonian king represented with a horned helmet very similar to the one which adorns the horned rider.

An important corollary to the identification of this figure is the identification of the horned horse. Whenever the figure in the horned helmet is identified as Alexander, the horned horse is identified as Bucephalus. If the image of helmeted hero is not Alexander, then the horse need not be Bucephalus. Miller and Walters make a strong case for the name of Bucephalus being derived from the common Thracian brand of an ox-head.¹⁸⁶ They have also shown convincingly that the image of the horned horse was a Seleucid symbol that was not connected to Alexander. Furthermore, they demonstrated that the legend connecting the Seleucid horned horse to Bucephalus is not contemporary but a result of a confusion that began with the *Alexander Romance*¹⁸⁷ and this confusion has continued into the modern era.¹⁸⁸ In regards to the horseman type coinage, if the horned horse is not Bucephalus then it follows that the rider is not Alexander, and therefore the most likely candidate for the figure is Seleucus. The opposite is equally true: if the figure is Seleucus and not Alexander, then the horse is most likely not Bucephalus. The view that the figure is Seleucus and the horse is not Bucephalus fits well with the preponderance of the image on Seleucid coinage, and the association of bull horns with Seleucus.

As Hoover has shown, and this thesis has confirmed, the horned rider is not Alexander but Seleucus. This complicates the identification of the horse. Hoover and others have suggested that the horse was the one on which Seleucus fled from Babylon in order to escaped Antigonus. This identification is based on a statue described in Malalas, which Seleucus had set up to honour his steed in Antioch. Miller and Walters reject this attribution as the horse is not described as horned, which seemed to them necessary to identify the horned horse. The rejection of the attribution of the horned horse to Seleucus' only known steed because Malalas does not describe its statue as horned seems unnecessary. The horned horse has a clear connection with Seleucus, as it appears to be linked with Seleucus' deification after his death, for example on the coins minted at Pergamum. As the horse on which Seleucus escaped Antigonus is the only horse we know of that was connected with him, and of which he erected a statue, we should therefore identify them as the same figure. The background to the iconography of the horned horse image is clearer. The horns are linked both to the Greek tradition of

¹⁸⁶ Houghton and Stewart 1999: 29; See Miller and Walters 2004: 45-54 for full discussion of the image.

¹⁸⁷ *Hist. Alexandri Magni* 4.1.1, 13.30.

¹⁸⁸ Miller and Walters 2004: 45-56.

divine horns and to the Mesopotamian tradition. Additionally, the horns relate the horse to Seleucus' bull iconography. It is possible to see some images of a bucranium (ox-head) on Seleucid coins as that of the horned horse or vice versa, especially if one considers the difficulty of delineating horned horses and bulls in miniature.¹⁸⁹ The horse must therefore make a statement concerning the power of the rider, who is able to control a divine horse. As the symbol is clearly connected with Seleucus after his death¹⁹⁰, it should be connected with him and not with Alexander. The identity of the figure in the horned bust demonstrates how Seleucus was able to use an image that is similar to an image that could represent Alexander and to make it his own.

IV.3: SELEUCUS AND THE GOD ALEXANDER

IV.3.A: LITERARY EVIDENCE

The literary evidence for Seleucus' claims to Alexander's support is more limited than those of the other successful diadochs. This may be a result of Seleucus' secondary command compared with the others, or a deliberate separation between Seleucus and Alexander. The clearest example of Seleucus claiming Alexander's support comes from Diodorus 19.90.2-4, in which Seleucus sees Alexander in a dream: "Alexander standing beside him in a dream had given him a clear sign of the future leadership that was destined to fall to him in the course of time."¹⁹¹ This passage is paired with an oracle from Apollo at Didyma discussed above, and Hadley dates both to between 305 and Ipsus.¹⁹² In light of the new dating of the Alexander coins to 300-298,¹⁹³ it may be possible to date the dream to the same period, although it is unnecessary.

IV.3.B: NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

The image of Alexander is relatively rare on the coinage of Seleucus I. The image of Alexander is only clearly identifiable on the coins from three mints, Susa, Ecbatana, and

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Persepolis Fortification Seals 261*.

¹⁹⁰ See Chapter 2 and 6 for the use of bull horns on Seleucus' portraits after his reign as a symbol of his divinity. See Chapter 4 for the use of a similiar horned rider type by Seleucus II that appears to allude to Seleucus I.

¹⁹¹ Diod. 19.90.3-4 (translation Geer) τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καθ' ὕπνον ἐπιστάντα φανερώς διασημᾶναι περὶ τῆς ἐσομένης ἡγεμονίας, ἧς δεῖ τυχεῖν αὐτὸν προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου.

¹⁹² Hadley 1974a: 53.

¹⁹³ See Kritz 1997: 116-118 for dating of the bronzes. Kritz's dating of these issues is now generally accepted: cf. Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 74, Dahmen 2007: 15.

a mint most likely at Babylon all in the years c. 300 – 298.¹⁹⁴ The gold coinage from these three mints featuring Alexander is not on the more common attic weight standard but on the Persian standard (double daric), suggesting that that the coins were designed only for circulation in the east. The design on the gold coinage from the three mints is nearly identical: the obverse features the head of Alexander facing the right in an elephant headdress with the paws tied around the neck in imitation of the common Alexandrine Heracles type. The reverse features a standing Nike facing the left holding a wreath and stylis (Figure 22). The reverse type is nearly identical to the common Nike reverses of the Alexandrine Athena/Nike gold coins. Therefore the major innovation on this coinage is the image of Alexander. The image varies slightly between mints, at Susa the elephant's lower jaw is rendered as a nearly vertical slender arc, whereas at Babylon and Ecbatana the lower jaw extends horizontally.¹⁹⁵ The image of Alexander on this coinage draws heavily on the Ptolemaic coinage issued from 322-317.¹⁹⁶ This is interesting as Seleucus' version of the Alexander in elephant scalp motif did not draw on the contemporary Ptolemaic image, rather on the first model of this image. This may reflect the cooling relations between Seleucus and Ptolemy around 300. However, as Dahmen has noted the figure on Seleucus coinage is neither diademed (or with a mitra) nor does it have the horns of Ammon.¹⁹⁷ This difference is significant as it removed the two features of the coinage that could be connected with Egypt and created a more generic heroic type that emphasised the importance of the elephant: "in Seleucus' case Alexander's elephant scalp for the first time has a regional and personal significance. Either following him into India or possessing an army of elephants adds something to the more general connotations of divinity of Alexander's elephant's scalp that any other successor reproducing such a portrait of Alexander did not have to offer".¹⁹⁸ The genesis of this coinage is usually attributed to one of several reasons: Seleucus campaign to India, the victory at Ipsus, or the foundation of Seleucia-on-the Tigris.¹⁹⁹ The image of Nike on the reverse normally appears to be crowning the Seleucid horned-horse that appears on all the gold issues of this coin. This may demonstrate that the coinage is, in

¹⁹⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: Babylonian mint: no. 101; Susa mint: Gold: no. 183; Bronze: nos. 189, 190; Ecbatana mint: Gold: no. 218, Bronze: nos. 222, 223.

¹⁹⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 74.

¹⁹⁶ Dahmen 2007; Hadley 1974a: 15; Stewart 1993: 315; Hadley 1974a: 53.

¹⁹⁷ Dahmen 2007: 15.

¹⁹⁸ Dahmen 2007: 15.

¹⁹⁹ *ESM*: p. 113; Tarn 1938: 131; Hadley 1974a: 53; Stewart 1993: 315; Dahmen 2007: 15. Newell, Tarn, Hadley, and Stewart uses the earlier dating of coinage to ca. 305-300, and thus prevents an association of the coinage with Ipsos or the foundation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, also it moves the production of this coinage closer to Seleucus' Indian campaign. Dahmen does not appear to prefer any of the three options she proposes. Hadley highlights the nature of Alexander as a protecting deity.

fact, a victory coinage, commemorating Ipsus, the Indian campaign, or the success of Seleucus in retaking the eastern portion of Alexander's empire.

The images of Alexander on the bronze coins from Susa and Ecbatana are nearly identical at the two mints, and are divisible into two denominations: The obverse of all coins features the image of Alexander in the elephant headdress. The style of the lower jaw of the scalp is dependent upon the mint, and is identical to that of the gold image. The reverse of the larger denomination features the image of Nike standing to the left holding a wreath and stylis; she often appears to be crowning an anchor.²⁰⁰ The reverse of the smaller denomination features an anchor with the flukes upward. All of the bronzes feature a legend that reads: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. These coins all reinforce the Seleucid claim to the Alexander heritage by the inclusion of the two common symbols of Seleucus I, the horned-horse head and the anchor. These coins also seem to derive their motif from the simultaneously issued precious metal coinage, and therefore likely have the same propaganda effect in mind.

These coins demonstrate that Seleucus was willing to claim a link to Alexander and to differentiate himself from his predecessor, and this holds an important lesson for the Zeus coinage. First it forces us to recognise that Seleucus' use of Alexander's coinage served two purposes: first to establish continuity with the former king, and then, as the image was modified, it served to legitimate the new royal house. Furthermore, as Seleucus developed his own connections with Zeus, the passage of divine legitimacy no longer needed go from Zeus to Alexander to Seleucus, but could pass from Zeus directly to Seleucus. It is notable that outside of this coinage, and the possible (but unlikely) reference to Alexander on the victory coinage from Susa, Seleucus I and his successors seem to have paid very little attention to Alexander on their coinage. Furthermore, they neither incorporated him into their houses nor did they institutionalise him into a cult figure.²⁰¹ It may have been difficult for Seleucus to use Alexander in this manner as his body was clearly in Ptolemaic possession.²⁰² There seems to be a clear break between the coinage and the literary accounts concerning Seleucus' relation to Alexander. Alexander features more prominently in the literary

²⁰⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 189 and 222.

²⁰¹ Errington 1976: 170; Hoover 2002: 54 for the opposing view see Hadley 1974a: 50-65; various cities and communities continued to mint Alexander's tetradrachms the practice generally declined on royal Seleucid issues. The popularity of Alexander's tetradrachms as an international monetary standard is a better explanation of the continued issuing of these coins rather than any coherent policy.

²⁰² Cf. Erskine 2002 for the importance of Alexander's body to the Ptolemies.

accounts. This may be a result of the more expansive nature of the literary record as well as the powerful pull of Alexander's image for all writers concerned with his Successors, rather than a choice by Seleucus himself. Seleucus sought to develop the images of Alexander into a new Seleucid image, not by abandoning the image of Alexander but rather by incorporating portions of Alexander's imagery into new types that emphasised Seleucus' own power. However, as his own successor's coinage demonstrates, Seleucus failed in this attempt and the new Seleucid image was created by his son and the coinage was stripped of most remnants of the Alexander image. The image created by Antiochus I became a more personal type that featured the portrait of the ruling king and the image of the new Seleucid ancestor, Apollo. This change moved the iconography of the Seleucid empire from an ideology that drew on Alexander's imagery to one that was firmly based in the person of Seleucus I and the reigning king.

V: OTHER MACEDONIAN OR GREEK GODS AND SELEUCUS I

Although Zeus was the most common image on Seleucus' coinage and Apollo was the god he was most commonly associated with after his death, Seleucus did not neglect any of the other gods that appeared throughout his empire. The evidence for Seleucus' dedications to other gods is limited. Nevertheless, it is possible to show that he maintained a respect for the other cults of his empire. This was likely both a result of his nature, Pausanias describes him as the most religious of kings,²⁰³ and his political instinct. Of the other traditional Greek deities, Athena appeared most often on his coinage. The appearance of Artemis on the Apollo staters has been already discussed. The image of Heracles was also popular on the coinage, largely in continuation of the Alexander model. In the late 280's bronze coinage of the Medusa/Bull type was produced across the empire. The non-Greek deities of Ba'al and Atargatis also appeared. These coin types appear to coincide with royal dedications to the major traditional sanctuaries of the newly formed empire.

V.1: ATHENA

The figure of Athena on Seleucid coinage falls into two broad categories, the first type is a continuation of Alexander's gold coinage, with the helmeted head of Athena on the

²⁰³ Paus. 1.16.3.

obverse and a standing Nike, whose naval trophy limits the reference to naval victories: most likely either the Greek victory at Salamis or Alexander's sole naval triumph at Tyre (Figure 23).²⁰⁴ The second type is Athena Promachos seated in an elephant-drawn chariot.

The gold staters with the Alexandrine image of Athena were produced at Tarsus, Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Carrhae, Uncertain Mint 2, Uncertain Mint 6a in Babylonia, Babylon (both workshops), Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (both workshops), Susa, Ecbatana, and Uncertain Mint 19 in Bactria. These coins were either minted with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. These were the only mints that produced gold staters under Seleucus I. The only gold staters that were minted by Seleucus I that were not the Alexandrine type are the Apollo/Artemis in elephant chariot coinage discussed above, staters with the image of Alexander in an elephant headdress on the obverse and with Nike on the reverse, and the Ba'al/lion type coinage produced at the eastern mints.²⁰⁵ The only coinage where mints deviated from the Alexandrine type represented unique propaganda types serving a specific or local function. The minimal deviation from the Alexandrine type clearly shows that this was the standard type of gold coinage for the empire. The significance of this image of Athena rested on the importance of Athena as a Macedonian god par excellence alongside Zeus. It is therefore unsurprising that the two major Macedonian deities who had played such a significant role on the coinage of Alexander continued to do so on the coinage of Seleucus I. This coinage not only preserved the Macedonian heritage but also continued the popular and accepted types of Alexander's coinage.

The head of Athena was not limited to gold coinage. Her image appeared on royal bronze coinage from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris on two different types; the first type features an obverse of Athena facing right in a crested Attic helmet and a reverse of a bull facing right about to charge (Figure 24).²⁰⁶ The second type features an obverse of Athena facing right in a crested Attic helmet and the reverse of a right facing elephant (Figure 25).²⁰⁷ This second type is clearly ideologically connected to the numerous issues of elephant chariot coinage, although the die controls link it to the preceding bronze series and precious metal coinage of the first rather than the second workshop at

²⁰⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 5. Salamis: See Price 1991: p. 29-30; Tyre: Kleiner 1949: p. 20-23.

²⁰⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 44-45, nos. 88-91, 102-104, 144, 184, 187, 220-221.

²⁰⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 125-127.

²⁰⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 128-129.

Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.²⁰⁸ A final bronze type issued from an unknown mint features an obverse of Athena's head facing right wearing a crested Corinthian helmet, and an obverse of a helmeted and cuirassed warrior advancing left brandishing a spear and shield (Figure 26).²⁰⁹

The image of Athena Promachos occurs in two separate types on Seleucus I coinage. She is portrayed as a lone figure on some bronze coinage of Antioch-on-the-Orontes²¹⁰ (Figure 5), she appears riding in an elephant chariot on issues from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (both in an elephant *quadriga* and *biga*), Susa, Uncertain Mint 19, and Aï Khanoum (Figure 16).²¹¹ Thus the image of Athena Promachos was linked in the East specifically with the elephants of Seleucus. The image of Athena brandishing a shield and a spear on the elephant coinage may in fact be a distinct development of the fighting Athena type and should be considered separate from the lone Athena Promachos that occurs at Antioch-on-the-Orontes. The third type is the image of Athena Promachos advancing on the prow of a ship from the bronze coinage of Aradus (Figure 27).²¹² This image appears to be a distinct maritime symbol and Newell originally identified this as a civic rather than royal bronze coinage.²¹³ Houghton includes it as a royal bronze,²¹⁴ because the larger denomination shows a horizontal anchor facing left above the ship which suggests Seleucid control.

The image of Athena Promachos on the coinage of Alexander and the *diadochoi* has typically been considered as a representation of a statue in Pella by Alkis or Alkidemos.²¹⁵ Havelock has convincingly argued that the image on Ptolemaic coins comes from the representation of Athena on Panatheniac victory vases and served as part of Ptolemaic propaganda.²¹⁶ Havelock attributes Seleucus' use of this image to similar philhellenic propaganda originating from his new foundation at Antioch-on-the-Orontes; additionally she considers it based on Ptolemy's coinage issued when Seleucus served under Ptolemy.²¹⁷ There are two potential problems with Havelock's explanation of Seleucus' use of the coinage, first she cites the foundation of Antioch as the new

²⁰⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 57.

²⁰⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 303.

²¹⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 15-16.

²¹¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 130-133, 177-180, 259-263, 272-283.

²¹² Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 72-73.

²¹³ *WSM*: p. 193-195.

²¹⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 37-38.

²¹⁵ *LIMC*: Athena, p. 1040; Davis and Kraay 1973: no. 122.

²¹⁶ Havelock 1980: 41-50.

²¹⁷ Havelock 1980: 47.

capital of the empire as evidence for the prominent philhellenism of Seleucus. It does not appear that Antioch was founded to serve as the capital of the empire, let alone even as one of the multiple capitals. This role was filled by Seleucia-on-the-Tigris as well Seleucia-in-Pieria. Second, it is striking that she does not mention the cool relationship between Seleucus and Ptolemy after Ipsus or their conflict over Coile-Syria. Havelock argues that “soon afterward [after 300] he reached out to the Greeks of Syria by issuing a large series of bronze coins bearing the fighting Athena, facing right, with shield and spear, and the familiar swallowtail mantle”.²¹⁸ Seleucus’ use of this symbol which is connected to Ptolemy’s propaganda in Syria is interesting as both men laid claim to the region to the south. It seems unlikely that Seleucus would deliberately issue coinage that advertised Ptolemaic philhellenism in that region, thus the coinage must have had independent significance for the local inhabitants.

V.2: PERSEUS/GORGON HEAD

Although Perseus had long been considered by the Greeks to be a divine ancestor of the Persian royal house,²¹⁹ Seleucus I rarely invoked this prominent Greek god in his propaganda. There is only one story that connects Seleucus to Perseus, which is the story of the foundation of Antioch in Malalas, where Seleucus sacrificed to Zeus in a temple built by Perseus.²²⁰ The only other example of Perseus propaganda in the Seleucid empire is the appearance of the gorgoneia on bronze coins from throughout the empire in the 280s. Perseus’ imagery does reoccur on coins struck by the competing kings Antiochus II *Theos* and Antiochus Hierax. It is possible that Seleucus I, or his descendants, would have advertised a connection to Perseus, as Alexander had done. He would have done so through his Persian wife Apame.²²¹

The gorgoneia coins were produced at Sardis, Magnesia-on-the-Meander, Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Susa, Ecbatana, and Ai Khanoum (Figure 19). This coinage represents a break with the other bronze issues that were produced; it marked the first full systematic iconographic change which had occurred at such a broad range of Seleucid mints, nearly simultaneously. The coinage must also be linked to the propaganda of Seleucus I, himself, as the coinage did not continue into the reign of

²¹⁸ Havelock 1980: 47.

²¹⁹ Herodotus 7.150, 7.61.150, 7.61.220; Aeschylus *Persians*, 79-80; Hellanicus FgH 4 F59.

²²⁰ Malalas *Chronicle* 198–200; Pausanias of Antioch *FHG iv* p. 467–8, F3 = John Malalas *Chronicle* 37–8 Dindorf; cf. Ogden 2008: 116-117.

²²¹ Grainger 1990: 47-8, 55-6.

Antiochus I. This is interesting in that the coinage occurs in the eastern mints, which I have proposed were subject to Antiochus' influence when he served as co-ruler. Antiochus must have approved of these issues, even if he did not continue to mint the type after his father's death, as his name occurs with that of his father in the legend from the Medusa/Bull coins from Ai Khanoum.²²² Houghton proposes an interesting explanation for this coinage: "The blood of the dying Medusa had supernatural powers: from one vein Asclepius took blood to revive the dead, and from the other blood with poisonous properties. At a time when dynastic transition drew increasingly imminent, Medusa may have been invoked because she combined apotropaic magic with the gift of renewal."²²³ This may be the best explanation of the image. Give the widespread use of this coinage; it must have had some propaganda value, although it is now unclear what it represented.

V.3: HERACLES

The image of Heracles is extremely common on the coinage of Seleucus I. The image is largely a continuation of the coinage of Alexander (and Argead tradition), as was the Athena coinage. However, as with the Athena coinage, the image of Heracles did appear in contexts outside of the Alexandrine coinage.

The Alexandrine tetradrachm, which was the standard silver coinage of the empire under Seleucus I, featured an obverse with the head of young Heracles facing right in a lion-skin headdress and a reverse of Zeus enthroned facing left holding either Nike or an eagle and sceptre (Figure 13 and Figure 14). The reverse of this coinage has been discussed above. The image of Heracles, given its prominence on this coinage, it must have continued to be significant for Seleucus, as the tetradrachms of this type were produced at nearly every mint that produced silver coinage: Sardis, Tarsus, Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Antigonea-on-the-Orontes, Seleucia-in-Pieria, Laodicea-by-the-Sea, Carrhae, Uncertain Mints 1-7 and 10-17, Babylon (both workshops), Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (both workshops), Susa, and Ecbatana. Nisa produced lead tetradrachms of the Alexandrine type. Therefore, the image of Heracles was widespread throughout the empire. While Seleucus is not clearly associated with Heracles in the literary traditions, a clear association between a Hellenistic king and Heracles was made by the court poets

²²² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 290.

²²³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 9.

of Ptolemy Philadelphus a generation later.²²⁴ The later coinage of Antiochus I which featured Heracles resting after his labours may have promoted the association between these two kings.²²⁵ It is remarkable how little Seleucus I employed the image of Heracles, considering the use that Alexander had made of him.²²⁶

Heracles also appears on non-Alexandrine type coinage, although the image of Heracles is still the Alexandrine-type, at Aradus, Uncertain Mint 15, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (possibly), and Ecbatana.²²⁷ The bronze coinage of Aradus features the obverse of the head of young Heracles facing right in a lion-skin headdress and the reverse of a prow of a ship on which a small Athena Promachos advances to the left (Figure 27).²²⁸ Given the appearance of the anchor on the larger denomination the coinage is royal in origin; nevertheless the symbolism of the reverse appears to be highly local on account of the city's prominent port. The obverse recalls the standard image of Heracles on Alexandrine coinage. The reverse image appears to have nothing to do with the Heracles on the obverse. The Alexandrine image of Heracles also appears on bronze coinage from Uncertain Mint 15, the reverse features a bow in case and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (Figure 28).²²⁹ The bow in this case refers to one of Heracles most prominent weapons. The coinage came from Drangiana or Western Arachosia, the Seleucid border with the Indian empire. It was designed to demonstrate a strong Seleucid presence on the border. The only coinage featuring a non-Alexandrine Heracles comes from Uncertain Mint 19 (perhaps Bactra), the obverse of this coinage features a bearded Heracles facing right (rather than the young Heracles favoured by Alexander) wearing a lion-skin headdress, and a reverse of a Horned Elephant (Figure 29).²³⁰ A similar coinage with the image of a young Heracles on the obverse occurs at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.²³¹ The attribution of this type to the mint at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris has been questioned by Kritz, who wishes to assign the coinage to an unidentified

²²⁴ Theocritus, *Idyll 17*, 30-33. Cf. Hunter 2003: 30 for the closeness between Heracles, Alexander and Ptolemy I based on the holding of Heracles weapons.

²²⁵ For further discussion of this coinage see Chapter 2: 133ff.

²²⁶ For examples comparisons between Alexander and Heracles see Bosworth 1988b: 85, 113, 116, 125, 128, 203; Bosworth 1995: 180-182; Smith 1991: 21.

²²⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 72-73, 243, 147, 203, 209, 213 and p. 47.

²²⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 72-73.

²²⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 243.

²³⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 264-266.

²³¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 147.

mint in either Babylonia or Mesopotamia.²³² The horned elephant is an undeniable symbol of Seleucid power (combining the bull-horned horse symbol with the elephant symbol), and it appears that the bearded Heracles was meant to differentiate this elephant type from an association with Alexander. The bearded Heracles may also be an early reflection of the preference for a bearded Heracles by the later Greco-Bactrian kings.²³³

The image of Heracles was especially popular at Ecbatana; there the obverse of the lion-skin covered head of a young Heracles is paired with three separate reverses. As with most other mints he is paired with the image of Zeus *Aetophoros* in the Alexandrine style.²³⁴ He also appears paired with his normal weapons: the club, the quiver and bow.²³⁵ Finally, the Heracles obverse appears paired with a hero with Dionysiac attributes, wearing helmet adorned with bull's ear and horns, panther skin over shoulders, mounted on horned horse.²³⁶ The horseman reverse type is one of Seleucus' most innovative types and its significance is discussed above.

V.4: DIOSCURI

The image of one of the Dioscuri is used on bronze coins from Uncertain Mint 19 (an eastern mint) and from an unknown mint that may in fact be Uncertain Mint 19.²³⁷ The reverse image of the coins from Uncertain Mint 19 is the forepart of a horse (Figure 30). The reverse on the coins from the other mint feature an anchor (Figure 31).²³⁸ The Dioscuri appear to have local importance, given their low value and the later appearance of the Dioscuri on Indo-Bactrian kings coinage.²³⁹ The image of the Dioscuri is not replicated anywhere else during the reign of Seleucus I, but these twin gods do appear on coinage issued under nearly all subsequent Seleucid kings. These gods, although often restricted to bronze issues, must have maintained a great deal of significance as

²³² The coinage type was originally assigned to Susa by *ESM*: 125; Le Rider 1965: 26-27 assigned the coinage to Seleucia-on-the-Tigris on the basis of fabric, straight edge and thick flan. Cf. Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 65.

²³³ Cf. Gardner and Poole 1886: p. 4-5, 8, 10.

²³⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 216-217.

²³⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 218.

²³⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 203, 213.

²³⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: Uncertain Mint 19: nos. 269-270, Perhaps Uncertain Mint 19: no. 271

²³⁸ Cf. Kriti 1996: p. 10 no. 46.

²³⁹ Cf. Gardner and Poole 1886: p. 14-17.

they occur so frequently throughout the empire. The importance of these gods may be reflected in the dedication to the Saviour Gods from Seleucus I dedication at Didyma.²⁴⁰

V.5: PLUTO

One of the few examples of Seleucus I's benefactions to temples in Asia Minor after Corupedium in 281 comes from the temple of Pluto near what would become Nysa.

King²⁴¹ Seleucus and Antiochus to Sopatrus, [greeting]. The Athymbriani [having sent] to us [as envoys] Iatrocles, Artemidoros, and Timotheus in the matter of their [right of receiving suppliants, their inviolability, and their tax-exemption], we have [.....] the details and have written to you [that you may give them a formal] reply. [For our policy is always] through benefactions [to please] the citizens [of the Greek cities and] with reverence to join in increasing [the honours] of the gods, [so that we may be the object of good-will] transmissible for all time [to those who come after] us. We are convinced that before this also we have given [many great] proofs of our personal [reverence, and] now also, [wishing] to be consistent with [our actions from the beginning], we grant to all the temples which have the right of inviolability....²⁴² -RC 9 (Translation Welles)

This decree granted *asylia*, the right to receive and protect suppliants, and tax exemption to the sanctuary.²⁴³ If we accept the uncertainty of restoration, then the inscription reveals Seleucus' interest in the Greek sanctuaries of Asia Minor. This Plutonium was most likely a pre-Greek temple that was renamed by the colonising Greeks although its daily life was probably unchanged. Seleucus therefore can be seen to be maintaining privileges that were previously held and not making new concessions. However, this benefaction was probably one among many which allowed later writers to favourably compare Seleucus' rule with that of Lysimachus.²⁴⁴ This letter is evidence for a deliberate policy of benefactions to the cities of Asia Minor and their related

²⁴⁰ RC 5.

²⁴¹ The use of the singular of king does not mean that Antiochus did not use the royal title when not paired with his father, see RC 5 cover letter for mention of both kings, and only Seleucus in body text.

²⁴² RC 9 [- - - Βασιλε]ῦς Σέλευκος καὶ Ἀντίοχος Σωπάτ[ρωι χαίρειν·] / [ἀποστειλάτων πρ]ὸς ἡμᾶς Ἀθυμβριανῶν περὶ τῆς [ἰκεσίας καὶ ἀσυ-] / [λίας καὶ ἀτελείας] Ἰατροκλέα Ἀρτεμίδωρον Τειμόθ[εον πρέσβεις, -] / [- - - -] ἡμεν τὰ κα[τὰ μ]έ[ρ]ος καὶ σοὶ γεγρά[φ]αμεν ἵνα διὰ / [πλειόνων αὐτοῖς] χρηματίσης. [προαιρούμ]ε[θ]α γὰρ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων / [πόλεων ἀεὶ τοῖς πολ]ίταις μὲν εὐερ[γετοῦντες χαρίζεσθαι, οὐχ ἥκισ-] / [τα δὲ καὶ σὺν εὐ]σεβήαι συναύξειν τὰς τῶν θε[ῶν τιμὰς, ὥστ' εὐμέ-] / [νειαυ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμ]ᾶς παραδόσιμον ε[ἶ]ς τὸν αἰῶνα πο[- - ἡμῖν] / [γενήσεσθαι. πεπ]είσμεθα μὲν καὶ διὰ τῶν προτέρω[ν χρόνων πολλὰς] / [καὶ μεγάλας ἀ]ποδείξεις δεδωκέναι τῆς ἰδίας [ἡμῶν εὐσεβείας,] / [βουλόμενοι δὲ κα]ὶ νῦν σύμφωνοι γενέσθαι τοῖς ἐξ [ἀρχῆς πεπραγ-] / [μένοις ἐπιτρέπ]ομεν πᾶσιν μὲν τοῖς ἀσ[υ]λίαν κεκτημένοις (?).

²⁴³ RC 9, ll. 2-3.

²⁴⁴ For a clear analysis of Lysimachus benefactions and the slurs against him see: Lund 1992: 164-169.

temples in order to win over public opinion in the Greek world. It does not seem that Seleucus differentiated between purely Hellenic cities and temples or native temples in his benefactions.

VI: NON-GRECO-MACEDONIAN RELIGION AND SELEUCUS I

VI.1: BABYLON

It is clear that Seleucus took a special interest in the religious life of Babylon, as did his son. Anecdotal evidence for this is contained in the various Greek historical accounts when they claim popular support for Seleucus at Babylon,²⁴⁵ especially in his return and battles for the city in 312-307. Support is also given to this claim by the Babylonian chronicles, as well as the “native” coinage issued from Babylon. I follow Kuhrt and Sherwin-White’s claim that the foundation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris was not intended to have a detrimental effect on Babylon, but that Babylon continued to have an important role in the Seleucid empire.²⁴⁶ Although the evidence is fairly limited for the activity of Seleucus I, it is relatively extensive in the reign of his son, and it seems logical to conclude that the activities of Antiochus I were not out of line with the activities of his father.

The Babylonian chronicles show that Seleucus was involved with the Babylonian temples in the years 321, 317/16, 315/14, 311, and 309/8.²⁴⁷ The chronicles refer to dust being removed from the temple of Esagil; this refers to construction on the temple started shortly after Alexander’s death. This work was clearly important for Seleucus as he was occupied with warfare during most of his tenure in Babylon. A favourable comparison can be made between Seleucus and Antigonus, who around March 2, 309 burned the store houses of the god Nergal.²⁴⁸ This may explain why Seleucus “enjoyed the warm support of the local population, while Antigonus, ostensibly acting for the Macedonian throne, treated Babylonia as enemy territory.”²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ Geller 1990: 5-6; Diod. 19.90-92.

²⁴⁶ Sherwin-White 1987: 1-31.

²⁴⁷ *BCHP* 3: obv: 25, rev: 5, 33, 35, for a summary of the campaign and the lack of records of it in the western sources see: Wheatley 2002: 39-47.

²⁴⁸ *BCHP* 3: rev: 27.

²⁴⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 43.

The coinage of Babylon is divided by Houghton into two workshops; one the “imperial” workshop produced coinage of the Alexandrine type and showed a marked continuity with both Alexander’s lifetime and early posthumous coinage. This coinage appears to have circulated exclusively in the west, especially Europe and Asia Minor.²⁵⁰ In the second workshop at Babylon, the “native” or “satrapal” workshop, the coinage was initially a continuation of the Ba’al/lion types that had begun during Alexander’s lifetime, minted by the satrap Mazaeus (Mazdai) (r. 331-328).²⁵¹ This series continued under Seleucus, but the reverse was marked with his personal symbol, the anchor (Figure 32). This coinage was originally dated from Seleucus’ assumption of the royal title, but an earlier date now seems preferable. Houghton and Lorber have argued that the association of the ‘anchor Alexanders’ with the native Ba’al/lion coinage may be of special significance in this historical context.²⁵² The anchor symbol shows Seleucus’ support for the manufacture of the “native” type coinage, and therefore a respect for the native ruling elite. It is the support of the Babylonian elite that proved vital to Seleucus when he returned to Babylon in 312. This coinage was also minted at the important eastern mints of Susa and Ecbatana, demonstrating the importance of this type for Seleucus in the eastern portion of his empire.

The most important act of Seleucus’ reign concerning Babylon was the foundation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Three ancient authors refer to the construction of the new city; Pausanias states that Seleucus moved the population of Babylon to Seleucia and that only the “Chaldaeans” remained around the “temple of Bel”.²⁵³ Pliny states that Seleucus built his new capital with the purpose of reducing the importance of Babylon and that only the “temple of Jupiter Bel” remains.²⁵⁴ The ancient Greek opinion on the effect of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris on Babylon is followed by numerous modern scholars.²⁵⁵ The version of the foundation preserved in Appian also preserves the idea that the new city was detrimental to Babylon, but it also preserves a detail that Seleucus consulted the Magi (who in this case are probably Chaldean priests) before the founding of the city. The story may also preserve a note of hostility between the Babylonian priesthood and Seleucus, for the priests give Seleucus an inauspicious time to start the

²⁵⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 40.

²⁵¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 88-91.

²⁵² Cf. Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 43.

²⁵³ Paus. 1.16.3.

²⁵⁴ Pliny, *NH* 6.30.121f.

²⁵⁵ Cf. Downey 1988: 9.

foundation of the city only to be prevented by divine intervention.²⁵⁶ Although the population may have been reduced and the city ceased to function as the sole political centre of the kingdom, it remained a significant religious site throughout the Seleucid period. Both the literary accounts of Pausanias and Strabo emphasise the continuation of the “temple of Bel”. The epigraphic and archaeological evidence do not allow for a complete picture of Seleucus’ religious activities in either Babylon or Seleucia. Hoover suggests that the production of bull type coinage struck at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris in the late 290s was a piece of Seleucid propaganda demonstrating the piety of Seleucus and as a bulwark against religious based unrest in the region. Seleucid involvement at Babylon is clearer under the reign of Antiochus I (both as sole king and as co-ruler). After his accession to the co-rulership in 294/3 Antiochus reigned in the east and was headquartered at Babylon or Seleucia and enough evidence remains of his dedications to the Babylonian temples that it is possible to conclude that both Seleucus and Antiochus respected and honoured the temples and the city. The evidence concerning Antiochus I will be covered in the section on Antiochus and Babylon (Chapter 2).

VI.2: SELEUCUS I AND THE RELIGION OF APAME

The importance of Apame to the religious life of both her husband Seleucus I and her son Antiochus I should not be underestimated. Apame, the daughter of the Bactrian satrap Spitamenes,²⁵⁷ was the only wife of a successor from Alexander’s mass weddings at Susa in 324.²⁵⁸ As a result of the longevity of this marriage, which lasts until at least 298 and perhaps longer,²⁵⁹ it is probable that she had some influence on her husband’s knowledge of her native religion. She was highly regarded by her husband, who named no less than three cities after her.²⁶⁰ Carney has questioned the impact that the royal women for whom cities were named could have exerted,²⁶¹ but the area in which a queen could have the most impact was on the upbringing of her children, in this case the future king Antiochus I. Apame’s influence was also evident in her support of Seleucid troops in her homeland.²⁶² Apame’s greatest impact on Seleucid religious practice was most likely through her son, who may have given support to the Zoroastrian temple of

²⁵⁶ Appian, *Syr.* 58.

²⁵⁷ Cf. Mehl 1986: 18 and Lane Fox 1973: 302 for the Zoroastrian link with the name Spitamenes.

²⁵⁸ Arrian, *Anab.* 7.4.4-8; Athen. 12.538b-539c.

²⁵⁹ Ogden 1999: 119.

²⁶⁰ Appian, *Syr.* 57; Strabo 16.749.

²⁶¹ Carney 1988: 141.

²⁶² Robert 1984: 467-472.

Anahita²⁶³ and celebrated what Polyainos calls a “Persian festival” in c. 273. However, if Apame was successful in introducing her son to the Zoroastrian faith it seems logical to conclude that her husband obtained at least a passing knowledge of the faith, although there is no evidence to support the claim.

VII: CONCLUSION

The coinage of Seleucus I was largely a continuation of Alexander’s coinage with a limited but important degree of modification which allowed for a clear differentiation between the two kings. The relatively large number of gods which appear on Seleucus’ coinage suggest that he sought to develop his own legitimacy through the patronage of whatever gods were available and relevant. Furthermore, in competition with the other successors, Seleucus created new images that placed him on an equal footing with Alexander, and began to create his own claims to divine support. While the codification of this support into the form of the Seleucid Apollo was largely the work of his son and successor, Seleucus had laid the ground work through his new ties to Zeus. The next chapter will develop the argument that Apollo could be interpreted in a Babylonian, Iranian or Greek context and thus provided a satisfactory god to serve as the divine progenitor of the house of Seleucus and thus differentiate them from their competitors.

²⁶³ Robert 1984: 471.

CHAPTER 2: ANTIOCHUS I

I: INTRODUCTION

I.1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Antiochus I was the eldest son of the Bactrian princess Apame and Seleucus I, he was therefore the most prominent example of Alexander's policy of mixing his Macedonian generals with local elites. Antiochus I first appears in the sources in charge of the Seleucid cavalry at the battle of Ipsus in 301 (where he cannot have been older than 23) In the battle he was pursued by Demetrius far enough that Demetrius' cavalry could not resume the battle, helping secure victory by his flight.¹ In c. 294 Antiochus I was married to Seleucus I's young wife Stratonice, elevated to co-ruler with his father and placed in control of the Eastern half of the empire.² The marriage to Stratonice, although called a love match by Plutarch, represents an attempt to ensure continuity and prevent the problems of succession that had plagued the Argead dynasty.³ Furthermore, in addition to his mixed heritage, if Lucian is to be believed, in Stratonice he gained a partner who was interested in local sanctuaries, specifically Hierapolis/Bambyce.⁴ Antiochus I made his capital Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, although he spent a fair portion of his co-reign in Bactria.⁵ During his period as co-ruler (c.294-281), he appears to have been active founding cities as well as re-enforcing Seleucid power, especially in Persis.⁶ Antiochus I appears to have been especially active in both Babylonia and Bactria, in particular the Babylonian temples of Esagil and Ezida (Marduk and Nabû) and the city of Ai Khanoum in Bactria.

Despite the careful preparations of Seleucus I in establishing a successor before his death, his untimely demise at the hands of Ptolemy Ceraunus in Thrace forced Antiochus to fight to retake his royal inheritance. The murder of Seleucus provided an opening for the powers in Asia Minor to assert their independence with varying degrees

¹ Plut. *Dem.* 29.3.

² Plut. *Dem.* 32, 38; Appian, *Syr.* 59-61; Eusebius, *Chron.* 1.40.5; Diodorus 21.1.21.

³ Cf. Ogden 1999: 124-126; See Breebaart 1967: 163 for potential resistance by Stratonice to the marriage and the importance of the Macedonian connections.

⁴ Lucian, *De Dea Syria* 31.

⁵ Holt 1999: 26; Will 1979-1982: 359-362, 368-379, 376-381.

⁶ For general settlements see: Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 20-21. For Persis see: Austin 2006: 190 ll. 14-21.

of success, particularly Pergamum and the Northern League.⁷ The year following Seleucus' death, Ptolemy II took advantage and attacked, taking Miletus in c.278.⁸ Ma notes that Ptolemaic interests in Asia Minor may have begun before the death of Seleucus.⁹ Additionally, the cities of the Syrian Seleucis may have revolted, perhaps with the aid of Ptolemy.¹⁰ The evidence for this revolt is a single inscription from Ilium which has been traditionally dated to the reign of Antiochus I.¹¹ Despite his efforts, Antiochus appears to have lost significant territory in Asia Minor including Caria, Lycia, Cilicia, and Pamphylia.¹² The most significant occurrence in Asia Minor during his reign was the invasion of the Galatians. Once brought across the Bosphorus to Antiochus' enemy Zipoetes of Bithynia in 279 they sowed havoc among the cities of Asia Minor which received very little Seleucid protection. Coşkun has recently argued that the Galatian wars were largely continuous and that Antiochus I's so-called "Elephant-Victory" was a creation of later propaganda, although some significant settlements were made.¹³ The Seleucid hold in Asia Minor always remained the most tenuous, as they faced competition from numerous major or minor powers.

Antiochus fought a brief war against Ptolemy II, the so-called First Syrian War, between 275-271. The war appears to have centred partially on Seleucid support for Magas the Ptolemaic governor of Cyrenaica. The results of the war are unclear, although it must have contributed to a decline in Seleucid power in Asia Minor.¹⁴

Antiochus always maintained strong relations with Babylonia both during the period of his co-rule with his father and as sole king. He ordered work done for the restoration of the Marduk temple complex at Babylon and the Nabû complex at Borsippa. He also followed his father's practice of appointing his son as co-ruler in the east. However, in the 260s some form of family crisis developed and he had his eldest son and co-ruler, Seleucus, executed (or he was murdered).¹⁵ Eventually, the future Antiochus II was associated with Antiochus I as co-ruler of the empire.

⁷ Will 1979-1982: 135-142.

⁸ *I. Didyma* 123; *Milet* I, 3, 123.

⁹ Ma 2000.

¹⁰ *OGIS* 219 = *I.Ilium* 32 = Austin 2006: 139; Grainger 1990: 196-197 rejects the idea of Ptolemaic intervention.

¹¹ *OGIS* 219; cf. Ma 1999.

¹² Theocritus, *Idyll* 17.88-9.

¹³ See Coşkun Forthcoming.

¹⁴ Will 1979-1982: 144-150.

¹⁵ Trog. *Prol* 26.

The final crisis of Antiochus I's reign occurred near the end of his life. Eumenes the successor to Philetaerus of Pergamum successfully asserted his independence from Antiochus by defeating him near Sardis.¹⁶ Finally, Ephesus appears to have slipped into Ptolemaic control.¹⁷

Antiochus I's career was largely occupied with the consolidation of the empire, both territorially and iconographically. While he was less successful than his father in Asia Minor, he left a stable empire to his son and successor. The judgement of Plutarch that he led a comfortable and easy life seems out of place.¹⁸

I.2: LEGITIMACY AND ICONOGRAPHY

The legitimacy of Seleucus I's claim to rule his share of Alexander's empire rested largely on three factors. The first and most important factor was his successful military conquest of the largest portion of Alexander's empire. The concept of spear-won territory which provided legitimacy in Greco-Macedonian terms was especially relevant in conflicts with the other diadochs.¹⁹ The second factor in creating legitimate Seleucid rule for Seleucus was his connection to Alexander. Seleucus did not share the close connection with Alexander that the other diadochs had, especially Lysimachus and Ptolemy. Nevertheless, Seleucus cautiously emphasised his connection to Alexander this was done through the retelling of events that were constructed to foreshadow Seleucus' eventual royal power and the support of Alexander. Seleucus also attempted to create new connections to Zeus that legitimated him as monarch independent of his relationship to Alexander. The third factor in creating Seleucid authority was Seleucus' close and largely positive relationship with the eastern inhabitants of his kingdom, especially Babylon.

In maintaining his rule, Antiochus I faced a separate set of problems from his father. On his father's assassination in 281 Antiochus was already endowed with royal authority and had been ruling the eastern half of the empire for nearly 15 years. Despite Antiochus I's role as co-ruler and heir he faced rebellion in the recently conquered western provinces. Owing to the success of Seleucus I and Antiochus I in securing the

¹⁶ Will 1979-1982: 151-152.

¹⁷ Strabo 13.4.2; Athen. 593a.

¹⁸ Plut. *Mor.* 341a.

¹⁹ See Davies 2002: 6; For an emphasis on the instability of the Hellenistic world and the constant desire for conquest see: Austin 1986: 455-457; for Hellenistic concepts of royal land see: Miletta 2002.

loyalty of the eastern portion of the empire, no major rebellions seem to have occurred in those regions while Antiochus was occupied with re-conquering significant portions of his father's empire.

Antiochus was therefore able to legitimise his rule through two means, first as the son of the previous king and second through his own military success. The first and most significant for this discussion was the creation of a divine ancestor for the house, and a religious structure that placed the king in his proper relation to the gods. The second, and far more radical choice, was the continuation of the regnal years of Seleucus I, instead of the normal practice of dating events by his reign. This created a continuous calendar system which constantly reinforced the legitimacy of the entire ruling house.

The key development of Antiochus I's presentation of his dynastic claims was the clear institution of Apollo as the divine patron and ancestor of the dynasty. In order to do this, Antiochus created the image of Apollo-on-the-omphalos which was to dominant Seleucid silver reverses for the next century. While divine support was still sought from the relevant local gods, it appears as if Apollo or gods who could be identified as Apollo were especially favoured. Importantly, the shift to Apollo does not represent a complete focus on Greek gods as Zahle has argued²⁰ but represents a more nuanced approach in which Apollo was actively assimilated to other gods, or potentially to local images of the king. This allowed for the presentation of a unified image of the empire that was also understandable by individual groups within the diverse population of the empire. The emphasis on these local interpretations may help explain the long lasting use of Apollo in the kingdom and his choice as patron deity.

II: ANTIOCHUS I AND APOLLO

The image of Apollo began to appear on Seleucid coinage during the reign of Seleucus I. The image appeared in two separate contexts, first in the west of the empire at Antioch and second in the east, which was under the control of Antiochus.²¹ The image of Apollo which developed into the standard Seleucid image was first created during the sole reign of Antiochus I.

²⁰ Zahle 1990: 133.

²¹ See Chapter 1: 48ff.

Antiochus began his reign as sole ruler in Bactria, most likely at Ai Khanoum. After hearing of his father's death he immediately moved westward in order to deal with the rebellions triggered by Seleucus' death. He established himself at Sardis, which became his principal mint. It is at this mint where he introduced the image of Apollo in conjunction with the portrait of the horned, deified portrait of Seleucus, and the image of Apollo-on-the-omphalos on silver tetradrachms.²² The image of Seleucus was then replaced on the obverse by the image of the diademed head of Antiochus I.²³ These images of Apollo on the silver tetradrachms at Sardis consist of two basic types. Apollo is either represented nude or with a slight drapery and sandals. When nude, Apollo holds a bow in his right hand (Figure 33). When clothed, Apollo holds arrows in his right hand and rests his left hand on a grounded bow (Figure 34).²⁴ These two basic differentiations were shared by most mints that coined Apollo-on-the-omphalos types. The Apollo-on-the-omphalos type was introduced gradually at the other mints throughout the empire. The most important mint for Antiochus was Seleucia-on-the-Tigris where the majority of his silver tetradrachm production occurred, as well as the fact that coins from the mint had the largest circulation of any of Antiochus' mints.²⁵ The Apollo coins at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris were therefore extremely important propaganda issues for Antiochus.

It is important to note the difference in focus on Apollo coinage between Seleucus I and Antiochus I. Apollo appeared in limited issues of Seleucus I, most prominently on the gold staters issued in the east, where Antiochus was co-ruler.²⁶ In all other cases Apollo appeared on bronze coinage with limited circulation, once again, limited mostly to the east, the one exception being his foundation at Antioch.²⁷ A cult of Apollo was developed at Antioch (Daphne) and the linkage between the local cult figure and the city is the likely cause of this coinage rather than an over-arching Seleucid policy.²⁸ The cult of Apollo may have been created as a piece of dynastic propaganda. However, the

²² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 323.

²³ See Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 324.

²⁴ See Houghton and Lorber 2002: Nude: nos. 327, 328; Clothed: nos. 311, 312, 324, 325, 331, 335, 360, 378, 379, 380, 409, 410, 435-439.

²⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 139.

²⁶ The Apollo only appears on gold coins from the upper Satrapies that are minted c. 187. Cf. Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 163 and 257; Will 1967: 271 rightly connects these issues with Antiochus I's activity in the region.

²⁷ These were issued at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 148-150), an uncertain Babylonian mint (Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 112-113), and at Antioch (Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 15-20).

²⁸ Downey 1961: 42-43.

name of the city links the god not to Seleucus, but rather to his father and to his son, the future Antiochus I. Although Apollo did appear on coins minted under the name of Seleucus, these coins differ greatly from what became the established Seleucid image of Apollo. On all of these coins, the image of Apollo was confined to the obverse of the coins, while his attributes the bow and cithara were displayed on the reverse. The full figure of Apollo-on-the-omphalos did not appear on Seleucus' coins. The image of Apollo which appeared on the obverse of the Seleucus' coins consists of the laureate or diademed bust of the god. The image of a god on the obverse is generally replaced in the royal coinage of Antiochus I by the diademed image of the reigning monarch. This practice was followed by the rest of the Seleucid dynasty. This may have had the intended effect of replacing the divine authority of the coins with the regal authority of the king. It may also have been an attempt to associate the king with the gods he replaced. By this I am not suggesting the full deification of the king, but rather an acknowledgment of the importance of god-given kingship, a concept common both to Greek, Macedonian and Persian kings.²⁹

There are three main reasons for associating the introduction of Apollo as the Seleucid patron deity with Antiochus I rather than Seleucus I. The first is that the Seleucid association with Apollo did not begin until Antiochus was co-regent and began in areas under his suzerainty and in prominent sanctuaries to the god (Antioch/Daphne).³⁰ The second is that the standard Seleucid image of Apollo was created and essentially standardized during Antiochus I's reign. Finally, in the priest list from Seleucia-in-Pieria from 187-175 BC (reign of Seleucus IV) Antiochus I is listed Antiochus Apollo *Soter* whereas Seleucus is listed as Seleucus Zeus *Nicator*,³¹ which suggests that while Seleucus may have been viewed as the son of Apollo,³² it is his son that was most closely associated with the god.

The priest list from Seleucia-in-Pieria dates from 187-175BC and is the first appearance of the cult titles of Seleucus Zeus *Nicator* and of Antiochus Apollo *Soter*. While evidence for a centrally organized ruler cult of the living monarch does not appear before the reign of Antiochus III (r. 222-187 BC), it is likely that the cult titles

²⁹ Cf. Hesiod *Theogony*, 96; for a Persian view of divinely inspired kingship see: Lincoln 2008, with recent bibliography; King and Thompson 1907.

³⁰ The introduction of Apollo as the Seleucid royal deity does not appear to have begun until 288, several years after the assignment of Antiochus to co-ruler of the Upper Satrapies. See Chapter 1: 39ff.

³¹ *OGIS* 245.

³² See *RC* 22 for Seleucid descent from Apollo in the reign of Seleucus II.

developed for dynastic cults in Seleucia-in-Pieria were adopted from cult titles that the king received when he died.³³ It is unsurprising given the interest that both Seleucus I and Antiochus I had in the cultivation of divine favour that they are the only two deified Seleucid kings to be associated with a specific god in the priest list.

Seleucus I's cult title in this list *Seleucus Zeus Nicator* appears to be a logical extension of his association with Zeus, embodied both on his coinage and in his propaganda. The importance of this association is demonstrated by the continued association of Seleucus and Zeus in Roman Dura-Europus.³⁴ Therefore, it seems logical to suggest that the title *Antiochus Apollo Soter* is an extension of the Antiochus' propaganda associating himself with Apollo rather than associating his father with the god. The choice of Apollo as a patron deity is unexpected, and some have considered it a move away from the syncretistic model of Zeus followed by Seleucus I that was inclusive of all his subjects, rather than just his Greek subjects.³⁵ This conclusion can be drawn if we only examine the coins of Antiochus I which appear purely Greek. However, this conclusion is overly simplistic and does not account either for the mixed heritage of Antiochus I, nor is it the only conclusion that can be derived from the evidence. Antiochus I's development of the Apollo image will be examined first on the high value (gold and silver coinage) and then lower value (bronze) before turning the Antiochus I's relationship with Apollo at Miletus and Babylon as possible causes for the shift.

II.1: GOLD AND SILVER COINAGE

At first glance at the appearance of the Apollo coinage of Antiochus I, the most notable feature is that Apollo appears as a normal Greek deity, without any hint of oriental influence. The image of Apollo that appears on Antiochus' silver tetradrachm has several defining features. First he is always seated, either on an omphalos or on a tripod. Both of these recall the oracular power of Apollo. While the tripod is a clear symbol of Apollo's oracle, the symbolism of the omphalos is unclear. Babelon's suggestion that the omphalos represents the omphalos at the meeting of Antioch's four corners should be rejected largely because Antioch does not appear to have had the same importance as the heart of the Seleucid empire under Antiochus as it does later, nor did the omphalos

³³ The first ruler to be deified after his death was Seleucus I by Antiochus I, for a brief summary see Chaniotis 2003: 437; see Chapter 6 for a discussion of ruler cult.

³⁴ See Chapter 1; Downey 1988: 50 gives the god crowned as the Gad of Dura, Kaizer 2007 associates him with Zeus Olympios/Megistos.

³⁵ Zahle 1990: 125-139.

imagery begin there.³⁶ Rather the omphalos most likely represents a general omphalos stone which allowed connections to the divine, rather than either the Pythian omphalos or the one at Antioch.³⁷ Both of these are the features of Greek Apollo and do not appear to have any non-Greek influences. Interestingly, this particular image of Apollo seated on the omphalos with either a bow or an arrow does not occur previously and may therefore have represented a new cult statue created for the Seleucids.

The second feature of Apollo in all of the silver tetradrachms of Antiochus I is the bow and arrow(s). The bow and arrow(s) are held by Apollo in two poses. As mentioned above, nude Apollo holds a bow outstretched in his hand, where the clothed Apollo holds arrow(s) while resting his other hand on the bow. The difference between the two images is minor, but since the difference between the pose of nude Apollo and of clothed Apollo seems to be consistent this suggests that there is some difference between the two images.³⁸ The difference may be a general inclination not to reveal the god as nude for eastern audiences. The association between Apollo and archery is well known,³⁹ and therefore completely unsurprising that Apollo is suitably armed. While Apollo is normally associated with the bow and arrow, they are not exclusively Greek weapons, and are equally associated with Persian archers, as well as Assyrian and Babylonian gods. However, the common depiction of Apollo as an archer forces us to tie this image with the normal Greek conception of Apollo.

The largest inconsistency in the representation of Apollo as a non-nude archer is the number of arrows that he holds in his hand. It was once suggested that the number of arrows was an indication of the number of sons in the Seleucid house, but most scholars now argue that it is local variation before the imagery was fully standardised.⁴⁰ At Sardis he first holds two arrows, then one;⁴¹ at Smyrna he holds from one to three,⁴² (Figure 35 and Figure 36) at Tarsus he normally holds one but occasionally holds two;⁴³

³⁶ The Apollo-on-the-omphalos type first appears at Sardes during the reign of Antiochus I.

³⁷ Babelon 1890: xlv-xlviii.

³⁸ See below for the suggestion that Apollo may have represented the image of the king to the Persian provinces.

³⁹ Apollo is commonly referred to as far-shooting and depicted with bows. E.g. Homer, *Iliad* 1.20; LIMC Apollo: p. 184, nos. 43, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 78, 79, 270, 274, 270, 287, 324, 317, 324, 325, 332, 351, 384, 425, 434, 1000, 1001c, 1051, 1052, 1079, 1075.

⁴⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 115.

⁴¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: 2 arrows: no. 323; 1 arrow: nos. 324, 325.

⁴² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 311.

⁴³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 331 for 1 arrow; cf. *WSM*: no. 1295 for 2 arrows.

and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris he initially holds two then one;⁴⁴ finally at Ecbatana he always holds three.⁴⁵ This inconsistency suggests local variation moving towards the simplest portrayal with a single arrow, Ecbatana being the notable exception.

The silver coinage of Antiochus as shown above demonstrates no marked difference from the normal Greek representations of Apollo, nor do the coins point to any specific aspect of Apollo as they emphasise both his oracular ability and his role as hunter/archer. The royal bronze coinage of Antiochus reveals similar iconographic trends, but shows a greater variety of images.

II.2: BRONZE COINAGE

The images of the royal bronze coins can be divided into four groups. The first group **(A)** poses the smallest number of difficulties and replicates the image from the silver tetradrachms (the head of Antiochus on the obverse and the seated Apollo on the reverse), and is therefore not discussed separately. The second group **(B)** shows considerably more variety. This group consists of coins with the obverse of the laureate head of Apollo and a variety of Apollo linked images on the reverse, including the cithara, bow, and tripod. The third group **(C)** is interesting in that the obverse features the head of Apollo facing three-quarters right. The reverse features Nike erecting a trophy. The final group **(D)** of Apollo bronzes are similar to the first group but feature a standing Apollo rather than Apollo seated on the omphalos.

II.2.A: GROUP B

II.2.A.1: GROUP B 1 (APOLLO AND ARCHER IMAGERY)

First, we will consider the second group as it features the most variety. The first coin type of this group to be examined is a bronze issue from Sardis. The obverse features the laureate head of Apollo facing right, with hair loose on the back of his neck. The reverse features an arrowhead pointing downward flanked by BA and AN reading downward (Figure 37).⁴⁶ This type is nearly repeated on a similar size bronze (8-9mm in both cases) from Antioch-on-the-Orontes, the only major difference being that the

⁴⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: 2 arrows: no. 378; 1 arrow nos. 379, 380 (drachm).

⁴⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: Tetradrachm: no. 409; Drachm: no. 410.

⁴⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 326.

arrow faces upward on the Antioch type, and the legend reads B---A.⁴⁷ This coin type represents no significant deviation from the ideological message of the royal silver coinage; the emphasis is placed on Apollo's skill as an archer. One final coin type falls into the same ideological program and was also minted in Antioch, it features the obverse of laureate Apollo and the reverse of a bow.⁴⁸

II.2.A.2: GROUP B 2 (APOLLO AND CITHARA)

The next type of this group features the laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and a cithara on the reverse, with the royal name below the type. These issues were limited to the eastern part of the empire: Ecbatana,⁴⁹ Ai Khanoum⁵⁰ and an un-attributed far eastern mint (Figure 38).⁵¹ The coins from the un-attributed mint feature the legend to the right and left of the type rather than below. This type is connected the ideological image of Apollo-on-the-omphalos emphasizing another element of Apollo's domains. This is further suggested by the mint control link between this type and the larger first series of Antiochus I/Apollo-on-the-omphalos series at Ecbatana.⁵² The mint controls link the second series of Antiochus I/Apollo-on-the-omphalos at Ecbatana to another small coin with the obverse of the diademed head of Antiochus I, and a reverse of a tripod with a raven in front of it. The image of Apollo and a cithara may also link the coinage to the Babylonian god Nabû. In a statue from Dura-Europus from the Roman era a god holding a cithara is depicted with a Palmyrene dedication identifying the god as Nabû.⁵³ This image may depict the development of an association between Apollo and Nabû that began under Antiochus I.⁵⁴ While this coinage does not reflect an existing association between the gods it may be a part of the imagery that led to the development of the Apollo-Nabû syncretism of the Dura statue.

II.2.A.3: GROUP B 3 (APOLLO AND OMPHALOS/TRIPOD)

The next two coin types further recall associations between Apollo and his attributes that are revealed in Antiochus' silver coinage. The first of these two types comes from

⁴⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 350.

⁴⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 338.

⁴⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 418.

⁵⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 443.

⁵¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 424.

⁵² Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 149.

⁵³ Rostovtzeff, Brown et al. 1939: 266, pl. xxxvi.1; Downey 1977: 64-5 nos. 48 and 226; Dirven 1999: 128; *LIMC*: Nabu, no. 9 (Apollon, no. 494); Lightfoot 2003: 457, fig 38.

⁵⁴ See below; see also Erickson and Wright Forthcoming.

Antioch-on-the-Orontes and features the laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and an omphalos on the reverse (Figure 39).⁵⁵ This omphalos may represent the omphalos at Antioch, as suggested by Babelon for the silver omphalos, although it is unlikely.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the omphalos may be a more general symbol of Apollo. The second of this category features the obverse of Apollo and the reverse of a tripod (Figure 40).⁵⁷ As with the omphalos this both has clear connections to Apollo and connections to the seated Apollo type. In addition to the omphalos type considered above, the tripod coins were all minted at Antioch. This may reflect an emphasis on the oracular importance of Apollo at Antioch. Additionally it reflects an intense but more general interest in Apollo at Antioch. This seems logical given the connections between Apollo and Antioch both in legend and at the sanctuary at Daphne.

II.2.A.4: GROUP B 4 (APOLLO AND OTHER)

The final category of these Apollo coins consists of coins with the laureate bust of Apollo on the obverse and a reverse image that has no clear link with Apollo. The reverse images on these coins are either a Macedonian helmet, or a bull facing right, or an anchor, or Athena Promachos. Athena Promachos and Apollo appear on other bronze coins in an alternate configuration and emphasise the patronage of two major deities. The Apollo/Athena bronzes are most prominent at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. These coins were minted in four denominations with the same types and in two separate series with the same images (Figure 41).⁵⁸ The bull type comes from an unknown mint that may have been Antioch (Figure 42),⁵⁹ and repeats the images of some royal bronzes of Seleucus I from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.⁶⁰ This type may emphasise the connections between Seleucus and bull imagery. The Apollo/anchor coins are most likely from Syria but are unassigned to any mint (Figure 43).⁶¹ This coin emphasises the two stories concerning Seleucus' kingship found in Appian.⁶² The final type featuring a horned Macedonian helmet does not have a clear relation to Apollo, although the horns which adorn the helmet⁶³ are a reference to the first horned Seleucid issues and to the deified

⁵⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 349.

⁵⁶ Babelon 1890: xlv-xlviii.

⁵⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 336, 337, 347, 348.

⁵⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387.

⁵⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 354.

⁶⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 148-150.

⁶¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 359A.

⁶² Cf. Chapter 1: 56ff.

⁶³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 448-451.

portraits of Seleucus I (Figure 44). These coins from Aï Khanoum emphasise both the new royal god Apollo and the deified founder.

II.2.B: GROUP C (3/4 FACING APOLLO)

The third group of bronze coins identified above are those which feature the three-quarters facing head of Apollo on the obverse and Nike erecting a trophy on the reverse (Figure 45). These coins were minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris⁶⁴ and at Aï Khanoum⁶⁵, and are notable for the unusual portrait of Apollo which is utilized by later Seleucids. The normal bust on a coin was not front facing but rather in profile, with the notable exception of the gorgon head. While the three-quarters facing Apollo is not unique it does represent a change in the normal iconography of Seleucid coins. This may represent a non-western feature of the Seleucid coinage this mint, although its significance is unclear. The Nike erecting a trophy type had featured prominently on the hero types of Seleucus I, representing his victories in the east.⁶⁶ The repetition on this type in the east was to depict the growing connections between Apollo and the Seleucid house.

II.2.C: GROUP D (STANDING APOLLO)

The fourth type which feature a standing Apollo⁶⁷ (Figure 46) on the reverse are more interesting because they are used by Seleucus II on his precious metal issues. The ideological difference between the standing armed Apollo and the seated armed Apollo appears to be limited, as they feature the same symbolic markers: the bow and arrow.

The Apollo coinage of Antiochus I provided a new set of dynastic images that are distinct both from his father's coinage and that of Alexander. The few features that are retained often appear to reference specific attributes of Seleucus I (the Macedonian Helmet, the Nike type) and therefore do not appear to be references to Alexander. It appears as though Antiochus I deliberately chose the Apollo images to differentiate the Seleucids from the other successor kingdoms and to advertise the family connection to the god. It is now necessary to examine the potential reasons Apollo was chosen.

⁶⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 388-390.

⁶⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 455-460.

⁶⁶ Cf. Chapter 1: 72ff.

⁶⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 411-415, 391-393.

III: ANTIOCHUS I AND MILETUS/DIDYMA

One of the most important Apollo sanctuaries, Didyma, lay either on the boundaries of the Seleucid kingdom or within its sphere of influence. This sanctuary therefore was a logical shrine for the Seleucids to lavish attention on. The importance of Apollo in this region may have been one of the considerations that led to Seleucid interest in the sanctuary.

The first donation of Antiochus I to Miletus/Didyma occurred before he was elevated to co-ruler and is tied to the Milesian soldier Demodamas. The donation involved the payments of rent towards the upkeep of the sanctuary. The dedication is preserved by a decree proposed by Demodamas. He has been identified with the general of the Kings Seleucus and Antiochus mentioned in Pliny.⁶⁸ L. Robert dates the dedication to prior to Antiochus' elevation to co-ruler, although Demodamas is identified as the general of both kings in Pliny, owing to the naming formula in the inscription.⁶⁹ In the decree Antiochus is referred to as "Antiochus the oldest son of King Seleucus".⁷⁰ As this decree does not refer to Antiochus as king, while referring to Seleucus as king, Robert's dating is logical, as the inscription must date from between 305 and 293, and he places the dedication nearer to the eastern campaigns but after Ipsus in 300. As Robert concludes, this implies that the actions of Demodamas for the Seleucid kings likely took place in Seleucus' eastern campaigns in Bactria, therefore before 306. The connection between Antiochus and Seleucus in leading the campaign on which Demodamas served and this dedication raises the unanswerable question of Antiochus' role in these campaigns. It seems logical that he would have played a significant role, as in 301 he led the Seleucid cavalry at Ipsus and by 293 was king in the east and spent most of the next decade consolidating Seleucid influence in the region. The important association between Antiochus and this region and Demodamas and this region suggests a familiarity with each other.

While Robert's dating has been accepted, it raises interesting questions connecting Seleucid relations with Miletus, Antiochus' position before he was elevated to co-monarch, and early Seleucid relations with Apollo. The first of these questions has been

⁶⁸ Pliny, *NH*, 6.49.

⁶⁹ Robert 1984: 467-8.

⁷⁰ *OGIS* 213 = *I. Didyma* 479.

addressed in Chapter 1 in regards to a different dedication of Seleucus to the sanctuary. As Miletus was nominally under the control of Lysimachus during these dedications, it seems that Seleucus and his son were actively working to undermine the loyalty of the Milesians to their erstwhile ally. In this dedication Seleucus, Antiochus and Apame were responsible for the building of a stoa and dedicating the rents raised from the stoa to the upkeep of the sanctuary, while the city remained outside of their realm and was controlled by another major power.

The second question raised was the importance of Antiochus within Seleucid politics before he was co-ruler. It is clear that he had the power to act as a civic benefactor, order the assignment of revenues, and act independently from his father, although still in accordance his father's will. The stated reason for Antiochus' donation was emulation of his father's recent donation to the city. However, it seems that the influence of Demodamas and his respect for his home-land's god had an impact on the young future king. This impact is impossible to extrapolate from the meagre evidence. However, given Antiochus' future association with the god it must not be discounted.

Assessing the importance of Demodamas as a Milesian is particularly important for his relationship to Apollo and his relationship to Antiochus. The Milesians are typically considered to have been extremely attached to their local god, Apollo Didymeus. As noted in the first chapter, this god has strong connections with the Seleucid propaganda, particularly in the use of the oracles from the newly reinstated temple/oracle. In order to assess the possible impact of Demodamas on Antiochus we must look at their points of contact. In Pliny, Demodamas was responsible for dedicating altars to Didymean Apollo at the furthest outreaches of the Seleucid campaigns in which he participated. These campaigns of Seleucus I took place before Ipsus, and it is likely that Antiochus was included in these campaigns. The key role that Demodamas played in this campaign is revealed by his relationship with Apame. In an inscription she is thanked for her benefactions to the Milesians in the Seleucid army. Given that Apame is from the Upper Satrapies it is likely that her specific benefactions to Seleucid troops were in her home territory. As the dedication records benefactions of Apame to Milesian troops on the eastern campaigns, it is likely that the Milesian Demodamas (if he is the same one as the general recorded in Pliny) was the leader of this local contingent: ἐπειδὴ Ἀπά[μη ἡ] | βασίλισσα πρότερόν τε πολλήν εὐνοίαν καὶ προ[θυμίαν] | παρείχετο περὶ Μιλησίων | τοὺς στρατευομένου[ς σὺν] | [τ]ῶι βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ καὶ νῦν παραγενομέν[ων τῶμ] |

[π]ρεσβευτῶν.⁷¹ It appears from the close connection of these two dedications⁷² that honouring Apame was closely linked to the eastern campaigns of Seleucus I. Therefore we can link the Apollo altars which were set up in this campaign and the royal benefactions that Demodamas was in a position to direct to his home city. The connection between the King's family and Demodamas was significant for both parties; Demodamas received important donations for his home city from the king, as evidenced by the dedications. Outside of the military support provided by individual Milesians, the benefits for Antiochus are unclear; nevertheless his developing interest in Apollo may have been influenced by the Milesian's respect for his local deity.

While Demodamas did procure significant benefactions for his home city, it is unclear that the dedications to Apollo at Didyma were designed to strengthen the Seleucid claim to divine descendant from Apollo. As there is nothing in either decree to suggest an association between the Seleucids and Apollo, rather the dedications and honours seem to stem from a desire to honour the city of an important commander and to gain the allegiance of an important city belonging to a rival. These dedications therefore parallel the dedication sent to Didyma by Seleucus that is examined in chapter 1. Thus while Miletus/Didyma may have formed an important background for Antiochus I's interest in Apollo, it does not appear to provide a complete answer to why the god was chosen.

IV: ANTIOCHUS AND BABYLON

I argue that the choice of Apollo was conscious political decision made by Antiochus and his court in order to accomplish a political goal; part of which was to establish a legitimate divine heritage for Antiochus to bolster his right to rule. If this is the case, then why should he have chosen a patron deity with limited appeal outside of Asia Minor and Greece? As Zahle and others have pointed out, Zeus was a better deity for representing the diverse religious environment of the empire.⁷³ I suggest that the figure of Apollo was selected with not only his Greek population in mind, but also with the advantage of being able to project versions of other native gods, while still confirming Antiochus' questionable Greek identity. Antiochus' relations' with Apollo developed as he was elevated to co-ruler. While he had early in his career demonstrated interest in the

⁷¹ *I. Didyma* 480.

⁷² The dedication of Antiochus predates the dedication of Apame and is referred to in lines 10-13.

⁷³ Zahle 1990.

city of Miletus and its accompanying temple, this interest does not reveal any attempt to link his ancestors to the cult of Apollo. After Antiochus became co-ruler the images of Apollo on coins increased. Finally, when Antiochus became sole king and elder co-ruler the image of Apollo on his coinage began to be codified and took on its more permanent form. It is therefore necessary to examine all possible causes for this shift towards Apollo. While the connection between Demodamas, Miletus, Apollo, Antiochus and Apame may have had an impact on the choice of Apollo as a patron deity,⁷⁴ it seems unlikely in such a diverse empire that the sole ideological background of the patron deity was tied to a deity whose most important local shrine (Miletus/Didyma) they did not always control. Zahle over-emphasises the lack of potential broad appeal of the Apollo coinage, when she states:

A quick survey of the coins, however, reveals that the target group of the coin messages will clearly have been Greeks and Macedonians, and *not* the vast majority of their subjects, the Orientals, who were of a quite different background. The motifs are Greek, the style is Greek and the inscriptions are in Greek. Of course, the division into "Greeks" and "Orientals" became less and less marked during the Hellenistic period as did the distinction between "Greek" and "Oriental" gods.⁷⁵

Zahle appears to understate the importance of Greek design as the dominant image type, and Greek as the dominant legend type, both in Greek kingdoms and non-Greek kingdoms. Non-Greek dynasts often minted coins with legends in Greek and produced similar images.⁷⁶ It is therefore rather unsurprising that the legends on Seleucid coins after Seleucus I were always in Greek, the official language of the royal administration. And although the image of Seleucid Apollo is purely Greek, this does not require the Seleucid deity to appeal only to Greek sensibilities. I believe that to understand the choice of Apollo, we must look at the deities and other possible sources of inspiration present in the Seleucid empire and were identified with Apollo. There are two deities with whom Apollo is identified in the post-Seleucid period, Mithras and Nabû. The Apollo-Mithras identification is clearly shown in the tomb of Antiochus I of Commagene at Nemrut Dag.⁷⁷ This identification is problematic for the Seleucid period

⁷⁴ Robert 1984.

⁷⁵ Zahle 1990: 127-128; cf. Dijkstra 1995: 9 and Downey 1988: 3-5 for the difficulty of determining the purely Greek or purely Oriental nature of a city based on architecture.

⁷⁶ Some of the finest examples of "Greek" coinage come from the Indo-Greek kingdom, Lahiri 1965; For the Pontic kingdoms, Waddington, Babelon et al. 1925.

⁷⁷ Sanders 1996: 184-187, 197-199, 437-440.

because the monument represents an attempt by Antiochus I of Commagene to place himself as the divine descendant of both the Seleucid monarchs and the Persian kings, and therefore may be creating new Greco-Persian assimilations rather than adopting them from the Seleucids. As there does not appear to be any connection between these two deities during the Seleucid period, it seems prudent to focus on the identification of Apollo and Nabû. This is for two reasons, first because there is range of evidence for Apollo-Nabû connections outside of Babylon, and secondly because of the importance of Babylonia in the early Seleucid empire.

The most notable interaction between Antiochus and a non-Greek deity is that recorded on the Borsippa foundation cylinder commemorating his rebuilding of the temple of the god Nabû (Nebo in Syrian dialects). The cylinder is written in cuneiform script and in the Akkadian language. As Kuhrt and Sherwin-White have demonstrated, the text is traditionally under-utilized in examining Seleucid relations with Babylon.⁷⁸ And although it is included in Austin's source book⁷⁹ as an example of Seleucid relations with local cults, scholars still assume that the Seleucids after Seleucus I took little interest in local cults⁸⁰ except in cases where the king raided a temple.⁸¹ This interpretation derives from the relative lack of written evidence of direct Seleucid involvement in major local cults. However, for example, the Borsippa cylinder and Seleucus III's celebration of the Akitu festival⁸² demonstrate that the Seleucids either directly engaged with local religion (although not always in a respectful manner) and/or considered the temples under their regulatory power.⁸³ Further evidence of Antiochus' interest in Babylonian affairs is the work of Berossus produced for Antiochus around 290 BC.⁸⁴ Although Berossus' text survives only in fragments and differs from cuneiform texts that have survived, it contains a version of the Creation Epic (the *Enuma Eliš*) which was recited during the Akitu festival as well as at other times of the year.⁸⁵ Assuming that Antiochus functioned as Berossus' patron, then he had knowledge of at least the creation epic and a narrative of Babylonian history until his father's reign

⁷⁸ Sherwin-White 1991: 71; See Kosmin Forthcoming.

⁷⁹ Austin 1981: no. 189, also 2nd edition Austin 2006: no. 166 = BM 36277 = Sherwin-White 1991: 75-77.

⁸⁰ Zahle 1990: 125-129.

⁸¹ The great attention paid to Antiochus III's raids on eastern temples and Antiochus IV's relations with the Jews are the general exceptions.

⁸² Sherwin-White 1983: 156-159.

⁸³ For a discussion of Seleucid relations with temples in Asia Minor see Dignas 2002.

⁸⁴ Verbrugge and Wickersham 2001: 13 cf 13-15 for argument on the biography of Berossos and whether there were two men of the same name.

⁸⁵ For repetition of the myth throughout the year see Çağırangan and Lambert 1991-1993: 89-106.

available to him and was thus able to place himself within a Babylonian tradition of kingship.⁸⁶

IV.1 NABÛ

In order to understand why the god Nabû was linked with Antiochus and Apollo, I will first briefly examine the pre-Seleucid background of the god and then turn to his relations with the early Seleucids. The god Nabû was originally an insignificant Babylonian deity who rose to prominence by the time of Neo-Babylonian Empire, 626-539 BC. Nabû began as a scribal god associated with Marduk and housed in his temple. By the end of the Kassite period, about 1595-1125 BC, he was considered to be Marduk's son. As Zeus was generally associated with Marduk as the chief god of the pantheon by the Greeks, his son Apollo could be equated with Nabû. Both as a scribal god and in imitation of his father he became the god of divine wisdom, who was often associated with the tablets of destiny. From the Kassite period on, Nabû grew in importance, by the first millennium BC becoming the chief god of Borsippa with his temple in Ezida, replacing his father Marduk as chief god of the city. By the Neo-Babylonian Empire (626-539 BC), Nabû was equal in prominence to his father, and celebrated as "lord of the gods" (*bel ili*) and "king of the gods of heaven and underworld" (*lugal dimmerankia*).⁸⁷ The equally powerful and related roles of Marduk and Nabû in the Seleucid era are revealed by Antiochus' emphasis on building the temples of both gods in his Nabû cylinder. This parallels the description of the Babylonian king Marduk-apla-iddina II as "worshipper of Nabû and Marduk, worshipper of Esagil and Ezida".⁸⁸ Additionally, in Seleucid era documents from southern Mesopotamia, Nabû also received the title "lord of the universe".⁸⁹

Thus, by the Seleucid era Nabû was a popular deity throughout Babylonia and western Mesopotamia/Eastern Syria.⁹⁰ The popularity of Nabû in this area was likely a significant factor in Seleucid reverence for this deity. Additionally, it appears likely to explain the post-Seleucid connection between Apollo and Nabû which can be seen at

⁸⁶ Cf. Kuhrt 1987a: 32-56.

⁸⁷ Lambert 1978: 79.

⁸⁸ Lambert 1978: 79.

⁸⁹ McEwan 1981: 35, 123, and 125.

⁹⁰ Bounni 1976: 46-48.

Dura, Palmyra, Edessa, and Hierapolis.⁹¹ Nevertheless, the evidence for the association between Apollo and Nabû all dates from after the end of the Seleucid dynasty. The evidence examined here shows that this connection began to develop during the Seleucid era and at the earliest during the reign of Antiochus I. The material evidence for a connection between the two gods comes largely from the cities of Dura-Europus (founded by Seleucus I), Palmyra, and Edessa. Literary evidence for the connection is associated with the temple at Hierapolis/Bambyce, although the connection between the two gods was also made by Strabo when referring to Borsippa.⁹²

The best material representation of the connection between the two gods was found in the temple of the Gaddê of Dura-Europus. This small statue is identified by a Palmyrene dedication as the god Nabû, and the statue shows a god in a long tunic and mantle, striking a lyre with a plectrum, crowned with a laurel wreath. Although the face is missing on the statue, it appears to have been bearded. Furthermore, Nabû can be identified on seven tesserae from Palmyra, four which specifically identify the god.⁹³ Nabû is in all cases beardless although otherwise represented in oriental style, and on one bust holds a lyre as he does in all cases where he is depicted standing. The representations of Nabû at Palmyra and Dura appear to have been derived from Hellenistic art, perhaps the statue of Apollo Citharoedus set up by the Seleucids at Daphne or from the variety of Seleucid coin types that depict the deity in a similar manner.⁹⁴ The beard may be evidence for his Babylonian origin as a bearded Apollo was uncommon among the Greeks: the only instance is from the description of the statue of Apollo at Hierapolis described by both Lucian and Macrobius. Lucian describes the statue as bearded: “yet these alone show a statue of Apollo bearded”.⁹⁵ Macrobius describes the statue in greater detail:

Moreover the Hierapolitians, who are of the Assyrian (Syrian) race, attribute all the effects and virtues of the sun to the one with the bearded face, whom they call Apollo, whose face is figured with a long beard that comes to a point, and on whose head is a projecting calathos. The image is protected by a breast plate, holds in its right hand an upright spear on

⁹¹ For Dura and Palmyra see: Dirven 1999: 128-156 and for Edessa see: Drijvers 1980: 41-75; for Hierapolis see Lucian *De Dea Syria* 35-37 and Lightfoot 2003: 456-466; Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.17.66-67.

⁹² Strabo *Geography* 11.1.7.

⁹³ Dirven 1999: 132.

⁹⁴ Cf. *WSM*: 96.

⁹⁵ Lucian *De Dea Syria* 35: μόννοι δὲ οὗτοι Ἀπόλλωνος γενειήτεω ξόανον δεικνύουσιν.

the top of which is a small image of Victory. In its left hand extends the image of a flower and from the top of its shoulders its back is wrapped by a gorgonian covering covered with a snake.⁹⁶

- Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.17.66-67 (My Translation)

While this description of a statue seems fairly fantastic, it was confirmed by a statue found at Hatra matching the description.⁹⁷ Finally, the clearest literary connection between the two gods is Strabo's statement that Borsippa was a city holy to Artemis and Apollo (Nanaia⁹⁸ and Nabû).⁹⁹ There is little other direct evidence that the gods Apollo and Nabû were otherwise identified with each other during the Seleucid period¹⁰⁰ (the interpretation of Strabo written about 80 years after the end of the Seleucids may not reflect the interpretation of the Seleucids themselves). However, given the focus of Seleucid kings on Babylonian religion and Borsippa and the Akitu festival in particular and their particular interest in Apollo it is likely that the connection between the two deities was established during this period. The final link between the two gods is that they are used in translations of names containing the theophoric element (usually Nabû/Nebo).¹⁰¹

The relationship between Apollo and Nabû appears to be based on two factors; they are both sons of the head of their respective pantheons and it is possible to attribute oracular functions to both. It is unclear if Nabû is an oracular god outside of Hierapolis, where the bearded god identified as Apollo/Nabû gives oracles. If the oracular nature of Nabû was a result of his interaction with Apollo at Hierapolis, it is still possible to deduce an origin for Nabû as an oracular god in Greek terms. As the keeper of the tablets of destiny, Nabû may easily have been confused with the oracular Apollo by Greeks.

⁹⁶ Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.17.66-67 *Hieropolitani praetera, qui sunt gentis Assyriorum, omnes solis effectus atque virtutes ad unius simulacra barbatae speciem redigunt eumque Apollinem appellant. huius facies proluxa in acutum barba figurata est, eminente super caput calatho. simulacrum thorace munitum est, dextera erectam tenet hastam superstante Victoriae parvulo signo, sinistra floris porrigit speciem summisque ab umeris Gorgoneum velamentum redimitum anguibus tegit scapulas. aquilae propter exprimunt instar volatus, ante pedes imago feminea est, cuius dextera laevaue sunt signa feminarum, ea cingit flexuoso volumine draco.*

⁹⁷ Seyrig 1972: 104-108 esp. fig 7.

⁹⁸ See Dirven 1999: 133-134 for connection on Artemis and Nanaia.

⁹⁹ Strabo Geography 11.1.7 τὰ δὲ Βὸρσιππα ἱερὰ πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπολλωνος.

¹⁰⁰ For some further instances of the connection between the two gods in Palmyra provinces see: Bounni 1981.

¹⁰¹ Bounni 1976: 48.

Nabû was in origin a scribal god, and although his relative prominence rose, he never lost his scribal connotations, he was often represented by a large stylus.¹⁰² Drijvers suggests that the stylus, owing to its size, may have been confused with an arrow or spear, and this "may have given rise to confusion and to an assimilation of the stylus to the arrow of Apollo, usually borne in the left hand too."¹⁰³ This may have resulted from a deliberate conflation of Apollo and Nabû by Antiochus and subsequent monarchs, which may also account for the early iconographic variance of the number of arrows that Apollo holds being reduced to a single arrow. The usefulness of a god who could be interpreted as Apollo by Greco-Macedonians and as Nabû by other portions of the population could provide the necessary propaganda for a divinely supported ruler in a form acceptable to both Greek and non-Greek populations. This combined image of Apollo-Nabû may be visible on a clay seal from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris which depicts a nude figure holding a stylus in the manner of Seleucid Apollo or of Nabû.¹⁰⁴

IV.2: AKITU FESTIVAL

The clearest use of Nabû as a legitimating influence in Babylon is his importance in the Akitu Festival.¹⁰⁵ The festival took place on the first to the twelfth of Nisan. It was centred on the Esagila complex in Babylon. The reconstruction of this festival is problematic as the longest preserved description of it is from an incomplete cuneiform text and this text dates to the reign of Seleucus III.¹⁰⁶ Although its Hellenistic date is problematic for reconstructing the early history of the festival it is more useful in determining the Seleucid version of the festival.¹⁰⁷ Nabû played an important role in the festival. On the second day of the festival the *urigallu*-priest recited prayers to Bel and opened the gate of the temple and rites were performed in a traditional manner, on the third day the same was done, and a metal worker made two images of gold and precious stones for the ceremonies of the sixth day. On the fourth day more prayers were offered to Bel, and the entire *Enuma Eliš* (creation myth) was recited. On 5 Nisan, more prayers were offered to Bel and then the temple was purified by priests who then left the city

¹⁰² Pomponio 1978: 207ff.; Drijvers 1980: 63.

¹⁰³ Drijvers 1980: 63.

¹⁰⁴ Torino 2006.

¹⁰⁵ For translated text see: Pritchard 1955: 331-334; see Pallis 1926: 200-243 for problems with the idea of resurrection in the ceremony and 139-143 for the role of the King; for the role of a foreign king see Kuhrt 1987b: 33, 51; for Nabû's role in the festival see Pomponio 1978: 117-132; for the festival in general see Linssen 2004: 78-86.

¹⁰⁶ Pritchard 1955: 331-334; cf. Grayson 1975: no. 278; cf. Sherwin-White 1983: 156-159.

¹⁰⁷ See Sommer 2000: 82-87 for analysis of problems of reconstructing the pre-Seleucid festival from the texts.

and could not return until Nabû had returned to Borsippa. The same day Nabû arrived from Borsippa having been sent a boat the day before. Nabû was greeted by the king who then travelled to the Marduk's temple alone, where he was stripped of his royal regalia, slapped in the face by the chief priest, and finally gave a negative confession, in which he states:

I did [not] sin, lord of countries. I was not neglectful (of the requirements) of your godship. [I did not] destroy Babylon; I did not command its overthrow (425) [I did not]... the temple Esagila, I did not forget its rites. [I did not] rain blows on the cheek of a subordinate. ... I did [not] humiliate them. [I watched out] for Babylon; I did not smash its walls".¹⁰⁸ Then the priest replied with the god's favour, and the king received his regalia and was again slapped in the face, to obtain an omen. On 6 Nisan the images made by the craftsmen on the second day had their heads cut off by the slaughterer when Nabû arrived at the temple Ehursagtila and then were thrown into a fire started in the presence of Nabû. The images destroyed appeared as follows: "those two images (which the artisans are to make) shall be 7 finger(-widths) high. One (shall be made) of cedar, one of tamarisk. *Four dušu*-stones shall be mounted in settings of gold weighing four shekels. [One image] shall hold in its left hand a snake (made) of cedar, raising its right [hand] to the god Nabû. The second (image) shall hold in its [left hand] a scorpion, raising its right hand [to the god] Nabû. They shall be clothed in red garments, [bou]nd in the middle [with] a palm [br]anch."¹⁰⁹

Following the negative confession by the king the tablets break off, the only part remaining from the sixth day of the festival occurs in reference to the statues created on the second day. The festival continued with the arrival of more gods on the sixth and seventh, on the eighth the chief priest offered water to Marduk and sprinkled it on the king and people, the king then 'took Bel by the hand' and led him out into the court and enthroned him in a canopy. Then Marduk was led to the shrine of destinies, where the other gods acknowledged his supremacy, and he pronounced the destinies both in general and for the king. On the ninth day there was a procession in which the king again led Bel by the hand on a triumphal procession through the city to the festival house, where the statues of the gods were situated and a banquet held. After the tenth day little is known of the festival although it possibly included a sacred marriage.¹¹⁰ At what point (or if) the ritual battle between Marduk and Tiamat took place is

¹⁰⁸ Pritchard 1955: 334.

¹⁰⁹ Pritchard 1955: 331-332.

¹¹⁰ For a rejection of the sacred marriage in the festival see Sommer 2000: 92.

unknown,¹¹¹ although the fragmentary nature of our knowledge after day six of the festival allows for ample opportunity.

The text is problematic for Babylonian scholars attempting to reconstruct the original ritual as the composite text is formed from two Seleucid era texts (from the reign of Seleucus III¹¹²). The Seleucid era date is extremely useful for studying the ritual in the Seleucid period, though it is not without problems. The lack of description of the pre-Seleucid festival makes it impossible to determine whether the ritual remained unchanged or if Seleucid participation in the ritual changed either its form or function. The general consensus has been that the festival was closely related to the original Babylonian festival and focused on the recreation of the cosmos and the reestablishment of order and of the king by Marduk, both on an earthly level and a cosmological level.¹¹³ Smith has sought to reject this interpretation based on the negative confession by the king, suggesting that a native king would not need to state that he did not destroy his own city.¹¹⁴ He suggests instead that the ritual was designed to integrate a foreign king into the Babylonian world view. While Smith is correct in pointing out that the king being slapped is not associated either with a death-rebirth ritual, a scapegoat ritual, or a saturnalian overturning of societal roles,¹¹⁵ he is incorrect to state that a negative confession can only have come from a foreign king.¹¹⁶ The most important part of Smith's argument for the Seleucid king's involvement in the ritual emphasises the nationalistic aspect of the Seleucid festival:

Read in this light, the ritual of the Akitu festival becomes, in part, a piece of nationalistic religious propaganda. If you act as the evil foreign kings have acted, you will be stripped of your kingship by the gods; if you act in the opposite manner and 'grasp the hand of Marduk,' your kingship will be established and protected by the gods.¹¹⁷

In Smith's reading the text is a reaction of the Babylonian priesthood to the conditions of foreign domination, with the original festival dating no earlier than Sargon II's

¹¹¹ Lambert 1963: 189-190; See Sommer 2000: 94 for a rejection of the battle in the Babylonian festival (although not in the Akkadian festival).

¹¹² Sherwin-White 1983: 156-159 for date.

¹¹³ For example see: Frankfort 1948: 320; Pritchard 1955: 331-334; Sherwin-White 1983: 156-159; Sommer 2000: 91.

¹¹⁴ Smith 1976: 4.

¹¹⁵ Smith 1976: 4.

¹¹⁶ See Sommer 2000: 85.

¹¹⁷ Smith 1976: 4-5.

domination Babylon in 709 BC.¹¹⁸ The text is therefore a political reaction that was reapplied to the foreign Seleucid kings. If Sommer is correct and the festival represents the destruction and recreation of the cosmos and worldly and cosmological order,¹¹⁹ then it is necessary to examine the Seleucid role in the ceremony. Smith correctly asserts that there are two possibilities presented to the king in the ceremony, he either adopts the role of a proper Babylonian king or he is an evil foreign king who will be overthrown. If we deny that it is only possible for a non-native king to give a confession, then the choice presented by Smith is a false one. If the King takes part in the festival he is demonstrating his allegiance to Marduk and establishing himself as king. Therefore, the negative confession rather than asserting the subjugation of the foreign king to Babylon reinforces the king's (either foreign or native) place in the cosmological order created by Marduk during the festival. Thus Smith is correct in pointing out the political implications of the ceremony, but this does not exclude the cosmological importance, rather the two reinforce the position of the king and place him as the earthly power comparable to Marduk's cosmological rule.

The role of Nabû in the festival is unclear, but it must have been significant given the amount of description applied to fetching him from Borsippa and his arrival in Babylon, as well as the destruction of the statues. Dirven has suggested that the king received his sceptre of kingship from Nabû in Borsippa, and then travelled with him to Babylon, and that this indicates that Nabû acted as the tutelary deity for the king.¹²⁰ Antiochus may have been consciously recalling this function of Nabû in his rebuilding of his temple and the Marduk temple in Babylon that was importantly associated with the Akitu festival. While there is no evidence for Antiochus' involvement in an Akitu festival, the festival was celebrated by Seleucus III. It is possible that Antiochus was unable to participate in the festival if the construction/reconstruction of Esagila was not complete. The attention paid to Babylonian deities and his stay there make it possible that Antiochus could have considered holding the Akitu festival. The Akitu festival would further legitimate the Seleucid monarch as the Babylonian king.

¹¹⁸ Smith 1976: 5.

¹¹⁹ Sommer 2000: 95.

¹²⁰ Dirven 1999: 138; cf. Brinkman 1968: 138 for pushing the importance of the king receiving the cylinder into the post-Kassite period.

IV.3: ANTIOCHUS' ACTIVITIES AS CO-RULER (OR BEFORE) AT BABYLON

Perhaps because Babylon represented the point for which Seleucus' expansion took place, the Babylonia continued to play an important role for the Seleucid monarchs. The assignment of the Upper Satrapies to the junior monarch ensured that the region remained important. The importance of maintaining strong connections in the region for Antiochus can be shown through four unrelated texts. These texts reveal that Antiochus, as crown prince, had taken care to clear and rebuild the temple of Esagila in Babylon. Esagila was the temple complex of Marduk at Babylon where, among the other functions, the Babylonian Akitu (New Year) festival was held. Three of these documents are not clearly dated. However, their content suggests a date between 301 and 281. Given Antiochus' responsibilities in the texts, they should be dated after he had been elevated to co-ruler in 294. The first document, the "Chronicle concerning Antiochus and Sin"¹²¹ is unclearly dated, but relates to the movement of Macedonians in Babylon to the new city of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. The document therefore must postdate the creation of the city by Seleucus in c. 300, although a fragment of the year sign in the document may date the document after Antiochus is co-ruler. In the document Antiochus is referred to as crown prince,¹²² which has hindered the dating rather than helped. However the uniqueness of Antiochus' position as king at Babylon but as subordinate to another king may have led to the creation of the title crown prince to describe Antiochus' position.¹²³ This may serve to explain the discrepancy between Antiochus' formal role as co-ruler in the Empire but crown prince at Babylon. Regardless of title and of document date, Antiochus acted as ruler in Babylon as he visited temples, made offerings, ordered the dust cleared from Esagila, and arbitrated in disputes. This tablet is important evidence for Antiochus' performance of the regular offerings for the moon god Sin at both of his temples.¹²⁴ If we assume that Antiochus was only interested in Greek festivals or Greek offerings then it is difficult to understand Antiochus' interest in the Sin temple. Instead we may discern a serious interest in the religious practices of the local population over which he was ruling. The reverse of the tablet is filled with textual lacunae and thus hard to interpret. However, there seems to be an additional strong concern in a dedication to Bel(Marduk), Nabû,

¹²¹ Grayson 1975: 11; *BCHP* 5.

¹²² *BCHP* 5.

¹²³ *BCHP* 5.

¹²⁴ *BCHP* 5: obverse 8-12.

and Beltia(?).¹²⁵ This again reflects Antiochus' interest in local deities, especially those connected to Esagila.

The second text, "Ruin of Esagila Chronicle" documents how the king tripped on the ruin of Esagila while visiting the site. He then made offerings of oxen and in Greek fashion on the ruin of Esagila, as well as encouraging the reconstruction or cleaning efforts for the temple.¹²⁶ That Antiochus fell on the ruin appears to be taken as a bad omen (both in Babylonian religion and Greek). The negative omen may explain the Greek ritual which was apparently abhorrent to the scribe who recorded it. Plutarch's life of Demetrius contains a close parallel: "Moreover, Antigonus, when his phalanx was already forming and he was leaving his tent, stumbled and fell prone upon his face, injuring himself severely; but he rose to his feet, and stretching out his hands towards heaven prayed that the gods would grant him victory or a painless death before his defeat".¹²⁷ Thus Antiochus, even while aware of the religious importance of the temple, felt it necessary to sacrifice in a traditional Greek manner in order to assuage bad omens, suggesting the overriding importance of Greek practice even while demonstrating respect for local gods. A second interesting parallel for this event was Seleucus tripping over an anchor when leaving for Babylon. In this case the anchor, while initially interpreted as a bad omen, was re-interpreted by Ptolemy to be an omen of safety.¹²⁸ It is possible that Antiochus' emphasis on clearing the temple and subsequently rebuilding it were an attempt to turn a negative omen into a positive symbol of Seleucid power, just as the anchor had been, in addition to supporting an important local population.

While Antiochus' interest at Esagila is clear; what actually occurred there is not. According to Strabo¹²⁹ Alexander had ordered the area of Etemenanki (the Ziggurat tower within the temple complex) cleared and rebuilt. Classical authors state that the project was never completed on account of a lack of Seleucid interest.¹³⁰ However, the archaeological evidence reveals that the tower area was cleared and rebuilt on a reduced scale.¹³¹ More problematically, the name Etemenanki never occurs in a Hellenistic

¹²⁵ *BCHP* 5: reverse 12-14.

¹²⁶ *BCHP* 6.

¹²⁷ Plut. *Dem* 29.2.

¹²⁸ Appian, *Syr.* 56.

¹²⁹ Strabo 16.1.5.

¹³⁰ Strabo 16.1.5; Diod. 2.9.9; Pliny *NH* 6.121-122.

¹³¹ Wetzel, Schmidt et al. 1957: 30-1.

cuneiform text, only Esagila is mentioned, which most scholars assume refers to the entire Marduk complex. While the site of Etemenanki was razed and rebuilt, the same is not true for the entire site of Esagila, and the activity referred to by the phrase "clearing of debris from Esagila" refers either to the normal and necessary upkeep of a mud brick temple, or the clearing of the site for rebuilding. It is unclear from the passage which is meant.¹³² What is clear from the Borsippa cylinder is that by 268 Esagila and Ezida (the Nabû temple at Borsippa) had been re-founded and were either reconstructed or in the process of being so. Regardless of the actual activity at the site, this tablet reveals that Antiochus was clearly interested in the temple complex, and therefore was interested in the gods who inhabited it as demonstrated in the Sin tablet.

The third document which refers to the reconstruction or clearing of the temple is the "Chronicle concerning Antiochus, Bactria, and India".¹³³ The date of the tablet is unclear but the references to Bactria, India and elephants suggest that it postdates Seleucus' return from the east in 302. Line 6 of the obverse refers to repairs at Ezida, and line 2 may refer to repairs to Esagila.¹³⁴ Line 3 of the reverse refers to an offering in Greek fashion.¹³⁵ Again, the tablet demonstrates an interest in the reconstruction of the important temples of Marduk and Nabû.

The final tablet, the "Juniper Garden chronicle", records the orders of a certain Greek official to the temple officials to do work for the king (most likely military service). The temple officials rejected the king's order and when faced with a more severe threat they agreed to work on an irrigation ditch.¹³⁶ This tablet demonstrates that the Greek officials considered the Babylonian temples under their control, but that they were willing (perhaps when forced by significant non-compliance) to accept the traditional power structure and allow the temple workers to continue to work for the benefit of the temple rather than for the king. This represents a significant Seleucid deference to the traditional religions, suggesting that Antiochus did not seek to undermine the traditional religious organisation but rather to utilise the traditional power structure to enhance Seleucid power.

¹³² *BCHP* 6.

¹³³ *BCHP* 7; Grayson 1975: 13.

¹³⁴ *BCHP* 7:obverse line 2 and 6.

¹³⁵ *BCHP* 7: reverse line 3.

¹³⁶ *BCHP* 8.

All of these documents demonstrate that Antiochus I was carefully involved in the redevelopment of Babylonia and would have been well acquainted with its gods and customs. This makes it possible to suggest that the Macedonian king was able to associate a Babylonian god, Nabû, with Apollo and utilise the iconography of both to justify his reign where appropriate.

IV.4: THE BORSIPPA CYLINDER

The clearest indication of Antiochus' interest in Babylonian ritual is the Antiochus I cylinder (Borsippa Cylinder), which relates the re-foundation of the temple of Ezida. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt have emphasised the Babylonian context of the cylinder.¹³⁷

The cylinder reads as follows:

Antiochus, the great king, the mighty/legitimate king, king of the world, king of Babylon, king of the lands, caretaker of Esagila and Ezida, first son of Seleucus, the king, the Macedonian, king of Babylon, am I.

When I decided to build Esagila and Ezida, the bricks for Esagila and Ezida I moulded with my pure hands (using) fine quality oil in the land of Hatti and for the laying of the foundation of Esagila and Ezida I brought (them). In the month of Addaru, on the twentieth day, year 43, the foundation of Ezida, the true temple, the house of Nabû which is in Borsippa I did lay.

(O) Nabû, lofty son, wise one of the gods, the proud one, worthy of praise, most noble son of Marduk, offspring of Erua, the queen, who formed mankind, regard (me) joyfully and, at your lofty command which is unchanging, may the overthrow of the countries of my enemies, the achievement of my battle-wishes against my enemies, permanent victories, just kingship, a happy reign, years of joy, children in satiety, be (your) gift for the kingship of Antiochus and Seleucus, the king, his son, forever.

Prince Nabû, son of Esagila, first-born of Marduk, noble child of Erua, the queen, on your entry to Ezida, the true house, the house of your Anu-ship, the dwelling which pleases your heart, with rejoicing and jubilation, may – at your true command which cannot be denied – may my days be long, my years many, my throne firm, my reign long-lasting, under your lofty sceptre which sets the boundary between heaven and earth. May my good fortune be in your pure mouth, may I conquer the countries from sunrise to sunset, may I gather their tribute with my hands and bring (it) for the perfection of Esagila and Ezida.

¹³⁷ Sherwin-White 1991: 76-78.

(O) Nabû, first son, when you enter Ezida, a true house, may favour for Antiochus, king of lands, (and) favour for Seleucus, the king, his son, (and) Stratonice, his consort, the queen, be in your mouth.
- BM 36277 (Translation Kuhrt)¹³⁸

Kuhrt and Sherwin-White rightly emphasise the traditional Babylonian naming formula¹³⁹, the precise ritualistic building programme, the relations between the two temples of Esagila (Marduk) and Ezida (Nabû) and the corollary that Antiochus cannot be ignoring Babylon as he does work at Borsippa, and certain non-Babylonian features of the cylinder.¹⁴⁰ The non-Babylonian features are equally significant in the light they shed on Antiochus' policy. The first feature is the statement that Antiochus is Macedonian. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White point out that the ethnic indicator is not a typical feature of Babylonian inscriptions, but is a feature of Achaemenid inscriptions, and the statement is a remnant of that tradition.¹⁴¹ The second non-traditional feature of the inscription is the reference to Stratonice as Queen. The reference to Stratonice as Queen appears to be unique in both the Babylonian and Persian tradition. Although, Babylonian queens do appear in the inscriptions of their children in the role of the queen mother, whose purpose seems to be to ensure succession and stability¹⁴², they do not appear as Queen in their own right, nor do they appear paired with their husbands. The unique position of Stratonice may reflect both her prominence as the granddaughter of Antipater, daughter of Phila and Demetrius Poliorcetes and wife in her own right to both Seleucus I and Antiochus I. The exchange of her from Seleucus to his son inspired a great number of stories, and helped to ensure dynastic continuity and stability,¹⁴³ replicating the role of the Babylonian queen mother. These factors may have created the need for "the specific choice of titles she bears in the cylinder: both *hîrtu* = 'principal wife' and *šarratu* = 'queen' are, in fact, limited in their use to designate female divinities in this period - a translation of 'divine consort' for the former and 'heavenly queen' for the latter might get close to rendering some of the nuances of meaning."¹⁴⁴ The strong

¹³⁸ Sherwin-White 1991: 76-78.

¹³⁹ This differs from traditional Greek titles which only use the king's name as formula. See Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 119.

¹⁴⁰ Sherwin-White 1991: 78-85.

¹⁴¹ Sherwin-White 1991: 83.

¹⁴² Sherwin-White 1991: 83-84.

¹⁴³ See Ogden 1999: 121-124.

¹⁴⁴ Sherwin-White 1991: 84.

links between Nabû-Apollo and Antiochus, Marduk and Seleucus, Stratonice and Atargatis are discussed in the context of ruler cult in Chapter 6.¹⁴⁵

One important feature that Kuhrt and Sherwin-White appear to have over-looked is the potential connection between Apollo and Nabû. In the Babylonian tradition Nabû is closely associated with his father Marduk. Marduk is the patron deity of Babylon and the god of kingship, Nabû is the patron deity of Borsippa and plays a significant role in the Babylonian New Year's festival (Akitu festival) that includes the renewal of the king's rule. This may also parallel the link between Seleucus and Antiochus as father and son in the text.

I believe that the Apollo-Nabû connection is evidence for a greater interest in local cults in royal propaganda than has been previously acknowledged. This interest is more fully developed than a just a general acceptance of local cults, but is the result of active utilisation of these cults in order to legitimate Seleucid rule. If Nabû is part of the reason why Apollo was chosen as a Seleucid ancestor then it becomes easier to understand the choice of Apollo as patron deity. Furthermore, this paints a picture of a far more iconographically inclusive Seleucid court than has been previously recognised.

V: IRANIAN INTERPRETATIONS OF THE APOLLO-ON-THE- OMPHALOS TYPE¹⁴⁶

The previous section has argued that the image of Apollo-on-the-omphalos which Antiochus I introduced could be interpreted as a local deity by the Babylonians. Furthermore, in a Greek interpretation, the image represented the new royal god Apollo and emphasised his oracular attributes, while representing him with his traditional weapons the bow and arrow. Both of these interpretations reinforce Seleucid legitimacy through the support of the gods. These two groups, Babylonian and Greek, comprised a large portion of the empire and represented the main audience for this coinage. The final major group in the empire under Antiochus I was the Iranians, a group to which he himself partially belonged. It appears that the Apollo coinage also attempted to exploit potential avenues of legitimation and royal power in the Upper Satrapies. In the East, this version of Apollo-on-the-omphalos may also have been interpreted as a Greco-

¹⁴⁵ See also Kosmin Forthcoming.

¹⁴⁶ For a fuller discussion see Erickson and Wright Forthcoming.

Persian King or as a representation of Greco-Persian royal power drawing on representations of the Persian king as archer, rather than the elusive Apollo-Mithras.

While the archer image was commonly used in Greek representations of Apollo, the archer had different connotations in the Near East and Iranian lands. There had been a long association of the archer with the east in the Greek mind. This was especially true of the Persian King, Darius, whom Aeschylus had called the *toxarchos*.¹⁴⁷ This association was not solely a product of Greek thought but a common theme throughout the Near East. The iconography of a royal archer was common in Assyrian and Egyptian iconography as well as in Persian sculpture, coinage and inscriptions. The link between Persian kings and archers in the Greek mind may have been cemented by the Persian coinage issued in Asia Minor. These coin types featured a bearded archer in one of four poses: 1) the head and torso of a figure holding a bow in his right hand and arrows in his left; 2) a full-length figure kneeling and shooting a bow with a quiver slung over the shoulder; 3) a full-length figure running with a bow in the out-stretched left hand and a spear in the right hand; and 4) a full-length figure running with a bow in the out-stretched left hand and a dagger in the right hand (Figure 47, Figure 48 and Figure 49).¹⁴⁸ The figure on these coins has been identified by modern scholars as either the general representation of a Persian King or as a god.¹⁴⁹ The Greeks appear to have made the same identification. Aeschylus' portrayal of Darius as the leader of archers demonstrates how the Greeks often conceptualised the Persian military.¹⁵⁰ While this portrayal is undoubtedly linked in the Greek mind to the Athenian emphasis on idealised democratic hoplite warfare in opposition to archery which came to be seen as barbarian and monarchical,¹⁵¹ this representation did reflect a degree of truth. The Persian kings did represent themselves as bowman in their monuments and inscriptions. Darius, in particular, is shown holding a bow resting on his foot on both the Behistun monument and at Naqš-i Rostam, as well as identifying himself as a skilled bowman in inscriptions. On his tomb at Naqš-i Rostam, Darius describes himself:

¹⁴⁷ Aesch. *Persians* 556.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Harrison 1982: 15.

¹⁴⁹ See Harrison 1982: 15-32 for the argument that the coins could represent a deity; for the king as the bowman see Root 1979: 164-169.

¹⁵⁰ Aesch. *Persians* 147.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Cohen 1994: 701-702 for the development of Heracles from a Greek bowman to his Scythian bow; bow as coward's weapon see Euripides, *Heracles* 157-9. See Aesch. *Persians* 147 for the Persian wars as the contest of the Spear (hoplite) against the Bow; for Greek use of the bow in warfare despite their negative portrayal see Snodgrass 1967: 80-84.

I am skilled both in hands and in feet. As a horseman, I am a good horseman. As a bowman, I am a good bowman, both on foot and on horseback. As a spearman, I am a good spearman, both on foot and on horseback.¹⁵²

The Darius description highlights his martial skills which in turn emphasise his own personal role in the martial success of the empire. The training of Persian youths as horsemen, archers and spearmen is also stressed in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*.¹⁵³ These claims underline the importance of the bow for the Persian nobles and the king in particular. The bow was utilised in a similar way by the Assyrian kings, and represents the expression of royal power through conquest. This meme was adopted by the Persian kings to express their own power and to express their virtues as fine warriors. This wide and well established usage should identify the figures on the Persian Archer coins not as one specific king but as a more general representation of royal power.

The images on the Persian Archer coins were most likely not the direct iconographic antecedents of the Seleucid Apollo-on-the-omphalos image, given the large iconographic difference between the two types. However, they form a lens through which it is possible to view the Apollo-on-the-omphalos image in the Seleucid east. The Apollo-on-the-omphalos image, which began to appear on Seleucid coinage under Antiochus I, shows a figure that can easily be identified as an archer owing to his weapons. If we can demonstrate that the Seleucid Apollo could be interpreted in the same manner as the Persian archer, then we can suggest that the Seleucid figure could represent either kingly power or the king himself to an Iranian audience. If this is the case, then the Apollo-on-the-omphalos coinage had a variety of potential interpretations; Apollo, Nabû and royal power. All of these interpretations reinforce the image of Seleucid power either through the suggestions of divine support or through the representation of the legitimate royal authority. However, the appearance of archers on the two sets of coinages is not enough, without other evidence, to make an ideological connection between the kingly/divine image of the Persian coins and divine figure of the Seleucid coins.

While none of the Persian royal coinage is an exact parallel to the Apollo-on-the-omphalos coinage, there is a clear antecedent within the coinage of the Persian Empire.

¹⁵² DNB translation: King and Thompson 1907.

¹⁵³ Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.8-12; Persians as bowmen is a repeated theme in Herodotus cf. 3.30 etc.

The Persian satrap “Datames” issued a series of coins in Cilicia that featured Ba’al of Tarsus on the obverse. The reverse of this coinage featured a bearded figure seated right on a backless chair and dressed in Median/Persian dress with a leather cap, trousers, a sleeved-cloak, and arm guards. The figure is examining an arrow held on each end. In the lower field there is a bow, in the upper field there is a winged disc.¹⁵⁴ There are legends in Aramaic on both sides, on the obverse it reads B’LTRZ (Ba’al of Tarsus) and on the reverse reads t-d/r/k-d/r/k/n?-m-w (Figure 50). The interpretation of the name on the reverse has caused some controversy; as the only firmly attributable coins to Datames, which come from Sinope, have his name in Greek. Harrison has argued that the legend has been incorrectly interpreted and does not refer to the Persian satrap Datames, but rather a local Carian dynast with an Anatolian name. However, in the two decades after Harrison’s thesis, numismatists have continued to ascribe the coinage to “Datames”, either interpreting the Aramaic as his name or as an Anatolian name which he adopted.¹⁵⁵ These coins are normally dated to the Satraps’ Revolt between 369 and 361. The similarities of the obverse of these coins to those issued by Pharnabazus in the 370s and to those issued by Mazaïos sometime before 350 confirm a date within that timeframe.¹⁵⁶ This timeframe places the coins approximately eighty years before the introduction of the Apollo type. As Cilicia was a long distance from the Persian heartland and these coins were minted to demonstrate Persian power of some sort in Asia Minor it is difficult to determine how the image would have been received in Persia. As the image was taken to represent a Persian king due to the common representations of the king as archer by the Parthian royal house who adopted a similar type as their reverse type, I suggest that the Seleucid court reacted in a similar fashion and adapted it for their own purposes.

The problems with identifying the issuer of these coins should not prevent us from interpreting their iconography. Harrison argues that the Persian satrapal coinage types are largely generated by the local mints and are not elements of Persian propaganda.¹⁵⁷ Root sees this coinage as an image of the king or at least the expression of the concept of kingship.¹⁵⁸ Harrison’s interpretation of this particular coinage is persuasive only if the coinage is not minted by a Persian satrap in revolt or a local satrap attempting to win

¹⁵⁴ British Museum 1888, 1208.6.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Bing 1998: n.55 for bibliography on the continued practice of assigning this coinage to Datames, I will refer to the issuer as “Datames”.

¹⁵⁶ Harrison 1982: 321-336.

¹⁵⁷ Harrison 1982: 439.

¹⁵⁸ Root 1979: 116-118.

royal favour against the revolting satraps. As this coinage clearly draws on the royal elements of the winged-disk and the royal archer, it reflects and interprets royal propaganda to further the issuer's message. Since the figure of the winged-disk represents Ahura Mazda, this coinage emphasises the royal connotation of the figure. Furthermore, the figure is most likely not a god due to the appearance of Ahura Mazda who normally appears with the king in the same or similar position. Since the figure is not divine, it represents either the king or the revolting satrap. I believe it represents the satrap owing to the fact that his name appears on the legend on the reverse just as the legend on the obverse identifies the figure on the obverse.

The reverse image of this coinage reflects the important martial imagery of the Persian archer. The identification of the archer as Persian is clear based on the figure's dress. The coin should therefore be interpreted as an expression of Persian power, either in revolt from or in support of the king. Moysey argues that the figure attempts to legitimate Datames' revolt from the Persian King in terms of Persian iconography.¹⁵⁹ By usurping the image of the archer for himself and associating himself with Ahura Mazda, "Datames" could portray his part in the satraps' revolt as a legitimate act of rule. If the alternate case is true, and the coinage was issued by a loyal local dynast vying for power at the expense of the revolting satraps, the coinage presents the same image a divinely guided Persian ruler. In either case, the image of the seated archer refers to the royal power of the expressly Persian king.

The similarities between the "Datames" archer coinage and the Seleucid Apollo-on-the-omphalos are striking. Nevertheless, there are significant differences between the coin types, but these differences are not so great as to prevent a similar interpretation for both coin types. The most significant difference is that the Seleucid Apollo is either nude or lightly draped whereas the "Datames" archer is dressed in Persian attire. The issue of dress on the two coinage types is seen as the most significant barrier to identifying the ideological message in the same way. Some scholars believe that the nudity of Apollo would prevent any Iranian from identifying the image as the royal archer.¹⁶⁰ They believe that Iranians would not accept the image of a nude figure as a representation of a king, because of their negative views on nudity and its associations with Greece. If the

¹⁵⁹ Moysey 1986: 20.

¹⁶⁰ Personal communication with Vesta Curtis, for the importance of the trouser suit as a Parthian type see: Curtis 2007a.

image of the royal archer represents the abstract concept of kingship rather than a specifically Achaemenid king, then I believe the objection to the clothing should be immaterial. If the Iranian audience for this coinage believed that the archer image was a reflection of royal power and they were ruled by a Greek king, it should have been possible to make the connection between the two image types. Even if the connection was not explicit, certainly a Greek court would have believed that an association would have been evoked in the minds of the Iranian subjects. Furthermore, the coins were issued by the Seleucid administration which consistently chose a Greek manner of representation. This should not have prevented the interpretation of image as that of a royal archer. Finally, the image of Apollo-on-the-omphalos that was minted in the eastern part of the Seleucid territory under Antiochus I and Antiochus II was usually shown with as draped figure. The gold and silver coins minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Ecbatana, and Aī Khanoum all show Apollo with a draped cloth over at least one leg.¹⁶¹ This does not appear to be the case in the bronze coinage minted at Ecbatana, although it is not clear whether the figure is draped.¹⁶² Although the Apollo is not in Persian dress, I do not believe that this would have precluded some Iranians from interpreting the message of this coinage as a Greek king ruling over Iranian lands.

The second most striking difference is the object upon which the archer sits. The Seleucid Apollo normally sits on an omphalos and the “Datames” archer sits on a backless chair. The omphalos is important in reflecting Apollo’s mantic qualities for the Greek audience. However, Apollo’s seat had little importance in the eastern interpretation of the image. In fact, the Parthian coinage, which is also closely related to the “Datames” image, at first, featured the image of king seated on a backless chair. Eventually this chair was replaced by the omphalos. This suggests that the two images became interchangeable by the Parthian period. One antecedent for the Parthian coinage type of the seated archer is the Seleucid image of Apollo-on-the-omphalos. This also suggests that during the Parthian period, the chair was an insignificant factor in the iconography which could be replaced without changing the central meaning of the type in the East.

¹⁶¹ Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 378, 379, 380; Ecbatana: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 409, 410; Aī Khanoum: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 435, 436, 437, 438, 439.

¹⁶² Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 415, 416, 417, 419, 420.

Three further differences between the coin types are the lack of the winged disk in the upper field, the position of the bow, and the direction in which the figure is seated. The direction the figure is seated on seems to have no iconographic significance, as there does not appear to be a difference between the orientation of gods and mortals on coins. There was a preference in Seleucid coinage for reverse figures to face left, but this tendency does not hold true for the Persian coinage.¹⁶³ The orientation of the figure may be due to customary practices of the different empires rather than a specific ideological function. The position of the bow is much more natural in the Seleucid version. Whereas the “Datames” bow was placed in the open space at the foot of the figure, the Seleucid Apollo rests his hand on the bow which stands upright behind him. The manner in which Apollo holds the bow is also reminiscent of the Persian images in which the king holds the bow by the end with the string turned towards him rather than away from him as is common in the Assyrian fashion.¹⁶⁴ That Apollo’s bow appears archaic (recurve rather than compound) is in accordance with common Greek representations of gods and heroes.¹⁶⁵ The bow of Darius is also archaic in style.¹⁶⁶ This may also have to do with traditional attributes of Persian royal thought rather than a direct Assyrian precedent. It is interesting that the figure on Datames’ coinage is represented with the more realistic compound bow rather than the heroic or royal recurve bow. The winged-disk has clear significance as it identifies the figure as the Persian king (or revolting satrap) supported by Ahura Mazda. The Seleucids did not claim their right to rule from Ahura Mazda; therefore it is not surprising that the winged-disk does not appear on any of their coinage.¹⁶⁷ However, the lack of the winged-disk should not prevent one from identifying the figure as a king. There is ample Parthian evidence that suggests that the seated archer can be identified with a king without the presence of the winged-disk.

The link between the Apollo-on-the-omphalos coinage and the archer coinage of “Datames” is reinforced by the appearance of a similar image on Parthian coinage beginning with the reign of Arsaces I. The Parthian kings based their legitimacy, in part, on their connection to the Achaemenids. One method for advertising this claim was the

¹⁶³ However chariots and horseman usually go to the right. I can see no significant ideological reason for this trend. Obverse images, on the other hand, nearly always face right.

¹⁶⁴ For a comparison between Persian and Assyrian bows, see Root 1979: 167-168.

¹⁶⁵ Cohen 1994: 701-702.

¹⁶⁶ Root 1979: 165-169.

¹⁶⁷ This may also reflect a desire by the Seleucids not to encroach on the religious authority of the Zoroastrian priests. The Seleucids appear to have largely left them alone to develop their religion without interference of state sponsorship, cf. Hjerrild 1990: 144-147.

re-creation of the “Datames” type coinage. This is an interesting choice if the “Datames” coinage was minted as an act of rebellion from the Achaemenid king. This was insignificant for the Seleucid kings who had replaced the Achaemenid rulers, as the type suggests a legitimate monarch. The original intention of “Datames” in minting this coinage as an expression of rebellion appears to be lost by the Parthian period, and the coin type merely represented the reigning king. This interpretation of the development of the significance of the imagery is more plausible if the image passed through the Seleucid interpretation. Therefore, it seems that this new coinage was not a direct descendant of the “Datames” type which had been issued briefly in the West approximately hundred years previously, but rather that the image was filtered through a Seleucid lens of the Apollo-on-the-omphalos coinage.

As the Parthian kings began their empire by capturing a Seleucid satrapy, they would have been acquainted with Seleucid coin types which were prominent at the beginning of their empire.¹⁶⁸ The most prominent Seleucid coin types during this period were the Apollo-on-the-omphalos images produced under Antiochus I and II. Arsaces I, the first king of the Parthian Empire, began to issue coinage after he defeated the rebellious Seleucid satrap Andragoras around the beginning of Seleucus II’s reign.¹⁶⁹ The coins that Arsaces I mints are strikingly similar to both the “Datames” coinage and also to the Seleucid Apollo-on-the-omphalos coinage (Figure 51). The similarities between the Parthian and Seleucid types of coinage are more striking given that the coinage of the independent Bactrian kings departed radically from the Seleucid model. Perhaps because during the reign of Seleucus II Apollo-on-the-omphalos was replaced by a standing Apollo, the Parthians were allowed to create a distinctive coinage that drew on Seleucid models without appearing too close to the coinage of the reigning Seleucid king. Additionally, as the Parthian kings were not rebelling directly from Seleucid authority but rather conquering territory from a rebellious satrap they were more comfortable adopting a similar image. This would have increased the acceptance of the new Parthian coinage due to the familiarity of the type. Furthermore, if the coinage was

¹⁶⁸ For the use of the title *Θεοπάτωρ* on Parthian coinage as a deliberate echo of the coinage of the Seleucid king Alexander I Balas see: Gariboldi 2004.

¹⁶⁹ The dating for the independence of Parthia is unclear, Andragoras had been appointed by Antiochus II, and therefore the revolt either took place before Antiochus II’s death or in the immediate aftermath. The difficult conditions faced by the Seleucus II in the West at the start of his reign and his brother’s subsequent revolt provide a better context for the revolt. However, by the middle of Seleucus II’s reign the Parthians are independent enough that Seleucus II undertakes a campaign against them.

seen as representing a seated king then a more Persian version of this king fit more neatly with Parthian royal ideology.

The reverse of the Arsaces coinage features a figure seated on a backless throne wearing a hat with cheek flaps, a long-sleeved cloak and trouser suit. Curtis suggests that the closest parallel for the long-sleeved coat is the “Datames” seated archer coinage, as the cloak is not a typical feature of Parthian dress.¹⁷⁰ She sees the adoption of the trouser suit as a significant departure from Hellenistic practice specifically citing Alexander’s refusal to adopt Persian trousers in Plutarch’s *Life of Alexander* 45.1-3. However, this ignores the image of the horned rider coinage issued under Seleucus I. If this coinage represents Seleucus, then the Seleucid kings may have occasionally appeared in Persian dress (perhaps unsurprising given Antiochus’ Bactrian heritage). Outside of this coin type the Seleucid kings were never represented in a non-Greek fashion.¹⁷¹ Arsaces’ coinage closely recalls the clothing of the “Datames” coinage in contrast to the naked Apollo. The hat which both the king on the obverse and the figure on the reverse are wearing suggests that the two figures represent the same individual. The clothing on the figure emphasises the Iranian attributes of the figure, this clearly marks a difference between the two coinage types. The Seleucid figure will always appear Greek owing to his near nudity. The clothing on the Parthian figure marks a return to Iranian rule. A second major difference between this coinage and the Datames coinage is that the figure on the Arsaces coinage holds a bow rather than an arrow. This difference may be best explained by the pose of Apollo on some of the coinage of Antiochus I and II. On these coins Apollo held a bow in his outstretched hand rather than the arrow.¹⁷² Interestingly, the bow is held by the figure with the string facing away from him. This pose appears slightly unnatural as the figure’s wrist is twisted outward. This appears to be a stylistic feature that is common to both the Seleucid and Parthian types, although its meaning is unclear. This suggests a direct inspiration for the Arsaces coinage from the Seleucid coinage that was circulating directly before his invasion, rather than just reproducing a Parthian version of the “Datames” coinage.¹⁷³ Another development of the Parthian version of this type is the replacement of the backless throne with the omphalos of

¹⁷⁰ Curtis 1998: 66.

¹⁷¹ Curtis 1998: 66-67; Curtis does not believe that the figure on the Horned Rider coins is wearing trousers. Personal Communication.

¹⁷² This coinage became more common type minted at Magnesia-on-the-Meander under Antiochus II, having first been minted there under Antiochus I.

¹⁷³ For the Datames coinage as a model for the Parthian coinage without Seleucid influence see: Curtis 2007a; Curtis 2007b: 415-417, although some Seleucid influence is noted in the omphalos 418.

Apollo by the reign of Mithradates I (c. 171-138) (Figure 52).¹⁷⁴ This development suggests an awareness of the similarities between the two types of coinage. Another feature of the Parthian coinage is that the archer is not bearded; this may be related to the preference for non-royal bearded figures after Alexander, as Arsaces does not appear bearded on the obverse. This represents a significant inheritance from the Seleucids rather than from the Achaemenid prototype. A further similarity between the Parthian and Seleucid types is the positioning of the feet of the seated figure. In the “Datames” coinage the figures feet are parallel as if seated comfortably on a throne. The figure in the Seleucid image pulls his right (rear) leg back so that his foot rests against the omphalos. This posture is adopted by the Parthian figure even when he is seated on a throne.

The figure of the archer on the Parthian coinage is often interpreted as the image of the king or of royal power in the same manner as the “Datames” image. Therefore, the Seleucid image of Apollo could be interpreted in the same manner. This demonstrates another potential interpretation of the Seleucid Apollo outside of a narrow Greek context. This suggests that under Antiochus I, the Seleucids created an image of royal authority that could be recognised across the entire empire. This also suggests that the Seleucid royal court was aware of the various iconographic traditions of the empires subjects. Furthermore, this demonstrates that the Apollo-on-the-omphalos image was not part of an attempt to impose an entirely Greek image on the empire, but rather it presented a message that the subjects of the kingdom were under the rule of a Greek king who was aware of local traditional practices.

VI: ANTIOCHUS I AND GODS OTHER THAN APOLLO

While Apollo was the god depicted most often on the coinage of Antiochus I, Heracles still appeared in a more limited capacity. The Heracles coinage was either the common type of Alexander which appears to have little Seleucid propaganda or one of two locally significant types.

¹⁷⁴ Shore 1993: nos. 5-20, 24-7, 29.

VI.1: ANTIOCHUS I AND HERACLES:

Like his father, Antiochus I used the image of Heracles on his coinage. However Antiochus did not limit these representations to the Alexandrine types, but developed a new type. He issued three separate categories of coins that featured Heracles, the first was the familiar Alexandrine tetradrachm type that had featured prominently in the reign of his father and continued to be a popular coin type in the Hellenistic world. These coins appear to have little value as propaganda outside of their broad acceptance and therefore will not be examined separately. The two other categories of Heracles related imagery that appear on Antiochus I's coins are separated by date, coin type, and half of the empire. Beginning early in his sole reign, the mint of Ai Khanoum in Bactria and possibly related mints coined several series of bronzes that featured the head of a young Heracles in a lion-skin headdress facing right on the obverse.¹⁷⁵ The reverse of the coins that were probably issued at Ai Khanoum features the forepart of a horned horse galloping to the right (Figure 53).¹⁷⁶ The reverse type then replicates a common Seleucid type. As this coin was likely issued at the beginning of Antiochus' reign and was related to the issuing of the horned horse portraits that honour his father. The second reverse type features a bull walking to the right (Figure 54),¹⁷⁷ this type recalls the bull types issued under Seleucus I.¹⁷⁸ Ai Khanoum also issued two other Heracles types these featured reverse with weapons clearly associated with Heracles. Two denominations feature a vertical club (Figure 55),¹⁷⁹ and one features a bow in a bow case on the left and a club on the right with the legend ANTIOXOY ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ reading downwards in two lines in the centre (Figure 56).¹⁸⁰ Coins of the first type should be compared to co-regency issue of Seleucus I and Antiochus from a mint in Drangiana or Western Arachosia which features the same image.¹⁸¹ All of these issues reveal the popularity of Heracles in the eastern part of the Seleucid Empire, which continued undiminished under the kings of Bactria.

The western image of Heracles differs greatly from the Heracles on Antiochus' eastern issues. The western Heracles is often described as weary or resting after his labours, his

¹⁷⁵ For the assignment of these coins to Bactria rather than to Susa or Ecbatana see Kritz 1996: esp 13-21; Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 425, 441, 442, 445, 446, 447.

¹⁷⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 425.

¹⁷⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 441 and 442.

¹⁷⁸ See Chapter 1: 69ff.

¹⁷⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 445 and 446.

¹⁸⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 447.

¹⁸¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 243.

face appears far older than the face of the lion-skin capped Heracles. This image which appears on Antiochus' coins at Smyrna or Sardis and Magnesia on Mt. Sipylus¹⁸² resembles the statue of Heracles Epitrapezios by Lysippus for Alexander (Figure 57).¹⁸³ The obverse of these coins shows diademed head of Antiochus I facing right, and the reverse features Heracles seated left on a rock resting his right hand on a club. The coins from Magnesia on Mt. Sipylus are dated by Newell to 263-261 and are perhaps attributable to Antiochus II.¹⁸⁴ Newell associates the coins to the war with Eumenes.¹⁸⁵ The coins postdate the Galatian wars during which Antiochus is traditionally thought to have earned his cult title *Soter* which he shared with Heracles.¹⁸⁶ The association between Antiochus I and Heracles was reinforced in western Asia Minor by his son who continued to mint coins of this type always featuring Antiochus I on the obverse.¹⁸⁷ The appearance of these coins only in Asia Minor seems to point to a specific local purpose. If Newell is correct and the coins are related to the war with Eumenes then they are a piece of propaganda designed to emphasise Antiochus' role as saviour. These coins may also represent a particular local alliance which continued under Antiochus II.¹⁸⁸

VII: CONCLUSION

The coinage of Antiochus I offered a strikingly different image of the empire than that of his father. His coinage promoted a far more limited view of the "official" Seleucid pantheon and promotes Apollo as the divine ancestor and only rarely depicts other gods. Given the emphasis on Apollo both in coinage and in public propaganda beginning late in the reign of Seleucus I, this limiting of acceptable deities on coinage appears to be a result of a desire to coordinate Seleucid iconography into a unified but broadly acceptable form. This section has argued that Apollo could be understood by a Greek, Babylonian or Persian within their own cultural context, but regardless of viewers origin the image above all stressed the power and legitimacy of the ruling house. The success of this new image of Apollo is demonstrated by its continued use until the end of the dynasty. Antiochus II's adoption of his father's coin type signalled dynastic continuity

¹⁸² Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 313 and 318

¹⁸³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 116; cf. Robertson 1975: 473-474.

¹⁸⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 123.

¹⁸⁵ *WSM*: p. 275.

¹⁸⁶ Herakles bears epithet *Soter* on the second-century coinage of Thasos, Head 1911: p. 266, fig 164; See Coşkun Forthcoming for the argument that Antiochus did not receive his title *Soter* for his involvement in the Galatian wars, but that it was a later creation.

¹⁸⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 497, 500, 501, 503-505, 509-512, and 516.

¹⁸⁸ See Chapter 3: 153ff.

in the same manner as his father had done in continuing Seleucus I's regnal years into a Seleucid era. Thus, the image of Apollo helped to define what it meant to be a Seleucid monarch until the reign of Antiochus IV.

CHAPTER 3: ANTIOCHUS II

I: INTRODUCTION

I.1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In 262, Antiochus II assumed the Seleucid diadem. He had been associated with his father's reign since 266 and acted as viceroy of the Eastern provinces, following the pattern established by Seleucus I.¹ Antiochus II replaced his brother Seleucus as co-ruler after his brother's execution by Antiochus I for treason.² Shortly after his accession he was faced with an invasion by Ptolemy II, beginning the Second Syrian War (261-253).³ After some initial Ptolemaic success, Antiochus II was able to detach important parts of Asia Minor from Ptolemaic control, including Miletus, Ephesus, Samos, Pamphylia and Cilicia.⁴ The citizens of Miletus proclaimed Antiochus *Theos* (God) for liberating the city from a tyrant supported by the Ptolemies.⁵ Antiochus extended Seleucid control in Asia Minor, including expansion into the Troad⁶ and also made forays into Thrace.⁷

These territorial gains were balanced by significant losses, as the Cappadocian dynasts asserted their independence. Ariarathes III of Cappadocia married Antiochus II's daughter Stratonice an act that may have recognised his independence, as both he and his sons took the title king.⁸ Furthermore, the ambitious satrap of Bactria, Diodotus I, began to demonstrate a degree of independence that culminated in a complete break with the Seleucids. The timing of this break is nearly impossible to determine with a high degree of accuracy, but it most likely occurred during the reign of Seleucus II while he was occupied with the chaos resulting from the death of his father, Antiochus II.⁹ These losses weakened the Seleucid state, although not significantly enough to prevent it from surviving the civil war in the next generation. Furthermore, while many of the losses occurred in concessions to local dynasts these dynasts did not always act

¹ *OGIS* 222 = Austin 2006: 143.

² *Trog. Prol* 26.

³ Clarysse 1980: 88-89 for terminus ante quem of 253/2 for peace; Will 1979-1982: 234-243.

⁴ Ma 2000: 40-42.

⁵ Appian, *Syr.* 65.

⁶ Ma 2000: 36.

⁷ Ma 2000: 266-7.

⁸ *Diod.* 31.19.6.

⁹ The dating of Bactrian succession is elusive, the low chronology seems preferable, see the discussions of Holt 1999: 48-66; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 107 ; Lerner 1999: 15-22, 30-31.

against Seleucid interests especially as Seleucid princesses may have guaranteed a degree of friendship.¹⁰ These losses may have also influenced royal policy towards the cities on the edges of these disputes, forcing Antiochus II to grant greater privileges in order to ensure loyalty. In fact, Engels has recently argued that the breaking apart of Asia Minor into diverse kingdoms or “feudal” states was the result of a long process that began in the Persian period and was only briefly interrupted by successful monarchs.¹¹ This attractive thesis requires a reassessment of the weakness of Antiochus II’s state, although he may have lost direct control over territories in many cases he kept some influence as can be seen by the intermarriage with the Cappadocian royal house.

Although Antiochus II was expanding his territory at the expense of the Ptolemies in the Second Syrian War, the peace resulted in disaster for the dynasty. To formally conclude the war, Antiochus married Ptolemy II’s daughter Berenice at Antioch in 252, with the condition that his formal heir would come from her rather than his other wife.¹² As a consolation to his other wife, Laodice, he sold her land in Asia Minor as well as Babylonia.¹³ Nevertheless, it does not appear that Antiochus completely abandoned Laodice or her offspring in favour of Berenice, as her children appear as royal representatives at Babylon before Antiochus II’s death.¹⁴ However, this marriage may have prevented Antiochus II from associating one of his sons with him as co-ruler in the east as both his father and grandfather had done, thus making clear the line of succession.

Antiochus II’s repudiation of Laodice and her offspring did not last. After the birth of Berenice’s first child, he returned to Laodice in Ephesus.¹⁵ Shortly thereafter (in 246), he died at Ephesus. The brief time between his return to Laodice and his death as well as her obvious motive led some ancient authors to accuse Laodice of poisoning him out of fear for the inheritance of her children.¹⁶ However, this accusation does not appear in the Babylonian sources which may be due to their loyalty to Laodice and her children

¹⁰ Cf. Ogden 1999: xvi for the importance of royal marriage rather than concubine status.

¹¹ Engels Forthcoming.

¹² Jerome, *in Dan.* 11.6; Appian, *Syr.* 65; *P. Cair. Zenon* II, 59251; cf. Ogden 1999: 128-129 for the condition that the legitimate heir came from Berenice.

¹³ For Asia Minor see: *RC* 18-20 = Austin 2006 no. 173; For Babylonia see: *BCHP* 11; Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. -245; Lehmann 1892: 330, no. 2.

¹⁴ Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. -245.

¹⁵ Ogden 1999: 129.

¹⁶ Appian, *Syr.* 65; Valerius Maximus 9.14; Pliny 7.53; Jerome, *in Dan.* 11.6.

rather than to the Ptolemaic house.¹⁷ Laodice's fears for the inheritance of her children were well justified, even if she did not kill her husband. For even after the death of Berenice and her child, her brother Ptolemy III continued to claim they were alive and used this claim to justify his rapid expansion into Seleucid territory.¹⁸ As a result of Antiochus II's unexpected death, the young Seleucus II was the first Seleucid monarch not to have served as co-ruler in the east. This failure by Antiochus to appoint a co-ruler over the eastern satrapies may have contributed to the eventual loss of the eastern provinces, particularly Bactria and Parthia, as the satraps lacked a royal figure to serve as a check on their ambitions.

I.2: ICONOGRAPHY

Antiochus II largely continued the policies of his father and grandfather, attempting to maintain their tenuous hold on Asia Minor and the upper Satrapies. The continuation of the policy is revealed by the fact that the coinage of Antiochus II continued the codification of the iconographic pattern established by Antiochus I. His most widespread coinage remained the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type, although there still remained some variation within the type. A second important type which had a more limited circulation also began under Antiochus I and featured a seated Heracles reverse.¹⁹ This type was used by Antiochus II to demonstrate his benefactions to Asia Minor and celebrate his success in the Second Syrian War. Interestingly, his favoured advisor Themison presented himself as Heracles²⁰ to these same cities which may have also encouraged the continued use of the type. The overall impression gained from Antiochus' coinage is that it reflects a Greek characterisation of the Empire. Nevertheless, all of the native elements incorporated by his father still remain, such as the Nabû and Persian interpretations discussed in Chapter 2. Antiochus II appears to have continued this deliberate ambiguity, and therefore his coinage sought to appeal to a broader audience than just the culturally Greek populations.

Another feature of Antiochus II's coinage that bears mention is continued use of the portrait of Antiochus I on the obverse. This helped to stress the continuity between the reigns of the two kings. An additional factor that sought to tie the two kings together

¹⁷ Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. -245; *BCHP* 10.

¹⁸ Justin 27.1.6-2.5; Hieron *In Dan* 3.11.7-9.

¹⁹ See Chapter 2: 133ff.

²⁰ Ath. 438c.

was the increasingly youthful appearance of Antiochus I. This may represent a move to deify his father on an empire-wide level, associate him more closely with the youthful Apollo, or with his son. On the other hand, it may be part of a tendency towards realistic portraits while the monarch is living, while after death his portrait could become more malleable for the needs of his successor. All of these factors would have contributed to the image of continuous Seleucid rule, which is also signified by the continuation of the Seleucid era rather than a return to regnal years. As such, the major themes of Antiochus II's coinage appear to exploit the iconography established by his father and establish a coherent dynastic image. In this regard, the Apollo coinage and the idealised portraits of Antiochus I fostered the image of dynastic continuity which stemmed from the idea that Apollo was the ancestor of the Seleucid house. Antiochus II therefore serves as a useful test case for the success of Antiochus I in establishing a coherent dynastic image that could be adopted by his successors. This dynastic image appears largely through the iconography of Apollo, although the anchor of Seleucus I still played a prominent role. Furthermore, Antiochus II may have sought to identify himself closely with his father's policy as a result of his brother's execution for treason. By not deviating from the established patterns, Antiochus II presented himself as a legitimate successor to Antiochus I and confirms his success in crafting a Seleucid image.

One of the major events of Antiochus II's reign was the beginning of the province of Bactria breaking away into a separate kingdom. The creation of a new iconography for the emerging dynasty is significant for the study of Seleucid iconography and policy as it demonstrates a rejection of the Seleucid iconography and seeks to establish a new royal pattern. During the satrapy of Diodotus the gods Zeus and Hermes replaced Apollo and Heracles as the favoured coin types, and this constituted a rejection of the national gods of the Seleucid empire. However, the coins were still minted with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, representing a continued link to the Seleucid house. The rejection of Seleucid iconography does not reflect a failure on the part of the Seleucid religious policy to gain a foothold in the territory; rather it represents a successful effort by the Seleucids to define their dynasty through their gods. The complete rejection of the Seleucid gods was a necessity for the Bactrian satraps and kings in order for them to establish their own separate identity.

This chapter will first examine how Antiochus II modified (or did not modify) the image of Apollo established by Antiochus I. Then it will examine his interactions with

other gods, in particular Heracles. It will then examine how Antiochus II continued the fruitful relations his father and grandfather had with the Babylonians at the heart of the empire. Finally, it will examine the beginning of the independence of Bactria and how this break related to Seleucid policy.

II: ANTIOCHUS II AND APOLLO

Antiochus II continued the iconographic programme of his father by continuing to mint the Apollo-on-the-omphalos coinage with relatively few changes. Furthering the dynastic connection, Antiochus II continued to mint coins with the portrait of his father in addition to portraits of himself. As a result of this policy, the Apollo-on-the-omphalos coinage can be divided into three distinctive phases based on the obverse. First, coins featuring Antiochus I, second those featuring Antiochus II, and finally the smallest group which feature an unidentifiable young king, either a potential successor or an idealised portrait of Antiochus II or perhaps even Antiochus I. The portraits of the two identifiable kings show a great deal of variety, as Antiochus I is represented both as old, young and potentially rejuvenated, and in what appears to be an intermediate step with features of both the elderly and young portraits. In addition to the differing obverse portraits there are two major subsets of the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type under Antiochus II. Subset A features Apollo holding an arrow and resting his bow at his side. Subset B features Apollo holding a bow in his outstretched arm. Both of these types had first appeared during the reign of Antiochus I, and neither represents a break with the established iconography. Given the differences in appearance between the two types, the different implement held by Apollo may have had some significance rather than just a minor stylistic change.

II.1: APOLLO-ON-THE-OMPHALOS TYPE: SUBSET A

II.1.A: ANTIOCHUS I PORTRAITS

The choice to continue the Apollo origin myth through coinage demonstrates the success of this dynastic mythology in legitimising Seleucid rule. It appears that Antiochus II's policy was to emphasise dynastic continuity along the lines established by his father. One way in which Antiochus II attempted to do this was through the rejuvenation of his father's image. The image of an elderly Antiochus I (Figure 58) was

intermittently replaced by a younger more idealised portrait of the king (Figure 59).²¹ The rejuvenated portrait of Antiochus I was not only younger, but his features are less stark and more idealised and recall many features of Lysimachus' portraits of Alexander.²² The image of Antiochus as an idealized young man contains many of the same elements that appear in the Seleucid imagery of Apollo, most notably his clean-shaven appearance. These portraits attempt to further establish the connection between Antiochus I and his patron and ancestor Apollo and to recall the potent image of Alexander. Intermediate portraits of Antiochus I which possess features of both the idealised King and the elderly King suggest that the rejuvenation of the king was not a coherent empire-wide phenomenon but was instead a gradual process (Figure 60).²³ Although there is no evidence that Antiochus I was deified posthumously by his immediate successor, it is possible that a cult was established for him in the same manner as the one which he had established for his father.²⁴ The transformation of the image of Antiochus I on his son's coinage reveals an attempt to link the two reigns, as the rejuvenated image brought Antiochus I's image closer in age and appearance to that of his son it glorified both monarchs, thereby stressing dynastic continuity and stability. The rejuvenated portraits of Antiochus I were an attempt to emphasise Antiochus II's connection to his father, as well as representing himself as the legitimate successor. This connection may have been especially important as a result of the execution of Antiochus II's elder brother, Seleucus, (the former crown prince) for treason.²⁵ Although, it is unclear what Seleucus had done to warrant his death at his father's orders in 266, it would be logical if Antiochus II sought to create an image of continuity and close support to his father, both while co-ruler and even after his death. Therefore, the rejuvenated and idealised portraits of Antiochus I sought to establish continuity between the two kings, thereby enhancing the legitimacy of Antiochus II.

The Apollo-on-the-omphalos coins which depict Antiochus I on the obverse feature relatively little variety in the portrayal of Apollo. This type appears on gold staters, silver tetradrachms and silver drachms, thus spanning the entire range of high value coinage issued by Antiochus II. The most common reverse image shows Apollo-on-the-omphalos facing to the left, with slight drapery on his right thigh, holding a single arrow

²¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 169.

²² Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 196.

²³ E.g. Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 499.

²⁴ See Chapter 6.

²⁵ Trog. *Prolog* 26.

and resting his left hand on grounded bow (Figure 58).²⁶ This image is repeated throughout the entire empire with only a few exceptions. This standard reverse type was modified at a Hellespontine mint (perhaps Lampsacus), at Alexandria-in-Aria (Artacoana), and at Sardis. The Hellespontine mint differs only slightly from the more common type in that Apollo is nude (Figure 61).²⁷ Apollo was also depicted in the nude on one of the twelve dies used by Alexandria-in-Aria, the other eleven dies used at the mint show Apollo with a draped right thigh.²⁸ The nudity of Apollo places him more firmly in the model of an idealised Greek youth, and perhaps ties into the rejuvenation of Antiochus I. That only one of the twelve dies that were used to cast this coinage at Alexandria-in-Aria featured a nude Apollo suggests that this variation was relatively unimportant and did not reflect a major shift in iconography. The use of a purely Greek representation of Apollo at a Hellespontine mint demonstrates that the Apollo coinage could reflect the local views of Apollo, in this case the purely Greek deity. Whereas, the general preference for drapery may suggest an image that relevant to the non-Greek populations which did not normally depict men or gods in the nude.

The local nature of various versions of Apollo is most apparent at Sardis, which continued to mint its own unique portrait of the god as it had done under Antiochus I.²⁹ The coins from Sardis show Apollo, with slight drapery on his right thigh, seated facing left on omphalos, wearing sandals, holding two arrows and resting his left hand on a grounded bow (Figure 62).³⁰ The sandals are an interesting feature of the Sardis mint and may represent a local version of the god or a particular cult image. The variation between the number of arrows which Apollo held during the reign of Antiochus I is retained only at this mint. While the other mints reduced the number of arrows to one, either for ease of depiction or as part of an ideological programme, perhaps as an

²⁶ Gold Staters: Myrina: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 499; Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 586; Tetradrachms: Lysimachia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 482; Alexandria Troas: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 490; Aegae: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 495; Phocaea: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 508; Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 587; Alexandria-in-Aria (Artacoana): Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 612; Uncertain mint 33, probably far eastern: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 615; Ai Khanoum: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 617; Drachms: Phocaea: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 513; Unattributed Issues of Western Asia Minor: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 556; Alexandria-in-Aria (Artacoana): Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 613; Alexandria-in-Aria (Artacoana) or imitation: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 614; Ai Khanoum: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 619.

²⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 484 and 485.

²⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 612.12.

²⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 324 (two arrows) and 325 (single arrow).

³⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 518.

allusion to Nabû,³¹ Sardis still minted coins with two arrows, although on Newell's *WSM* 1387 Apollo only holds a single arrow.³² Sardis may represent one of the last holdouts in an iconographic shift towards a single arrow. This may reflect the local nature of the god for Sardis, which is not evident elsewhere.

The coinage of Antiochus II which features the portraits of his father is remarkably consistent with his father's coinage and therefore can best be explained as an attempt to represent dynastic continuity through the continuation of coin types.

II.1.B: ANTIOCHUS II PORTRAIT

The reverses of the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type coins which feature the portrait of Antiochus II show the same general variety as those featuring the portrait of Antiochus I. However, the portraits of Antiochus II feature very little variation. The obverse normally depicts the diademed head of Antiochus II facing right, although the portrait lacks the clearly defining features of Antiochus I (Figure 63).³³ The only major variation in the portraits of Antiochus II occurred at Alexandria Troas. The obverse die used at this mint was a re-cutting of an obverse die from either Abydus or Ilium so that the portrait included a winged diadem (Figure 64).³⁴ This local variation may link Antiochus to Perseus, but it may also be the feature of a local cult. The reasons behind this change are unclear as Antiochus II was not linked to Perseus elsewhere. This is despite the fact that through his role as the mythical founder of the Persian race whom the Seleucids now ruled and married, he was an important Seleucid ancestor. MacDonald's proposal that the type depicts an unknown local god or hero who was traditionally represented with wings remains the best interpretation.³⁵

The reverse of the Apollo-on-the-omphalos coins normally depicted Apollo with slight drapery on right thigh, seated facing left on omphalos, holding a single arrow and resting his left hand on grounded bow.³⁶ However, as under Antiochus I and on the

³¹ See Chapter 2: 109ff on the possible use of a single arrow to represent the stylus of Nabu.

³² *WSM*: no. 1387.

³³ Most notably the very deep eye socket.

³⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 491.

³⁵ MacDonald 1903, 102; I suggest in Chapter 6 that the portraits may hint at a locally deified image of the kings.

³⁶ Gold stater: Aegae: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 494; Antioch-on-the-Orontes: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 570; Ecbatana: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 606; Ai Khanoum: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 616; Tetradrachms: Lysimachia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 483; Abydus:

coins of Antiochus II featuring Antiochus I, the Sardis mint continued to produce its distinctive portrait of Apollo with sandals. However, Apollo, now, only holds a single arrow.³⁷ The peculiar image of Apollo wearing sandals was copied by the mint at Tarsus.³⁸ The change at Tarsus may have been due to the prominence of the Sardis type rather than the influence of a local cult. Ecbatana re-instituted a variant of the type by minting tetradrachms on which Apollo held three arrows. It also minted bronzes that may have included multiple arrows.³⁹ Finally, the Hellespontine mint (perhaps Lampsacus) minted coins which featured a nude version of Apollo, as it did on the Antiochus I obverse coins minted under Antiochus II.⁴⁰

The general lack of variation on these coins demonstrates that Antiochus II sought to establish a unified iconography for his rule and that this iconography was closely based on the one established by his father.

II.2.C: UNIDENTIFIED YOUNG KING PORTRAITS

Perhaps the most interesting coins minted under Antiochus II are those which depict an unidentified young king on the obverse. These coins feature the standard Apollo-on-the-omphalos reverse and were produced at several mints. The king depicted in these portraits was either an heir to the throne or a rejuvenated Antiochus II. As the portraits lack the deep-set eyes of Antiochus I and the slightly protruding chin of Antiochus II, it is possible that the coinage shows Antiochus II's heir. This would suggest that Antiochus II had appointed a co-ruler as his father and grandfather had done, who

Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 487; Ilium: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 488; Scepsis: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 493; Aegae: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 496; Perhaps Tralles: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 534; Perhaps Bargylia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 549; Unattributed Issues of Western Asia Minor: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 554 and 555; Tarsus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 563; Antioch-on-the-Orontes: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 571; Uncertain mint 28, western, probably in Syria or northern Mesopotamia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 577; Uncertain mint 29, probably in Northern Mesopotamia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 579; Uncertain Mint 30, Western, Probably in Northern Mesopotamia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 580; Uncertain Mint 31, probably in Northern Mesopotamia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 582; Carrhae, Edessa, or Rhesaena: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 583; Unattributed Issue: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 639; Alexandria Troas: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 491; Drachm: Perhaps Tralles: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 535; Perhaps Bargylia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 550; Tarsus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 564; Uncertain mint 28, western, probably in Syria or northern Mesopotamia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 578; Uncertain Mint 30, Western, Probably in Northern Mesopotamia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 581; Ecbatana: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 608; Ai Khanoum: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 618 Hemidrachm: Ai Khanoum: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 620.

³⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 519.

³⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 561-562.

³⁹ Tetradrachm: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 607, Bronze: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 611.

⁴⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 486.

would be in a position to appear on his coinage. There is no other evidence for this situation, and the chaos resulting from his death argues against this. Furthermore, the lack of a slightly protruding chin should not rule out a rejuvenated Antiochus II.

In order to help determine the figure represented we must examine the coins from each individual mint. The obverse of the coins minted at Phocaea features the diademed head of a young king who has horns beginning at his temple and arching over the ear, facing right (Figure 65).⁴¹ If the coinage does in fact represent an heir to Antiochus II the horns are a striking feature as they imply divinity. Therefore it is more probable that this figure represents a rejuvenated and deified version of Antiochus II that is specific to the mint. As Antiochus was proclaimed a god by the citizens of Miletus, it is possible that the citizens at Phocaea did so as well. The inability to identify the figure and the fact that idealised, unrecognisable portraits are common during the reign of Antiochus Hierax make it possible that this coinage was minted during the reign of Hierax.

The obverse type from the Alexandria Troas mint features the idealized head of a young king facing right wearing the winged diadem that is specific to the mint (Figure 66).⁴² This image differs significantly from the certain image of Antiochus II at the same mint; the wing stretches along the diadem rather than coming out from the top. As the winged diadem became a particular feature of Antiochus Hierax coinage it is possible that this type was minted under Hierax. The continuity of the reverse image implies continuity between the reigns of Antiochus I, II and Antiochus Hierax and served to legitimise the reigns of the latter two kings.

II.2: APOLLO-ON-THE-OMPHALOS TYPE: SUBSET B

As a result of Antiochus II's emphasis on dynastic continuity, the image of Apollo shows only relatively minor variations during his reign. The most important variation is that at some mints Apollo holds a bow in his outstretched hand rather than an arrow (Figure 59). If the single arrow held by Apollo is a reference to Nabû, then this change would reflect a serious departure from this syncretistic policy depending on the location of the mints. However, the bow image only appears at mints in Asia Minor. While the inhabitants of the region may have known of the Babylonian god Nabû, they would

⁴¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 514.

⁴² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 492; for a study of the coins and their assignment see: MacDonald 1903: 92-116.

have had a stronger acquaintance with Apollo. This would have been a result of the long history of Greek settlement particularly on the coast. It is more interesting that the orientation of the bow is not the normal one in Greek art. The bow is held with the string facing away from the archer. This position is neither natural, nor have I been able to locate a similar Greek parallel. It is possible that the bow position was chosen as it fits better on the coin. However, there is a precedent for the image type in Assyrian art.⁴³ If the Assyrian image is in fact the precursor to this version of Apollo, then the reference to a Babylonian deity is replaced by an image with Assyrian origins. One cannot rule out that the Seleucids were unfamiliar with the differences between Babylonian and earlier Assyrian art which would allow for the Babylonian deity to be depicted with an Assyrian style weapon. This suggests a continued engagement with the art of the region in a subtle way without overshadowing the dynastic god, Apollo. Furthermore, the image of Apollo-on-the-omphalos holding a single arrow (subset A) created for Antiochus I remained the standard coinage of Antiochus II.

A larger number of mints produced coins of subset A than of subset B. The Antiochus I portraits in subset B show less variety than those in subset A: they either depict the elder king or a rejuvenated portrait of the King. Subset B lacks the intermediate stages of rejuvenation which are present on some subset A coins. All subset B coins were minted in Asia Minor. Those with portraits of Antiochus I were minted at Lysimachia, Magnesia-on-the-Meander, Ephesus/Miletus, Alinda or Mylasa, and in Caria, and those with Antiochus II portraits were minted at perhaps Tralles, Ephesus/Miletus, Alinda or Mylasa.⁴⁴ The type from Alinda or Mylasa, which is not identifiable as Antiochus I, shows a young king who is probably Antiochus II. The reverse image generally depicts: Apollo, legs draped, seated left on omphalos, holding a bow in an outstretched hand. The reverse images are also less varied than those coins of subset A. The only variant is whether Apollo is nude or has his legs draped. In all of the Antiochus II portrait coins, Apollo is shown with his legs draped. The coins which show Antiochus I on the obverse generally depict a nude Apollo, except at Lysimachia and Ephesus/Miletus. However, there is occasionally slight drapery on the right thigh of Apollo, similar to the coins of

⁴³ Wilkinson 1991: 84.

⁴⁴ Antiochus I: Gold stater: Probably Ephesus/Miletus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 546; tetradrachm: Lysimachia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 481; Magnesia-on-the-Meander: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 540; Carian Issue: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 553; drachm: Magnesia-on-the-Meander: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 554; Alinda or Mylasa: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 551; Antiochus II: tetradrachm: perhaps Tralles: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 536; Perhaps Ephesus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 543; Probably Ephesus/Miletus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 547; Alinda or Mylasa: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 552.

subset A, at Magnesia-on-the-Meander and at Alinda or Mylasa.⁴⁵ This image of Apollo holding a bow first appeared at Lysimachia, it subsequently became the specialty of the mint at Magnesia-on-the-Meander and the influence of this type seems to have spread through the Meander valley and eventually included southern Ionia and Caria. This type appears to have had a limited circulation in Asia Minor, although the depiction of a seated archer with a bow was revived in Parthian coinage. Nevertheless this variant seems to have had little effect on how Apollo was viewed within the dynasty. The difference in imagery between holding an arrow and holding a bow is relatively narrow and draws on the same repertoire of hunting and martial imagery, as well as the long tradition of depicting Apollo as an archer.

II.3: LOCAL VARIATION AND APOLLO BRONZES

The other variations in the image of Apollo appear to be more localised, highlighting both the local character of mints and the importance of the dynastic god. Only one other variation of the typical Seleucid representation of Apollo appears on gold staters and silver tetradrachms. The obverse of these coins, which likely come from Cyme, features the diademed head of a rejuvenated and idealized Antiochus I facing right, while the reverse features the image of Apollo seated facing left on a throne with lions as legs, holding an arrow and holding a bow resting against the side of throne (Figure 67).⁴⁶ The image of the lion-legged throne is more common with non-Greek deities; Atargatis sometimes appears either standing on a lion or seated between two.⁴⁷ While the iconography of god standing on a lion or other animal is common in Asia Minor and the Near East, it is not a common feature of either Nabû or Apollo. Therefore, this special coin type represents an attempt to associate Apollo to a local deity and therefore establish a link between the Seleucid royal house through their patron deity and ancestor and the local religious environment.

II.3.A: APOLLO BRONZES

As with the higher value coinage of Antiochus II, the bronze coinage also shows considerably less variety than the coinage of his predecessors. Under Antiochus II,

⁴⁵ Magnesia-on-the-Meander: *WSM*: no. 1476 specimen B; Alinda or Mylasa: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 551.

⁴⁶ Gold stater: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 506; silver tetradrachm: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 507.

⁴⁷ Cf. Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 31.

bronze production increased only in western Asia Minor, largely centred at the Sardis mint. The mints which had previously produced only bronzes (Dura-Europus and Uncertain Mints 21-23) in eastern Syria and northern Mesopotamia ceased production.⁴⁸ In Asia Minor the largest number of bronzes produced were of the Apollo/Tripod type, which featured a laureate head of Apollo (with various lengths of hair) facing right on the obverse, and a tripod on the reverse (Figure 68).⁴⁹ Sardis produced seven series of this type which emphasised Seleucid relations to Apollo and his oracular power. The tripod often rests on an anchor in the series. This represents both the continuance of the Seleucid house, building on the anchor symbol of Seleucus and the Apollo symbolism of Antiochus I.⁵⁰ One coin type from the Sardis series features an interesting obverse in which the portrait of Apollo faces three-quarters to the left.⁵¹ Two coin types also feature obverses which feature portraits of Apollo facing three-quarters to the right (Figure 69).⁵² While three-quarter facing portraits on coins are rare (except for Medusa) this image had previously appeared on the coinage of Antiochus I and does represent more than a stylistic decision. Coins produced at the Seleucia-on-the-Tigris combine the tripod with symbols of Seleucus rather differently. The reverse of these coins feature a tripod ornamented with two horned horse foreparts from which fillets hang (Figure 70).⁵³ These coins demonstrate the same ideological message as the tripod resting on the anchor, representing Seleucus by his horned horse image than the anchor.⁵⁴

The Seleucid symbolism of Apollo is reinforced by the bronze from Sardis which features the laureate Apollo on the obverse and the anchor on the reverse (Figure 71).⁵⁵ A single type from Ecbatana clearly recalls the Apollo-on-the-omphalos coinage, as its reverse features: Apollo standing facing left, holding a bow and an arrow, resting his right foot on the omphalos. The obverse of this coin type features Antiochus II (Figure 72).⁵⁶ One other bronze coin type from Ecbatana features Apollo imagery with direct reference to Apollo, the obverse of the coin shows a horned helmet, the reverse shows a

⁴⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 176.

⁴⁹ Sardis: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 520, 522-527, Sardis types from other mint(s): Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 532-533; Perhaps Tralles: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 538; Antioch-on-the-Orontes: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 575.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 1 for anchor and Seleucus I and Chapter 2 for Apollo and Antiochus.

⁵¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 521.

⁵² Sardis: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 530; Perhaps Tralles: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 539.

⁵³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 594-597.

⁵⁴ Cf. Chapter 1: 78ff for the argument that the horned horse is a symbol associated with Seleucus I rather than Alexander and that it does not depict Bucephalus.

⁵⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 531.

⁵⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 608.

raven, commonly associated with Apollo, standing in front of a tripod (Figure 73).⁵⁷ This image further reinforces the connection between Seleucus I (horned helmet) and Apollo as well as the continuity of the dynasty. These bronze emissions therefore represent the same attempt at portraying dynastic continuity as the higher value coinage.

In addition to the Apollo/Tripod type coinage Sardis minted bronze coins with a cithara on the reverse, and as with the tripod reverse the cithara rests upon an anchor (Figure 74).⁵⁸ This coinage recalls the image of Apollo Citharoedus which was introduced under Antiochus I.⁵⁹ The relation between Apollo Citharoedus and Apollo-on-the-omphalos was made by coins minted at Antioch-on-the-Orontes which show Apollo seated left on omphalos, holding an arrow and resting his elbow on cithara on the reverse (Figure 75).⁶⁰ A similar reverse appears on a coin type from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris during the reign of Antiochus III, although it is possible that one of these coin types may have been minted under Antiochus II.⁶¹ On this reverse Apollo is seated facing right on omphalos, his head facing front, holding cithara, with tall tripod behind him (Figure 76).⁶² These coins contributed to or were a result of the combination of Apollo and Nabû as revealed by the Dura-Europus statue.⁶³ The pairing of Apollo and Artemis on bronzes from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris⁶⁴ (Figure 77) may recall the pairing of Nabû and Nanaia with Apollo and Artemis by Strabo.⁶⁵ These images recall the importance of Nabû to Antiochus I and may represent a concession to Babylonian sentiments.⁶⁶ On these bronzes the huntress Artemis holds an arrow and rests her hand on a grounded bow, which recalls the image of Apollo holding an arrow and his bow. As the paired deities permit both the Greek and Babylonian interpretations they highlight the ambivalent nature of Seleucid rule especially at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.

The other images of Apollo on Antiochus II's bronze coinage are not paired with explicitly Seleucid symbols or images associated with Apollo. Two coin issues from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris pair Apollo and Athena: the first set features the laureate head of Apollo with hair of medium length on back of his neck and the reverse features Athena

⁵⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 610.

⁵⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 528 and 529.

⁵⁹ cf. *WSM*: 96.

⁶⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 572-574.

⁶¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1186.

⁶² Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 591-593 and Addenda p. 26-27.

⁶³ See Chapter 2: 112-114.

⁶⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 598-599.

⁶⁵ Strabo *Geography* 11.1.7.

⁶⁶ See Chapter 2: 109ff.

standing left, resting spear, shield propped against leg (Figure 78).⁶⁷ The second set was also used by Antiochus III and the obverse of this set features the draped bust of Athena facing three-quarters to the left in triple-crested helmet, and the reverse features Apollo seated right on omphalos, head facing forward, holding cithara, with tall tripod behind him (Figure 76).⁶⁸ The martial imagery of Athena may have the same significance as the gold staters from Asia Minor which commemorated the end of the second Syrian War.⁶⁹ Athena had always been a popular god on Seleucid coins as well as on the coins of Alexander and therefore does not represent a break with Seleucid policy rather it reflects the inclusive nature of Seleucid divine associations.

The other deity deities with whom Apollo is paired with on coinage are the Dioscuri. The Dioscuri were especially popular in Tarsus and further east. The pairing of Apollo and Dioscuri on coins from a mint, perhaps in Cilicia, where the caps of the Dioscuri appear on the reverse⁷⁰ may be the result of the local veneration of the deities. The Dioscuri, in this instance on horseback, were depicted on other bronze issues from Tarsus paired with Athena Promachos standing on an anchor (Figure 80) and an eagle alighting on an anchor (Figure 81).⁷¹ At Nisibis, late in Antiochus II's reign, another set of Dioscuri coins were minted, the obverse shows the jugate busts of Dioscuri facing left, each draped and wearing laureate pileus, the nearer in three quarter view the farther in profile. The reverse shows an elephant head facing right (Figure 82).⁷² All of these Dioscuri coins link the Seleucid royal family with the locally popular Dioscuri cult.

Imagery that is probably locally specific also appears on a bronze from Magnesia-on-the-Meander. In this case the reverse of a butting bull is paired with an interesting image of Apollo on the obverse. Instead of just the bust of Apollo, a quiver appears at his shoulder (Figure 83).⁷³ The butting bull had become a common symbol at the mint and may have served as a marker for the city. If this is the case then this type represents local influence exerting some influence on the output of the mint. On the other hand, it

⁶⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 588-590.

⁶⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 591-593.

⁶⁹ See below.

⁷⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 568.

⁷¹ Athena reverse: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 565-566; Eagle: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 567.

⁷² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 584.

⁷³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 542.

also recalls the prominent association between Seleucus I and bulls,⁷⁴ and therefore royal initiative cannot be entirely ruled out.

II.4: ANTIOCHUS II AND DELOS

Antiochus II's dedication to the dynastic patron, Apollo, is not exclusively reflected by his coinage. There are two dedications to Apollo at Delos from the king.⁷⁵ These dedications place Antiochus firmly in the tradition of the patron monarch. The sanctuary at Delos was a necessary recipient of gifts from the Hellenistic kings, especially from the Seleucids who could use the sanctuary to advertise both their generosity and ancestry. While both of the inscriptions record items dedicated to the sanctuary, they are included within lists of a large number of dedications including those from rival kings. However, one item dedicated by Antiochus stands out: “a stone tripod having wooden feet in the form of a lion”.⁷⁶ While this tripod is not identical to any of the tripods depicted on Antiochus II's coinage it shares some of the features and may suggest that the coined tripods may represent actual dedications. Furthermore, it recalls the lion throne on which Apollo occasionally sits.⁷⁷ These dedications demonstrate Antiochus II's euergetism to the major Greek sanctuaries, but tell us very little about his relationship to Apollo.

III: ANTIOCHUS II AND OTHER GODS

Although Antiochus II largely continued his father's devotion to Apollo, he also produced some coins which did not feature Apollo. These non-Apollo coins are significant both on account of their limited production which demonstrates the dominance of the Apollo imagery, their geographically limited range which suggests some form of local significance. These coins therefore reveal parts of Antiochus II's iconographic policy. The most striking set of non-Apollo coins feature Heracles. These coins were introduced by Antiochus I in Asia Minor and were produced to commemorate his victories there. The Heracles coinage, discussed below, allowed Antiochus II to stress his links with his father's policy as well as to emphasise his own

⁷⁴ See Chapter 1: 69.

⁷⁵ *I. Delos* 1432 and 1443.

⁷⁶ *I. Delos* 1443:fac. A col II l. 49 τρίποδα λίθινον πόδας ἔχοντα ξυλίνους, λεοντόβασιν.

⁷⁷ Gold stater: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 506; silver tetradrachm: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 507.

successes. Further complicating the interpretation of this coinage, Antiochus II's advisor Themison represented himself as the Heracles of King Antiochus.⁷⁸ In addition to these Heracles coins, Antiochus II produced coins with Athena *Nikephoros* on the reverse. These coins convey the same message of Seleucid victory in Asia Minor as the Heracles coinage given their similar provenance and martial imagery. Antiochus II also continued to mint coins with Alexander's Heracles type. The limited amount of non-Apollo coinage and its connection to coinage issued by his predecessors demonstrates Antiochus II's policy in promoting dynastic continuity through the continuation of his father's policies.

III.1: HERACLES

In addition to the Apollo coinage, Antiochus II also continued the Heracles coinage of his father. As in the case of Antiochus I, this coinage stressed the king's accomplishments in Asia Minor and his role as protector of the cities. It is interesting to note that both Antiochus I and Antiochus II used the image of Heracles to stress their power in Asia Minor rather than Apollo. Their use of Heracles in this context should further put to rest the idea that Seleucid connections to Apollo only grew out of Seleucid interests in Asia Minor, in particular Didyma and Miletus.

The continuation of Antiochus I's Heracles coinage stressed dynastic continuity but did so in a more specific manner than the Apollo coinage, as the coinage was limited to a few mints under both kings. The Heracles coinage presented Antiochus II as the legitimate successor to his father as the protector and saviour of several cities in Asia Minor. Just as Antiochus I had received his divine epithet, *Soter* (Saviour), from the Greek cities;⁷⁹ Antiochus II received his, *Theos* (God), from the Milesians.⁸⁰ Thus the Heracles coinage helped continue the tradition of highlighting the king's role as the divine saviour of the cities. This link also helped Antiochus II position himself as the legitimate and worthy successor to his father.

⁷⁸ Ath. 289f – 290.

⁷⁹ See Coşkun Forthcoming for the argument that the *Soter* cults of Asia Minor may have been for Antiochus II rather than Antiochus I, see discussion in Chapter 6.

⁸⁰ Appian, *Syr.* 65.

The seated Heracles type coinage all features an obverse image of Antiochus I in various states of rejuvenation.⁸¹ The reverse image depicts Heracles seated on a rock facing left and resting his hand on his club (Figure 84).⁸² As with the Apollo-on-the-omphalos subset B coinage, all of the seated Heracles coins were minted in Asia Minor. The location of the mints of this coinage in Asia Minor was due to two reasons; first Antiochus II was most active in Asia Minor, and second it reflects an emphasis on Antiochus I's victories in Asia Minor and an attempt by Antiochus II to link his father's victories with Antiochus II's successful expansion in Asia Minor during the Second Syrian War.⁸³

The literary sources for the reign of Antiochus II come for the most part from Athenaeus and much of it is interested in court gossip which may reveal little about Antiochus' actions and policy. However, these sources remarked on Antiochus' penchant for drunkenness and more importantly his unsavoury reliance on his advisors, particularly the Cypriots Aristus and Themison.⁸⁴ The importance of Themison to Antiochus II may demonstrate some aspects of royal policy, as Themison presented himself as the Heracles of King Antiochus.⁸⁵ This example may provide an interesting glimpse into the presentation of royal power in the empire, especially as it invites comparisons to Demetrius Poliorcetes' position at Athens in the midst of the Diadoch wars.⁸⁶ If this is the case, then it is possible that the Heracles coinage issued in Asia Minor was an attempt at self-promotion by Themison of Cyprus.⁸⁷

Let us therefore examine what we can learn from the literary accounts. According to Phylarchus, Antiochus was a habitual drunk and therefore left the running of the kingdom to two Cypriots, Aristus and Themison.⁸⁸ While this account may be biased against the Seleucid monarch and pick up on recurrent themes in Athenaeus,⁸⁹ it seems to provide some valuable information on the importance of Themison to Antiochus II.

⁸¹ For analysis of the rejuvenated image of Antiochus I see above.

⁸² Perhaps Temnus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 597, Myrina: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 500 and 501; Cyme: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 503-505; Phocaea: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 509-512; Perhaps Smyrna: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 516.

⁸³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 168.

⁸⁴ Ath. 10.438 c; Aelian *Var. Hist.* 2.41; Grainger 1997: 119.

⁸⁵ Ath. 289f – 290.

⁸⁶ For Demetrius' cult at Athens see for example: Thonemann 2005; Scott 1928.

⁸⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 168.

⁸⁸ Athenaeus 7.438d = Phylarchos 6, *FHG* i, 335–6; for a brief look at the political role of Themison at the court see Ramsey Forthcoming-b.

⁸⁹ For drunkenness as a trope in Athenaeus see: Ceccarelli Forthcoming.

Elsewhere, Athenaeus provides further information on Themison and his role as the Heracles of Antiochus:⁹⁰

Again Themison of Cyprus, the plaything of King Antiochus, according to Pythermus of Ephesus in the eighth book of his *Histories*, was proclaimed at the festivals not only as Themison of Macedon, but also as the Heracles of King Antiochus. All the inhabitants also sacrificed to him, calling upon him by the name of Heracles-Themison; and whenever any distinguished person offered sacrifice, Themison was always present in person, reclining on a separate couch and clad in a lion's skin; he also carried a Scythian bow and held a club.
-Athenaeus 289f-290 (*my translation*)

This interesting formulation, the “Heracles of King Antiochus” must elevate Antiochus to the position of Zeus. This formulation recalls the divine honours that were attributed to Demetrius Poliorcetes’ lovers at Athens.⁹¹ In that case Athenaeus preserved the account of two individuals hostile to Demetrius Poliorcetes: Demochares, who opposed Macedonian intervention in Athens, and Demetrius of Phalerum:⁹² “(The Athenians built) temples to Aphrodite Leaena and Aphrodite Lamia, also altars, shrines, and libations to Burichos, Adeimantos, and Oxythemis”.⁹³ Athenaeus introduced this comment with the statement that this represented “The Athenians’ flattering conduct towards Demetrius Poliorcetes”.⁹⁴ The Athenian case clearly represents a case of the *polis* attempting to flatter their overlord by giving honours to his favourites. What differs in this case is the fact that Themison was clearly elevating himself to the level of Heracles, while he remained subordinate to his patron and still managed to praise him. Nevertheless, this was an overt assertion of power by Themison, which may have contributed to the remark preserved in Athenaeus that Antiochus II was too drunk⁹⁵ and therefore left the running of the empire to Themison and his brother. There is no further evidence for this claim, and Antiochus title *Theos* granted by the Milesians suggests an active king.

⁹⁰ Ath. 289f – 290 καὶ Θεμίσιον δὲ ὁ Κύπριος, τὰ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως παιδικά, ὡς φησι Πύθερμος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν ἀνεκηρύττετο Θεμίσιον Μακεδῶν, Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως Ἡρακλῆς· ἔθνον δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἐγχώριοι ἐπιλέγοντες Ἡρακλεῖ Θεμίσιον, καὶ παρὴν αὐτὸς ὅποτε τις τῶν ἐνδόξων θύοι καὶ ἀνέκειτο στρωμνὴν καθ’ αὐτὸν ἔχων ἡμφιεσμένος λεοντῆν.

⁹¹ For a recent discussion of these women see: Ogden 2009.

⁹² Hornblower and Spawforth 1996, 451; Scott 1928, 235-236.

⁹³ Ath. 253a-253b. Λείνης μὲν καὶ Λαμίας Ἀφροδίτης ἱερά καὶ βουρίχου καὶ Ἀδειμάντου καὶ Ὀξυθέμιδος τῶν κολάκων αὐτοῦ καὶ βωμοὶ καὶ ἡρώα καὶ σπονδαί.

⁹⁴ Ath. 253a οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κολακείας πρὸς τὸν Πολιορκητὴν Δημήτριον.

⁹⁵ Ath. 438c; *Aelian Var. Hist.* 2.41.

If the phrase “the Heracles of King Antiochus” does elevate Antiochus to the level of Zeus then this must be recalled in his Milesian epithet *Theos*. Antiochus II was the first Seleucid king to receive a divine title that was not associated with a specific deity, and the first to receive a clearly divine title while still alive. Seleucus I had been associated both with Zeus (on his coinage and later cult) and Apollo (divine descent); Antiochus I was associated with Apollo (coinage and later cult) and perhaps late in his reign he associated his own victories with those of Heracles.⁹⁶ Appian recorded that Antiochus II received the title *Theos* from the Milesians for slaying their tyrant: “the second another Antiochus, who was born from the marriage of them (Stratonice and Antiochus I), who received the name *Theos* (God) from the Milesians first of all, since he killed the tyrant Timarchus for them”.⁹⁷ This title does not recall any special attribute of any god, as *Nicator* (Victor) had for Seleucus I and *Soter* (Saviour) had for Antiochus. While *Theos* is the generic word for deity in this formulation it is likely that Themison’s formulation the Heracles of King Antiochus was playing on the ambiguity of the word to imply a comparison between Antiochus and the king of the gods. Outside of this specific context, the title retained its ambiguity, allowing for connections with any deity as well as emphasising the king’s super-human nature.

This epithet raises serious questions concerning Antiochus II's divine ambitions and possible cult. The most important question is how widespread the use of this title was during Antiochus' lifetime in the areas outside of where he received it. No living Seleucid monarch used divine epithets on their coinage until Antiochus IV. Therefore it is impossible to know how accepted or widespread the title was. If the title was in fact widely circulated then it would have allowed Antiochus to identify himself with whichever local deity best served his specific propaganda aims. Thus the title that Antiochus received from the Milesians had the potential for widespread propaganda. However, as it does not appear in surviving evidence outside Appian and the priest list from Seleucia-in-Pieria (from the reign of Seleucus IV)⁹⁸ it does not appear to have been fully exploited.

The relationship between Heracles-Themison and Antiochus did not affect the image of Heracles on Antiochus’ coinage, as the image appears the same as it

⁹⁶ See Chapters 1 and 2.

⁹⁷ Appian, *Syr.* 65 δεύτερος δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἕτερος, ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν γάμων γενόμενος, ὄτῳ θεὸς ἐπώνυμον ὑπὸ Μιλησίων γίγνεται πρῶτον, ὅτι αὐτοῖς Τίμαρχον τύραννον καθεῖλεν.

⁹⁸ *OGIS* 245.

had under Antiochus I, and the image continued to lack the bow which was a prominent feature of Athenaeus' description of Heracles-Themison. This does not preclude the possibility that the Heracles coins also alluded to Heracles-Themison. Therefore it is possible that Themison attempted to utilize the existing Heracles propaganda to enhance his own prestige, *pace* the suggestion of Babelon (who suggested that the appearance of the Heracles type coinage coincided with the emergence of Themison as a favourite of Antiochus II), as the initial introduction of the type predates Antiochus II.⁹⁹ Therefore, the Heracles coinage represented an attempt to link Antiochus I's and Antiochus II's victories in Asia Minor. The production of these tetradrachms at three cities, Myrina, Cyme and Phocaea, becomes more interesting as they also produced a new type of gold staters. MacDonald has suggested that these two types together suggest an alliance or separate grouping of these cities under Seleucid suzerainty in order to defend against Attalid or Ptolemaic encroachment.¹⁰⁰ This thesis fits with an attempt by Antiochus II to maintain control of Asia Minor and to use Heracles imagery to emphasise his rule. Although no direct evidence has been discovered, perhaps Themison had a hand in arranging this alliance.

The image of Heracles most prominently reflects a continuation of the benefactions of Antiochus I to Asia Minor, as well as those by Antiochus II. Therefore this coinage, as well as the Apollo-on-the-omphalos, coinage reflects a high degree of dynastic continuity. Themison's portrayal of himself as Heracles along with this coinage raise interesting questions of how closely connected the iconography of Seleucid coins is to the situation at court. However, the continuing of the legend in the name of Antiochus hides any unambiguous reference to Themison. As we also have no literary evidence for his desire for independent power, it is impossible to determine whether or not he had any effect on the coinage and the coinage's clear similarities to that of Antiochus I's Heracles coinage suggests he had little influence. The lack of a clear reference to Themison is especially important in this case, as Antiochus II could have equally benefited from the message that seems to be proclaimed by this coinage without interference from Themison. The coinage therefore can be examined in the same way as the rest of the royally-inspired coinage, in that it

⁹⁹ Babelon 1890: lxi; See MacDonald 1907: 158 for argument against Babelon.

¹⁰⁰ MacDonald 1907: 158.

originated from the court in the form of instructions and it was Themison who would have used the existing coinage in attempt to enhance his prestige rather than an independent development.

III.2: ATHENA NIKEPHOROS

At three of the five mints that produced the seated Heracles tetradrachms (Myrina, Cyme and probably Phocaea) a new reverse on gold staters was also introduced. These coins featured the diademed head of a rejuvenated and idealised Antiochus I on the obverse, and Athena standing facing left, holding a filleted palm and Nike crowning the royal name, with a shield resting against Athena's leg on the reverse (Figure 85).¹⁰¹ Houghton and Lorber link the victorious symbolism of the *Athena Nikephoros* with the Heracles tetradrachms and the end of the second Syrian war.¹⁰² Owing to the head of Antiochus I depicted on the obverse, these coins commemorated his victories in Asia Minor and also emphasised Antiochus II's own successes in his war with Ptolemy, in much the same manner as the Heracles tetradrachms. The image of Athena recalls Alexander's gold staters, in that the new type combines Alexander's obverse (helmeted Athena) and reverse (Nike) images with some modifications. The martial imagery suggested by the shield clearly associates the image with both wars of the Antiochi. The crowning of the name by Nike reinforced the royal power and victory of the Seleucids. The filleted palm recalls the palm in Nike's hand on the Alexandrine staters.¹⁰³ If MacDonald is correct in attributing a defensive alliance to these three cities on the basis of the Heracles coinage,¹⁰⁴ these gold staters were then issued to emphasise the alliance. An alliance of these three cities would have been a significant expression of local autonomy. However, this alliance appears to be presented in terms which suggest loyalty to Antiochus II. This coinage appears to have been produced with a specific purpose, the repulsion of Ptolemaic and perhaps Pergamene forces, rather than an attempt to emphasise dynastic continuity. This coinage represented a break in the otherwise coherent dynastic image formed by the rest of Antiochus' coinage. However, the circumstances of production and the mint location provide adequate reason for this

¹⁰¹ Myrina: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 498; Cyme: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 502; Probably Phocaea: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 515.

¹⁰² Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 168.

¹⁰³ Sardis: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 517; Miletus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 548; Tarsus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 559.

¹⁰⁴ MacDonald 1907: 158.

coinage. Furthermore, nothing in this coinage demonstrates a break with the Seleucid dynastic image.

III.3: ALEXANDER

As with his two royal predecessors Antiochus II continued to mint staters and tetradrachms in the style of Alexander (Figure 86 and Figure 87).¹⁰⁵ The minting of these coins served two purposes: firstly Alexandrine type coinage appears to have been the favoured coin type for trade during the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁶ Secondly, the continuation of the Alexandrine type allowed for a degree of continuity not just within the dynasty, a function the Apollo coinage served, but also linking to the potent image of Alexander.

IV: ANTIOCHUS II AND BABYLON

The turning point in Antiochus II's reign was undoubtedly his separation from Laodice and his marriage to the Egyptian princess Berenice at the end of the Second Syrian War. Although it appears that Antiochus was largely successful during this war, retaking significant portions of Asia Minor including Miletus, he was forced to separate from his own wife and marry his rival's daughter.¹⁰⁷ While political intermarriage between the Hellenistic dynasties was normal, it often led to interfamilial conflict despite its intended effect.¹⁰⁸ Antiochus made significant concessions to Laodice and their children. He sold her a large private estate in the Troad, designated the village of Pannus as part of her estates,¹⁰⁹ as well as selling her an estate in the region of Babylon.¹¹⁰ Laodice appears to have remained in Asia Minor after her separation from Antiochus II, where she had strong familial connections.¹¹¹ She and her sons subsequently donated her

¹⁰⁵ Gold staters: Sardis: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 517; Miletus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 548; Tarsus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 559; Susa: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 601; tetradrachms: Laodicea-by-the-sea: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 576; Susa: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 603.

¹⁰⁶ Houghton 2004: 52-53.

¹⁰⁷ Ogden 1999: 128-132.

¹⁰⁸ See Ogden 1999 for the role of intermarriage in the Hellenistic dynasties and the role it played in amphimetric strife.

¹⁰⁹ *OGIS* 225; *RC* 18-20; Austin 2006: no. 185; Bagnall and Derow 1981: no. 25.

¹¹⁰ Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. -245; Lehmann 1892, 330 n.2.

¹¹¹ Ogden 1999: 128-129.

Babylonian estate to "the Babylonians, Borsippaeans and Cuthaeans".¹¹² This donation was part of a general trend of interest at Babylon by Laodice's children. The children were present at the Akitu festival in SE 66 (246 BC).¹¹³ Additionally, during June of that year, Seleucus, the future King Seleucus II, instituted something related to the temple of Esagila.¹¹⁴ Seleucus' intervention in temple affairs must be read in context both of his role as the son of the king and his mother's land donation to Babylon. Both of these roles would have given Seleucus the authority to intervene in Babylonian affairs. However, his intervention does cast an interesting picture of his relations with his father, as a new son by Berenice could have been designated the official successor.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, Seleucus II did not receive the title of Crown Prince, as Antiochus I had been while serving as co-ruler to Seleucus I which suggests that he was not officially designated as co-ruler. The removal of his mother from the position of Queen may have affected Seleucus' position as legitimate successor. In fact, many ancient sources have suggested that Laodice murdered Antiochus II in order to ensure the succession of her sons over the newly-born son of her rival Berenice, although the murder is not reported in the Babylonian chronicles, Eusebius, or Polyaeus.¹¹⁶ It appears that the Babylonians' were highly favourable to the family of Laodice. This may reflect her successful courtship of the city through her land donation and the active role of her children in the city. The influence of Seleucus in Babylon does not necessarily reflect a lack of interest in the city by his father, although his father seems to have largely been involved in affairs in Asia Minor.

Antiochus II's activities in Babylon were generally inconspicuous and left little record. It appears that the Akitu festival continued during his reign and that the Babylonian religious institutions were respected. Although he had served as king of the Upper Satrapies briefly under his father, this has also left no mark. It seems that there was no significant break between the policies of Antiochus I and Antiochus II in regards to Babylon. This fits with the general picture of Antiochus II continuing the policies of his father wherever they had proved effective.

¹¹² *BCHP* 16.

¹¹³ Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. -245; although it is possible that offerings were made for the lives of the king and his children, a parallel formula is not attested. For the importance of the Akitu festival see Chapter 2: 114ff.

¹¹⁴ Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. -245.

¹¹⁵ Ogden 1999: 129.

¹¹⁶ Appian, *Syr.* 65; Porphyry *FGrH* 260 F43 = Jerome *In Daniele* 11.6a; Phylarchus, *FGrH* 81 F24; Pliny, *NH*, 7.53; Val. Max. 9. 14 Ext. 1; No Posion: Eusebius, *Chron.*, I 251; Polyaeus 8.50, *BCHP* 11, Sachs and Hunger 1989: -245.

V: BACTRIA

The satrapy of Bactria represented the major failure of Antiochus II's attempt to maintain in its entirety the vast Seleucid empire he inherited. Without having appointed a co-ruler to rule in the east, the powerful satraps in that region began to assert their independence. Although Bactria may not have completely broken away from the Seleucid empire during the reign of Antiochus II, the ground work was certainly laid. The break may have occurred during the invasion of Ptolemy III or the civil war which followed Antiochus II's death, and was certainly complete by the time Diodotus drove Arsaces from his satrapy and took the title *Soter*.¹¹⁷ It is not entirely unexpected that the only iconographically coherent coinage minted in the name of Antiochus II that broke out of the mould established by Antiochus I came from the Bactrian mints under Diodotid control. This coinage better represents the ambitions of the Diodotid satraps (and then kings) than Seleucid policy. This coinage features the images of Zeus (silver coinage) and Hermes (bronze coinage). All of this coinage was minted in the name of Antiochus, although the images of Diodotus I and II gradually replaced the image of Antiochus on the obverse of the silver coinage.¹¹⁸ While this Bactrian coinage is not directly relevant to a discussion of Seleucid iconography as it is not Seleucid, it does reflect the success in defining Apollo as a patron deity. In order to establish themselves as distinct kings the Diodotid monarchs were forced to choose a different image than those which had been used by the Seleucids.

Bactria had been an important satrapy for the Seleucids under Seleucus I and Antiochus I (who had served a portion of his time as co-ruler fortifying the area). The Seleucid kings had opened two mints, one perhaps at Bactra and one at Ai Khanoum.¹¹⁹ Under Seleucus I (likely during the co-reign of Antiochus I) the Bactra mint produced the outstanding gold staters which featured Apollo on the obverse and Artemis in a chariot

¹¹⁷ The chronology of the breaking away of the Bactrian state is hotly contested, most numismatists seem to prefer a "high" chronology with the break occurring in the reign of Antiochus II and ancient historians tend to prefer a "low" chronology which places the break at the start of the reign of Seleucus II. I believe the arguments on both sides are at best inconclusive and the question must for the time being remain unresolved. A long process which resulted in independence for both Bactria and Parthia stretching the period c.250 to 225 seems the easiest solution. For a good summary of the arguments see: Holt 1999: 58-66, esp. n. 37.

¹¹⁸ Holt 1999:92-93 for a analysis of the chronology of the early Diodotid coinage.

¹¹⁹ Kriti 1996.

on the reverse.¹²⁰ Under Antiochus I, Aī Khanoum became the major mint of the province and after producing coins with the deified Seleucus and a horned horse, it began to mint Apollo-on-the-omphalos coins.¹²¹ Therefore, the satrapy had a long acquaintance with Seleucid Apolline imagery. Apollo was not purely a royal god in the satrapy, as Clearchus found a suitable city in Aī Khanoum to inscribe and set up the maxims of Apollo from Delphi.¹²² As the province had a long and continued acceptance of Apollo, it is unlikely that the Greco-Bactrian kings who beginning with Diodotus sought to reject Apollo did so because he was unpopular or lacked any resonance with the population. Instead, it is better to see the development of non-Seleucid iconography on coins with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ as part of the slow evolution of independence by Diodotus I and II.

VI: CONCLUSION

The policies of Antiochus II were largely a continuation of the policies of his father. No major shifts in iconography occurred and Apollo was preserved as the royal god and Heracles continued his prominent role in Asia Minor. Furthermore, Antiochus II does not appear to have made any significant changes to the situation at Babylon or elsewhere. The only break with the policy of his father was the greater independence granted to the eastern satraps, most notably Diodotus. This may not have been part of a deliberate policy but a combination of issues involving the absence of a co-ruler and problems in Asia Minor. On the one hand, Antiochus II's reign saw large fluctuations in territory and the beginning of a generation of dynastic disputes. On the other hand, his reign can be seen as the first stable period in terms of Seleucid royal identity and likely represents the culmination of the iconographic reforms of Antiochus I.

¹²⁰ See Kritz 1996 4-21 for the attribution of the coins to perhaps Bactra (Kritz Mint A).

¹²¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002 nos. 426-460.

¹²² Robert 1968: 422-457; cf. Yailenko 1990: 239-256 for a questioning of the entirely Hellenic sentiment behind the maxims and their relationship to Asoka's edicts.

CHAPTER 4: SELEUCUS II AND ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

I: INTRODUCTION

I.1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Seleucus II, the son of Antiochus II *Theos* and Laodice, was born in c. 260.¹ He was first mentioned in a land grant to the Babylonians given by his mother after her separation from Antiochus II.² As he approached maturity he was active in Babylon, where he appears to have held the Akitu festival in 246/5.³ It is interesting that his father had never named a co-ruler in the East, the normal Seleucid practice. Antiochus II's failure to do this may be due to his marriage to Berenice and his truce with Ptolemy Philadelphus, who may have required that Antiochus II's legitimate heir came from Berenice.⁴ The young age of his son Seleucus II would not necessarily have been a deterrent as other Seleucid rulers drafted their sons as co-rulers at even younger ages.⁵ After his father's unexpected death, Seleucus II was immediately recognised as king in Babylon.⁶ There is no mention of any king between Antiochus II and Seleucus II in the Babylonian chronicles, which suggests that if Berenice attempted to elevate her young son to the throne, he was not accepted as king in Babylon.⁷

Upon Antiochus II's return to Laodice and his subsequent death, Ptolemy III took advantage of the turmoil caused by Antiochus' multiple possible heirs and his lack of a co-ruler and invaded in an attempt to support his sister's young son's claim to the throne. There was popular support for Berenice and her child in Antioch and other Syrian cities.⁸ However, her popularity may have been overstated by pro-Ptolemaic

¹ Grainger 1997: 60.

² For Babylonia see: *BCHP* 11; Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. -245; Lehmann 1892: no. 3.

³ Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. -245.

⁴ For the marriage of Berenike and Antiochus II: see Porphyry *FGrH* 260 F43 (=Jerome *In Daniele* 11.6a), Appian, *Syr.* 65; Justin 27.1-10; cf. Ogden 1999: 128-129.

⁵ Ramsey Forthcoming-a.

⁶ *BCHP* 10: reverse 6 has Antiochus taking the royal throne in Sittake, which was probably a city near Babylon.

⁷ The Babylonian King list only includes Antiochus II and Seleucus II as Kings during the year 246/5: Sachs and Wiseman 1954: 206; as does the Babylonian Chronicle: Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. -245.

⁸ Justin 27.1.5.

sources as she was captured and killed in Antioch.⁹ The death of Berenice and her son did not force Ptolemy to withdraw his nephew's claim to the throne. Rather Ptolemy kept up the pretence of his sister's and her son's survival.¹⁰ His invasion was initially very successful as his conquests included the centre of Seleucid dynastic cult, Seleucia-in-Pieria, and he was able to bring his army as far east as Babylon, where he managed to capture most of the city and sanctuaries except for the royal palace which held out for Seleucus II.¹¹ Thus by 245 when an uprising in Egypt forced Ptolemy to return to Egypt leaving the command to his generals, he had taken possessions in both the Syrian and Babylonian heartlands of the empire. However, without their king and faced with a rebellion at home, the Egyptian forces slowly lost ground as Seleucus II was able to retake much of his ancestral possessions, although Seleucia-in-Pieria remained in Ptolemaic hands until the reign of Antiochus III.

Besides the immediate implications of a large scale foreign invasion, the Ptolemaic invasion had important long lasting consequences for the stability of the kingdom. As a result of fighting against Ptolemaic forces, Seleucus II appointed his brother Antiochus Hierax as co-ruler in Asia Minor in order to stabilise this part of the empire.¹² This appointment followed a period in which Seleucus was particularly active in granting honours to the cities of Asia Minor in order to ensure their support. These grants and the appointment of his brother revealed the weakness of his original position. Furthermore, while the appointment of co-rulers had been the normal practice under Seleucus I and Antiochus I, the appointment of Hierax marked the first time a sibling was appointed as a co-ruler. As both kings were roughly the same age and both could claim the right to kingship through the same means, Hierax was in a relatively superior position in terms of power relationships between the two kings than any previous co-ruler. While the appointment of the young Hierax was probably necessary to ensure Seleucid rule in Asia Minor, he was not able to halt the re-expansion of Ptolemaic power in Asia Minor, as the Ptolemies retook control of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Ephesus and Samos.¹³ Power is easier to grant than to limit, and as Seleucus II neared the completion of his re-conquest of the centre and western portions of the empire (c. 242), the fourteen year-old Hierax

⁹ Polyaeus 8.50; Justin 27.1; Jerome *In Daniele* 11.7-9.

¹⁰ Gurob papyrus, *FGrH* 160.

¹¹ *BCHP* 11.

¹² Porphyry *FGrH* 260 F 32.6, 8; Justin 27.2.6.

¹³ *OGIS* 54.14-15; Jones and Russell 1993; 296; Jones, Habicht et al. 1989: 317-346; Ephesus see *FGrH* 260 F 32.8; Samos *SEG* 1.366; see also Ma 2000: 44-45.

under the guidance of their mother, Laodice, claimed Asia Minor as his own kingdom.¹⁴ This led to the outbreak of the Fratricidal War, in which Hierax together with his army of Galatian mercenaries inflicted a major defeat on Seleucus II at Ancyra in 240/239 or 237.¹⁵ This defeat essentially divided the kingdom between Hierax ruling Asia Minor and Seleucus controlling Mesopotamia and Syria.¹⁶ Upon claiming the royal title, Hierax began to mint coinage in his own name that continued the types of his father and grandfather.

As a rebel king, Hierax faced a different set of challenges in attempting to legitimate his reign than any previous Seleucid monarch. One important factor in his claim was that he was a legitimate son of Antiochus II *Theos*, and therefore possessed a legitimate claim to the throne. However, this claim was equally shared by his elder brother, Seleucus II. He was also supported by his mother against his brother.¹⁷ Ogden has suggested that the Laodice played an essential role in undermining the general Seleucid practice of primogeniture and the creation of this amphimetric dispute.¹⁸ It is therefore especially important to understand how Hierax utilised the mints under his control to legitimate his role as a Seleucid king.

In addition to Hierax's revolt in Asia Minor, Seleucus' position was never entirely secure even after he had removed the Ptolemies from his domain. He was still faced with multiple insurrections against his rule. In 237 and 234 there were rebellions in Babylon, the cause of which remains unclear.¹⁹ Additionally, Seleucus II's aunt Stratonice, the former wife of the Antigonid King Demetrius II, raised a brief revolt in Antioch. Seleucus defeated this revolt and had her executed.²⁰ These revolts show the problems Seleucus faced in restoring Seleucid rule in the aftermath of the successful Ptolemaic invasion.

Having eventually achieved success in Babylonia and Syria, Seleucus was forced to embark on an expedition to regain the territories in the north-east of the empire which

¹⁴ Justin 27.2.7; Plutarch *Moralia* 489a; cf. Ogden 1999: 130-131; Macurdy 1932: 86.

¹⁵ Polyainos 4.17; Justin 38.5.3; For 240 or 239 see Will 1979-1982: i. 294-296; for 237 see Grainger 1997: 62; Mitchell 1993: 20.

¹⁶ At some point either towards the end of Antiochus II's reign or during this period both Bactria and Parthia asserted their independence. Cf. Chapter 3: 161ff.

¹⁷ Plutarch *Moralia* 489a; Macurdy 1932: 86.

¹⁸ Ogden 1999: 131-132.

¹⁹ Sachs and Hunger 1989: nos. -237 and -234.

²⁰ Agatharchides *FGrH* 86 F20; Ogden 1999: 132.

had first revolted under the satrap Andragoras but then fallen to the invading Parthians. Although very little is known of the extent of this campaign, Seleucus claimed a victory from this campaign which was reflected in his coinage. However, in reality both Parthia and Bactria were effectively independent.²¹

Seleucus was recalled from this eastern campaign when Hierax and his Galatian army were completely defeated by Attalus I of Pergamum.²² After the defeat, Hierax attempted to gain a new foothold for his kingdom by invading Syria by way of Mesopotamia. Seleucus was able to quickly drive his brother back into Asia Minor.²³ Having fled to Thrace, Hierax was killed by a band of Galatians in c.227.²⁴ Seleucus' actions in the two years between the death of his brother and his own death in 225 are unknown; but the empire recovered enough to mount renewed military campaigns at the start of his son's reign.

As a result of Hierax's revolts and subsequent defeats, the Seleucid state briefly lost control of the majority of Asia Minor, with Attalus being the main beneficiary, as he was able to restrict the movement of the Galatians by fixing them into their own state and was able to capture large portions of Asia Minor.²⁵ The Seleucids were significantly weakened by the Fratricidal War between the two competing Seleucid kings, as evidenced by the various revolts. However, there seems to have been a period of peace before Seleucus II's unexpected death in 225²⁶, as both Seleucus III and Antiochus III were able to mount significant military campaigns to retake captured provinces on their accessions to the throne.

I.2: ICONOGRAPHY

The competing reigns of Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax give some insight into how coinage was used to differentiate between two competing rulers of the same house. As opposed to the change in gods on coinage used by the Diodotids to advertise their

²¹ Justin 41.4.4-10.

²² Mitchell 1993: 22 n. 103.

²³ Grainger 1997: 35; Polyainos 34.17.

²⁴ Justin 27.3.9-10.

²⁵ Mitchell 1993: 21-22.

²⁶ The traditional date for the death of Seleucus II comes from Porphyry/Eusebius as the second year of Olympiad 138 (-227/6 BC); cf. Grainger 1997: 61. The *Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period* also known as "King List 6" (Obv. 14; Rev. 1) lists him as ruler until 225/4 when he was succeeded by Seleucus III. For "King List 6" see Sachs and Wiseman 1954; Van der Spek 2008a; For the accession of Seleucus III in late 225/early 224 see *BCHP* 10; Hoover 2007: 25.

increasing independence, both Seleucid brothers continued to produce coinage that portrayed Apollo. Hierax nearly exclusively minted tetradrachms of the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type used by his father and grandfather, whereas Seleucus II, from the beginning of his reign, introduced a new form of Apollo. This form recalled the images produced by his predecessors but in a slightly different pattern. For the first time Apollo was not seated. This was significant as it broke away from the model of Apollo that may have derived from the Datames coinage and have had more resonance in the east.²⁷ As the arrow remains a prominent feature of the coinage, it is possible that the Nabû reference remained. It appears as though Seleucus II was stressing the Greek aspects of Apollo which were already present, in particular by the incorporation of the large tripod. One possible reason for this change may have been that the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type was based on a statue, perhaps at Seleucia-in-Pieria, which now lay in Ptolemaic hands.²⁸ The reasons for this shift are unknown but the new iconography may have given Antiochus Hierax an extra weapon in his war for recognition against his brother.

Apart from Apollo, Seleucus II also placed the images of Athena, the Dioscuri, and Heracles on his coinage, as had the earlier Seleucid kings. However, these gods appeared less regularly and were for the most part limited to bronze coinage. This seems to suggest an increasingly important role for Apollo as the patron of the Seleucid house. In addition to these gods, Poseidon made a very limited appearance, as did a hunting goddess, as well as Pegasus. However, these three figures were very limited and were probably related to local events. More interestingly, Seleucus II produced a large number of different types which stressed his military prowess and his victories. Furthermore, he continued to break with Alexander by rarely including him on his coinage, and he was also the first Seleucid king to be portrayed with a beard, a clear break from the clean-shaven image of Alexander.

The final coinage which may have been minted under the authority of Seleucus II that will be discussed in this chapter is the *Soter* coinage. It is included in this chapter as it fits most logically into the chronological framework and highlights important issues for the reign of Seleucus II.

²⁷ See Chapter 2: 123ff.

²⁸ See Lacroix 1949: 169-175 for the reasons why the coinage was not modeled on a statue.

II: *SOTER* COINAGE

One of the most interesting Seleucid coinages was issued at a mint associated with Antioch sometime between the death of Antiochus II and sometime after Seleucus II retook Antioch (246-240). This series of coinage recalled the types of Antiochus I which had not been issued since the advent of Antiochus II's reign in the city and paired it with a legend that reads ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (of the Saviour (God?) Antiochus) (Figure 88).²⁹ The mint produced a gold octadrachm type struck from tetradrachm dies (Figure 89).³⁰ This is interesting as under Antiochus II gold issues had become less common. The mint also used a very high number of reverse dies for the tetradrachms which suggests a substantial output rather than an isolated emission.³¹ The obverse of both types depicted the diademed head of Antiochus I and the reverse featured Apollo seated on the omphalos holding an arrow and resting his hand on a grounded bow.³² While the iconography of the coins was typical of the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type the legend, ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, brings the idea of a Seleucid cult to the fore. This use of the cultic epithet was new to Seleucid coinage, although had appeared on Ptolemaic coinage from the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. It is uncertain who produced this coinage and exactly when the coinage was produced. Le Rider gives two options for when the coinage was produced: either nearly immediately after the death of Antiochus II (246) or around 240.³³ If the coinage was produced around 240, then it must have been a commemorative issue by Seleucus II designed to secure support against his brother. Given Seleucus II's shift away from the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type as his main coinage type, it would be surprising if he resorted to the type at a single isolated mint, especially as his brother continued to use it and to advertise a close connection between himself and Antiochus I and II.³⁴ If the coinage was produced shortly after Antiochus II's death then there are more options; it could have been produced either by partisans of Berenice or of Seleucus II in a bid to legitimate their claim to the throne.

The question of where this coinage was minted has been tied to that of who minted the coinage. Newell located the mint at Apamea and suggested that it was produced by

²⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 641.

³⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 640.

³¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 225.

³² Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 640-641.

³³ Le Rider 1999: 89-90.

³⁴ See below for a discussion of Seleucus II's Apollo coinage and Antiochus Hierax's coinage.

neutral authorities uncertain of the outcome of the Seleucid-Ptolemaic war.³⁵ However, Houghton reattributed the coinage to Antioch on the basis of shared controls and stylistic similarities.³⁶ With this reattribution, Le Rider suggested that the coinage could not have been produced by a neutral authority to pay for the troops stationed at Apamea and therefore attributed the coinage to partisans of Seleucus II as he suggests that Berenice would have placed the image of her infant son on the coinage.³⁷ The bronze coinage which was linked with higher value coinage by the use of the same legend featured the diademed head of Antiochus I on the obverse and the Seleucid anchor flanked by the caps of the Dioscuri on the reverse (Figure 90).³⁸ Houghton suggests that the Dioscuri may have been invoking a link between the Ptolemaic house and the Seleucid house, as the twin gods were often associated with Ptolemaic queens.³⁹ However, the Dioscuri were equally popular as symbols of martial aid, victory and immortality and often appeared on Seleucid coinage, including later coinage of Seleucus II. Therefore, they cannot reliably be used to associate the coinage with any particular party. It seems more difficult to associate this coinage with Seleucus II as he only rarely reproduced the image of Apollo-on-the-omphalos because he had created his own version of the Seleucid Apollo early in his reign. Another possible option is that the coinage was produced by a loyalist party to the Seleucid house, which maintained some control at Antioch or the surrounding area. The coinage of this party could have been continued as a show of support by Seleucus II when he took the city. As we know that Berenice and the child were killed before Ptolemy was able to reach them, some form of substantial support for the family of Laodice must have existed. The final option is that this coinage was issued to support Berenice's claim to a Seleucid descent for her young son, invoking the name of his ancestor and recalling his victories in Asia Minor. While I believe it is impossible to determine which group produced this coinage, the importance of Antiochus I should not be underestimated. The multiple possible groups that could have generated this particular image suggests that the title Antiochus *Soter* was well known, at least at Antioch, and that it had significance for the dynasty. I believe that this suggests a cult for Antiochus that was likely tied to Apollo at least by the reign of Seleucus II.⁴⁰

³⁵ *WSM*: p. 163-165.

³⁶ Houghton 1980b: 38-41.

³⁷ Le Rider 1999: 74-75.

³⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 642.

³⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 226.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 6 for a full discussion of Seleucid ruler cult.

III: APOLLO

Under Seleucus II, the standard Seleucid Apollo type – Apollo-on-the-omphalos – was drastically modified for the first time. This modification became all the more striking when his brother and rival king, Antiochus Hierax, staked part of his claim to dynastic legitimacy on the continued minting of the standard Seleucid type created by their grandfather. Seleucus II's changes to the Seleucid coin type did not extend beyond his reign nor did they undermine his dynastic connection to Apollo, rather they emphasized the different aspects of the god. Whereas Antiochus II attempted to portray himself as the legitimate successor to his father by continuing his coin types, Seleucus II's coinage represented a clear break with the tradition.

III.1: STANDING APOLLO

The most common type of Seleucus II featured his diademed head on the obverse and Apollo standing left holding an arrow and resting his elbow on a tall tripod on the reverse (Figure 91). The portrait of Seleucus II sometimes featured a beard, a clear break with the clean-shaven tradition begun by Alexander and this change appears to have been connected to his Parthian campaign.⁴¹ The reverse type developed the imagery associated with Apollo more fully. The tripod had been used as an Apollo type on a variety of Seleucid bronzes from the reign of Seleucus I. The arrow without the bow may have helped emphasise the potential double interpretation of the arrow as the stylus of Nabû and simply an arrow. Thus Seleucus II's new image of Apollo featured the combination of traditional Apollo elements in a new form for Seleucid coinage. The standing image of Apollo may hold a greater connection to statue types than to the traditional Seleucid coin type. Variations of Seleucus II's new personal type were minted on coinage across the portions of the empire which he controlled. A similar type which incorporated a bow rather than a tripod was utilised on gold staters at a mint associated with Antioch, at Susa, and at Ecbatana.⁴² This type was used on silver drachms at Sardis, and on bronzes from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (Figure 92).⁴³

⁴¹ For a full discussion of Seleucus II's campaign beard and its function as a votive military offering see: Lorber and Iosiff 2009: 95-96; See Lorber and Iosiff 2009:109 for the close correlation between the introduction of a particularly warlike Apollo as Seleucus' patron. I remain unconvinced that the standing Apollo type presents a more warlike version of Apollo than the Apollo-on-the-omphalos. However, their suggestion is interesting and highlights the peculiar nature of Seleucus' change in the Apollo type.

⁴² Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 701, 703, 786, 809.

⁴³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 656, 781-784.

Additionally, the standing Apollo may have been minted at Ephesus.⁴⁴ This second type features the diademed head of Seleucus II on the obverse and Apollo standing left holding an arrow and resting his hand on a grounded bow. This type had clear precedent in the standard Seleucid Apollo-on-the-omphalos type in which the god holds an arrow and rests his hand on a grounded bow while seated on the omphalos. The relationship of these two types is demonstrated by a type from Seleucus II's new mint at Nisibis. The reverse of this type shows Apollo standing left holding an arrow and resting his left hand on a grounded bow, with an extremely tall tripod behind him (Figure 93).⁴⁵ This type demonstrates how closely linked the two types were iconographically and ideologically. This standing Apollo with a bow type was also modified by changes in the obverse image mostly in Asia Minor.

The diademed bust of the king was replaced by a helmeted Athena on bronzes from Sardis⁴⁶ and drachms at several western mints⁴⁷ and Ecbatana.⁴⁸ At Antioch-on-the-Orontes it appeared on bronze⁴⁹, silver⁵⁰ and gold (Figure 94).⁵¹ The replacement of Seleucus by Athena on the obverse is not unsurprising as she was commonly depicted on the obverse of gold and bronze Seleucid coinage, and most notably on gold staters of the type minted by Alexander. More strikingly, Artemis replaced Seleucus II on bronzes at Magnesia-on-the-Meander⁵² and at Ephesus⁵³ (Figure 95). As these coins are bronzes, a metal on which a wider variety of deities appeared on coinage, the close links between Artemis and Ephesus provided a clear rationale for Artemis to appear on the coinage, as well as the traditional link between the twins Apollo and Artemis. The replacement of the king by a divine figure can be seen on bronzes from Ecbatana where Heracles replaced the king on the Apollo standing with a tripod type (Figure 96).⁵⁴ These types without the king seem to be a common alternative on bronze without greatly varying the message of the coinage. These images may even have suggested divine support for the king whose name appears on the reverse.

⁴⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 671.

⁴⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 750.

⁴⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 659-661.

⁴⁷ Uncertain Mint 37: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 682-684; Uncertain Mint 43: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 732-3; Unattributed Western: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 736, 832.

⁴⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 812.

⁴⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 700.

⁵⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 691; Mint associated with Antioch: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 705.

⁵¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 688.

⁵² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 670.

⁵³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 673.

⁵⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 825-826.

III.2: APOLLO-ON-THE-OMPHALOS

Seleucus II either did not want to or was not able to replace the standard Apollo-on-the-omphalos type immediately. The mint at Ecbatana in particular continued to produce the standard Seleucid type on gold staters, drachms and tetradrachms (Figure 97).⁵⁵ This mint also maintained its preference for an image of Apollo holding multiple arrows rather than a single arrow. Coins of this type were also minted at three other unknown mints.⁵⁶ The preservation of this type may represent an individual mint's power to mint variations on approved types or the lack of Seleucus II's authority at the start of his reign. This may be shown by coinage issued by the mint at Ecbatana. There all three major Apollo types known from the reign of Seleucus II (Apollo standing with tripod, Apollo standing with a bow, and Apollo-on-the-omphalos) were produced. This suggests that while Seleucus II was successful in implementing his version of Apollo, his version of Apollo was ideologically and iconographically compatible with earlier Seleucid versions of Apollo.

Susa produced a variant of the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type on three bronze denominations. Here the royal bust faced three-quarters right,⁵⁷ a variation that had more to do with local style rather than with policy (Figure 98). The three-quartered turned busts were a variation that was more common in the East, especially at Susa and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. It drew on Near Eastern portrait style rather than traditional Greek style. This portrait is particularly difficult to identify and may belong to a later King Seleucus given the Apollo-on-the-omphalos reverse.

III.3: APOLLO AND OTHER SYMBOLS

III.3.A: APOLLO/TRIPOD

In addition to the silver coinage, Apollo also featured prominently on three other major bronze groups, an Apollo/Tripod group, an Apollo/Bull group, and an Apollo/Nike group. Two series of the Apollo/Tripod group, which featured the laureate head of Apollo facing right on the obverse and a tripod on the reverse, were minted at Antioch

⁵⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 806-808.

⁵⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 675, 721, 741.

⁵⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 802-804.

(Figure 99).⁵⁸ The production of this type was continued by Seleucus III. A mint, perhaps Tralles, produced an interesting variant in which the tripod was decorated with a satyr mask and rested on an anchor (Figure 100).⁵⁹ The satyr mask must be Dionysiac whereas the tripod resting on the anchor was also used by Antiochus II at Sardis⁶⁰ and was an attempt to show the dynastic lineage with the Apollo imagery of Antiochus I resting on the anchor of Seleucus I.

III.3.B: APOLLO/BULL

The Apollo/Bull group appeared both at Antioch-on-the-Orontes and at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. At Antioch, the obverse portrait varied by denomination, the largest denomination featured a laureate and draped bust of Apollo facing right with his hair rolled behind his head and a bow and quiver at his shoulder with a butting bull on the reverse (Figure 101),⁶¹ on the middle denomination the bow and quiver were gone, and only the forepart of the bull was present on the reverse (Figure 102).⁶² Finally, on the smallest denomination, the bust lost its drapery along with the quiver and bow, and the bull was simply standing (Figure 103).⁶³ At Seleucia-on-the-Tigris the reverse varied on a related series. On this set of denominations the obverse featured the laureate bust of Apollo with his hair in *krobylos* and a long wavy lock falling down his neck behind his ear. The reverse of the largest denomination showed a bull butting right (Figure 104),⁶⁴ on the middle denomination there was a filleted bucranium (Figure 105).⁶⁵ The smallest denomination showed a horned and bridled horse facing right (Figure 106).⁶⁶ This latter type shows the clear link between the horned horse and the bull's head that first appeared under Seleucus I. Perhaps both this and the Antioch series sought to link Seleucus I through bull symbolism with Antiochus through Apollo imagery, just as the tripod resting on the anchor had done.

Three other variants of this group appeared on bronze coins minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris; on the larger the obverse portrait of Apollo was laureate and draped and faces

⁵⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 693-694, 696-699.

⁵⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 665-666.

⁶⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 575.

⁶¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 706.

⁶² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 707.

⁶³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 708.

⁶⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 773.

⁶⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 774.

⁶⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 775.

three-quarters left, and the reverse featured a bull walking right (Figure 107).⁶⁷ The middle denomination showed the same obverse, but the reverse featured a bull head facing three-quarters to the right (Figure 108).⁶⁸ The reverse of the smallest denomination of this type featured a bridled horse head facing right (Figure 109).⁶⁹ This type should be interpreted in the same way as the other Apollo/Bull type at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, linking the bull associations of Seleucus with the Apollo of Antiochus.

III.3.C: APOLLO/NIKE

The final Apollo type had clear victory symbolism: the image of a laureate head of Apollo facing right dominated the obverse and Nike standing left holding a wreath covered the reverse (Figure 110).⁷⁰ The goddess of victory, Nike, holding a wreath suggests that this coinage from an unattributed western mint sought to commemorate victory. A clearer victory message is revealed by two bronze denominations from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. These show a laureate and draped bust of Apollo facing three-quarters left with a lyre above his shoulder on the obverse and Seleucus II standing facing left in military attire, holding a spear, and being crowned from behind by Nike standing left (Figure 111).⁷¹ The lyre on the obverse was an interesting inclusion as it did not appear elsewhere on Seleucus II's coinage. The lyre had long-standing associations with Apollo and became the identifiable symbol of the syncretised god Apollo-Nabû. Perhaps the presence of the lyre is an allusion to Babylonian support for the king. The reverse is a symbol of victory, the identity of the figure is confirmed by the placement of the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, between the two figures, suggesting a link between the figure and the legend. This coinage depicts Seleucus II as a victorious king who was supported by his ancestor Apollo. While he was not always successful in his military engagements, this coinage represents part of a general tendency to present Seleucus as military victor. This tendency may be the result of Seleucus' need to present himself as a king who was capable of taking spear won land, even when facing military setbacks.

⁶⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 770.

⁶⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 771.

⁶⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 772.

⁷⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 740.

⁷¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 779-780.

III.4: MILETUS

The Apollo coinage of Seleucus II differs significantly in appearance from the Apollo coinage of his ancestors as well as from his brother's. Although Seleucus II's legitimacy does not appear to have been questioned, his deviation from the traditional Seleucid Apollo type may have provided his brother an opportunity to present himself as the legitimate successor to Antiochus II *Theos* by the continuation of their father's coin types. Seleucus II did not alter his coin types in response to his brother's revolt; rather his reforms began at the beginning of his reign and continued until the end of his reign. What was also clear from Seleucus II's Apollo coinage was the renewed presence of the bull image which was prominent under Seleucus I. Seleucus II may have been attempting to assert his right to rule through a closer association with his namesake great-grandfather. This adoption of ancestor veneration and Apollo connection was most clearly made in an inscription from Miletus:

King Seleucus to the council and the people of Miletus, greeting.
Whereas our ancestors and our father have conferred many great benefactions upon your city because of the oracles given out from the sanctuary there of Apollo Didymeus and because of kingship to the god himself and also because of the gratitude of your people; whereas from your other measures taken with reference to our state in the past - these have been pointed out by our father's friends - and from the speech delivered by your envoys Glaucippos and Diomander who brought the holy wreath from the sanctuary with which you had crowned us, we ourselves see that you preserve sincere and firm your esteem for your friends and that you remember the favours which you have received, we approved your policy, and as we both desired and considered it very important to raise [your city] to a more illustrious state and [to increase your present] privileges [in the way you desire.....]
-RC 22 (Translation Welles)⁷²

This inscription is the clearest evidence of the kinship the Seleucid kings claimed between themselves and Apollo. The confirmation of honours to Miletus must have

⁷² RC 22 : Βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Μιλησίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν· / τῶμ προγόνων ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας / εὐεργεσίας κατατεθειμένων εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραμ πόλιν διὰ τε / τοὺς ἐγδεδομένους χρησμοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν ἱεροῦ / τοῦ Διδυμέως Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν / συγγένειαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου εὐχαριστίαν, / ὀρώντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶμ πεπολιτευμένων / ὑμῖν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα, / παραθέντων ἡμῖν τῶμ πατριζῶ<μ> φίλων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπολογισμοῦ / [ο]ῦ ἐποιήσαντο Γλαύκιππος καὶ Διόμανδρος οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν / [κ]εκομικότες τὸν ἱερὸν στέφανον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου ᾧ / ἔστεφανώκει ἡμᾶς ὁ δῆμος, εἰλικρινῆ καὶ βεβαίαιμ ποιουμένους / ὑμᾶς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀπόδειξιγ καὶ μεμνημένους ὧν ἂν εἶ / πάθητε, ἀπεδεξάμεθα τὴν αἴρεσιν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ / προθυμούμενοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἡγούμεν[οι τὴμ πόλιν ὑμῶν] / εἰς ἐπιφανεστέραμ διάθεσιν ἀγαγεῖν κ[αὶ τὰ ὑπάρξοντα ὑμῖν] / φιλόανθρωπα ἐπίδ[οσιν λαβόντα ἦν προαιρεῖσθε ἐπαύξαι].

occurred at the beginning of his reign and was therefore designed to shore up support in the face of Ptolemaic invasion.⁷³ This had parallels in Seleucus I's and Antiochus I's dedications to the city as they sought its support against Lysimachus. The references to his father's friends *παραθέντων ἡμῖν τῶμ πατριξῶ<μ> φίλων* demonstrates that it was early in Seleucus' reign as he still relied on the advice of his father's counsellors. Seleucus II's invocation of his divine lineage through Apollo suggests that, although he changed the image of Apollo on his coins, he maintained the same dynastic view of Apollo.

IV: SELEUCUS II AND OTHER DEITIES

IV.1: ATHENA

Seleucus II made sparser use of Athena than earlier kings in the dynasty as she only appeared on bronze coinage, with the exceptions of silver drachms at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, and a single barbarous gold issue from Commagene. Two bronze types minted at Sardis before the revolt of Antiochus Hierax feature previously common Seleucid imagery. The obverse on both of these types features the head of Athena in a crested helmet facing right. The largest denomination features the head of an elephant facing right (Figure 112).⁷⁴ This coin type symbolised Seleucid military authority at a time of growing uncertainty. The smaller type which depicts an anchor with flukes upward⁷⁵ (Figure 113) also represented Seleucid authority as it reinstates the personal badge of Seleucus I as a coin type. These may also link to the Athena/Standing Apollo with bow type at the mint, thus spanning the whole range of traditional Seleucid imagery.

All the other Athena coinage is a variation of the gold coinage minted by Alexander. This type which features the helmeted head of Athena facing right on the obverse and Nike standing left on the reverse. The objects which Nike holds do vary considerably, although they all are generally associated with victory. This coin type was minted in two series at Antioch. In the first series, Nike crowns the royal name in the legend⁷⁶ and in the second series she crowns an anchor (Figure 114).⁷⁷ Both of these types were an

⁷³ *RC* p. 107.

⁷⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 662.

⁷⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 663.

⁷⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 692.

⁷⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 695.

attempt to establish Seleucus II's legitimacy as a victorious king. The bronze coins of a similar type produced at a mint associated with Antioch feature a draped rather than helmeted bust of Athena, and Nike's pose varies as well. On one type she holds a wreath and a palm branch,⁷⁸ on another she holds the same but rests her hand on an anchor with upright flukes,⁷⁹ and on the final type she holds the same wreath and palm branch but rests her hand on a shield embossed with an anchor (Figure 115).⁸⁰ The prominent anchor recalls Seleucus I and is likely used to recall his victories and to stress Seleucid continuity. Thus the type recalls Alexander through the general Athena/Nike image and Seleucus I through the anchor, placing Seleucus II in the line of legitimate rulers of the empire. The association with Alexander's coinage is clearer on the drachms of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris where Athena appears in a created helmet and Nike holds a wreath and a palm branch.⁸¹ This image was repeated on a bronze from an unattributed western mint (Figure 116).⁸² This image clearly recalls Alexander's gold staters. The bronze version of this image at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris varies in that the bust of Athena faces three-quarters left (Figure 117).⁸³ As discussed earlier the three-quarters variant is most common at eastern mints Susa and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and perhaps has oriental rather than Greek roots, especially Mesopotamian art. The persistence of allusions to Near Eastern art through the dynasty's coinage suggests at least some acquaintance with non-Greek art.

The final variant occurs at Ecbatana where Nike rests her elbow on a tripod (Figure 118).⁸⁴ Like the anchor symbolism, the tripod places the victory connotations of Nike firmly in the Seleucid sphere. Therefore the Athena coinage and most prominently the Athena/Nike coinage represented Seleucus II's claims to victory while remaining grounded in the traditional badges of Seleucid kings, the anchor and the tripod of Apollo. The use of Athena by Seleucus II does not represent a break from Seleucid iconography, but rather it represents a clear utilisation of this prominent deity to enhance his military prestige.

⁷⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 713.

⁷⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 714.

⁸⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 715.

⁸¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 765.

⁸² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 737.

⁸³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 769.

⁸⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 827-829.

IV.2: DIOSCURI

Another set of deities who appeared at particular mints were the Dioscuri. As with Athena, these gods had also been popular with earlier Seleucid kings. The choice of the twin-brother gods for some of his bronze coinage is interesting given Seleucus II's poor relations with his own rebel brother. At the mint at Nisibis three types of bronze coinage featured the image of the Dioscuri. The first type was issued in three denominations and the obverse featured the jugate draped busts of the Dioscuri facing left wearing laureate pilei, the nearer of the two is in three-quarters view and on the reverse an elephant head facing right (Figure 119).⁸⁵ The elephant served as a typical Seleucid military symbol. A similar elephant reverse was minted at Sardis before Hierax's revolt.⁸⁶ This obverse is nearly repeated at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris where the busts are not draped but retain the laureate pilei.⁸⁷ The reverse of these coins features Nike standing left crowning a trophy and holding a palm branch (Figure 120). The military victory symbolism of this coinage is clear and the same message is implied by the Dioscuri/elephant coinage.

The other Dioscuri coinage minted at Nisibis is more interesting; on both types the obverse image is the jugate heads of the Dioscuri facing right wearing laureate pilei surmounted by stars.⁸⁸ On three bronze denominations the reverse image is an anchor with flukes upward (Figure 121).⁸⁹ This image again relates to Seleucus I and places Seleucus II as the legitimate Seleucid king descended from Seleucus I. The importance of the anchor symbol for Seleucus II may relate to Seleucus II's interest in his ancestry as the image ties into Seleucus I's birth from Apollo which Seleucus II stressed at Miletus.⁹⁰ The reverse of the other type is odd as it is the only type of Seleucus II's coinage which featured the full representation of the same gods on both sides of the coin. The reverse features the Dioscuri on horseback charging to the right with their spears ready (Figure 122).⁹¹ Although the Dioscuri coinage had a limited area of circulation due to its low value, it seems odd that during a war between brothers, the image of the twin Dioscuri would appear on coinage not issued jointly. The gods'

⁸⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 753-755.

⁸⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 662.

⁸⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 776-778.

⁸⁸ The stars a common symbol above the Dioscuri cf. *LIMC*: Dioskouri nos. 102, 89, 8, 6, 17; Price and Kearns 2003: 175.

⁸⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 756-758.

⁹⁰ See above.

⁹¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 760.

appearance must be related to their popularity within the empire, rather than a specific dynastic message.

IV.3: HERACLES

In contrast to his predecessors Seleucus II rarely employed the image of Heracles on his coinage. Susa continued to mint the standard tetradrachm of Alexander,⁹² but Heracles only appeared on only three other types. Heracles replaced the king on the obverse of some bronze Apollo tripod coins from Ecbatana.⁹³ At Sardis the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type was modified to show a young Heracles in a lion skin headdress on the obverse of two bronze denominations (Figure 96).⁹⁴ Heracles was also placed on the obverse of an unattributed bronze from the western portion of the Empire. The obverse of this coin type features a young head facing three-quarters right; the head may be Heracles in a lion skin headdress. The reverse features the typical weapons of Heracles, the club and the quiver (which represents Heracles' other normal weapon, a bow) (Figure 123).⁹⁵ The image on the obverse should therefore probably be identified as Heracles. Seleucus II's lack of a distinctive Heracles coinage may be the result of two factors. Firstly, his presence in Asia Minor where Heracles had been particularly important for Seleucid iconography was limited, especially after Hierax's revolt.⁹⁶ The other area where Heracles had been popular, Bactria, had also been lost. Therefore, he lacked the usual audience for Seleucid Heracles coinage. Secondly, his emphasis on ancestry and on Apollo may have limited the scope for Heracles imagery, especially as the image may have developed some negative connotations at the court through Themison's adoption of the guise of Heracles under Antiochus II.⁹⁷

IV.4: OTHER

Seleucus II also issued several types of bronze coinage that do not readily fit into traditional Seleucid categories. The first set was produced at a mint associated with Antioch and occurred on two denominations. The obverse features a bearded, diademed and draped bust of Seleucus II facing right. The reverse features Pegasus leaping to the

⁹² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 787-790.

⁹³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 825-826.

⁹⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 657-658.

⁹⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 739.

⁹⁶ See Chapter 2: 133ff and chapter 3: 153ff for the use of Heracles in Asia Minor.

⁹⁷ See Chapter 3: 153ff on Heracles coinage.

left (Figure 124).⁹⁸ The introduction of Pegasus is interesting as the winged horse was normally associated with Bellerophon. Bellerophon imagery was popular in Lycia as well as at Corinth. However, the production of these coins at Antioch is odd. Perhaps they should be connected with his Parthian campaign on account of Seleucus' beard on the obverse and the cavalry.

The second image is found on a bronze coin from an unattributed western mint which was probably coastal as the obverse image depicts of Poseidon crowned with kelp facing right with a tiny trident behind him. The reverse features Nike holding a wreath in a *quadriga* (Figure 125).⁹⁹ This image has clear associations with a naval victory. The image of Poseidon was rare on Seleucid coins before Seleucus II and therefore must either be an image created for local concerns or commemorate a specific event, but the event remains unknown.

The third type came from Susa. The obverse features the diademed head of Seleucus II with a short curly beard facing right. The reverse features a female deity holding a bow and drawing an arrow from a quiver while standing on an unidentified animal.¹⁰⁰ (Figure 126) Houghton and Lorber have identified the deity as Artemis, and describe the animal as lying at her feet. This attribution seems to be based on the idea that only Greek gods were represented on Seleucid coins. While the huntress goddess Artemis may be represented here, the image of a god or goddess standing on an animal is a more common Mesopotamian and Persian image. The figure is most likely a Mesopotamian or Persian deity that may have been assimilated to Artemis.

These three coin types are all related to local events and the use of king on the obverse for two of the types may be an attempt to connect Seleucus II to local communities who had supported him.

⁹⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 711-712.

⁹⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 738.

¹⁰⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 796.

V: SELEUCUS II'S VICTORY IMAGERY

Seleucus II also produced a variety of coin types that emphasised his martial prowess and victories. All of these types feature Seleucus II on the obverse.¹⁰¹ These types can be divided into three broad groups based on their reverses. The first group features either a horse or a horseman, the second group features elephant imagery, the third group features Nike.

V.1: GROUP I (HORSE/HORSEMAN TYPE)

The horseman type coins issued by Seleucus II at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and at a mint associated with Antioch recall the horned horseman tetradrachms of Seleucus I¹⁰² while also exploiting the traditional imagery of the Macedonian cavalry. The type from the mint associated with Antioch features the diademed head of Seleucus II facing right on the obverse and Seleucus II on horseback in Macedonian dress charging left with his spear ready (Figure 127).¹⁰³ This large denomination bronze coin type reinforces the victorious martial imagery of the king. The coins issued at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris suggest the same interpretation, but linked Seleucus II more closely with his grandfather and implied his divinity. The obverse of these two bronze denominations feature the diademed and draped bust of Seleucus II facing three-quarters left with bull horns. The reverse features Seleucus on horseback facing right spearing a fallen enemy (Figure 128).¹⁰⁴ This type clearly demonstrates Seleucus II's martial prowess. This successful encounter on the reverse may have provided Seleucus the opportunity to deify his portrait on the obverse through the use of bull horns. Bull horns had first appeared on Seleucid coinage on the helmeted figure of Seleucus I¹⁰⁵ later when Seleucus I was deified, he was represented with bull horns on the coinage of Antiochus I.¹⁰⁶ This may have been part of a larger attempt by Seleucus to connect his image to that of his ancestor Seleucus I. The use of bull horns on this bust may also have been related to the increased emphasis on ancestor cults under Seleucus II and may be evidence for a state lead royal cult, which is not traditionally believed to have begun until the reign of

¹⁰¹ For the purposes of simplification, victory and martial imagery that occurs on coins with obverses other than Seleucus II have been covered under the specific deity, although the theme of martial victory is also present in those issues.

¹⁰² See Chapter 1: 72ff.

¹⁰³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 709.

¹⁰⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 767, 768.

¹⁰⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 173; cf. Chapter 1: 72ff.

¹⁰⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 322.

Seleucus II's son Antiochus III. The origins of Seleucid royal cult will be explored in the chapter 6.

Another of the horseman types was produced in two series at a mint associated with Antioch. This type features the diademed head of Seleucus II facing right on the obverse and a horse trotting left with two stars above on the reverse (Figure 129).¹⁰⁷ The second series of this type adds a shield, often with the Seleucid anchor emblazoned on it, below the horse on the reverse (Figure 130).¹⁰⁸ The horse may represent the Seleucid cavalry or more generally Seleucid martial prowess as on the type also produced at the mint showing the mounted king with his spear. The stars still need to be explained. The stars may associate the horse with the Dioscuri who are often portrayed with horses and with stars above them. If the stars are interpreted in this way, then the suggestion of martial victory is stronger. The shield on the second series of this coinage clearly associates the image with a Seleucid martial theme. Another possible interpretation is that the stars are meant to suggest that the horse is a constellation and therefore represents Pegasus. However, as Pegasus already appears on coins at this mint, this suggestion seems less likely. Perhaps the stars were connected to some unknown astronomical event that was felt significant enough to be recorded on the coinage, although we have no record of such an event during the reign of Seleucus II.¹⁰⁹

V.2: GROUP II (ELEPHANT)

The second group of martial victory coinage also clearly represented Seleucus II's attempt to portray himself as victorious. These coins made use of one traditional Seleucid emblem of military power, the Indian war elephant. The most traditional of these types was probably minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and features a draped bust of Seleucus II inclined slightly to the left crowned by a figure of Nike on his right. The reverse features the head of an elephant facing right (Figure 131).¹¹⁰ The appearance of Nike crowning the king on the obverse is rather surprising as additional figures besides the portrait on the obverse are rare. Although images linked to the bust, such as the quiver and bow of Apollo, do occasionally appear to help identify the figure.¹¹¹ The figure of Nike crowning the king creates an instantly recognisable image of victory. The

¹⁰⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 710.

¹⁰⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 716.

¹⁰⁹ For stars on coinage representing a metrological event see: Ramsey 1999.

¹¹⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 785.

¹¹¹ See above.

other types feature differing obverses and a new reverse image. On bronze coins from Susa Seleucus II appears diademed with bull horns facing three-quarters right (Figure 132),¹¹² at Ecbatana he appears more traditionally in profile although sports the beard likely associated with his Parthian campaign (Figure 133).¹¹³ Athena in a crested helmet also appears on the obverse of this new reverse at Ecbatana (Figure 134).¹¹⁴ The new reverse for all of these types features an elephant accompanied by its mahout. The elephant faces right at Ecbatana and left at Susa. This reverse shows elephants with their attendants likely as a symbol of Seleucid military power. The beard on these types is usually linked to the Parthian campaigns,¹¹⁵ and appears on various other obverse images. The elephant with mahout image likely came from the same campaign. The horned bust implied Seleucus II's divinity as well as linking him to Seleucus I. As with the horseman imagery the elephant imagery recalled Seleucus I's successes, particularly the five hundred elephants he received from Chandragupta and used at Ipsus. The mahout who had not previously appeared on Seleucid coins must imply that these were Indian elephants given their attendants.

V.3: GROUP 3 (NIKE)

The final martial victory type is the easiest to identify and dates to Seleucus' eastern campaign. On bronzes from Susa a draped Seleucus II features a full pointed beard and wears a diademed *kausia* (Figure 135).¹¹⁶ This image presents a mixed cultural vision of the king. The *kausia*, the traditional flat hat of the Macedonians,¹¹⁷ identifies the king as Macedonian, while the pointed beard is either oriental or goes back to traditional Greek imagery before Alexander. Perhaps Seleucus II's use of the cap also serves as a reminder of the story in Arrian in which Seleucus saves Alexander's cap from falling in the river which suggests his future kingship, although such a reference is rather obscure.¹¹⁸ The reverse image shows Nike holding a wreath in a *biga* going left. This is an unmistakable image of victory. The other type minted at both Susa and Nisibis features a diademed bearded portrait of Seleucus II on the obverse and Nike facing left

¹¹² Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 800, 801.

¹¹³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 820, 821.

¹¹⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 817-819.

¹¹⁵ See Lorber and Iosiff 2009.

¹¹⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 797, 798.

¹¹⁷ See Kingsley 1991 for the idea that the *kausia* is not in origin Macedonian but first adopted by Alexander in the East, the cap then comes to signify the Macedonian army to the west. The reactions to the use of the cap in the east are unrecorded. See Fredricksmeyer 1986 for the counter argument. What is clear is that shortly after Alexander's campaign the cap was widely regarded as Macedonian.

¹¹⁸ Arrian 7.23.

holding a wreath and a palm branch (Figure 136).¹¹⁹ This shows a traditional image of victory which the beard of Seleucus links to his Parthian campaign.

Two other types portray more ambiguous martial imagery. At Ecbatana a silver diobol was minted for the first time since the reign of Seleucus I. This type featured a bridled horse head on the obverse and a bow in a bow case and quiver on the reverse.¹²⁰ This type has strong links to Seleucus I as the bridled horse recalls his bridled horned horse. The bow has a variety of potential interpretations; the bow can be associated with the archer Apollo, or as a typical weapon of Heracles, or finally the bow can also represent the most important Persian weapon and may have had royal connotations.¹²¹ This latter interpretation may be the most relevant as the coins were minted in the heart of the old Persian empire. The second type minted at Ecbatana and Susa feature Seleucus II with a beard (Ecbatana) or long sideburns (Susa) on the obverse and a bow in a bow case combined with a horizontal quiver (Figure 137).¹²² This type suggests the same message and may have been an attempt by Seleucus to acknowledge his Iranian supporters for their help in his Parthian campaigns.

All of these martial types appear to be associated with Seleucus II's eastern campaign. Regrettably, we are unable to link them with any particular victory or events on the campaign as the details of the campaign are poorly known. From interpreting the images on these coins, we may gather that Seleucus had some success in the campaign, or at least felt it necessary to advertise the claim of military success. However, as Bactria and Parthia were effectively independent after the campaign, it is difficult to assess what long lasting success he may have had. This may have inclined the king to make more use of the imagery of Seleucus I who had been so successful in the region, but had also had to make light of a defeat at the hands of Chandragupta.

VI: ALEXANDER

Seleucus II made the greatest break by any Seleucid ruler from the iconographic precedents created by Alexander. Only Susa continued to mint Alexander type tetradrachms, and the clear Alexander imagery elsewhere was reduced in favour of

¹¹⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 759, 796.

¹²⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 813.

¹²¹ See Chapter 2: 123ff for a discussion of the seated archer as a representation of the king.

¹²² Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 799, 822-824.

references to Seleucus I. Furthermore, Seleucus II was the first of the Seleucids to break away from Alexander's clean-shaven appearance. The break from Alexander's image may have been related to an increased veneration of his own, now well established, family ancestry.

VII: LABRAUNDA DOSSIER

An important dossier from Labraunda allows some insight into how the Seleucids appear to have dealt with some of the sanctuaries under their control. It is notable that Seleucus did not seem inclined to intervene without the participants' request. This reflects a generally *laissez faire* attitude towards the temples, but one in which an active role could be taken if necessary or desired. Furthermore, this suggests that the Seleucid concern for gods was not dependent on their association with the royal house, but rather on their local significance. This dossier demonstrates Seleucus II's involvement in settling a dispute between the Mylasa and priests of a nearby shrine of Labraunda.¹²³ The dossier does not represent Seleucus II actively intervening in the situation until he was asked to settle the dispute: ἔγραψεν ἡμῖ[ν] Κόρρις ὁ ἱερε[ὺ]ς τοῦ Διὸς [τοῦ Λαβρ]αύνδου ...¹²⁴ Dignas suggests, rightly, that Seleucus was unlikely to have actually enquired into the matter himself,¹²⁵ and he appears to have taken the priest's claims as true or the priest's traditional rights as defensible since he granted the priests requests.¹²⁶ While Seleucus II's answer resulted from a general policy of defending the rights of sanctuaries, his answer did not settle the dispute as the Mylasans disputed the priest's hereditary claims.¹²⁷ Eventually, the local dynast Olympichus, who had received Seleucus' orders concerning the sanctuary, reversed sides and pleaded with the king to decide on behalf of the Mylasans and was ultimately successful.¹²⁸ It is remarkable that the king switched his decision, but the support of the city against encroachment was probably a key factor.¹²⁹ What does not appear to factor into the king's decision was the

¹²³ For a thorough examination of the relationship between cities and temples at Labruanda see Dignas 2002: 59-69.

¹²⁴ *I. Labraunda* I, no. 1, l. 2 Korris, the priest of Zeus Labraundeus, has written to us saying....

¹²⁵ Dignas 2002: 60.

¹²⁶ *I. Labraunda* I, no. 1, ll. 7-11.

¹²⁷ *I. Labraunda* I, no. 3, ll. 18-22.

¹²⁸ *I. Labraunda* I, no. 3, ll. 10-13.

¹²⁹ That the dispute continued for another 20 years, even after the territory had passed from Seleucid to Macedonian control suggests the limited nature of Seleucid intervention in local religious affairs, other than as arbiters of disputes.

nature of the cult, as it was not a Greek cult but an indigenous Carian cult.¹³⁰ This should not be surprising as it reflected the general attitude of Seleucid rulers towards cults, which was that they should largely continue to function in the traditional manner.¹³¹

VIII: ANTIOCHUS HIERAX'S COINAGE

In contrast to the innovations made by his brother, the coinage of Antiochus Hierax clearly reflects his continuation of the coin types of both his father and grandfather (Antiochus II and I). Hierax minted mostly silver tetradrachms which featured the obverse portrait of one of the three kings named Antiochus (I, II and Hierax) and the standard Seleucid Apollo-on-the-omphalos reverse.¹³² This coinage stands in marked contrast to the contemporary coinage of his brother who had introduced a new standing Apollo type. Hierax's Apollo was far more traditional and is often difficult to differentiate from that of his predecessors. This similarity would only have served to emphasise his position as a legitimate Seleucid monarch and not as a rebel. The only major change was that Apollo's bow often became more decorated on the grip and was occasionally depicted as a compound bow rather than a recurve bow.¹³³ This change did not change the overall composition of the image. The obverse image varied greatly and appears to reflect a desire by Hierax to strongly associate himself with his father and grandfather. The obverse portraits can be broken into three categories, although there is some variation within each category. These categories are portraits of Antiochus I (Figure 138), portraits of Antiochus II (Figure 139), and finally portraits of a young king or of Hierax (Figure 140). The identification of many of the portraits is unclear as they are often highly idealised or lack the distinctive characteristics of an individual king. The similarity of reverse types and the continued minting of his predecessors' portraits clearly placed Hierax in the traditions of his ancestors, Antiochus I and II.

¹³⁰ The sanctuary was famous enough to serve as a refuge for Carian forces defeated by the Persians in the Ionian revolt, Hdt. 5.119.2.

¹³¹ The most prominent examples of this policy are Antiochus I's dedications at Babylon, see Chapter 2: 118ff.

¹³² Cf. Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 835-838, 840-846, 848-855, 857-872, 874-914.

¹³³ The recurve bow is typically associated with Greek gods and archaic heroes; although in the Classical period the bow of Herakles switches from recurve to compound. Furthermore, recurve bows are more typical of barbarian peoples in Attic art. The shift on Antiochus' coinage may simply reflect the more modern bow type. On the Datames coinage issued in Cilicia the bow is compound, as is the bow on early Parthian coinage. See Chapter 2: 123ff.

One of the interesting features of Antiochus Hierax's coinage is the continued use of the winged diadem which had first appeared on the coinage of his father.¹³⁴ The winged diadem appeared on portraits of Antiochus I (Figure 141) and of a young king (probably Hierax) (Figure 142) at Alexandria Troas, Hierax's principal mint.¹³⁵ The winged diadem also appears on portraits from Ilium, Lampsacus, and perhaps Abydus.¹³⁶ It is possible that the winged diadem was a representation of some local cult for Antiochus I and perhaps Antiochus II or Hierax. Although as Antiochus I was the king usually represented, a cult for Antiochus I is the most credible. However, the large variety in level of idealisation in the Antiochus I portraits suggests that the portraits did not come from a single master source. The portraits suggest some type of deification for the monarchs at least at Alexandria Troas, although the form it took is unknown.

The lack of bronze coinage minted under Hierax also limited the number of other deities which appeared on Seleucid coinage. It seems as though Hierax's coinage was designed largely to pay for his campaigns and to remind their possessors of his links with his popular father and grandfather.

IX: CONCLUSION

The coinage of Seleucus II marks the first break in the iconography of Apollo since its introduction by Antiochus I. This break was significant especially as the gap for traditional Seleucid coinage was filled by his rebel brother. Although Seleucus II broke from the traditional imagery, this did not represent a shift away from the familial patron deity established by his grandfather. Rather, Seleucid links to Apollo were emphasised both on coinage and in decrees sent to Miletus. Furthermore, on some bronze coinage the representation of the anchor or horned horse of Seleucus I combined with the tripod suggested a strong dynastic continuity. The other ways in which Seleucus II was innovative were largely confined to the coinage associated with his eastern campaign. On this coinage he strongly associated himself with Seleucus I. The failure of Seleucus II's new Apollo type to be adopted by any of his successors demonstrates how earlier Seleucid iconography had been ingrained as a dynastic symbol.

¹³⁴ See Chapter 3 for the winged diadem coinage of Antiochus II.

¹³⁵ Antiochus I: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 875, 876, 878, 880-883; Young king: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 877, 879

¹³⁶ Ilium: Antiochus I: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 871, 872; Lampsacus: young king: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 850; perhaps Abydus: young king: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 843.

CHAPTER 5: SELEUCUS III AND ANTIOCHUS III

I: SELEUCUS III: INTRODUCTION

I.1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

With the death of Seleucus II in 226, his eldest son Alexander acceded to the throne in Antioch and took the name Seleucus III.¹ Seleucus III may have immediately sent his brother Antiochus (the future Antiochus III) to govern the Upper Satrapies. Seleucus also appointed a general, Andromachus, to retake the lands in Asia Minor which had been lost to Attalus I during the reign of his father.² After Andromachus' defeat, Seleucus personally led the army against Attalus.³ He was then assassinated by his Galatian officers, Nicanor and Apaturius, in 223.⁴ He had reigned for three years and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Antiochus III.⁵

I.2: ICONOGRAPHY

There was little new iconographic creation during Seleucus III's reign, although some new combinations of previously existing types were produced. The most significant addition to the coinage of Seleucus III was that of the lock of hair that looks much like a horn. This also developed into horns at certain mints. The horn-like lock of hair seems to be a more subtle suggestion of divinity than the bull horns that had occasionally appeared on his father's coinage.

II: SELEUCUS III AND APOLLO COINAGE

During his brief reign Seleucus III returned to the traditional Seleucid types inaugurated by Antiochus I and continued by Antiochus II and Antiochus Hierax. The return to this

¹ Porphyry, *FGrH* 260 F 32.9; Eusebius, *Chron.* 1.40.11.

² Cf. *OGIS* 277 for the involvement of Seleucid generals against Attalus.

³ Polybius 4.48.7.

⁴ Polybius 4.48.8; Appian, *Syr.* 66; Eusebius, *Chron.* 1.20.12; Jerome, *in Dan.* 11.10; Trogius, *Procl.* 27; Justin 29.1.3.

⁵ Van der Spek 2008a; Polybius 2.71.3, 5.40.4.

type suggests a connection with his claim to the Seleucid throne. Seleucus III's claim to legitimacy was bolstered by the increasingly horn-like locks of hair that appeared on his head on coinage minted at Antioch,⁶ which were designed to suggest an increasing but subtle trend towards the divinity of the living Seleucid king.⁷ The same trend towards quasi-horned representations of the king also presented itself in the form of small horns shown on coins struck at a temporary subsidiary mint of Antioch.⁸ This peculiar hair feature was depicted as full horns at a subsidiary mint of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.⁹ An interesting type was produced at a mint in Cilicia, probably Seleucia-on-the-Calycadnus. The obverse of this type featured the diademed head of Seleucus III facing right. The reverse featured Apollo with his legs draped seated facing left on the omphalos holding a bow and resting his elbow on a tall tripod (Figure 143).¹⁰ Another variant of this type, which featured the same obverse and reverse images but in a different style, was also minted in Cilicia or Northern Syria. This type recalls a variety of pre-existing Seleucid images; most obviously the traditional Seleucid type of Apollo-on-the-omphalos. The traditional Seleucid image was here combined with the image of Seleucus II's coinage: the standing Apollo resting on the tripod. The bow held by Apollo is not an uncommon Seleucid image as it had appeared as a variation of the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type, but it also recalls the image of the "Datames" coinage from Cilicia, as well as the seated Amazonian archer which was commonly featured on the coins of Soloi in Cilicia, as well as the coinage issued by Arsaces I of Parthia.¹¹ This coinage therefore linked a long standing Cilician tradition to the Seleucid tradition. However, the dominant iconographic force appears to be Seleucid.

Another interesting type minted under Seleucus III comes from a mint probably located in Mesopotamia west of Nisibis. This type featured Seleucus III on the obverse and the typical reverse of Seleucus II on the reverse: Apollo standing to the left testing an arrow and resting his elbow on a tall tripod (Figure 144).¹² The type has been attributed both to the reign of Seleucus II¹³ and to early in the reign of Seleucus III.¹⁴ However, as the type

⁶ See Chapter 6.

⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 921.

⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 925.

⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 942.

¹⁰ Seleucia-on-the-Calycadnus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 916; Unattributed in Cilicia or Northern Syria: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 919.

¹¹ See Chapter 2: 123ff for the relationship between the Seleucid Apollo, the "Datames" coinage, and Parthian coinage. I would like to thank Hale Guney for pointing out the possible association with the seated Amazonian archer at Soloi, see Robinson 1923.

¹² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 936.

¹³ *WSM*: p. 366-368.

was produced in at least three emissions it suggests that it was not an isolated mistake at the start of the reign of Seleucus III. This suggests that the mint simply paired a new obverse with a familiar type.

The other interesting feature of high value coinage minted for Seleucus III appeared on the coins minted at Aradus, Gabala, Carne, Marathus and Simyra in 225/4. These city-states formed a federation with Aradus as its mother city. In 225/4 they issued similar silver coinage, perhaps to meet the requirements of a Seleucid military endeavour. The coins all feature a date, year 35 of the Aradian era, and all except Simyra minted tetradrachms of the type minted by Alexander with the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.¹⁵ Simyra minted the type of Seleucus II with the diademed head of Seleucus III on the obverse.¹⁶ This type seems to suggest a closer connection to Seleucus III than the other mints on account of this portrait. Seyrig has suggested that this coinage was issued to provide pay for the army raised for a campaign against Ptolemy IV with a military and naval base at Simyra.¹⁷ Seleucus III's death prevented the campaign from materialising.

The royal bronze coinage of Seleucus III shows some variation, but did not develop any new iconographic themes. At Antioch-on-the-Orontes the royal bronze coinage featured the draped bust of Artemis on the obverse and the traditional image of Apollo-on-the-omphalos on the reverse (Figure 145).¹⁸ The pairing of these brother-sister gods is unsurprising. They had first appeared together on Seleucid coins in Bactria during the co-regency of Antiochus I, although with Apollo on the obverse (Figure 1).¹⁹ A similar pairing with Apollo on the obverse had appeared under Antiochus II at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (Figure 77).²⁰ Thus the paired image of Artemis and Apollo stressed the importance of the dynastic gods.

The royal bronze coinage from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris recalls many of the features of the traditional Seleucid Apollo coinage. The obverse features the diademed head of Seleucus III while the reverse features Apollo robed standing three-quarters to the right

¹⁴ Seyrig 1973: p. 20; no. 1.141.

¹⁵ Aradus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 927; Gabala: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 928; Carne: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 929; Marathus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 930.

¹⁶ Simyra: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 931.

¹⁷ Cf. Seyrig 1971: 7-11; for the campaign see: Porphyry *FGrH* 260 F 44.

¹⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 922.

¹⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 257.

²⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 598-599.

holding a cithara and plectrum (Figure 146).²¹ This type continued the dynastic image of Apollo and recalls the image from the coinage of Antiochus II which featured Apollo holding a cithara in front of a tall tripod (Figure 76).²² This also recalls the image of Apollo Citharoedus who was associated with the Babylonian god Nabû.²³ This coinage therefore significantly recalls a local deity as well as using the imagery of the Greek Apollo.

The royal bronze coinage of Ecbatana was assigned by Le Rider to the reign of Seleucus IV; Houghton and Lorber have restored it to the reign of Seleucus III.²⁴ The obverse features the laureate head of Apollo and the reverse features a tripod with a horse head before the feet (Figure 147).²⁵ This type features two common Seleucid symbols, combined to give a sense of dynastic continuity and legitimacy, by pairing the tripod of Apollo with the horse head which appears to be particularly associated with Seleucus I. This same technique of stacking dynastic imagery had occurred on the coinage of Antiochus II and Seleucus II.²⁶

In short, the coinage of Seleucus III did not feature any real innovation; this may be due to his short reign or to the usefulness of retaining a continuous and recognisable dynastic type. This dynastic type presented some ground for variation, but allowed the king to legitimise his rule by having his portrait appear on the obverse with an image of Apollo on the reverse.

III: SELEUCUS III AND BABYLON

There is clear evidence that Seleucus III continued the royal patronage of Babylon. He is the only Seleucid king for whom we have evidence of the continued practice of the Akitu festival.²⁷ A Babylonian chronicle records that an administrator of the temple of Esagila established offerings within the temple “For Bel and Beltija and the great gods and for the *dullu* (ritual?) of Seleucus, the king, and his sons”.²⁸ This chronicle dated to

²¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 940-941.

²² Houghton and Lorber 2002: 591-593.

²³ See Chapter 2: 111 ff for the connections between Apollo Citharoedus and Nabû.

²⁴ Le Rider 1965: 327-328; Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 341.

²⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 945-947.

²⁶ See Chapters 3 and 4.

²⁷ Sherwin-White 1983: 156-159; Grayson 1975: 13b; for a description of the Akitu festival see Chapter 2.

²⁸ Grayson 1975: 13b obverse lines 7-8; cf. Linszen 2004: 127.

year 88 of the Seleucid era (224/3) presents two problems: first, we know of no sons by Seleucus III; second, the formula is different from the traditional formula which ensures the well-being of the living king. Sherwin-White has argued that the preparations for the New Year's festival of 88 were begun by Seleucus II and the reference to the sons (under this reckoning Seleucus III and Antiochus III) was created by a scribal error.²⁹ While this remains the best explanation, perhaps the crown prince Antiochus III who was head-quartered in Seleucia-on-the-Tigris was meant. This formula would then have paralleled the situation of Antiochus I who had served as co-monarch during the reign of his father.

The second part of the chronicle is more interesting for this discussion as it may suggest the beginning of a ruler cult for the Seleucid kings at Babylon and Uruk. Linssen notes that in this formula the king and his sons are not equal to the gods, as they do not receive the god determinative, but they are conceived as superhuman, as they are syntactically related to the gods.³⁰ Linssen suggests that this formula is substantially different from the traditional formula which included offerings for the gods to ensure the well-being of the king or for the life of the king.³¹ The older formulas do not imply a deification of the ruler. While the new formula appears to be different, it was adopted in the Babylonian Astronomical diaries beginning with the reign of Antiochus III.³² Furthermore, statues of the living kings began to show up in Uruk in the temples and to receive offerings during the second century BC.³³ These changes alone do not constitute compelling evidence for the existence of a ruler cult for the Seleucids in Babylon by the reign of Seleucus III, but they hint at its origins. Sherwin-White has argued that this chronicle does not constitute part of a ruler cult for two reasons: that the first evidence we have for ruler cult does not occur until thirty years later in the reign of Antiochus III, and that the known Seleucid ruler cult does not include sons. While both of these objections appear to be sound, it still seems possible that the ruler cult established by Antiochus III was preceded by a semi-divine cult established earlier. In addition to the evidence from Uruk and Babylon, the appearance of horned images of the kings seems

²⁹ Sherwin-White 1983: 157.

³⁰ Linssen 2004: 127; See Kosmin forthcoming for a possibly similar situation in the Borsippa Cylinder. See also Chapter 6.

³¹ Linssen 2004: 127.

³² Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. -204 C, rev. 18; no. -187, A, rev 5' and 8'; no. -178 C rev. 21'; no. -171 B rev. 7'; no. -160 A obv 2'; C, rev 2'; no. -144 rev 18; no. -140 A U.E. 1'; no. -133 B and C. Obv 24'; no. -132 A. Rev 4', D2 rev 14', 23'; no. -129 A1 obv 14', A2 obv 19'; no. -126 B rev 8'; no. -107 C rev 18'.

³³ Linssen 2004: 126-127.

to suggest an increased interest in presenting the king as divine (or semi-divine).³⁴ This may have begun with the establishment of a cult for Seleucus I *Nicator* by Antiochus I³⁵ or it may have slowly developed from or in reaction to the spontaneous civic cults of Asia Minor. Perhaps the granting of the title *Theos* to Antiochus II started the slow development which culminated in official cult by Antiochus III.

Whatever the form of this pre-state cult, it does not appear to have taken a form similar to Ptolemaic ruler cult. At this date the Seleucid kings were either honoured by spontaneous civic cult in a Greek style or in the case of Seleucus III by a cult that took on entirely traditional Babylonian trappings. The only clear royal statement of divinity of the living ruler is the appearance of horns on the portraits of the rulers beginning with Seleucus II. This represents aspirations towards divinity, not necessarily a full state cult.

The interactions of Seleucus III with Babylon place him in line with all of his predecessors as the protector of the traditional state religion and as an active participant in it. This suggests that the Seleucid policy of respect for traditional religions was still intact. During his brief reign, Seleucus III appears to have returned Seleucid coinage to its pre-Seleucus II state for the most part and kept the dynastic focus on Apollo. Also his coinage included hints at the divinity of the living king, a trend that would continue and increase under his brother.

IV: ANTIOCHUS III: INTRODUCTION

IV.1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

When Seleucus III died in 223 his brother Antiochus III replaced him as monarch. Antiochus III was in Babylon when his brother died in Asia Minor and he was proclaimed king by the army.³⁶ Antiochus III's reign began with the same problems that had troubled both his father and his brother. Three important appointments were made, Achaeus in Asia Minor, Molon and his brother Alexander in Media and Persis. During this early period Antiochus appears to have been under the sway of his chief minister Hermeias, who had been appointed by Seleucus III. The stability provided by these appointments was short lived, as Molon invaded Babylon and declared himself king.

³⁴ See above.

³⁵ Appian, *Syr.* 63.

³⁶ Eusebius, *Chron.* 1.40.12.

Achaeus, who had been successful in taking portions of Asia Minor back from Attalus also declared his independence. Faced with new kingdoms in Media and Asia Minor, Antiochus was convinced by Hermeias to invade the Ptolemaic kingdom and attempt to take Coele-Syria while his generals dealt with the threat posed by Molon. While this strategy seems odd, it may have been designed to enhance the power of Hermeias at the royal court. Hermeias was eventually able to engineer the death of the competent general, Epigenes, who could have posed a threat to his own power.³⁷

Before setting out for the planned invasion of Syria, Antiochus III married the daughter of Mithradates of Pontus, Laodice.³⁸ This marriage differed from earlier Seleucid marriages in that Laodice was proclaimed Queen in addition to being the wife of Antiochus; this was to avoid the problems that had plagued his grandfather.³⁹ Hermeias' plans to control the young king failed, as all three generals whom he had sent to fight Molon were defeated and as Antiochus' invasion was unable to make any headway. Hermeias acquiesced and allowed the royal army to march against Molon. Hermeias' shortcomings as a general were evident in his plan of attack, Antiochus realised the folly of Hemeias's plans and listened instead to Zeuxis and crossed the Tigris.⁴⁰ This tactic encouraged Molon to engage the king in battle. Antiochus was victorious, helped by the fact that many in Molon's army switched sides when they saw it was the king himself whom they were fighting.⁴¹ Antiochus III then turned his attention to Artabazanes in Media and swiftly won recognition from him. About this time (221/0) Laodice provided Antiochus III with a son and heir. Antiochus III was now confident enough to move against Hermeias and had him killed.⁴²

Antiochus III next threatened Achaeus but did not move against him; rather he resumed his war against Ptolemy. This time he was able to take back Seleucia-in-Pieria for the first time since 246, and moved south, winning over the Ptolemaic governor of Coele-Syria, Theodotus. He was initially successful and signed a truce for the winter of 219/8⁴³ but continued his conquests the next year. In 217, Ptolemy met and defeated Antiochus

³⁷ Polybius, 5.50; Cf. Ramsey Forthcoming-b.

³⁸ Polybius, 5.43; Ogden 1999: 133.

³⁹ Polybius, 5.43; Ogden 1999: 134.

⁴⁰ Polybius, 5.51-52.

⁴¹ Polybius, 5.52-54.

⁴² Polybius, 5.56.

⁴³ Polybius, 5.66.

at Raphia.⁴⁴ Antiochus was able to flee and to secure a peace treaty but was forced to give up all his conquests except Seleucia-in-Pieria.

With Coele-Syria momentarily blocked from him, Antiochus III turned his attention to Achaeus. He spent the next three years pursuing Achaeus before he forced him into Sardis. The siege lasted a year and Achaeus was captured and killed.⁴⁵ With the problems in the western part of the empire settled,⁴⁶ Antiochus moved east. First he invaded Armenia. There he transformed the king, Xerxes, into a vassal and gave him his sister in marriage.⁴⁷ He then continued east and spent two years fighting the Parthians and then another two attempting to re-conquer Bactria. He was unable to defeat the Bactrian king Euthydemus, but he accepted his formal submission.⁴⁸ He also received some elephants from Sophagastus the king of the Indians, bringing his total up to one hundred and fifty.⁴⁹ He next returned westward through Persis, and then campaigned along the Persian Gulf.⁵⁰ In 204 he celebrated his twentieth year as king in Babylon.⁵¹ As a result of this eastern anabasis Antiochus took the title *Megas*.⁵²

With the west and east subdued, Antiochus III was finally free to resume his conquest of Coele-Syria. Ptolemy had died in 204, and Antiochus and Philip V of Macedon may have made an agreement to split his possessions in Asia Minor.⁵³ In 202, he invaded Coele-Syria for a third time. Although he was not initially successful, this invasion ended with Antiochus in control of Coele-Syria.⁵⁴ With his southern and eastern flanks finally secure, Antiochus III turned back towards Asia Minor. Here Antiochus snatched up Ptolemaic possessions and encroached on Attalid territory. By 197 he had taken Ephesus and crossed the Hellespont into Europe.⁵⁵

⁴⁴ Polybius, 5.79-86.

⁴⁵ Polybius, 7.15-18.

⁴⁶ Gauthier 1989: 15-19; Cf. Piejko 1987.

⁴⁷ Polybius, 8.23; See Ogden 1999: 139 for the union of Antiochus and his sister whom he then gives in marriage to Mithradates.

⁴⁸ Polybius, 11.39.

⁴⁹ Polybius, 11.39.

⁵⁰ Polybius, 13.9.

⁵¹ Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. -204.

⁵² Appian, *Syr.* 1; cf. Bevan 1902a.

⁵³ Polybius, 15.20; Cf. Gruen 1986: 22 and Magie 1939 questioning the existence of a formal treaty between the two kings.

⁵⁴ Polybius, 16.22a.

⁵⁵ For his treaty with Lysimachia see: Piejko 1988.

Crossing into Europe eventually brought Antiochus III into conflict with the rising ambitions of Rome. The first few years of contact between the two powers were generally friendly, although tension gradually increased as both were concerned over the control of Greece.⁵⁶ In the winter of 192, Antiochus brought a very small force with him to aid his Aetolian allies.⁵⁷ He was initially successful taking Chalcis, Euboea, parts of Thessaly and receiving an alliance from the Boeotians.⁵⁸ In 191, the Romans were successful in driving the king out of Thessaly and then defeated him at Thermopylae.⁵⁹ Antiochus fled back across the Hellespont, and spent the next year engaging the Romans unsuccessfully at sea.⁶⁰ The Romans offered a peace treaty under the terms that Antiochus would abandon all claims in Asia Minor, pay all costs for the war, and withdraw behind the Taurus mountains. Antiochus refused and the two armies faced each other at Magnesia, probably in December 190.⁶¹ Antiochus was defeated. It took until 188 before a peace could be negotiated. Antiochus was forced to withdraw behind the Taurus mountains, give up all claims to Asia Minor, and pay reparations of 12,000 talents in equal instalments for twelve years in addition to 3,000 already paid and 540,000 *modii* of grain.⁶² Furthermore, he had to give hostages to Rome including his son, the future king Antiochus IV. This defeat had far reaching consequences for the empire, not least because Antiochus died the next year in Elymais attempting to exact tribute from a temple.⁶³ While the treaty had significant negative consequences for the kingdom,⁶⁴ the kingdom was in a better position territorially than it had been at the start of Antiochus III's reign. While Asia Minor was now out of reach, Antiochus had at least temporarily resubmitted the east to Seleucid authority and fulfilled the long held Seleucid ambition of holding Coele-Syria. Modern historians must be careful when discussing the inevitability of Roman conquest. Antiochus had been defeated before and yet recovered, and to a contemporary observer it was unlikely that the defeats at Magnesia and Apamea signalled the death of the empire.

⁵⁶ Cf. Gruen 1986: 620-636; Badian 1959.

⁵⁷ Livy 35.44.

⁵⁸ Livy 35.51, 36.61, 36.9-10; Appian, *Syr.* 15; Polybius 20.7.3.

⁵⁹ Livy 36.8-18.

⁶⁰ Appian, *Syr.* 27-28; Livy 36.41-45, 37.8-30; Polybius 21.10.

⁶¹ Livy 37.39-42.

⁶² Livy 38.37; Polybius 21.41.

⁶³ Diod. 28.3, 29.15; Justin 32.2; for the date of his death July 187 see: Sachs and Wiseman 1954: 207

⁶⁴ See Gruen 1986: 644-660 for the implications of the treaty through the reign of Antiochus IV. A full study of the aftermath of the treaty falls outside the scope of this study.

IV.2: ICONOGRAPHY

Despite Antiochus III's active military career and his reforms in matters of Seleucid administration,⁶⁵ his coin types are remarkably conservative. The obverses of his tetradrachms feature his portrait, as did those of his predecessors. However, Antiochus III's portrait went through a greater evolution than that of any of his predecessors. These portraits present a fairly clear generalised pattern of how the king wished to be depicted at different phases in his life. The identifiable patterns suggest that many of the changes were deliberate and cannot be simply explained by the fact that he was king longer than any of his predecessors. Furthermore, Antiochus made a more extensive claim to his own divinity through his use of these; and they will be discussed in the chapter on ruler cult.⁶⁶ The reverses of his silver coinage were largely a continuation of previous Seleucid types.⁶⁷ These images typically portrayed the dynastic god Apollo (and to a lesser extent Artemis). This continuity demonstrates the importance of the Seleucid heritage for Antiochus III.⁶⁸

As with his immediate predecessors, there is a greater variety of coin types on lower value metals. These varieties can be broken into four general categories, none of which are entirely new. The most important categories are elephant (or elephant-related) issues, which are clearly tied to his military campaigns, images of Athena which may have military connotations, victory or military issues that do not refer to elephants, and finally types of largely local significance. This relatively narrow range in his coin iconography suggests that Antiochus III had a clear perception of how his reign should be portrayed. Thus in many ways his coinage displays the culmination of a general trend of codification of Seleucid iconography that extended back to Antiochus I. This chapter therefore focuses on how Antiochus III used or modified the traditional Seleucid Apollo types, and the changes that he introduced to bronze coinage.

⁶⁵ For the administration of Antiochus III see in particular: Ma 2000: 106-179.

⁶⁶ See Chapter 6.

⁶⁷ The only mint which minted silver tetradrachms and did not produce Apollo-on-the-omphalos types was: Houghton and Lorber's uncertain Mint 56, Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 985-987. However this mint may have issued a gold stater with the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type, Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 988.

⁶⁸ For the importance of a Seleucid past to Antiochus III see Ma 2000: 26-33.

V: TRADITIONAL APOLLO COIN TYPES

Like Seleucus III, Antiochus III returned to the generalised Seleucid type of the king's portrait on the obverse and Apollo-on-the-omphalos on the reverse. Since Antiochus III asserted his claim to his re-conquered territories based on previous Seleucid conquests the continuation of the traditional Seleucid types should not be surprising.⁶⁹ Both Seleucus III and Antiochus III shared a preference for the reverse types of Antiochus I and II. Both kings largely ignored the standing Apollo figure adopted by their father and preferred the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type. This may be a result of the kings' looking back towards a more glorious Seleucid past than the one embodied by their often-embattled father. The codification of the Seleucid iconography by Antiochus I and the recovery of portions of Asia Minor by Antiochus II offered a more appealing precedent to the young kings as they fought to reconstitute the empire. The significance of this imagery as a claim to the Seleucid diadem had already been demonstrated by its use on the coins of their uncle Antiochus Hierax. The abandonment of Seleucus II's type demonstrates that his version of Apollo had not become significant for the dynasty.

V.1: SILVER COINAGE

While the general motif of Apollo-on-the-omphalos was retained from the reigns Antiochus I and II, other features which had developed under Antiochus Hierax in Asia Minor were also adopted on the coinage of Antiochus III. This is a significant development as it shows that the types designed for a rebel Seleucid king were taken up into later Seleucid iconography, while the developments of the legitimate king were ignored. The features retained from the coinage of Antiochus Hierax include the marking of the bow grip with pellets, or pellets and a flat disk, as well as the occasional depiction of a compound bow rather than the simple and heroic recurve bow.⁷⁰ But these additions do not appear to be significant beyond displaying an increasingly realistic and decorative bow type. These types are more common in Asia Minor and Syria than in Mesopotamia and further east and may reflect regional preference.

⁶⁹ For Antiochus III's methods of re-creating a powerful Seleucid past in Asia Minor see Ma 2000: 26-33. Cf. Livy 33.40, 34.58.4-6, 35.16.6; Polybius 18.51; Appian, *Syr.* 3, 6; Schmitt 1964: 86.

⁷⁰ The compound bow appears on one type from Houghton and Lorber mint (A under Tent), Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1114; and on series 4 drachms from Ecbatana, Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1235-1236.

On one set of silver drachm from Houghton and Lorber's Uncertain Mint 75, perhaps in Western Persia or Mesopotamia, the bow is omitted and Antiochus rests his hand on the omphalos (Figure 148).⁷¹ It is unlikely that this type suggests an iconographic shift, but it presents an interesting image of Apollo. The type retains the archer aspect of Apollo by depicting only the arrow, but loses the royal symbolism inherent in the bow. If the coin comes from Mesopotamia it should refer to Nabû, whose iconography emphasises the arrow as a stylus. However, the uniqueness of this coin suggests a single local deviation from the official type rather than an act of central policy, especially as the reverse on the tetradrachms from the same mint includes the bow.⁷² Therefore the type lacks any new political significance.

V.2: BRONZE COINAGE

In addition to the traditional silver types, Antiochus III produced bronze types that recalled traditional themes. The bronze Apollo coinage can be further broken down into five categories: Apollo-on-the-omphalos reverses; standing Apollo reverses; Apollo Citharoedus reverses, Apolline accessory (quiver or tripod) reverses, and finally associations with Artemis. All of these categories recall earlier Seleucid coinage and there was no break from any earlier Seleucid tradition.

V.2.A: APOLLO-ON-THE-OMPHALOS

The Apollo-on-the-omphalos coinage has the strongest links to the silver coinage of Antiochus III. This category deviated from the silver in the cases in which the head of Apollo replaced that of Antiochus.⁷³ In some types from Antioch it is unclear whether Apollo or Antiochus is depicted on the obverse (Figure 149).⁷⁴ This was surely a deliberate conflation of the two to present Antiochus III as divine early in his reign. Another deifying type came from Susa, where Antiochus III was portrayed with horns (Figure 150).⁷⁵ These coins therefore developed the same iconographic traits as the silver issues, by depicting a traditional Seleucid King with strong ties to Apollo.

⁷¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1280.

⁷² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1279.

⁷³ At Antioch: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1054 and an imitation of the type, Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1062; Icarus (Susa?): Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1152; Sardes: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 984.

⁷⁴ Antioch: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1048, 1049, 1054.

⁷⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1223.

V.2.B: STANDING APOLLO

The same confusion between Apollo and Antiochus on the obverse also occurs on the Standing Apollo coinage, although in this case portraits of Apollo were more common and Antiochus appeared only at Antioch, Susa and Ecbatana (Figure 151).⁷⁶ Apollo and Antiochus are also potentially confused at Antioch (Figure 152).⁷⁷ At Susa, the portrait of Antiochus III was horned, although in this particular type the bust betrays the peculiar eastern style of shown in three-quarters view (Figure 153).⁷⁸ Like the Apollo-on-the-omphalos bronzes, this coinage demonstrates reliance on traditional Seleucid types with an emphasis on the close connection between Antiochus III and Apollo.

V.2.C: APOLLO CITHAROEDUS

On three types from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris Apollo is depicted holding a cithara (Figure 154).⁷⁹ This type is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, the type may be associated with the image of Apollo-Nabû which had been established during the reign of Antiochus I. This corresponds to the coins' provenance, as they were only minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris in Babylonia. Secondly, the type was also used by the rebellious satrap Molon, who placed a bust of Zeus on the obverse (Figure 155).⁸⁰ As the type appeared on Antiochus III's coinage both before Molon's revolt (with Antiochus on the obverse) and after his defeat (with Artemis on the obverse), it appears as though Molon was usurping what Antiochus III viewed as a legitimate Seleucid type, and one which could not be associated only with Molon. This may highlight the particular importance of the Apollo-Nabû in Babylonia, which did not lose its significance for the Seleucids even after Molon had usurped the type.

⁷⁶ Antioch: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1052, 1055; Susa: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1222; Ecbatana: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1243, 1244, 1245.

⁷⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1052, 1055.

⁷⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1222.

⁷⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1155, 1181, 1186.

⁸⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 949.

V.2.D: APOLLINE ACCESSORIES

The reliance on Seleucid tradition for inspiration is also apparent in the Apollo/Tripod types which were minted at Sardis, Antioch, Ecbatana and Ai Khanoum (Figure 156).⁸¹ The bronzes of this type from Ecbatana are interesting in that they are die linked with the elephant series at the mint and that the tripod is ornamented with filleted horse foreparts. The inclusion of the horse parts must have had clear military significance and may relate to Antiochus III's reliance on Median cavalry.⁸² Seleucia-on-the-Tigris produced several variants on this theme, one type with a quiver and one with a tripod on the reverse (Figure 157). In both cases Apollo faces three-quarters to the right on the obverse.⁸³

V.2.E: ARTEMIS

The tripod and quiver reverses which feature the three-quarter busts facing busts of Apollo from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris are also related to two other types. One variant depicts the jugate busts of Apollo and Artemis on the obverse and a tripod on the reverse (Figure 158), the other shows the three-quarter facing bust of Zeus and Apollo with a tripod on the reverse (Figure 159).⁸⁴ If we extend the association between Apollo and Antiochus on the obverse of the Antioch coins, we can suggest a similar link between Laodice and Artemis. The possibility that Laodice could be equated to the goddess in the same way as her husband should not be surprising as Antiochus included her in the dynastic cult.⁸⁵ The joint portrait of Apollo and Artemis may have symbolised the close ties between Antiochus III and his wife Laodice and their links to the divine pair. The pairing of these brother and sister gods on this type may have had additional local significance, recalling Strabo's pairing of the two as the patron gods of Borsippa.⁸⁶ On coins from the "Rose" Mint, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, and Susa Artemis appears on the reverse (Figure 160), these coins are less clearly associated with Laodice.⁸⁷ While all

⁸¹ Sardes: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 971-975; Antioch-on-the-Orontes: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1060; Ecbatana: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254; Ai Khanoum: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1283, 1284.

⁸² Bar-Kochva 1976: 69 for the composition of the *agēma* cavalry and the reputation of the Medes as cavalry men.

⁸³ Quiver: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1187; Tripod: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1188

⁸⁴ Artemis/Apollo: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1189; Zeus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1190.

⁸⁵ See Chapter 6.

⁸⁶ Strabo, *Geography* 11.1.7.

⁸⁷ "Rose" mint: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1123, 1124; Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1184; Susa: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1220, 1221.

of these coins may emphasise the role of Antiochus' "sister"-queen Laodice,⁸⁸ they are all also familiar Seleucid themes that emphasise the dynasty's connection to their patron deity, Apollo.

In summary, Antiochus III's Apollo coinage was very traditional and represented an active fostering of the Seleucid patron deity. This ideological consistency was related to the claims made by Antiochus III concerning what territories comprised his ancestral kingdom, and his efforts to restore Seleucid power in outlying regions and as well as his early campaigns against internal rebels.

VI: ANTIOCHUS III'S OTHER BRONZE COINAGE

VI.1: ELEPHANTS AND RELATED TYPES

The most prominent non-Apollo bronze coinage of Antiochus III was his elephant coinage. Like earlier Seleucid elephant coinage, this coinage was clearly connected with his military campaigns in the east and in Coele-Syria. The tradition of the elephant as a Seleucid military symbol goes back to the reign of Seleucus I. Antiochus III's elephant coinage has two general types: one features Antiochus III's portrait on the obverse, and an elephant on the reverse (Figure 161);⁸⁹ the other features Apollo on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse (Figure 162).⁹⁰ Features of the two types were combined at Uncertain Mint 59 where Antiochus III wears the laurel crown of Apollo and is depicted as the god (Figure 163).⁹¹ This deliberate conflation of the two represents the close links fostered by Antiochus III between himself and his divine patron. One of Antiochus' innovations in his coinage is that the elephant type coinage was not restricted to bronze. At a range of mints the elephant type appeared on silver coinage with the portrait of Antiochus III.⁹² Furthermore, at the "Rose" mint the type appeared on a gold stater.⁹³

⁸⁸ Cf. *SEG* 41.1003.36 for an example of the term sister used to refer to Laodice, this title was honorific, but given the presence of Artemis these coins may have connected her to the goddess; Ogden 1999: 135.

⁸⁹ Probably Sardes: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 976; Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1136, 1170; Uncertain Mint 73: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277; Unattributed eastern: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1288.

⁹⁰ Sardes: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 976A, 977-982; Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1191; Uncertain Mint 59: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1086, 1087, 1088; Perhaps Susa: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1227; Unattributed: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1293.

⁹¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1085.

⁹² Perhaps Apamea: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1065, 1066; Unattributed: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1067, 1068; Uncertain Mint 68: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1135, 1136; Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1170; Uncertain mint 56 from 203: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 985, 986, 987.

Despite this innovation of Antiochus in the value of the metal with elephant types, Seleucus I had already minted similar elephant types. Thus, Antiochus III's return to the use of elephants connects him to his ancestor and to his successful creation of the empire.

VI.2: ELEPHANT-RELATED TYPES

Elephant-related types were issued by uncertain mints in Coele-Syria or Phoenicia, and were probably minted for his military campaigns in the region. These types are related to each other in that they feature the gorgoneion. At Uncertain Mint 59, there are two types which feature a Macedonian Shield with gorgoneion in centre on the obverse. One reverse features an elephant⁹⁴ (Figure 164) and the other an anchor with upward flukes (Figure 165).⁹⁵ Both of these symbols were common on the coinage of Seleucus I and most likely had a military connotation. At Uncertain Mint 60, a silver hemi-obol was produced that featured the gorgoneion on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse (Figure 166).⁹⁶ These types are significant because they recall the Gorgon coinage of Seleucus I.⁹⁷ They reinforced the image of Antiochus III as a traditional Seleucid king. This type may have been chosen as a deliberate echo of Seleucus I's coinage in order to establish the Seleucid claim to Coele-Syria which could be traced back to Seleucus' claims after the battle of Ipsus. The types therefore would have had special significance for Antiochus III's military campaigns against the Ptolemies.

VI.3: OTHER MILITARY TYPES

Antiochus III's other military and victory types recall the military ideology of the elephant types. These show considerable variety and some may be linked to specific events. Antiochus III also minted generic victory types, as did all previous Seleucid kings, which feature Nike holding a palm branch on the reverse (Figure 167).⁹⁸ The obverses of these types feature either Apollo, Antiochus III or Antiochus III as Apollo on the obverse, the same set of obverse images that are familiar from Antiochus III's

⁹³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: 1120.

⁹⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1089, 1090.

⁹⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1091, 1092.

⁹⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1093.

⁹⁷ Cf. Chapter 1: 84ff.

⁹⁸ Antiochus III: Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1171, 1172, 1173; Ecbatana: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1240, 1241, 1242, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258; Apollo: Uncertain Mint 63: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1097, 1099, Uncertain Mint 64: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1100.

Apollo and elephant coinage. The significance of the reverse image is even clearer at Antioch, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and Susa, where Nike crowns the royal name (Figure 168).⁹⁹ The type at Susa also relates to Antiochus III's divinity by including horns on Antiochus III's portrait. All of these types clearly represent Seleucid military victory.

Two clear victory types were produced at Icarus, one general and one naval. The mint's location may suggest that these issues were connected with Antiochus' eastern anabasis. The generic type features Athena on the obverse and Nike holding a wreath and palm on the reverse (Figure 169).¹⁰⁰ This recalls the gold staters of Alexander and conveys the same connotations of victory. The other type features Antiochus III on the obverse and Nike holding a wreath and a palm branch standing left on the prow of a ship (Figure 170).¹⁰¹ Both types may have been related to Antiochus III's visit to the island which may have served as a naval stopping point for Seleucid fleets in the Persian Gulf.¹⁰²

Another type from Icarus lacks clear victory connotations, but may also be related to the same ideological message. It features the bearded head of Poseidon, clearly identifiable from the small trident that appears behind his head on the obverse, and the image of Apollo standing holding a bow and resting his left elbow on a tripod (Figure 171).¹⁰³ The reverse clearly places the image within the realm of Seleucid dynastic propaganda, and the obverse has clear naval connotations. There may be three ways to interpret the image. First, an image of Poseidon is a logical local choice for an island and holds no greater significance. Second, the type may refer to a victory in the region won by the Seleucid commander Numenius (a naval and land victory) after which, according to Pliny, he set up trophies to Jupiter and Neptune (Zeus and Poseidon).¹⁰⁴ As the King Antiochus under which he fought is uncertain, perhaps it is best not relate these types to this victory. Finally, the type may simply refer to the Seleucid fleet that Salles postulates patrolled the gulf. Regardless, it is likely that this type has a specific military connotation related to the area around Icarus.

⁹⁹ Antioch: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1053; Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1175; Susa: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1216, 1217.

¹⁰⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1151.

¹⁰¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1147, 1148.

¹⁰² For the visit see: Polybius 13.9.5; See Salles 1987: 88-109 for Seleucid control of the gulf and the maintenance of a permanent Seleucid navy.

¹⁰³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1149-1150.

¹⁰⁴ Pliny, *NH*, 6.32.152; The King Antiochus for which Numenius fought is uncertain. Grainger 1997: 109 prefers Antiochus IV as does Mørkholm 1966: 169-170.

There are two interesting military types that recall Alexander, one from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and one from Susa. The type from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris features a young male bust facing three-quarters right wearing an elephant headdress on the obverse and horse head facing left on the reverse (Figure 172).¹⁰⁵ The horse-head either recalls the horned horse associated with Seleucus I, which became a common Seleucid symbol, or simply represents Seleucid military power. The elephant headdress clearly relates to the elephant headdress created by Ptolemy I for the early portraits of Alexander which Seleucus I later adopted (Figure 22).¹⁰⁶ As the use of the elephant headdress for Alexander's coinage likely referred to his eastern campaigns, and Antiochus III made heavy use of the elephant symbols to emphasise his military might, it is likely that this type has similar associations. By recalling the headdress Ptolemy and Seleucus gave to Alexander the type may relate to Antiochus III's adoption of the title *Megas*. The type from Susa is more difficult to interpret as the obverse shows a female head in an elephant headdress facing right on the obverse and a frontal standing Artemis, holding a torch and a bow on the reverse (Figure 173).¹⁰⁷ The female figure in the elephant headdress is puzzling. The figure may be related to the Artemis on the reverse as she is depicted as a goddess of hunting and war (the torch and bow). Perhaps, despite the different mints, the male figure is meant to represent Antiochus whereas the female figure is meant to represent his sister-wife, Laodice. This would also recall the association between Laodice and Artemis. In this case the coins relate to the royal cult of Laodice which was established across the empire including in Iran.

There are also three military types from Ecbatana that all refer to the importance of the Median cavalry from Antiochus III's campaigns. On all three types Antiochus III's portrait is on the obverse. The reverse of one type features a horseman charging right with a couched spear (Figure 174).¹⁰⁸ The next type features a reverse of a horse grazing left (Figure 175).¹⁰⁹ The final reverse type shows a mare standing left, with her head reverted to nuzzle suckling foal (Figure 176).¹¹⁰ These types are clearly related to the cavalry or to horse rearing as the final type makes clear. The military importance of horses was well established and is furthermore made clear by the first of these types. The latter two types refer to horse breeding. As Media was the most important horse-

¹⁰⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1182.

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter 1: 79.

¹⁰⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1224, 1225.

¹⁰⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263.

¹⁰⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267.

¹¹⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271.

breeding region within the empire,¹¹¹ the iconography highlights the significance of the region for Antiochus III. Antiochus III may have felt an additional need to recognise the contributions of the Medians to his army after they had sided with Molon in his revolt.¹¹²

VI.4: ATHENA

The Athena types of Antiochus III may also represent martial victory. At Seleucia-on-the-Tigris a three-quarters facing bust of Apollo is paired with Athena Promachos, Athena advancing to the right while brandishing a spear and a shield (Figure 177).¹¹³ This archaic type of Athena was popular early in the Hellenistic period and had been used by Seleucus I, although it appeared to have fallen out of favour later in the dynasty. Another type from Seleucia also presents the martial side of Athena. The reverse features Athena standing left resting on spear, with a shield propped against her on the left (Figure 178).¹¹⁴ The inclusion of the spear and the shield clearly mark out Athena's martial attributes which would have been fitting for the Seleucid king. At Susa a horned bust of Antiochus III is paired with Athena enthroned facing left, crowning the royal name and holding a spear and shield resting on throne (Figure 179).¹¹⁵ The crowning of the royal name recalls the images of victory in this gesture. In fact, on coins from Soloi in Cilicia the victory association with Athena is clear when the reverse shows Athena enthroned left holding Nike and resting her elbow on her shield (Figure 180).¹¹⁶ The final Athena type of Antiochus III features Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet on the obverse and holding a winged thunderbolt (Figure 181).¹¹⁷ The winged thunderbolt represents the sovereignty and power of Zeus and was a common symbol of ancient coins. Just as Athena could occasionally adopt other attributes of her father, she could also appear with the thunderbolt. This type therefore likely combined martial theme with a display of celestial power. The mint at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris also reproduces a type found in the reign of Antiochus II, which shows a draped bust of Athena facing three-quarters left in triple-crested helmet on the obverse and Apollo seated right (instead of the normal left) his head facing, holding a cithara with a tall

¹¹¹ Bar-Kochva 1976: 44

¹¹² Polybius 5.53.1-4 does not include Median calvary in his description of the battle against Molon. Bar-Kochva 1976: 69-70 and 117-123 for analysis of the battle.

¹¹³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1183.

¹¹⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1207.

¹¹⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1218, 1219.

¹¹⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1024.

¹¹⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1228.

tripod behind him on the reverse (Figure 182).¹¹⁸ This does not represent a type of Antiochus III but rather the renewed use of an old type. If it does reflect the policy of the king, then it would relate to Antiochus III's attempt to place himself within the Seleucid tradition in order to justify his more expansive territorial claims.

VI.5: HERMES

Seleucia-on-the-Tigris produced four types of bronzes whose meanings are obscure. Three of these types depict the god Hermes. The first of these types shows Antiochus III on the obverse and a coiled serpent on the reverse (Figure 183).¹¹⁹ The coiled serpent may represent Agathos Daimon or possibly Asclepius.

The other three types all feature Hermes. The first type has the head of Hermes facing three-quarters right wearing a *petasus* on the obverse and Hermes standing right wearing a *kausia* on the reverse (Figure 184).¹²⁰ The second Hermes type features the same obverse but an elephant facing right on the reverse (Figure 185).¹²¹ These two types are probably related to Antiochus III's military campaigns on account of the elephant reverse and the *kausia* which Hermes wears. As we have seen, the elephant is a common symbol of Seleucid military campaigns. The *kausia* also usually made its appearance during the eastern campaigns of Seleucid monarchs.¹²² Hermes was also represented in his role as a messenger god; this is made clear by the final Hermes type which depicts a bee on the obverse and Hermes standing three-quarters to the left holding a *kerykeion* (caduceus) on the reverse.¹²³ What he symbolises in this context is unclear. Perhaps these coins are related to Antiochus III's Bactrian campaign as Hermes had previously appeared on Diodotid coinage.¹²⁴ On the other hand, the issue may commemorate Hermes as a merchant god or as a messenger god. The bee symbol is also interesting. Bees are commonly associated with Artemis and due to this association are often used to represent Ephesus,¹²⁵ here they may have a local connotation. Bees also appear associated with other gods, notably at Delphi with Apollo (perhaps connected

¹¹⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: addenda Ad34, Ad35, cf. HL 591-593 for the same type of Antiochus II and see Chapter 3.

¹¹⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1174.

¹²⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1192.

¹²¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1193.

¹²² See Chapter 4 for Seleucus II's *kausia*.

¹²³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1126.

¹²⁴ Holt 1999: 109-110, 120.

¹²⁵ Cf. Elderkin 1939.

with Artemis) and Zeus.¹²⁶ Finally, in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes he is associated with three bee maidens.¹²⁷ If the bee represents Artemis, then this type is also part of the general emphasis on Artemis and Apollo. On the other hand, the bee may be connected only to Hermes in which case it is difficult to interpret.

Overall, Antiochus III's coinage reflected a culmination of trends that began under Antiochus I. Apollo continued to be the most prominent deity on his coinage as was the case with the earlier Seleucid kings. For the most part, the non-Apollo coinage was associated with military themes and imagery. This may be due to the large number of campaigns which Antiochus undertook and the necessity of minting coinage to pay troops. On the other hand, all other Seleucid kings undertook significant military campaigns. While it may be surprising that Antiochus III's coinage was so conservative given his otherwise innovative reign, it reflects how central the dynastic myth created by Antiochus I was to the dynasty's self-presentation.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The reigns of Seleucus III and Antiochus III were key periods for the re-expansion of the empire and for first bringing the Seleucids into conflict with Rome. However, this tumultuous period saw little change in the iconography of the royal coinage. Both kings returned to the image of Apollo-on-the-omphalos as the main tetradrachm type, abandoning the reforms of their father, for the most part. Seleucus III and Antiochus III therefore emphasised the dynastic connection with Apollo. Antiochus III's major religious changes were not in the area of coinage but rather in terms of the dynastic cult which is discussed in Chapter 6.

¹²⁶ Cf. Cook 1895.

¹²⁷ *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 552-554; cf. Scheinberg 1979.

CHAPTER 6: RULER CULT

I: INTRODUCTION

The most frequently analysed form of religious/political interaction in the Hellenistic world is the phenomenon of ruler cult.¹ Most modern studies of Hellenistic ruler cult involving the Seleucids are based on inscriptions from the Greek cities of Asia Minor. In these analyses, Hellenistic ruler cult is generally divided into two categories: on the one hand there are spontaneous cults generated by cities, and on the other hand there are the centrally organised ruler cults (ruler cult generated from the court). Price has clearly demonstrated that the civic cults resulted from the Greek cities' difficulties in accommodating the new external powers.² Ma has extended this analysis and posited this process of forming civic cults as one of complex interaction between the cities and the king as they negotiated privileges, rights and power.³ These two studies outlined a process by which Greek cities in Asia Minor reconciled royal power with the existing *polis* structure by elevating the rulers into the divine sphere rather than relating with them as conventional human partners. These studies have also argued that these honours were established by the city and operated within a local framework and did not have any relationship with a centrally organised ruler cult.⁴

Although this scholarly work has correctly identified the process which resulted in the civic cults, I wish to suggest that it has created too clear cut a division between the two types of cult. While there is a real distinction between ruler cults organised by the court and civic cult for the royal family, the dividing line between the two is not as clear or as transparent as the impression left by recent scholarship suggests. As I will argue, the forms of cult in local cities both influenced and were influenced by royal propaganda. I further argue that the cities were aware of and may have adopted the official titles promulgated by the royal house for their own civic cults. Furthermore, in some cases the titles granted by the Greek cities to the kings were adopted by the kings in their ruler cult. I do not wish to suggest that the kings forced their titles onto the cities, but rather

¹ The major studies are Bevan 1901; Bickerman 1938a; Bohec-Bouhet 2002; Bosworth 1999; Carney 2000; Chaniotis 2003; Habicht 1970; Hazzard 2000; Lattey 1917; Ma 2000; Nock 1928; Nock 1930; Van Nuffelen 1999; Van Nuffelen 2004; Price 1980; Price 1984a; Price 1984b; Scott 1928.

² Price 1984b: chapter 2.

³ Ma 2000: chapter 4; cf. Chaniotis 2007 for a case study of Antiochus III at Teos.

⁴ Price 1984b: 37.

that in the process of interaction these cities chose to reflect the royal example when it was practical. A further set of evidence is provided by the coinage which depicts the king with divine attributes. This coinage is evidence for the necessary precondition of cult: that the king can be considered divine. As I will argue, the relatively early appearance of kings with divine attributes on coinage demonstrates that Antiochus III linked himself to an earlier tradition when he expanded the cult to include Laodice.

There are two differing scholarly schools of thought as to when centrally organised ruler cult developed within the Seleucid Empire. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt have argued that “there is no shred of evidence to support the notion of ruler cult of Seleucid monarchs” before Antiochus III in non-Greek settings.⁵ This view is followed by Ma who argues that there was no centrally organised cult for the monarchs until the reign of Antiochus III.⁶ On the other hand van der Spek has identified cultic activities that were directed towards the king at least in the reign of Seleucus III.⁷ Furthermore, Gruen has speculated that “there is no reason to believe that this [ruler cult] first saw the light of day in the time of Antiochus III. It seems unlikely that the Seleucids would have lacked a centrally organised cult when the Ptolemies had long had one. The origins may go back to Antiochus I who erected a temple at Seleucia to honour his deceased father.”⁸ This leaves us with two possible sets of dates for the creation of Seleucid royal cult: either the cult first appeared under Antiochus III or it appeared earlier. One problem with establishing the dating criteria is determining what constitutes a royal cult.

I believe that the emergence of royal cult occurred through a process by which the king elevated himself (and possibly his family) into the divine sphere. This may have also developed into a full-fledged cult as occurred in the Roman imperial cult or in Ptolemaic Egypt, but it did not necessarily have to. While many would take the view of ruler cult that requires that it include rituals for the king, the lacunose evidence makes it almost entirely impossible to demonstrate that ruler cult existed under this definition. Even the accepted evidence for a Seleucid ruler cult under Antiochus III consists of a description of the rituals for Laodice, not a royal cult in general.⁹ This document implies the existence of a state cult but does not specify its origins. The only other sets

⁵ Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 203.

⁶ Ma 2000: 64.

⁷ Van der Spek 1994: 367-368.

⁸ Gruen 1999: 33.

⁹ *RC* no.36 ll. 11-12; Ma 2000: no. 37 ll. 22-26.

of evidence for “ritual” to substantiate the existence of a ruler cult are the lists of priests of the kings, all of which date from the reign of Antiochus III or later.¹⁰ The list of honorary eponymous titles for officials in itself implies but does not demonstrate the existence of royal cult ritual. As noted above, the scholarship in this area has been concentrated on inscriptions where evidence is scant and scholars have been forced to extrapolate from limited information. I believe that we can help answer the question of when ruler cult developed by first specifying a clear indicator of royal cult and then expanding the kind of evidence we examine. The numismatic evidence which includes portraits of the king with divine attributes has previously been ignored in the debate, but merits inclusion. It seems sensible to specify that ruler cult may have existed when there is an official recognition of the king as divine. By official recognition of the king as divine, I mean that the king is represented with attributes which strongly suggest his divinity, receives a divine epithet, or receives a cult. This definition allows us to incorporate evidence from Babylon and the numismatic evidence in addition to inscriptions. The numismatic evidence also enables us to modify the traditional division of cult into city-generated and ruler-generated cult by indicating occasions when the ruler may have been involved in adopting local divine attributes and more widely publicising them.

There is clear evidence that spontaneous cults generated by Greek cities began to appear around 280 after Seleucus’ defeat of Lysimachus and his first significant contacts with these cities as overlord of Asia Minor occurred. As this section will suggest, suggestions by the court or other forms of royal propaganda may have influenced the form that these cults took. Shortly after Seleucus I’s death, he was deified and a temple was established for him at Seleucia-in-Pieria.¹¹ However, the first unequivocal evidence for a cult of the living king does not appear until the reign of Antiochus III. Therefore, let us briefly examine the evidence for Antiochus III’s cult before looking back to its potential predecessors. The modern scholarly interpretation is that Antiochus III began a state cult for himself and his ancestors sometime between c. 209 and 193.¹² The only evidence for Antiochus III’s creation of the cult comes from a decree establishing a priest for Antiochus III’s wife Laodice. The relevant passage is: “...just as high-priests

¹⁰ Eg. *OGIS* 245; *OGIS* 246

¹¹ Appian, *Syr.* 63.

¹² For the most recent summary see: Van Nuffelen 2004, who tentatively suggests a date slightly earlier than 209; for a date of c. 205 see Robert and Robert 1983: p. 168, n. 40; for a date that is not earlier than 193 see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: pp 209-210; Ma 2000: p. 64 n. 47 argues that the text can support an earlier date. See also *RC* p. 159.

of us are designated ([ἀπο]δείκ[ν]υ[ν]ται) throughout the kingdom, so should there be established, in the same places, high-priestesses of her also...”.¹³ Welles had asserted that the use of the present tense ἀποδείκνυνται should be interpreted literally suggesting that the cult was begun in 193.¹⁴ I agree with Ma in asserting that the use of the present tense represents the general practice of appointing priests in the empire.¹⁵ Further evidence may be derived from Antiochus’ adoption of the divine epithet, *Megas* (Great). According to Appian, following Antiochus III’s re-conquest of the Upper Satrapies he received the title “Antiochus the Great”.¹⁶ This title is different from the Persian title “Great King”, but obviously recalls the image of Alexander. Ma, rightly, suggests that the adoption of this title may be a manifestation of a ruler cult for Antiochus III.¹⁷

Before returning to this decree and suggesting an earlier date for the first state Seleucid ruler cults, I wish to examine how individual civic cults may have adopted Seleucid royal ideology that either directly preceded or at least laid the ground work for Antiochus III’s cult for his family. I do not believe that it is possible to determine whether the royal court or the individual cities dominated the process of the creation of these cults. Rather there was a complex process of interactions in which both parties influenced each other. I will suggest that the similarities of divine epithets in the cities of Asia Minor combined with the numismatic depictions of the kings with divine attributes provide evidence for recognition of the king’s divinity and hence the possibility of ruler cult prior to the reign of Antiochus III. Given this thesis’s interest in the Seleucid royal house’s use of religious propaganda, instances of cult that do not appear to have connection to royal religious propaganda will only be reviewed briefly. This study will also exclude cases in which cities named tribes for the rulers as well as cults for kings as founder of the city as these were well established practices which did not reflect a political/religious policy of the royal house but rather the particular reactions of a city to its circumstances.¹⁸ The interaction of city and ruler in these types of cults has been thoroughly studied by Habicht, Price and most recently Ma.¹⁹

¹³ Ma 2000: no. 37 ll. 22-26; cf. *RC* no. 36 ll. 11-12.

¹⁴ Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 209-10; *RC* p. 159.

¹⁵ Ma 2000: 356.

¹⁶ Appian, *Syr.* 1.

¹⁷ Ma 2000: 64.

¹⁸ The first Seleucids were honoured as city founders at Apollonia in Pisidia, Nysa, Antioch on the Menander, Laodicea in Lycia, Apollonia in Caria, and Antioch in Mygdonia; cf. Habicht 1970: 106-108 for bibliography. It seems probable that the Seleucids also received founder cult in other cities that they founded although the evidence is lacking. The foundation legends of Seleucia-in-Pieria and Antioch-on-the-Orontes (see Ogden Forthcoming-b) may both relate to a founder cult for Seleucus I.

¹⁹ Habicht 1970: esp 82-107; Price 1984b; and for the reign of Antiochus III see Ma 2000.

As Alexander was the obvious precedent for Hellenistic ruler cult, it is interesting that there is no clear evidence that his Seleucid successors took the step of deifying themselves until Antiochus III. This is especially striking as the Ptolemaic ruler cult had begun as early Ptolemy II (around 263).²⁰ While he was alive, Seleucus I was not honoured as a god, although it is possible that he hinted at his own divinity on his coinage. The horned-helmeted rider coinage may have suggested deification even if Seleucus was not formally deified during his lifetime (Figure 18).²¹ On Seleucus' death, Antiochus I established a cult for his father at Seleucia-in-Pieria.²²

The royal cult of Seleucus at Seleucia-in-Pieria is a different type of cult from that which Antiochus III founded in that Seleucus was no longer among the living, but was receiving a posthumous cult. The only literary evidence we have for the form of this cult is Appian's mention that Seleucus was buried in the *Nicatorium*.²³ It is unlikely that Antiochus was establishing a cult that was solely for Seleucus as founder of the city, but rather given the name of the building (which recalls the epithet given to Seleucus²⁴) and the cult of the Ptolemies in Alexandria, it is probable that Antiochus was establishing a non-local cult for his deceased father. This conforms to the practice of the other diadochoi and of Alexander.²⁵ Nor does this contradict the bull-horned and therefore divine image of Seleucus I produced by Antiochus I.

After Corupedium and at the beginning of Antiochus I's reign, a series of cities in Greece and Asia Minor offered thanks to Seleucus I (and occasionally to Antiochus I) in the form of divine or semi-divine honours. Modern scholarship makes an important division between the creation of a cult by the rulers for themselves and the creation of a cult for the rulers by the cities.²⁶ The basis for this division is in the nature of the exchange between the city and the ruler. In the city-generated cult, the city created a cult, in addition to other honours, in exchange for (or in hope of) benefactions from the ruler. There are numerous examples in Greece for this type of cult for the other

²⁰ See Hazzard 2000: chapter 1 for the dating of the creation of a cult for Ptolemy I by Ptolemy II to 263/2.

²¹ See Chapter 1: 72ff.

²² Appian, *Syr.* 63.

²³ Appian, *Syr.* 63; Cf. Hannestad and Potts 1990: 116 for the suggestion that the Doric temple at Seleucia-in-Pieria was the temple to Seleucus I.

²⁴ Appian, *Syr.* 57; see below.

²⁵ Hölbl 2001: 92-98; Pfeiffer 2008: 64-70.

²⁶ Chaniotis 2003: 436; Ma 2000: 179-242.

Diadochoi and their wives and mistresses, particularly in Athens, and the cultic honours established for Seleucus in the cities of Asia Minor clearly conform to these patterns.²⁷ Although these cults were established by cities for the monarch it is important to note how they reflect, reinterpret, and thus legitimate royal ideology or propaganda. This is especially important in the decrees which recognise the importance of Apollo as the Seleucid ancestor, a concept that emerged in the royal ideology at approximately the same time. This suggests not only a level of interaction between the city and the royal house in terms of an exchange of benefactions but a deeper involvement in which the cities reflected and internalised the relevant royal propaganda.²⁸ The similarities between the emerging royal propaganda and the cult are too similar to be accounted for simply by an acceptance or rejection of honours by the court. Instead, these seem to reveal a level of image control only possible with some courtly direction.

II: ASIA MINOR BEFORE ANTIOCHUS III

Before the reign of Antiochus III, divine honours were granted to various individual Seleucid monarchs by the Greek cities of Asia Minor. These honours included divine titles, inclusion in the festivals of other gods, their own festivals and also cult. These honours began to be bestowed on the kings shortly after Seleucus I defeated Lysimachus and exerted Seleucid influence in the region for the first time (281).

II.1: SELEUCUS I

The earliest honours which we have recorded come from Erythrae. The city included in a paean to Apollo and Asclepius a dedication to Seleucus as the son of Apollo at the end of the hymn: "hymn Seleucus son of dark-haired Apollo, over the offerings...".²⁹ This hymn is typically dated to after 280 BC,³⁰ shortly after Seleucus' death. This hymn acknowledged the Seleucid claim to descent from Apollo. It seems probable that it was

²⁷ For nearly contemporary cults for royal women see Erickson 2006: 8-18.

²⁸ An interesting comparison can be made with the function and structure of Roman imperial panegyric, in which the speakers likely would not have been briefed by the court or have required special prompting to deliver a pleasing speech. Cf. Nixon and Rodgers 1994: 29-32. This suggests a model in which the cities would have reacted to the propaganda created by the central court (namely coins, statues and dedications) and responded accordingly. An interaction with the royal propaganda would not have been necessary in all cases, sometimes local issues would take precedence and this may account for much of the variation in the cult that developed.

²⁹ *I.Erythrai* 205 ll. 74-75: ὑμνεῖτε ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς Ἀπόλλωνος κυανοπλοκάμου | παῖδα Σέλευκον...; cf. Klinghardt 1999: 9.

³⁰ Habicht dates the decree to 274, Habicht 1970: 85; although a date closer to Seleucus' death is possible.

composed in the aftermath of Seleucus' battle with Lysimachus and was part of a set of honours decreed to Seleucus for liberating the Erythrae. What is especially interesting is that this appears to be the earliest reference to Seleucus as the son of Apollo. While this descent from Apollo became standard for Seleucid kings, as I have earlier suggested, it originated as part of a propaganda effort by Antiochus I to create a legitimate divine dynastic origin. There are two possible explanations of the origin of this affiliation at Erythrae, either that the myth of Seleucid descent from Apollo was widely known by 280, or that it derives from pressure or influence from the royal court in order to spread the legend. While it is impossible to prove the second, it is easy to suggest that the first is unlikely. As the Seleucid royal dedications to Apollo at Didyma from 288/7 made no mention of the god as a Seleucid ancestor, the development of the Apollo myth must have occurred between these two dates. The lack of other evidence explicitly linking Apollo and Seleucus in this period suggests that the myth of Seleucid descent from Apollo was not yet widely known. The evidence examined in Chapter 1 suggests that myth was being publicised by the court in the years after 288/7 and culminating in the shift to Apollo-on-the-omphalos in the reign of Antiochus I. Therefore, it is possible that the exchange of benefactions with Erythrae included the publication and broadcasting of a new royal association with the god Apollo and also a cult for the dynasty. While this does not mean Seleucus was honoured in cult by the royal court, it does suggest that court input could define the forms which cult was to take along officially recognised lines. This indirect royal influence on city cults could have served as an important bridge between fully centralised royal cult and honours paid by individual cities.

The next city to examine is Lemnos where, according to Phylarchus, Seleucus and Antiochus were honoured with a cult and temples dedicated in gratitude to their descendants due to the war with Lysimachus:

But Phylarchus says that those Athenians who settled in Lemnos were great flatterers, mentioning them as such in the thirteenth book of his History. For that they, wishing to display their gratitude to the descendants of Seleucus and Antiochus, because Seleucus not only delivered them when they were severely oppressed by Lysimachus but also restored both their cities to them, they, I say, the Athenians in Lemnos, not only erected temples to Seleucus, but also to his son

Antiochus; and they have named the cup, which at their feasts is offered at the end of the banquet, the cup of Seleucus the Saviour.³¹
- Athenaeus 254f-255a (Olson Translation)

This description suggests a long lasting cult which included at least Seleucus and Antiochus; Habicht suggests that this cult later includes subsequent Seleucid monarchs.³² This cult clearly represents the creation of a cult by a city in exchange for benefactions. The epithet “*Soter*” which Seleucus received is a common cultic title (used most commonly for Zeus and Apollo) and does not suggest an affiliation with any particular god. This title is logical given that the cult appears to be established in honour of Seleucus for his role as saviour from the oppression of Lysimachus. As the fragment says that the cult was established for the descendants of Seleucus and Antiochus, then the cult dates to between the death of Antiochus I (261) and the end of Phylarchus’ work (c. 220), probably before the reign of Antiochus III. Therefore, while this cult is interesting it does not seem to have provided a model for later Seleucid cult, nor does it appear to be the result of the direct Seleucid influence.

Another of the cities of Asia Minor which established cultic activities for Seleucus was Ilium.³³ These activities included the erection of an altar with the inscription Βασιλέως Σε[λεύκου Νικάτορος?] in the agora and the organisation of yearly or monthly offerings to the king. Additionally a contest of the *neoi* and the *epebes* was established under the control of the *gymnasiarch*. Another festival was established with music, gymnastic and horseracing contests. These festivals all took place in the month of Seleukeios.³⁴ The restoration of the title *Nikator* is questionable³⁵ but it clearly recalls the title which Seleucus is said to have received by Appian³⁶ and which he later had in cult.³⁷ The restoration is also questionable as the title was not used at the other nearly concurrent offerings to Seleucus, at Lemnos he was referred to as *Soter* and at Erythrae he lacked a divine title. Nevertheless, it is possible that Robert’s restoration of the title is justified given that the title is used later and was likely given to him during his lifetime.³⁸ If this is the case, then Ilium may be responding to Antiochus’ creation of a cult for his father

³¹ Ath. 254f-255a; Phylarchus *FgrH* 81 F 29

³² Habicht 1970: 90.

³³ *OGIS* 212 = *I.Ilion* 31.

³⁴ *OGIS* 212: 5-11; Habicht 1970: 82-83.

³⁵ Habicht 1970: 82 note 3.

³⁶ Appian, *Syr.* 63

³⁷ For the cult title Seleucus Nikator see *OGIS* 233; *SEG* 7, 347; IMT Skam/NebTaeler 190, IGLS 4 1264; *DAW* 44, 6; Rostovzeff 1935: 66 additional note; see below for discussion of cult titles.

³⁸ Appian, *Syr.* 57.

by using the same cult title. In this case, this would be an example of the Seleucid propaganda influencing a local ruler cult. Creating further problems for interpreting this document is that Orth has re-dated it to the reign of Seleucus II and rejected the restoration *Nicator*.³⁹ It is therefore impossible to build any firm conclusions on this document alone.

At other cities that were formerly under the control of Lysimachus, Seleucus appears to have received a variety of heroic and divine honours related to his role as liberator.⁴⁰ But in these cities there is no reflection of royal propaganda or similar cult titles.

II.2: ANTIOCHUS I AND/OR II AND SELEUCUS II

Many of these cities did not limit their honours to Seleucus I but also honoured his co-ruler and successor, Antiochus I. The shortness of the seven-month period between Corupedium and Seleucus' death combined with the imprecise dating of the inscriptions and of the evidence makes it impossible in most cases to be certain whether Seleucus was alive or dead, and thus was the recipient of posthumous or living cult. This problem does not apply to Antiochus, who was honoured as liberator either for his defeat of the Galatians or for his role as co-ruler in the war with Lysimachus or for some other unspecified act of liberation.⁴¹ However, as both Antiochus I and Antiochus II had the same name when referred to without a patronymic it is often difficult to differentiate between the two kings. This is especially true when the texts do not make it clear if the king is living or dead and which date from the reign of Antiochus II.

Antiochus was honoured jointly with his father in a cult at Lemnos as we have seen above. An inscription from Klazomenai suggests that Antiochus (along with his wife and son) received honours from the Ionian cities on his birthday at the same time as *thusia* were offered to Alexander.⁴² The inscription also lists offerings to all of the gods and goddesses and to Antiochus I. The use of the same grammatical formula for both the gods and for Antiochus I suggests that he received honours parallel to those of the

³⁹ Orth 1977: 72-3; followed by Ma 2000: p. 258 n. 15.

⁴⁰ Magnesia on the Menander named a tribe after Seleucus, see Habicht 1970: 91.

⁴¹ See Coşkun Forthcoming for the separation of the cults for Antiochus *Soter* from the Galatian War.

⁴² *OGIS* 222; cf. Habicht 1970, 91-93; Coşkun Forthcoming has argued that these honours are entirely unrelated to a Galatian victory and to the title *Soter*.

gods.⁴³ This parallel between Antiochus and the gods may suggest that he was divine. This pattern also emerged elsewhere under the king. It is clear that the living king was offered honours in parallel to the gods.

Furthermore, Antiochus appears to have received cult along with Alexander the Great at Erythrae. Offerings were also made to Antiochus I on his birthday, as well as eventually to Antiochus II. Coşkun argues that this decree more likely refers to Antiochus II rather than Antiochus I, as the proposer of the decree was active under Antiochus II and not under Antiochus I.⁴⁴ Habicht suggests that offerings were also made to Seleucus I and that there existed a festival of Seleucia. However, there is no evidence in these decrees for a priest of the Seleucids whereas there is a mention of a priest of Alexander.⁴⁵ While these decrees indicate that the Seleucids did receive cult from the cities of Asia Minor, they do not demonstrate any concept of a royal cult nor do they seem to reflect any influence of royal propaganda as they neither reference the myth of Seleucid descent from Apollo (perhaps it was not appropriate) nor do they make use of cultic epithets.

The situation was slightly different at Smyrna. At the start of the reign of Seleucus II, an Antiochus is honoured as: ὁ θεὸς καὶ σωτὴρ Ἀντίοχος (the God and Saviour Antiochus).⁴⁶ Coşkun has argued that this formula fits better with Antiochus II owing to the use of the term *Theos* which is attested for that king and not for Antiochus I.⁴⁷ However, the numismatic evidence discussed in chapter 4 suggests that the title *Soter* would be used for Antiochus I.⁴⁸ Furthermore, this numismatic evidence suggests that Antiochus *Soter* (clearly in this case Antiochus I) is divine based on the portrait style. Therefore, the most likely explanation for this title is the city recalling the official title of the deceased king.

A fragment of an inscription from Teos records another instance of the title *Soter*; again it is traditionally attached to Antiochus I.⁴⁹ The inscription, now lost, as visible to its 18th-century finder reads:

⁴³ Coşkun Forthcoming sees these as traditional honours without divine connotations, while he is certainly correct in regards to the physical content of the honours, the parallelism between the Gods and the Kings has connotations of divinity.

⁴⁴ Coşkun Forthcoming.

⁴⁵ Habicht 1970: 94-95 n.8.

⁴⁶ *OGIS* 299: 100.

⁴⁷ Coşkun Forthcoming.

⁴⁸ Cf. Chapter 4: 169ff.

⁴⁹ Habicht 1970: 102; *CIG* 3075 = *Teos* 95.

[βασιλέως] Ἀντιόχου καὶ βασιλίσσης Στρατονίκης []
[] καὶ Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως καὶ Σωτῆρος []

of [King] Antiochus and Queen Stratonice []
[] and of Antiochus King and Saviour []⁵⁰

According to Habicht, we can interpret this inscription in two ways: King and *Soter* can go either with the Antiochus I (the husband of Stratonice) or with his son Antiochus II while he was co-regent.⁵¹ It seems more likely to me that if Antiochus II was intended while he was co-regent a fuller description would have been given, such as Antiochus son of Antiochus, or he would have been placed in direct relation to his father as he is in the Klazomenai inscription but not as king on his own. One other option would be to include a fuller description of Stratonice in relation to Antiochus, either as wife or mother. The evidence is inconclusive due to the fragmentary state of the inscription, although most scholars follow Habicht in assigning it to Antiochus I.⁵² If this is the case it is another likely piece of evidence that suggests local honours conformed to the official dynastic honours.

An undated inscription states gymnastic competitions were held in honour of “King [Antioch]us the Saviour” (βασιλε[ῖ] Ἀντιόχ[ω]ι Σωτῆρι) at Bargylia.⁵³ The name Antiochus is restored based on parallels with the dynastic title. Therefore the restored name cannot be evidence for the use of this dynastic title for Antiochus I by cities. Coşkun has suggested that the inscription can be dated to the reign of Antiochus II as the official mentioned is most commonly associated with Antiochus II.⁵⁴ However, I do not believe this necessarily implies that the king honoured was not Antiochus I.

The issues that Coşkun raises about the attribution of the title *Soter* to Antiochus I in relation to the Galatian victory are important and he clearly demonstrates that the two should not be linked. However, on the basis of the later cult title and the numismatic evidence it still seems that the title *Soter* was associated with Antiochus I rather than Antiochus II. The best explanation for the issues of dating these honours that Coşkun raises is that cities responded to the official portrayal of Antiochus I which was

⁵⁰ Habicht 1970: 102, *CIG* 3075 = *Teos* 95.

⁵¹ Habicht 1970: 102.

⁵² Cf. Van Nuffelen 2004: 294.

⁵³ Habicht 1970: 203; *SEG* 4, 207.

⁵⁴ Coşkun Forthcoming.

established by the reign of Seleucus II. The numismatic portrayal of Antiochus I included the title *Soter* that Antiochus I had assumed at Ilium.

City-based ruler cult for the Seleucids in Asia Minor was not extinguished after the revolt of Hierax as the decree from Smyrna reveals. In fact, in the same decree of Smyrna, Antiochus II and his mother Stratonice were both revered as gods: θεὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ τῆμ μητέρα τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς θεὰν Στρατονίκην ἰδρῦσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν τιμωμένους.⁵⁵ This clearly demonstrates an established cult for the Seleucid monarchy in Smyrna, but its relationship to a court-sponsored royal cult is unclear. The titles used in the inscription suggest that Seleucus II accepted the existence of cult for his ancestors, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that there was a cult of the Seleucid ancestors within the court. It is interesting in light of the Laodicean war that Seleucus II's mother is not mentioned as divine.⁵⁶ This may suggest that Antiochus II's relationship with his wives caused not only war but a downgrading of Laodice's official status.

The most interesting case is the city of Miletus as it was attached to the important temple of Apollo at Didyma. The city had received lavish gifts from the Seleucid kings even when it was under the control of Lysimachus.⁵⁷ When Antiochus II helped liberate the city from the tyrant Timarchus he received the title *Theos*⁵⁸ (God) which implies the divinity of the king.⁵⁹ While this appears to be a clear instance of the city granting a king cultic honours in exchange for benefactions, the fact that Antiochus is referred to as divine in the decree of Smyrna and that he receives the cult title Antiochus *Theos* in the list of Seleucid priests from the reign of Seleucus IV⁶⁰ suggests that this title was adopted by the royal house in a court-sponsored cult from Miletus and then transferred to Smyrna through the royal cult. If the coin type from Phocaea which features the diademed head of a young king with horns at the temple and over the ear can be dated to

⁵⁵ OGIS 299: 9.

⁵⁶ Cf. Habicht 1970: 101.

⁵⁷ See Chapters 1 and 2 for Seleucid dedications under Seleucus I and Antiochus I and the relationship of the kings to Apollo.

⁵⁸ Appian, *Syr.* 65; OGIS 226.

⁵⁹ Burkert 1985: 271-2; cf. Price 1984a for a full discussion of the use of the term *Theos* in the Roman Imperial cult and the relation of the title for mortals to the traditional gods.

⁶⁰ OGIS 233; OGIS 245; OGIS 246

the reign of Antiochus II⁶¹ then this may be a reflection of official numismatic acceptance of the divinity of Antiochus II.

Perhaps the most problematic decree comes from Ilium.⁶² The city granted a statue and a cult for an uncertain Seleucid King Antiochus. This inscription has been traditionally dated to the reign of Antiochus I or Antiochus III. While the dating of the inscription is not settled, the most scholarly opinion places it in the reign of Antiochus I.⁶³ The city had already established a priest of King Antiochus and here increased the honours granted and named Apollo as the ancestor of the king. The two strongest arguments for the decree being issued under Antiochus III are the reference to the unnamed queen as “sister” (lines 22, 44) and the public prayers of the priests to Apollo as the ancestor of the king (lines 26-7). While Antiochus III’s wife Laodice was sometimes referred to as “sister”, this tradition may have begun earlier.⁶⁴ If this decree does date to Antiochus I, then along with the Erythraean hymn this is early evidence for Apollo as a Seleucid ancestor. Thus neither of these can be used to confidently argue for an Antiochus III date. The events described in the document are rather unhelpful as they are vague and can be accounted for by the reign of either king.⁶⁵ I believe the strongest element in favour of Antiochus I is that he was referred to as the son of Seleucus. While this was possible for Antiochus III it would suggest a rather early date in his career, before he adopted the title *Megas*, a title which is not used in the decree, although Antiochus III had taken this title before his invasion of Asia Minor. So, a date during the reign of Antiochus I seems preferable. The patronymic was applied to Antiochus I early in his reign, shortly after his father’s death, and after he had been co-ruler. This implies that Ilium was responding to Antiochus I’s claim to descent from Apollo within a few years of Apollo’s first appearance on coins. While this supports my thesis that Antiochus I was strongly associated with Apollo, given the difficulties in dating the document it is important not to draw strong conclusions based on it.

⁶¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 514; Houghton and Lorber 2002 p. 183 for bibliography, see below for fuller discussion.

⁶² *OGIS* 219 = *I.Ilium* 32.

⁶³ Antiochus I: Ma 1999: 81-88, palaeography leans towards Antiochus III, although he considers the decree to describe Antiochus I; Robert 2007; Ma 2000: 254-259; Coşkun Forthcoming with bibliography; Frisch 1975: no. 32; Orth 1977: 61-72; Ehling 2003: 300-304; Antiochus III: Piejko 1991b.

⁶⁴ Cf. the suggestion by Ogden 1999: 135 that the Ptolemies may have adopted the idea of kin marriage from the Seleucids particularly the marriage of Antiochus I and Stratonice. However, this remains very hypothetical.

⁶⁵ Cf. Ma 2000: 255-258.

As there was already a priest of Antiochus when this Ilium decree was promulgated, it would be useful to know when this priesthood was established. Ma suggests that the cult was established shortly after Corupedium jointly with that of Seleucus I, although he is not mentioned in this decree.⁶⁶ If we accept that the inscription from Ilium (*OGIS* 212 = *I. Ilium* 31) discussed above is from the reign of Seleucus I then divine honours for Seleucus I are also attested.⁶⁷ Coşkun has shown that the decree cannot be linked to the Galatian War.⁶⁸ Ma's solution, although still uncertain, remains the best.

The cults for Antiochus I and II in Asia Minor show some hints of being related to the dynastic propaganda in terms of the use of similar cultic epithets and the kings' descent from Apollo. However, the problems in the dating of these decrees and securely determining the king to which they refer undermine their value for determining the effects of royal propaganda.

II.3: CULTS FOR STRATONICE

City-based cults for the early Seleucids were not limited to just the kings. The wife of both Seleucus I and Antiochus I, Stratonice, received cult at Smyrna and Delos, and was associated with the building of the temple at Hierapolis/Bambyce by Lucian, and received an intriguing mention in the foundation cylinder for the Nabû temple at Borsippa. The cult for Hellenistic queens may have been established for the same reasons as those for their husbands, namely as a consequence of the mutual exchange of benefactions or the accommodation of an external power into *polis* life. Interestingly, while the males were not necessarily connected to an individual god, although that sometimes occurred with Seleucus I and Antiochus I, the females were almost always connected to the cult of Aphrodite in the early Hellenistic period.⁶⁹ This pairing may suggest a different theoretical model that allowed for a woman to be deified but reflected her subordinate role as lover or mother.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Ma 2000: 257.

⁶⁷ Cf. Coşkun Forthcoming for the rejection of Ma's date, but he ignores Orth 1977: 72-3 which dates the decree to Seleucus II.

⁶⁸ Coşkun Forthcoming.

⁶⁹ For example Lamia and Leana the courtesans of Demetrius, Arsinoe II and Berenice wives of Ptolemy II, and Laodike the wife of Antiochus III are all paired in cult with Aphrodite.

⁷⁰ A study of the phenomena of ruler cult for the Hellenistic queens is sorely lacking, as is a study of their political influence, Ogden 1999 provides a good study both of their political use in having children and securing their succession as well as their use in diplomatic marriages. However, outside of these two significant roles only Macurdy 1932 provides an overview of their political roles.

At Smyrna, Stratonice was deified in the form of Aphrodite-Stratonice, and by the reign of Seleucus II a shrine was dedicated there: ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος βασιλέως Ἀντίοχου ἀποστείλας γράμματα ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν ἀξιοῖ τό τε ἱερὸν τὸ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας τᾶς Στρατονικίδος καὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Σμυρναίων ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶμεν.⁷¹ The cult of Stratonice at Smyrna was tied to her long history of dedications at Delphi as the letter which describes her shrine relates the attempt of Seleucus II to have Smyrna and her sanctuary recognised by Delphi as holy and inviolable.⁷² Stratonice's association with Aphrodite is interesting because it parallels the manner in which her father's courtesans were honoured.⁷³ This cult for Stratonice may shed light on the nature of these Aphrodite pairings, as she was referred to as a goddess by her own name, θεὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς θεὰν Στρατονίκην,⁷⁴ but the shrine continued to be referred to as τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Στρατονικίδος Ἀφροδίτης.⁷⁵ Perhaps other shrines dedicated to Aphrodite-Lamia were dedicated either as shrines to Aphrodite with a *sunnaos Theos* or perhaps they were truly syncretistic deities. Seleucus II's written support for his grandmother's sanctuary status to Delphi raises the question whether the goddess Stratonice was worshipped in a dynastic cult, or whether her deification was specific to Smyrna. The lack of evidence for the rest of Seleucid royal cult makes this question unanswerable. It seems more likely that at some level Stratonice's divine status was accepted by the Seleucid court than just at Smyrna given the kings involvement in the petition.

The deification of Stratonice is revealing in a more general way for the existence of Seleucid royal cult in that it is only mentioned in four inscriptions,⁷⁶ and is not referenced by the literary sources for her marital relations with Seleucus I and Antiochus I.⁷⁷ This reflects of the overall coverage of ruler cults in the literary sources. Apart from the cases of Alexander and the Ptolemies in Egypt, the discussions of ruler cults from the early Hellenistic period are found in sources hostile to Demetrius and in

⁷¹ OGIS 228: 1-4 "Since King Seleucus son of King Antiochus sent a letter to the city concerning the worthiness of the temple of Aphrodite Stratonice and the city of Smyrna to be holy and inviolable", also see lines 10-12.

⁷² OGIS 228: 1-4, 10-12.

⁷³ Ath. 253a-253b.

⁷⁴ OGIS 229: 9. God Antiochus and the mother of his father the goddess Stratonice.

⁷⁵ OGIS 229: 12. the shrine of Stratonice-Aphrodite.

⁷⁶ OGIS 228; OGIS 229; SIG 575; SIG 990.

⁷⁷ See Plut. *Demetrius* 31 and 32.

illustrations of cases of extreme flattery by the Greek city states.⁷⁸ These sources were uninterested in the existence of a court-oriented cult as it is outside the scope of their criticism. The lack of literary evidence for a cult of Stratonice should not lead us to conclude that there were no ruler cults. However it seems prudent to connect this cult to the general phenomena of civic ruler cults for the Seleucids in Asia Minor or to the establishment of posthumous royal cult. The parallel between Stratonice's titular association with Aphrodite and the cases of Demetrius' courtesans suggests that this cult was originally granted while she was alive rather than posthumously.

According to Lucian's *De Dea Syria*, Stratonice was involved in the foundation of the temple of the Syrian goddess. While the foundation of the temple reveals Seleucid involvement in local temples it does not show the establishment of a cult for the Seleucids or for Stratonice in particular. However, an inscription from a base at the site is evidence for statues of "Queen Arsinoe daughter of King Ptolemy and of Queen Berenice: Stratonice daughter of King Demetrius".⁷⁹ Ferrario has suggested that the dedication of the statue for Arsinoe took place before Stratonice was married to Seleucus I and thus she lacked the title Queen and used her father's name rather, or a different Stratonice.⁸⁰ On account of Stratonice's later associations with the sanctuary it seems safe to assume that the Stratonice is the future wife of Seleucus I and Antiochus I and that this dedication took place before her marriages to the Seleucids. The statue does not necessarily imply divine honours for any of the queens, but it does reveal Stratonice's early interest in the sanctuary.

III: CULTS FOR KINGS BEYOND ASIA MINOR

The cults in Asia Minor were part of the dialogue which worked to establish the boundaries between the kings and the independent cities of Asia Minor. However, these cults may have included elements of royal propaganda that may suggest an underlying official cult or an underlying set of acceptable forms of cult. Outside the cities of Asia Minor it is less likely that the Seleucids received a recognisable form of Greek ruler

⁷⁸ Ath. 253a-253b, especially the phrase which introduces the discussion of shrines for Demetrius' courtesans: οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κολακείας πρὸς τὸν Πολιορκητὴν Δημήτριον; compare Plutarch's description of Demetrius holding orgies in the temple of Athena and (Plu. *Demetr.* 23-24)

⁷⁹ *OGIS* 14:

Βασίλισσαν Ἀρσινόην βασιλέως
Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης
Στρατονίκη βασιλέως Δημητρίου.

⁸⁰ Ferrario 1962; cf. Carney 1994: n. 124.

cult. Unlike in Egypt, the indigenous populations of the empire did not have a long tradition of ruler cult. In Persia, the king was seen as the divinely appointed leader with close associations with Ahura Mazda.⁸¹ But it does not seem as though the king was worshipped as divine, despite some Greek interpretations of Persian practices.⁸² The most famous instance of the (mis)interpretation of these practices is the Alexander *proskynesis* affair.⁸³ In Persia, the Seleucids did not adopt the mantle of Zoroastrian kingship. Nevertheless, they were not as hostile to the Zoroastrian priesthood as Alexander was later thought to have been.⁸⁴ The potential Seleucid appeal as a divine king to the Persian population was suggested by the interpretation of the Apollo-on-the-omphalos figure as a representation of the ruler.⁸⁵ However, as the Persian king was most likely not viewed as divine,⁸⁶ then neither were the Seleucids.

III.1: BABYLONIA

Babylonia presents a more interesting case. The Babylonians had flirted briefly with ruler cult under Namar-Sin and his successors (twenty-third century BC).⁸⁷ This experiment was short-lived and while Babylonian rulers derived their authority from the gods, they were not elevated into the divine sphere. It appears that the Seleucid rulers skirted the line between claiming worship as gods and non-divine kingly honours. The first image which invokes the ancient Babylonian divine king is the helmet worn by the rider of the horned horse whom I have identified as Seleucus (Figure 20).⁸⁸ This helmet features bull horns, a common symbol of divinity, but more specifically it seems to recall the helmet worn by the king on the Namar-Sin tablet. I believe that this was a deliberate attempt by the Seleucid court to establish itself in the tradition of the great Babylonian kings of the past.

⁸¹ See for example the Darius relief at Behistun: Brosius 2000: 27-39.

⁸² Cf. Aeschylus, *Persians* 156-157.

⁸³ Plutarch, *Alexander* 54.5-6; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 4.12.3-5; cf. Cartledge 2004: 175-176; Bosworth 1996: 108-114; Bosworth 1988a: 285-286.

⁸⁴ Cf. Boyce 1989: 12-13; Hjerrild 1990; for Alexander as a Persian hero see: Stoneman 2008: 27-48.

⁸⁵ Cf. Chapter 2: 123ff.

⁸⁶ Recent scholarship has begun to suggest that the Persian kings may have been viewed as divine. See Root 2008; Kuhrt 2007: 556, Figure 11.45 notes. Lincoln 2008: 233 proposes something less radical, that the kings may not have been divine but that there existed “something that might legitimately be understood as a theology of empire, in which the king is theorized as God’s chosen, who reunites the world and restores its perfection...” If this is the case, the archer imagery may have allowed the Seleucids to utilise the same “theology” of empire, by placing themselves as the favoured kings.

⁸⁷ Cf. Chapter 2: 109ff.

⁸⁸ Cf. Erickson Forthcoming-a; Chapter 1: 72ff.

The bulk of evidence for Seleucid interaction with Babylon comes from the reign of Antiochus I, although it is clear that his successors were all involved with the city in at least a limited way. While most of this evidence has been discussed above, there are a few key passages which suggest that the royal family may have been deified. In addition to rebuilding the temples at Babylon and following a general pattern of benefactions to the city, I have argued that Antiochus I took a special interest in the Babylonian deity Nabû, the son of Marduk.⁸⁹ It seems apparent that under his reign there was an attempt to syncretise Nabû with Apollo, and perhaps Berossus had associated the two in a lost part of his *Babyloniaca*. It seems probable that the syncretism of these two gods was more than simply a Greek attempt to understand the oriental divinities which they encountered. Rather, Antiochus I sought to place himself within a Babylonian divine heritage in the same manner as he revealed his divine heritage to the Greeks. Antiochus I's foundation cylinder for the temple of Nabû at Borsippa provides the fullest description of Seleucid religious practices in Babylon.⁹⁰ Kosmin has pointed out in a forthcoming article that the structure of both Nabû's and Antiochus' titles are parallel and that there is a strong emphasis on genealogy which is rare in this type of document.⁹¹ Kosmin also suggests that we can draw from this genealogy a further set of equivalences: Marduk-Zeus-Seleucus and Nabû-Apollo-Antiochus.⁹² The association between Zeus and Seleucus and Apollo and Antiochus were well known in the later Seleucid period,⁹³ and I have argued that the association of Zeus and Seleucus and Apollo and Antiochus go back to the beginning of each king's reign.⁹⁴ Kosmin has further identified what he believes is an educated pun in the use of determinatives for Marduk's name (the use of both determinatives for man and for god rather than just the single determinative for god) and the beginning of Antiochus' name.⁹⁵ Kosmin's suggestion that the double determinative downgrades Marduk from being completely divine and that this downgrading of the status of the gods would be required for the elevation of the kings is interesting. His comparison to the Athenian ithyphallic hymn to Demetrius Poliorcetes and Euhemerus seem to imply that there was a general denigration of the gods that was required for the acceptance of these new men-gods.⁹⁶ It

⁸⁹ See Chapter 2: 109ff; Erickson Forthcoming-a.

⁹⁰ Sherwin-White 1983.

⁹¹ Kosmin Forthcoming.

⁹² Kosmin Forthcoming.

⁹³ *OGIS* 245; cf. Chapter 1: 64ff for the later cults of Seleucus and Zeus especially at Dura.

⁹⁴ See Chapters 1 and 2.

⁹⁵ Kosmin Forthcoming.

⁹⁶ See Chaniotis 2003; cf. Bosworth 1999: 11-12 for the *Res Gestae* as a Roman version of Euhemerus' justification of divinity.

does not seem readily apparent that such denigration either took place or reduced the prominence of traditional religion either in Greece or Babylon. Rather the development of ruler cult seems to require that the gods to retain their traditional roles in order for the honours to have any meaning.⁹⁷ Perhaps the most interesting pun that Kosmin identifies is in the third name given for the Ezida temple, *bīt Anūtīka* which sounds like *Anti'uku* and may imply *bīt Anti'uku*, “temple of Antiochus”.⁹⁸ Kosmin seems right in identifying this pun, but he presses the evidence too far in seeing this as an example of ruler cult for Antiochus I. It is clear that Antiochus or the Babylonians at his court were pushing the boundaries between the human and divine spheres while not necessarily implying his own divinity, although this should remain a possibility.

The other anomalous feature of the Borsippa cylinder is the inclusion of Stratonice. Sherwin-White has pointed out that her inclusion probably represents one of the non-Babylonian features of the text.⁹⁹ Stratonice’s connections with ruler cult are in many ways clearer than her second husband’s. As outlined above she was clearly considered a goddess by Seleucus II, and she received honours alongside her husband Antiochus I and her son Antiochus in the Ionian *koinon* cult.¹⁰⁰ Kosmin points out that Stratonice’s two titles in the cylinder, *hīrtu* and *šarratu*, were cult designations reserved for goddesses.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, he argues that the transliteration of Stratonice’s name into Akkadian, *Aštartanikku*, was clearly constructed on the resemblance of her name to that of the goddess Aštarte. This clearly ties into Stratonice’s connections to Aphrodite in the Greek tradition.¹⁰² The inclusion of Stratonice in this document and her special titles seem to point to some form of divine elevation for her if not necessarily for her husband. This deification of Stratonice before Antiochus I (if that is in fact the case) may parallel the deification of Arsinoe II in Egypt before her husband-brother Ptolemy II.¹⁰³ While the evidence provided by the Borsippa cylinder may indicate that the Seleucid royal family was elevated above the mortal sphere (although not necessarily deified) it is unclear if or how this cult was continued.

⁹⁷ Price 1980: 28-29 argues against the degeneracy of religion as a pre-condition of ruler cult.

⁹⁸ Kosmin Forthcoming.

⁹⁹ Sherwin-White 1991: 84-85.

¹⁰⁰ *OGIS* 222.

¹⁰¹ Kosmin Forthcoming; cf. Sherwin-White 1991: 77-78 for the instance of *hīrtu* for a mortal women in the reign of Sennacherib (r. 704-681 BC).

¹⁰² *OGIS* 229, see above.

¹⁰³ Cf. P.Cair.Zen. 2.59289 for the *kanephoros* of Arsinoe Philadelphos, Belistiche, which must date to Ptolemy II’s lifetime and thus before his deification.

There is some evidence for the continuation/re-creation of Seleucid cult in Babylonia. The first (re-)appearance of a cult appears during the reign of Seleucus III. Van der Spek has argued that in some of the Hellenistic prebends from Uruk there may be indications of ruler cult, although it is not clear from the texts whether a cult for the dead kings or simply honours for the reigning king were meant.¹⁰⁴ At Uruk offerings were made “for the life of the king”.¹⁰⁵ Another example comes from Uruk, when Anu-balliṭ, who had received the Greek name Kephalon, the *šaknu* (governor) of Uruk, dedicated the restored Rēš sanctuary “to the lives” of Antiochus (II) and Seleucus (II), at which point Antiochus II was already dead.¹⁰⁶ These are not necessarily different from the offerings made to the pre-Hellenistic kings and those offerings are not traditionally seen to have implied ruler cult.¹⁰⁷ These offerings reveal that the Seleucid kings were honoured by the local population in the traditional manner.

Another problematic phrase describes that the offerings were brought up to *paššūru ša šalam šarrāni* (“the table of the statue(s) of the kings”).¹⁰⁸ Linssen notes that while this practice had occurred previously in special cases, the name of the deceased king who received the offerings was given rather than the generic term.¹⁰⁹ However, Linssen suggests that the statues were those of the deceased Seleucid king.¹¹⁰ The obvious, but unanswerable, question raised by this term is which kings are being honoured: are they pre-Seleucid kings, pre-Alexander kings, all former kings, all former and living kings, deceased Seleucid kings, or only the living kings? One solution is that this formula may be evidence for worship of the Seleucid kings at Babylon. Van der Spek has shown there are parallels for the king receiving worship as a *sunnaos Theos* (temple-sharing god) at other native temples.¹¹¹ Thus it is possible that the statues were of the living kings.¹¹²

The next significant text comes from Babylon during the reign of Seleucus III in which an offering is presented “for Bel and Beltija and the great gods and for the (*dullu?*)

¹⁰⁴ Van der Spek 1994: 367-368; Van der Spek 1985: 557-61; Van der Spek 1993: 100-101 which rejects his earlier interpretation of the ritual(?) for Seleucus I and his successors; Van der Spek 1994: 367-8.

¹⁰⁵ Linssen 2004: 126-127.

¹⁰⁶ McEwan 1981: 125; cf. Doty 1988: 95-96.

¹⁰⁷ Linssen 2004: 126.

¹⁰⁸ BM 93004, 19, quoted in McEwan 1981: 161-162; Linssen 2004: 126.

¹⁰⁹ Linssen 2004: 126.

¹¹⁰ Linssen 2004: 126.

¹¹¹ Van der Spek 1985: 560; cf. Linssen 2004: 126.

¹¹² Linssen 2004: 126; McEwan 1981: 126.

ritual (?) of Seleucus, the king, and his sons”.¹¹³ Sherwin-White and Kuhrt interpret these as traditional honours for the monarch and that these honours do not imply deification.¹¹⁴ This view has been undermined by van der Spek who suggests that this formula parallels the *hyper* formula of Greek dedications or the use of the dative τῷ βασιλεί. Suggesting that dedications can be read as “for the king” (as human) or “to the king” (as divine) based on the use of the dative in both languages.¹¹⁵ He suggests that that the dative can be read as suggesting the divinity of the kings or a parallel honours to the divine. However, Linssen notes that neither the king nor his family receives a divine determinative in the text, but can still be viewed as super-human as they are receiving offerings which normal mortals do not.¹¹⁶ This elevation of the king to beyond the mortal sphere neatly parallels Kosmin’s argument for the position of the Seleucid monarchs in the Borsippa cylinder. However, it is remarkable that this is the first instance of the formula and it occurs three generations after the Borsippa cylinder. Nonetheless, this appears to be the start of a practice which was continued by Antiochus III.¹¹⁷ It is possible to suggest that cult for the living monarch at Babylon existed at least in the reign of Seleucus III and that it existed alongside the cult of the Babylonian gods.

As the preceding discussion shows, the literary and epigraphic evidence from before the reign of Antiochus III allows us to suggest that a cult may have existed. The evidence from Babylonia implies that at least Antiochus I and Seleucus III could have been considered divine. As this is distinct from the traditional interaction between the Babylonian cities and kings, for which there was an extensive tradition, this was a new reaction to the Seleucids.

IV: COINAGE

IV.1: DIVINE KINGS BEFORE ANTIOCHUS III

While Seleucid coinage does not provide direct evidence of ruler cult some images of the kings suggest their divinity and therefore may reflect a royal cult. Seleucid coinage

¹¹³ Grayson 1975: 13b obv. 7-8; *BCHP* 12: obv. 7; cf. Linssen 2004: 126.

¹¹⁴ Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 202-203.

¹¹⁵ Van der Spek 1994: 368.

¹¹⁶ Linssen 2004: 126.

¹¹⁷ Similar expressions occur frequently in the Babylonian Astronomical Diaries beginning with Antiochus III: -204 C, rev. 18; -187, A, rev 5’ and 8’, -178 C rev. 21’; -171 B rev. 7’ no 160 A obv 2’; C, rev 2’; no -144 rev 18; no. 140 A U.E. 1’ no. -133 B and C. Obv 24’ no. 132 A. Rev 4’, D2 rev 14’, 23’, no 129 A1 obv 14’ A2 obv 19’ no 126 B rev 8’ no 107 C rev 18’; cf. Linssen 2004: 127.

does not depict images of temples for the Kings, nor in fact does it depict any temples.¹¹⁸ While this contrasts greatly with the depictions of the Roman imperial cult on Roman coinage,¹¹⁹ it appears that temples were not an iconographic category that was taken into consideration by the Seleucids for use on coins. If evidence for royal cult is to be found on Seleucid coinage, the only evidence that would appear are images that presented the king as divine (or semi-divine). It seems possible to present a king as divine through two methods: divine epithets which clearly mark the king as divine, or divine iconography.

Only one series of coinage clearly identifies a king as divine without the use of any distinguishing iconographic feature before the reign of Antiochus IV. This is the Antiochus *Soter* series issued at the start of the reign of Seleucus II. This coinage is peculiar both in its use of the cultic title for the king as well as the political conditions surrounding its production. It appears to be a part of the power struggle between the children and wives of Antiochus II.¹²⁰ What this coinage reveals is that the divine epithet *Soter* was clearly applied to Antiochus I by the court and this may be evidence for a cult.¹²¹ This raises the obvious question of what constitutes the divine image of a king. It seems necessary to exclude any attempt to identify the king in the portraits of a god. While it is possible that this may have occurred, its value as an advertisement of links between the king and the god are limited due to the subtlety of the comparison, and the fact that few of the royal subjects would have personally seen the king closely enough to recognise a resemblance between him and the god on the coinage.¹²² On the other hand, images of the king with horns represent a deified version of the king.¹²³ The most important antecedent for this image was the image of Alexander. The addition of

¹¹⁸ The one notable exception is the fire altar coinage from Persis. However this coinage is produced by a particular group (the *frataraka*) for their own purposes and without Royal control. Cf. Tuplin 2008, 114; Wiesehöfer 1994: 101-138; Wiesehöfer 1996: 110. There is considerable debate concerning the independence of the issuers of the *frataraka* coinage from Seleucid rule, as well as their date. Wiesehöfer 1994, Wiesehöfer 1996 and Wiesehöfer 2007 follow Alram 1986: 163 and prefer a date after the revolt of Molon, whereas Klose and Müsseler 2008: 15-21, 33-34 argue convincingly for a date either in the reign of Seleucus I or shortly after his death.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Price 1984b: 180, pl. 2-3; Coşkun 2009.

¹²⁰ Cf. Chapter 4: 169ff.

¹²¹ Cf. Van Nuffelen 2004: 293-298 for the argument that the codification of divine epithets occurred first under Antiochus III; see below for discussion.

¹²² Smith 1988: 39 rightly points out that we should not assume that these similarities were necessarily deliberate, nor should we interpret them in the same clearly deifying manner as specific divine attributes. Furthermore, in most cases these portraits for the most part simply represent gods.

¹²³ The use of horns as divine motif seems apparent in both Greek as well as Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources. Divine figures in Mesopotamian art are often horned and the bull holds specific divine and royal connotations in Egypt. Cf. Rice 1998: 116; Aston 2007: 347-348; Smith 2002: 21; for a more extensive regional view encompassing the ancient through medieval world see: Mellinkoff 1970: 37-57.

ram horns to his portrait associated him with Ammon but also reaffirmed his divinity.¹²⁴ The images of horned kings fall into three separate categories: firstly images of a deceased king with bull horns sprouting from his head, secondly images of the living king with bull horns sprouting from his head, and thirdly images of the living king with horn like hair. There is one further set of images that is related but unique; these are the images of Seleucus in a horned helmet.¹²⁵

IV.2: BULL HORNS AS A SYMBOL OF DIVINITY

While bull horns are a clear sign of divinity, it is more difficult to determine their precedent. The most common origins assigned to these images, by classicists, are Dionysiac.¹²⁶ The connection with Dionysus is based on the notion that Dionysus' most common animal manifestation was the bull. The key text for this identification is Euripides' *Bacchae* in which he appears to Pentheus as a bull and in a vision Pentheus sees him in this form.¹²⁷ Dionysus also has a number of bull-related epithets: horned, two-horned, bull-horned, cattle-horned, and bull faced.¹²⁸ The importance of Euripides to the Macedonian court may have influenced this interpretation of Dionysus or *vice versa*.¹²⁹ However, although these associations were well known, Smith notes that "they play little or no part in Dionysus' iconography before the Hellenistic and Roman periods, when the beardless young Dionysus sometimes wears bull horns in the manner of Hellenistic kings".¹³⁰ It seems better to consider that while Dionysus may have had associations with bulls in the classical period, he instead gained his iconographic horns from the Hellenistic kings (particularly the Ptolemies), not *vice versa*. The deities in the classical period who were most commonly depicted with bull iconography were not Dionysus but rather river gods. While Smith correctly points out that the heyday of these bull-rivers was the fifth century, the iconography continued into the Hellenistic period, and the river Oxus is depicted in traditional river god fashion (as a man-faced

¹²⁴ Smith 1988: 40.

¹²⁵ Cf. Erickson Forthcoming-b; Chapter 1: 72ff.

¹²⁶ Smith 1988: 40-41.

¹²⁷ Euripides, *Bacchae* 610-20, 922; Dodds 1944: xvi describes Pentheus seeing a horned man, but Seaford 1997 translation line 920-922 and note 920 (p. 224) is surely correct in asserting that Dionysus here appears as a bull rather than as a man.

¹²⁸ See Smith 1988: 41; Dodds 1944: xvi –xxv.

¹²⁹ See Scullion 2003 for a rejection of the story about Euripides' death at the Macedonian court although he does not doubt that certain plays may have been performed or even written for performance in Macedon.

¹³⁰ Smith 1988: 41.

bull) on the coinage of Seleucus I.¹³¹ It is unlikely that the Hellenistic kings adopted their horns from these river gods, unless they adopted them simply in the terms of a non-associative divine attribute.

There is a better explanation which Smith rejects out of hand: “Various Oriental [*sic*] deities had worn bull horns, but these have nothing do with our kings - they have in common only that bulls are symbols of natural potency”.¹³² This interpretation ignores the widely available evidence that suggests that bull horns were a common religious motif throughout the ancient Near East for at least a millennium before Alexander. Furthermore, the bull horns represented exactly what they represented for the Hellenistic kings: royalty and divinity.¹³³ Significantly for the Seleucids, the bull was not only an important figure to the Mesopotamians and Greeks but one of Ahura Mazda’s important aspects included him as the “the Fashioner of the Cow”.¹³⁴ Smith’s rejection of the eastern tradition can be further undermined; the only aetiological explanations of these horns from antiquity relate the horns to what Smith calls “symbols of natural potency”. In Appian, Seleucus gains horns for wrestling an escaped sacrificial bull to the ground barehanded.¹³⁵ In the *Alexander Romance*, a statue of Seleucus is set up on the walls of Alexandria: “He made the (statue) of Seleucus recognisable as it bore a horn for courage and invincibility”.¹³⁶ While Smith suggests that this does not undermine the horns as primarily a reference to Dionysus, the opposite is true. The importance of bull horns is primarily as a symbol of both kingship and divinity (derived from the Near East), secondarily a symbol of power (political, physical or divine), and only finally a symbol of Dionysus. The first two of these categories imply the divinity of the king without linking him to a specific deity.

IV.2.A: HORNED SELEUCUS I

My three categories of bull horns on Seleucid coinage all make explicit reference to the divinity of the king, but all three appear in different contexts. Images of the deceased king are largely limited to portraits of Seleucus I. There are two general categories of coins which feature a portrait of Seleucus during the reign of Antiochus I, one type

¹³¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 283A; Smith 1988: 41; River god coinage: Head 1911: p. 116-117.

¹³² Smith 1988: 40.

¹³³ Miller and Walters 2004: 51; Dalley, Reyes et al. 1998: 39.

¹³⁴ Boyce 1979: 36; Boyce 1989: 209-211.

¹³⁵ Appian, *Syr.* 56.

¹³⁶ *Historia Alexandri Magni* 2.28.

human and the other divine. The first general category consists of a portrait of Seleucus on the obverse and Lysimachus' reverse of Athena enthroned issued at Pergamum and with the name Philetaerus (Figure 186).¹³⁷ This image reflects Philetaerus' desire both to show loyalty to the Seleucid house, and to assert his own authority. The coin type ties in neatly to his payment to Ptolemy Ceraunus for the body of Seleucus and his subsequent turning it over to Antiochus.¹³⁸ Seleucus was not deified in this portrait, although it clearly represents Seleucus, a significant step in and of itself. This image was not a result of Seleucid dynastic iconography but rather represented the careful hedging of Philetaerus, which was designed to help maintain his own authority. The second category of Seleucus coins was issued at Sardis and featured an obverse of a horned diademed portrait of Seleucus. The reverse of these coins is either the horned horse head or Apollo-on-the-omphalos, and in both cases the legend reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. The type featuring the deified Seleucus and the horned horse head¹³⁹ (Figure 18) either initiated the Sardis series, or it commemorated the arrival of Antiochus at Sardis.¹⁴⁰ The second type marked the first introduction of the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type (Figure 187).¹⁴¹ This second type clearly depicted Seleucus as divine, in the same manner as the posthumous portraits of Alexander with the horns of Ammon represented his close relationship to that god and emphasised Alexander's divine status. According to the dating of Houghton and Lorber, these two types were introduced during Antiochus I's stay at Sardis before the First Syrian War (276-274).¹⁴² These types may therefore shed some light on the existence of a centralised cult for Seleucus I. The horned portraits of Seleucus issued at Sardis clearly reflect a centralised acceptance of the deceased king as a god of the royal house. The production of these portraits should be related to Antiochus I's contemporary establishment of a cult for Seleucus at Seleucia-in-Pieria.¹⁴³ This demonstrates that Antiochus actively deified Seleucus outside of a local cult at Seleucia-in-Pieria.

The introduction of the second type featuring the introduction of the Apollo-on-the-omphalos type reveals a link between the official introduction of Apollo as the divine

¹³⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 309.

¹³⁸ Appian, *Syr.* 63.

¹³⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 322; see Chapter 1: 72ff for the identity and function of the horned horse.

¹⁴⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 124.

¹⁴¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 323.

¹⁴² Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 123-124.

¹⁴³ Appian, *Syr.* 63.

ancestor and the creation of a cult for Seleucus. These portrait types of Seleucus reveal two separate aspects of Antiochus I's methods of creating legitimacy: the first is the importance of Seleucus for Antiochus I's legitimacy, the second is the link between the deification of Seleucus and Apollo. Seleucus also appears horned on bronze coinage from several cities outside Asia Minor. At Dura-Europus, a diademed horned portrait appears paired with a horned horse head and with an anchor (Figure 188 and Figure 189).¹⁴⁴ At Uncertain Mint 26 in Bactria, Seleucus is portrayed diademed with bull horns sprouting from his head on gold and silver coinage, in all cases he is paired with a horned horse (Figure 190).¹⁴⁵ These images are evidence for the state-sponsored cult for Seleucus alluded to by Appian as founded by Antiochus I.¹⁴⁶ The relationship between the state-sponsored cult for Seleucus and the cult of royal ancestors referred to in the Antiochus III decrees is unclear, but it seems likely that Antiochus III was incorporating himself into a pre-existing cult framework. The nature of this pre-existing cult is unclear, but beginning in the reign of Seleucus II the kings depicted themselves as horned and therefore as divine on their coinage.

IV.2.B: HORNED IMAGES OF LIVING RULERS

The second category (horned images of living rulers) first made its appearance during the reign of Seleucus II. Antiochus III subsequently also produced horned-portraits of himself. Bronzes were issued at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris which featured a three-quarters facing bust of Seleucus II adorned with bull horns (Figure 128).¹⁴⁷ Additionally on bronzes from Susa, Seleucus II was again depicted in three-quarters profile with bull horns sprouting from his head (Figure 132).¹⁴⁸ The reverse images of these coins clearly relate the image to martial victory as well as connecting Seleucus II to his ancestor, Seleucus I.¹⁴⁹ Seleucus II's assertion of his own divinity was limited by the choice of bronze for these images. Given that the conditions under which previous Seleucid monarchs had received cult in Asia Minor,¹⁵⁰ Seleucus may have seen it as necessary to link his own claims to a martial victory, in this case his Parthian campaign. Seleucus II's claim to divinity may have also been linked to the dedications for the life of the

¹⁴⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 363 (horse) and 364 (anchor).

¹⁴⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 469-472.

¹⁴⁶ Appian, *Syr.* 63.

¹⁴⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 767-768.

¹⁴⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 800-801.

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter 4: 183ff.

¹⁵⁰ For a comparison with the creation of cult for Alexander and other early Hellenistic monarchs see: Chaniotis 2003: 431-437.

king given by Anu-uballit̄ (Kephalon), as they occurred in the same limited geographical region.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, Seleucus II's horned image should be contrasted with "horned-lock" on his brother's coinage. Together, these images suggest that this generation of Seleucid monarchs was willing to present themselves as divine.

IV.2.C: HORN-LIKE LOCKS OF HAIR

The third category (images of the living king with horn-like locks of hair) appears nearly concurrently with the appearance of Seleucus II's horned portraits at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and Susa. Under Hierax, the mint at Ilium produces two types of coinage both featuring what may be idealised portraits of Antiochus I which feature small locks of hair that curl over the diadem in a manner reminiscent of horns (Figure 191).¹⁵² This feature combined with the idealised nature of the portraits on the coinage of Hierax suggests a deification of Antiochus I, and possibly Antiochus II.¹⁵³ After this extremely timid introduction, Seleucus III extends the use of this distinctive style. It was first utilised at a temporary subsidiary mint to Antioch-on-the-Orontes and then moved eastward and was produced at Nisibis (Figure 192).¹⁵⁴ This is at most a subtle hint towards divinity, although it is a striking feature given the care in which the diadem is normally depicted. The diadem is normally depicted on top of the hair, with no hair on top of the diadem. The only objects which cross over the diadem are the horns of Seleucus I and the wings from Antiochus Hierax's coinage. Both of these images have a connection to divinity, the bull horns signifying the divinity of the figure depicted and the wings tying the king into the tradition of their ancestor Perseus. There also appears to be a difference of iconography based on the metal in which the coin is minted. At Susa and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, the images of the living king with horns were produced on low value bronze coinage. The images which feature the horn-like hair occur on higher value silver coinage, as well as the images of the deified Seleucus. This may demonstrate a reluctance of the monarchs to put their horned portrait on coinage that would circulate broadly without some official recognition by a Greek city or sanctuary of their outstanding deeds or benefits bestowed on the city. This trend continued under the first part of Antiochus III's reign, where he initially adopted

¹⁵¹ McEwan 1981: 125; cf. Doty 1988: 95-96.

¹⁵² Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 866-867.

¹⁵³ For a discussion of the use of portraits which combine elements of the Hierax, Antiochus I and II as a method of legitimising rule see Chapter 3: 188ff.

¹⁵⁴ Antioch: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 925; Nisibis: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 942.

features of divinity on his bronze coinage, at the same mints, only later adding horns to his silver portraits.

IV.2.d: WINGED DIADEMS

The winged-diadem first appeared on the coinage of Antiochus II at Alexandria in Troas (Figure 64).¹⁵⁵ The type was a re-cutting of an original die from Abydus or Ilium so as to include the wing. The first suggestion for the origin of this type comes from the numismatist Babelon, in which he concludes that the device was originally adopted by Antiochus II in order to advertise the Antigonid claims of his mother and therefore his descent from Perseus.¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, MacDonald concluded that the device was local and reflected the links between the Seleucid monarchs and some local deity who was worshipped with wings on his head.¹⁵⁷ The mint produced three types under Antiochus II, the first type portrays a rejuvenated and idealised Antiochus I with a winged-diadem (Figure 193), the second portrays Antiochus II with a winged-diadem (Figure 64) and the third an idealised young king with the winged-diadem (Figure 66).¹⁵⁸ The final portrait may have been produced under Antiochus Hierax, as unidentifiable heads of young kings seem to be a distinctive feature of his reign. We, therefore, have a series of coins that represent Antiochus I and II as clearly linked to a divinity, either to a local god or to Perseus.

The number of mints producing winged-diadem portraits expanded under Antiochus Hierax to include Lampsacus (one type, from a recut die),¹⁵⁹ Ilium (two types, similar in type to those from Alexandria Troas),¹⁶⁰ Alexandria Troas (twelve types),¹⁶¹ and one type that may have come from Abydus (Figure 141 and Figure 142).¹⁶² These types can be broken down into two sets of mints, those from Abydus and Lampsacus and those from Ilium and Alexandria Troas. The types from Alexandria Troas clearly represent an iconographic programme that was initiated at the mint; the types from Ilium given their similarity are a reflection of this programme at a nearby mint. Lampsacus and Abydus are more difficult to interpret as they each only issued a single version of the winged-

¹⁵⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 491.

¹⁵⁶ Babelon 1890: lv-lvi.

¹⁵⁷ MacDonald 1903: 101-102.

¹⁵⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 490-492.

¹⁵⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 850.

¹⁶⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 871-872.

¹⁶¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 874-886.

¹⁶² Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 843.

diadem type. Furthermore, in each of these types only a young king is identified, whereas at Alexandria Troas both Antiochus I and Hierax (the young king) wear the peculiar diadem. Perhaps, both the coins from Lampsacus and Abydus with their brief use of winged-diadem imitated the types from Alexandria Troas.

The use of the winged-diadem therefore appears peculiar to Alexandria Troas and some neighbouring cities, and therefore represented a local cult. However, there is no other evidence for this cult. Furthermore, the choice of kings represented is interesting for our analysis of ruler cult. Under Antiochus II, both Antiochus I and Antiochus II were represented wearing the special diadem. Therefore, it is probable that both kings were deified. As the type comes from an official mint, it is evidence for the royal court adopting and expanding the iconography of a local cult in order to present the kings as divine. This interaction between the local cult and the royal presentation of the king is the result of the same types of influence which led the kings and the cities to use the same divine titles. As this shows official recognition of the kings as linked with a divinity, the inclusion of the young king raises the interesting question of who it is meant to represent. As the young king depicted on Hierax's coinage is usually thought to depict Hierax himself, it stands to reason that Hierax was thus represented on the coinage of his father. This is problematic for several reasons. One is that the son of the living king would have been placed on the obverse of his father's coinage without also being co-ruler. This is unparalleled elsewhere in the kingdom. Secondly, Antiochus Hierax does not seem to be considered the first option for succession. That prospect falls either to his older brother the future Seleucus II or to his younger half-brother the son of Berenice. The problem may be resolved by assigning the young king portraits to Hierax's reign.

During the reign of Hierax only two kings are depicted wearing the diadem, Antiochus I and the young king. The young king may either represent Hierax, or an idealised youth, or a fully rejuvenated Antiochus I, or Antiochus II. If all of the portraits of the mint represent Antiochus I, then his increasingly youthful appearance may suggest a closer connection with the ever youthful Apollo. However, despite the difficulties in determining the identity of the young figure, ideologically it makes the most sense that it represents Hierax, as all other Seleucid monarchs (or later claimants to the throne) placed their portrait on the obverse of their coinage.

Perhaps most interestingly, at Alexandria Troas during the reign of Antiochus Hierax, portraits of Antiochus II wearing the winged-diadem were noticeably absent, although his non-winged portrait continued to appear at other mints during Hierax’s reign. If there was a cult of the kings who were depicted wearing the winged diadem at Alexandria Troas that is suggested by this coinage, does the lack of a portrait of Antiochus II suggest that he was removed from the cult, while Hierax and Antiochus I remained. This proposition seems difficult to accept especially as Antiochus II was generally popular in Asia Minor and received cult elsewhere.¹⁶³ Perhaps, Hierax chose only to represent his deified grandfather due to his personal importance to Hierax, but the cult continued to honour all of the kings. The winged-diadem coinage suggests that the Antiochus II and Antiochus Hierax adopted some of the iconography of a local cult and used it to present themselves as associated with a divinity.

V: ANTIOCHUS III

V.1: COINAGE

One of the most striking features of Antiochus III’s silver coinage was his use of multiple portrait types. These portrait types are traditionally used to determine the chronology of Antiochus III’s coinage. Houghton and Lorber have argued that the portraits do not reflect the work of outstanding artists at particular mints whose work was then copied by less skilled craftsmen, but rather that the types reflect an official iconographic programme.¹⁶⁴ Houghton and Lorber have revised the chronology of Boehringer and of Newell into five basic types:¹⁶⁵

Type	Description	Date
Ai.	A young portrait with a large eye, hair in bangs over forehead, and a long sideburn.	c. 223-211
Aii.	A young portrait with a large eye and hair in bangs over forehead (no sideburn).	c. 223-211

¹⁶³ Appian, *Syr.* 65.

¹⁶⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 357.

¹⁶⁵ Adapted from: Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 357-360 contra Boehringer 1972: 73-98.

B.	A mature portrait with a smaller and the beginnings of a receding hairline.	c. 211- c. 204 ¹⁶⁶
Ci.	Idealised portrait with fleshier features and thick hair; occurs only at special issues of Antioch and Seleucia.	c. 204- 197
Cii.	Idealised portrait, godlike image of florid style, based on Ci. but with large, staring eye, horn-like lock (or horn) over the diadem, motion in the hair and the ends of the diadem.	c. 204- 197
D.	Similar to Cii., but more realistic likeness of middle-aged Antiochus III and horn not consistently present.	c. 197- 192/90
E.	Elderly portrait with receding hair and no horn.	c. 192/90

As Houghton and Lorber note this full series of portrait types was only present at Antioch. Most other mints had their own distinctive portrait styles which were often related to those at Antioch. The appearance of the idealised portrait of Antiochus III which includes the horn-like hair has been tentatively linked to the creation of the royal cult around 204.¹⁶⁷ This is problematic for two reasons. First, it is likely that if Antiochus III created the cult he did so before 209.¹⁶⁸ Second, given the array of idealised portraits of earlier Seleucid kings, in particular Antiochus Hierax but also Antiochus II, the Antiochus III's portrait appears to assert his divinity. These portrait coins (Houghton and Lorber type Ci/Cii) assert Antiochus III's divinity in two ways, first through the idealisation of his figures and second through the horn. The idealisation of figures may suggest that the king is divine but it seems impossible to extend the evidence further than this. The addition of horns to these portraits places the king firmly

¹⁶⁶ Houghton and Lorber excluded the years 208-204 from their table (no reason is given and it may be a typographical error). The arguments for 204 as the starting date of type C is convincing, as it can celebrate Antiochus' success in the east as well as his celebration of his twentieth year as king in Babylon. Therefore, we are left with two options, to extend type B to 204 or to return to Boehringer's chronology for types A and B. Houghton and Lorber argue that both types B and C were introduced after major military campaigns. As the dating for type C seems fairly convincing, it is necessary to examine the possible conditions for type B. Boehringer proposed a dating of 208 – 203 for this type. This would coincide with Antiochus' Bactrian campaign. Houghton and Lorber proposed the date of 211 which coincides with the end of the Armenian campaign. The end of a campaign as the point at which a new type was introduced seems more in line with the introduction of the other Antiochus III types, thus it may be better to keep Houghton and Lorber's starting date for of 211 for type B. Therefore, it is necessary to extend the use of this type to at least 204.

¹⁶⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 361.

¹⁶⁸ For the most recent summary see Van Nuffelen 2004, who tentatively suggests a date slightly before 209; for a date of c. 205 see Robert and Robert 1983: 168, n. 40; for a date that is not earlier than 193 see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 209-210; Ma 2000: 64 n. 47 argues that the text can support an earlier date. See below for the reassertion of the possibility that the cult existed before Antiochus III and he re-organised the cult and added to it the institution of high-priest of all the temples under which the re-organised cult authority fell.

in the tradition of his ancestors and within the divine sphere. The broad range of mints at which these coins were produced suggests a definite shift of policy. Rather than the relatively restricted aspirations to divinity of the earlier Seleucid kings, Antiochus III's portrait occurs at Lysimachia in Thrace, Uncertain Mint 56 (perhaps Sardis), "Sardis", Uncertain Mint 57 (perhaps Synnada), Soloi, Tarsus, Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Uncertain Mint 65 (in Commagene or Northern Syria), ΔI Mint in Syria, a northern Mesopotamian mint, Nisibis, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, and Uncertain Mint 71 (Figure 194).¹⁶⁹ This coinage therefore spanned the entire empire and therefore was probably related to a change in royal cult. However, these were not the first portraits which Antiochus III commissioned of himself which featured divine attributes. As discussed below, Antiochus had already issued around 220 BC coins at Susa which claimed divinity. This suggests that a cult may have existed for Antiochus III at the earlier date, but that it took a new more broadly publicised form around 204.

The first appearance of horns which suggested Antiochus III's divinity appeared at Susa shortly after his defeat of the rebellious satrap Molon (220 BC) and his retaking of the city. At first a series of bronze coinage recorded both his victory and his divinity; this image was then extended to the silver coinage. The series features a collection of both victory images and traditional Seleucid images. One type features the diademed horned head of Antiochus III with youthful features on the obverse and Nike advancing to left crowning the royal name in the legend and holding a palm branch, the latter a clear indication of martial victory and the former of Antiochus III's divinity (Figure 168).¹⁷⁰ A second victory type again features a horned portrait of Antiochus III on the obverse and an image of Athena enthroned crowning the royal legend and holding a spear and shield resting on the back of the throne (Figure 179).¹⁷¹ The following three types relate to the traditional Seleucid patron Apollo and his sister Artemis while also asserting the king's divinity. On the obverse of two types the diademed, draped and horned bust of

¹⁶⁹ Lysimachia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 960; Uncertain Mint 56: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 985; "Sardes": Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 994-998; Uncertain mint 57: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1005-1006; Soli: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1019, 1022; Tarsus: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1029-1030; Antioch-on-the-Orontes: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1044-1045, 1047; Uncertain Mint 65: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1103-1106; ΔI Mint: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1109-1111; Northern Mesopotamian Mint: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1114-1115; Nisibis: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1129; Unattributed Mesopotamian/Western: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1142, 1144; Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1160-1161, 1167, 1170 (numbers 1160-1161 occur on portrait type Ai and likely date to a date close to the repression of the revolt of Molon and are likely related to the series at Susa); Uncertain Mint 71: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1196; Unattributed with affinity towards Seleucia: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1200.

¹⁷⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1216-1217.

¹⁷¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1218-1219.

Antiochus III faces three quarters right, while the reverse features Artemis as a huntress standing and the other type features Apollo standing testing an arrow (Figure 153).¹⁷² The obverse of these issues recall the types of Seleucus II (Figure 128) and also feature the three-quarter busts peculiar to the eastern mints. The final Apollo type again features the profile bust of Antiochus III with both a diadem and horns, and the traditional Seleucid Apollo-on-the-omphalos reverse (Figure 150).¹⁷³ This iconography was then added to the silver coinage at the mint. Before Molon's revolt Antiochus III was depicted without horns, after the defeat of the revolt horns were added to the portrayal of the king. In the first series after regaining control of Susa, a small horn appears above Antiochus III's ear.¹⁷⁴ This horn was then used on all subsequent portraits of Antiochus at the mint.¹⁷⁵ This coinage must have begun shortly after the defeat of Molon in 220 and therefore it suggests that Antiochus was willing to deify himself at this date early in his reign, but only after a significant victory. The appearance of this horn on silver is significant in that while the bronze coinage may have reflected a local tradition at Susa, beginning with Seleucus II and adopted by both of his sons, the appearance on higher value coinage must reflect a desire for wider dissemination of this image.

The next set of images which suggest Antiochus III's divinity appeared on the bronze coinage of Antioch-on-the-Orontes. In three series of coinage beginning near the beginning of his reign (223 BC) Antiochus III was represented wearing the laurel wreath of Apollo (Figure 149 and Figure 152).¹⁷⁶ These portraits conflated the Seleucid monarch with his patron deity in a way that had not been seen before in the empire. The addition of the laurel crown clearly marks Antiochus III as divine, as well as pairing the king with Apollo who appears on the reverse of all types except for a short lived issue which features Nike.¹⁷⁷ This short-lived issue has clear associations with a military victory and may have been related to the victorious Armenian campaign and therefore issued c. 211-210.¹⁷⁸ The close association between Antiochus III and Apollo is not unexpected given the traditional relationship between the kings and their patron god, but this adoption of Apollo's attributes (the laurel crown) does not appear under any other

¹⁷² Artemis: Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1220-1221; Apollo: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1222.

¹⁷³ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1223.

¹⁷⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1209.

¹⁷⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1210-1215.

¹⁷⁶ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1048-1049; 1051-1055; 1058; Antiochus III is represented similarly on bronzes from a military mint in Coele-Syria from about 202, cf. Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1084-1085 and at the "Rose" Mint: Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 1123-1125.

¹⁷⁷ Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1053.

¹⁷⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2002: p. 401.

earlier Seleucid king nor does it appear elsewhere in the propaganda of Antiochus III. It is odd that Antiochus III chose to create an image which could be interpreted as linking himself to a particular god even if this was Apollo. The only instances of Seleucid kings linked to specific gods are Seleucus I (Zeus) and Antiochus I (Apollo) and both of these associations are first securely attested after the reign of Antiochus III. In fact these titles resulted from a close association with these two particular kings with their own patron divinities that was recognised by their successors.¹⁷⁹ Otherwise, the syncretisation of Seleucid royalty with a specific divinity only occurred within the female line. It is interesting that at this early stage in Antiochus III's career he had already associated himself with the Seleucid patron god; this suggests that Antiochus III had a more prominent vision of his own divinity than the earlier Seleucid monarchs. However, the connection with Apollo may suggest that he was uncomfortable asserting his own divinity before he had achieved military success.

What is evident from Seleucid coinage is that Antiochus III was not introducing radically new types as would be expected if he was creating the royal cult *ex nihilo*. Rather Antiochus III drew on traditions that had clearly begun under his father and uncle in their power struggle and which had been continued in a limited fashion by his brother. Furthermore, the tradition on which Antiochus drew had its origins in the reign of Antiochus I. Antiochus III, therefore, was not creating a new type of iconography in order to distinguish the new cult of himself and his ancestors, rather the only real shift is that of scope. Whereas the portraits with divine elements of earlier monarchs had been mostly limited to bronze coinage or to ambiguous imagery, the portraits of Antiochus III with divine elements eventually spanned the entire empire.

V.2: EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

During the reign of Antiochus III the first indisputable evidence for a centrally organised cult of the Seleucid kings emerges. Nevertheless, the evidence under Antiochus III remains extremely limited and consists of a letter to Seleucid satraps from February/March 193 of which three examples have been found, one from Caria and two from Iran.¹⁸⁰ In the letter Antiochus III ordered the creation of a high-priest for his wife Laodice along the same lines as that which already exists for the king and his ancestors:

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Chapters 1 and 2 for the links between Seleucus I and Zeus and Antiochus I and Apollo.

¹⁸⁰ *OGIS* 224; *RC* 37; Robert 1949: 5-29; see now Ma 2000: 354-356.

just as high-priests of us are appointed throughout the kingdom, so there should be established, in the same places, high-priestesses of her also, who will wear golden crowns bearing her image, and be inscribed in the contracts after the high-priests of our ancestors and of us.¹⁸¹
-Ma 2000, no. 37 ll. 22-26 (My translation)

Van Nuffelen has recently demonstrated that there are four possible dates for the creation of this ruler cult: shortly before 193, c. 204, slightly before 209, or that it was a foundation of Antiochus I and reorganised by Antiochus III in 193.¹⁸² The epigraphic evidence clearly shows that a cult existed in 193, and it also suggests that the cult of the king and his ancestors existed before this date. The date of c. 204 has been preferred by Ma as the “likeliest date”¹⁸³ as it coincides with the return of Antiochus from his anabasis to the upper satrapies and closely precedes his adoption of the title *Megas* (the great). There is limited evidence which suggests that the cult may have existed (or been reorganised) shortly before 209.

An inscription published by Malay in 1987 from modern Balikesir includes a letter dated to c. 209 from Antiochus III to Zeuxis, who was responsible for the cis-Tauric territories, appointing Nikanor as “high-priest of the all of the sanctuaries beyond the Taurus Mountains”.¹⁸⁴ In a separate decree from Xanthos, Jeanne and Louis Robert have argued that the high-priest (again Nikanor) is the eponymous priest and that his role was similar to that of the high priest of the royal cult because his name preceded that of the municipal priests of the royal cult.¹⁸⁵ There is one other instance of a high-priest of a satrapy (or similar administrative region), in this case Ptolemy the son of Thrasesas who had abandoned the Ptolemaic cause and entered Seleucid royal service and was appointed high-priest of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia.¹⁸⁶ The key question arises of whether the high-priest of the sanctuaries was only the addition of a supervisor to the priests of the empire, or whether he served as the high priest of the royal cult as well. Ma has argued that the institution of the high-priest of all the sanctuaries does not

¹⁸¹ Ma 2000, no. 37 ll. 22-26: κρ]ίνομεν δὲ καθάπερ [ἡμ]ῶν [ἀπο]δείκ[ν]υ[ν]ται κ]ατὰ τὴν βασιλεί[αν ἀ]ρ[χ]ιερεῖς, καὶ ταύτης καθίστασθαι [ἐν] τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις ἀρχιερείας, αἱ φο[ρ]ή[σου]σιν στεφάνους χρυσοῦς ἔχοντας [εἰκόνας ἀ]τῆς, ἐπιγραφῆσονται δὲ καὶ ἐν [τοῖς] συναλλάγμασι μετὰ τοὺς τῶν [προγόν]ων καὶ ἡμῶν ἀρχιερεῖς. Cf. *OGIS* 224

¹⁸² Van Nuffelen 2004: 278-279.

¹⁸³ Ma 2000: 356.

¹⁸⁴ *SEG* 37: 1010 ἀποδεδε[ίχα]μεν ἐν τῇ ἐ[πέ]κεινα τοῦ Ταύρου ὅσπερ αὐτὸς ἠξίωσεν ἀρχιερέα τῶν ἱερῶν πάντων.

¹⁸⁵ Robert and Robert 1983: p. 146-166; Van Nuffelen 2004: 280.

¹⁸⁶ *OGIS* 230; Robert and Robert 1970: n. 627 (date of before 197); as early as 201: Gera 1987: 66-73; Piejko 1991a: 245-259; Van Nuffelen 2004: 281; Grainger 1996: 333.

involve a cult of the Seleucid rulers.¹⁸⁷ Ma's argument in part depends on the notion that there was no centralised ruler cult for the Seleucid kings before 204 and therefore the office of high-priest cannot be associated with that of ruler-cult until the latter is established. However, as van Nuffelen has shown, the separation between "high-priest of the king" and "high-priest of all of the temples" is not as clear as Ma suggests. In one of the covering letters to the three letters on the Laodice cult, the introduction of Anaximbrotos to Dionytas reads τῆς βασιλίσσης ἀρχιέρειαν τῶν ἐν τῇ σατραπείᾳ.¹⁸⁸ The problem of interpretation arises due to the double genitive, in particular the genitive plural τῶν. Welles provided τόπων and interpreted the passage as "high-priestess of the queen in the satrapy".¹⁸⁹ Ma rejects the interpretation of Welles and adopts the vaguer "high-priestess of the queen for the rites in the satrapy".¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, van Nuffelen resurrects the interpretation of Robert and supplies ἱερῶν and thus interprets the passage as "grande-prêtesse de la reine et des temples dans la satrapie."¹⁹¹ If van Nuffelen is correct in his assertion, and that the office of high-priest of all of the temples and the high-priest of the royal cult were the same office, then we are still left with three options: 1) the office of high-priest of all the sanctuaries was created in 209 and the office of high-priest of the royal cult was added to it when it was created in 204; 2) the office of high-priest of all the sanctuaries and the office of high priest of the royal cult were both created in 209; 3) Antiochus III reorganised the pre-existing Seleucid royal cult and added it to his new office of high-priest of all the sanctuaries when that office was created in 209. The argument for either of the first two possibilities over each other is weak and but neither can be excluded completely without the discovery of new evidence.¹⁹²

In order to dismiss the third argument, van Nuffelen breaks down the components of the cult into several categories which would have been necessary for Seleucid ruler cult to have existed prior to the reign of Antiochus III. These include the idea that the cult must have had a clearly defined notion of ancestors, that these ancestors would have had cult established in a consistent manner and that the cult of the empire would have been separate from a civic cult.¹⁹³ Van Nuffelen's requirements are generally logical, but he

¹⁸⁷ Ma 2000: 26-33.

¹⁸⁸ *OGIS* 224: 1. 5.

¹⁸⁹ *RC* p. 163-4 n. 15.

¹⁹⁰ Ma 2000: 355.

¹⁹¹ Van Nuffelen 2004: 282; cf. Robert 1949: 18, n. 4.

¹⁹² Cf. Van Nuffelen 2004: 300-301.

¹⁹³ Van Nuffelen 2004.

too readily rejects the evidence for these criteria before the reign of Antiochus III largely owing to his reliance on literary and epigraphic evidence. Van Nuffelen's requirement of a consistent cult is the most problematic for the Seleucids. This dissertation has attempted to show that even in cases where the Seleucid kings created apparent consistency, this was tempered by a strong reliance on local tradition. It seems more likely that if a central Seleucid cult existed before the reign of Antiochus III it would have reflected local conditions rather than be consistently presented.

The set of ancestors for the cult can fairly safely be established. A decree from Antioch-in-Persia lists a priest of Seleucus [I] *Nicator*, Antiochus [I] *Soter*, Antiochus [II] *Theos*, Seleucus [II] *Callinicus*, King Seleucus [III], Antiochus [III] *Theos*, and Antiochus the son.¹⁹⁴ This document must date after the association of Antiochus the son as co-ruler with Antiochus III. The lack of the title *Megas* for Antiochus III suggests a date before his assumption of the title in 202.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, an inscription from Seleucia-in-Pieria lists two sets of priests for the royal ancestors under Seleucus IV:¹⁹⁶ these include a priest of Seleucus [I] *Zeus Nicator*, Antiochus [I] *Apollo Soter*, Antiochus [II] *Theos*, Seleucus [II] *Callinicus*, Seleucus [III] *Soter*, Antiochus [the son] and Antiochus [III] *Megas*, and a priest of King Seleucus [IV]. The second list is nearly identical except in that it does not include Seleucus [II] *Callinicus*. This is most likely an error in the inscription, where the repetition of the name Seleucus confused the inscriber, rather than an act of deliberate policy.¹⁹⁷ A decree from Teos lists a series of divine kings, Seleucus [I], Antiochus [III] *Megas*, Antiochus [I] *Soter*, Seleucus [III] *Theos*, Antiochus [III] *Megas*, Antiochus [II] *Theos*, Seleucus [IV] *Theos*, Antiochus [IV] *Theos Epiphanes*, and Demetrius [I] *Theos Soter*.¹⁹⁸ Interestingly, from this last and latest document Antiochus the son is not included in the list of honoured kings. This may suggest that he was removed from the list, or perhaps the scribal error resulting in the second Antiochus *Megas* should have read Antiochus the son.

Two further documents establish a cult of the royal ancestors without shedding additional light on their composition.¹⁹⁹ Another fragment from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris

¹⁹⁴ *OGIS* 233.

¹⁹⁵ c.208-205.

¹⁹⁶ *OGIS* 245.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Van Nuffelen 2004: 292.

¹⁹⁸ *OGIS* 246.

¹⁹⁹ *SEG* 8 n. 33; *SEG* 8 n. 96.

may relate to the civic cult of the city rather than centralised ruler cult.²⁰⁰ Therefore the list of official royal ancestors of the Seleucids during the reigns of Antiochus III and Seleucus IV consisted of Seleucus I, Antiochus I, Antiochus II, Seleucus II, Seleucus III, and the living king. The notable missing element which one could expect from this list is Alexander the Great. Van Nuffelen argues that when Antiochus III established the royal cult the process of legitimating the Seleucid dynasty was already complete and he had no need to include the conqueror.²⁰¹ I have argued that the break with Alexander had already begun under Seleucus I who sought to establish an independent basis for his own legitimacy.²⁰² This work appears to have been complete by the reign of Antiochus I who looked to his father as divine founder of the dynasty rather than to Alexander, and the exclusion of Alexander from the list of ancestors cannot be used as a dating criterion. It therefore seems unnecessary to place this development in the reign of Antiochus III, as this list of ancestors could easily have been provided by any of the preceding Seleucid kings. In fact, the deification and honouring of the previous Seleucid monarchs on a centralised platform seems evident from the coinage of Antiochus I (who honoured a deified Seleucus I), Antiochus II (whose portrait is often comparable to Antiochus I), Seleucus II (who appears to have preferred the image of Seleucus I to that of Antiochus I) and Antiochus Hierax (who appears to assimilate himself both to Antiochus I and to Antiochus II).²⁰³ Van Nuffelen goes further and sees the development of divine epithets of the kings as a specific codification of Antiochus III in his creation of the royal cult.

The divine epithets attached to the Seleucid kings in this list are for the most part familiar from modern works as well as from Appian and Polybius.²⁰⁴ There are two important considerations to take into account when using these epithets as evidence for the creation of a centralised ruler cult. First, when did each individual epithet come into use? Second, are the individual epithets related to a cult of the king and if so is this always the case? Van Nuffelen has argued that the individual epithets may have existed in certain cases before the reign of Antiochus III, but it was during his reign that they were firmly established and codified.²⁰⁵ I suggest that these epithets often originated

²⁰⁰ Van Nuffelen 2001.

²⁰¹ Van Nuffelen 2004: 293.

²⁰² See Chapter 1.

²⁰³ See above.

²⁰⁴ For example, all the Seleucid kings listed in Grainger 1997 and Ogden 1999 are given their divine titles; Appian, *Syr.* 65; e.g. Polybius 2.71; Strabo 16.2.4.

²⁰⁵ Van Nuffelen 2004: 293-298.

from the cities or the army and were adopted into an official cult either in the lifetime of the king or more likely that of his successor. Van Nuffelen has noted that none of these epithets were used by the Seleucid monarchs in any of the letters except during the reign Antiochus III and later kings. However, this description also generally holds true for the Ptolemaic house apart from the notable exception of Ptolemy II.²⁰⁶ It seems to be the case that these divine epithets were not part of the normal discourse of the royal court until after the reign of Antiochus III, even when they had been granted to the kings by the Greek cities. Perhaps, these titles were restricted to limited cultic contexts and therefore were not considered part of the normal titles of the king.²⁰⁷ At first glance, this appears to change during the reign of Antiochus III who adopts the title *Megas* in 202 and then attached it to the title βασιλεὺς μέγας (Great King).²⁰⁸ Bevan must be at least partially correct in asserting that the change to βασιλεὺς μέγας represents the adoption of a specific title with specific eastern connotations of power, rather than simply a cult epithet.²⁰⁹ It may be the case that the reason Antiochus III's title *Megas* appears in contexts where titles had not otherwise appeared is the nature of the title itself with its specific worldly connotations rather than a simply a divine title. If this is the case, then we must wait for the reign of Antiochus IV for the first appearance of the specifically cultic titles of the king outside of a cultic context. Therefore, even under Antiochus III and his successor Seleucus IV, we still have this same habit of presentation that existed under the earlier Seleucids.

Now let us turn to the specific epithets for the kings. In the priest lists Seleucus I was given the title *Nicator*. This title is attested in an inscription from Athens, *OGIS* 413, which reads: βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Ἀντιόχου Νικάτωρ.²¹⁰ It is unclear whether this inscription predates Antiochus III, but is a reflection of the official cult title for the king. As we have seen above, Seleucus was honoured with different titles at Lemnos where he was called *Soter* (Saviour) and he was given an unknown title at Ilium which Robert has restored as *Nicator*.²¹¹ The main source for modern interpretations of this title is Appian, who gives two explanations for the title, the defeat of Nikanor, which Appian rejects, and that the title is adopted for his various victories (in this case unspecified).²¹²

²⁰⁶ Van Nuffelen 2004: 294; for the Ptolemies see Johnson 1999.

²⁰⁷ Habicht 1970: 156-159.

²⁰⁸ Van Nuffelen 2004: 295; chronology: Ma 2000: 272-276; Will 1979-1982: vol 2. p. 66.

²⁰⁹ Bevan 1902a.

²¹⁰ *OGIS* 413: King Seleucus Nicator son of Antiochus; cf. Polybius. 10.27.11.

²¹¹ See above.

²¹² Appian, *Syr.* 57.

Furthermore, Appian says that the shrine which Antiochus I established for his father is called the *Nicatorium*.²¹³ While the shrine had received this title by the time Appian was writing, it does not provide direct evidence for the original name of the building. Van Nuffelen must be correct in asserting that the title did not exist during Seleucus' lifetime and we must be careful in reading back the title before it is attested.²¹⁴ However, this does not preclude the possibility that the title was the one originally established by Antiochus I for the cult of his father, as it can be related to titles for Seleucus' patron deity Zeus and may allude to his various victories, the underlying precondition of his deification.

The cult title that Antiochus I received in the priest lists, *Soter*, is more securely attested. He received this title posthumously at Teos,²¹⁵ Bargylia,²¹⁶ Antioch-in-Persia (during the reign of Antiochus III, c. 205),²¹⁷ and at Smyrna²¹⁸ he was both God (*Theos*) and Saviour (*Soter*).²¹⁹ The title also appeared on the coinage issued at Antioch in the period after the death of Antiochus II.²²⁰ The adoption of this title on coinage is the clearest sign that his successors had selected this term as Antiochus' particular divine epithet at least during the reign of Seleucus II, and if the coinage is correctly dated to the 240s then the title was likely developed during the reign of Antiochus II. If this is the case, then it is not impossible that a fragment which includes this cult title may have come from the reign of Antiochus II rather than Antiochus III or later.²²¹ It seems likely that the cult title *Soter* was codified in official Seleucid cultic propaganda by at the latest the reign of Seleucus II.

The evidence for Antiochus II's title *Theos* is more limited. His title is attested in two examples from Miletus²²² and from the reign of Seleucus II at Smyrna.²²³ The

²¹³ Appian, *Syr.* 65.

²¹⁴ Van Nuffelen 2004: 294.

²¹⁵ *CIG* 3075.

²¹⁶ *Syll.*³ 426.

²¹⁷ *OGIS* 233, l. 15.

²¹⁸ *OGIS* 229.

²¹⁹ Although Coşkun Forthcoming has questioned the attribution of the cults at Smyrna and Bargylia to Antiochus I, it is not entirely clear that they should not be associated with Antiochus I, albeit cautiously.

²²⁰ Cf. Chapter 4: 169ff.

²²¹ For the original attribution to Antiochus II see: McDowell 1935: 258-259; for dating to the reign of Antiochus III see: Rostovzeff 1935: 66 n. 2; Hopkins 1961 argues that the stelae should be dated to the reign of Demetrius II, and the inclusion of the first two Seleucid kings with their divine titles was a deliberate attempt to recall his family line's connection to the first kings *Nicator* and *Soter* rather than through the line of Antiochus IV. This would provide further evidence for the use of the cult titles in the dynastic cult, although not for their first appearance; Robert and Robert 1963: n. 293.

²²² Appian, *Syr.* 65; *OGIS* 226.

relationship of the title to Antiochus II at Smyrna can either suggest a generally deified state for Antiochus II or can refer to the title that he adopted from Miletus. The evidence from Appian and the later official cult suggests the second option.

The only evidence we have for an epithet for Seleucus II comes from the literary record, where he is surnamed *Callinicus*²²⁴ and is given the nickname *Pogon*, bearded. It is thus impossible to know when these epithets were developed, although it is likely that they both have their origins in his lifetime. Seleucus II is the first Seleucid king to appear bearded on his coinage, this undoubtedly contributed to his nickname, and perhaps his victories in the east contributed to his troops assigning him the epithet, *Callinicus*. At the same time, it is clear that while Antiochus Hierax attempted to portray himself as a legitimate Seleucid king on this coinage and perhaps even hinted at his own divinity, unsurprisingly, he was not included in the dynastic cult.

There is even less evidence for Seleucus III's titles. This is due to his short reign and lack of any known military victories. In the priest lists mentioned above he is referred to by the title *Soter*. Van Nuffelen argues, correctly, that “Antiochus III a dû chercher une épithète por ce roi éphémère, >>Sauveur<< ayant assez de connotations apolliniennes, étant populaire dans la dynastie et disant beaucoup sans rien signifier de spécifique”.²²⁵ This does not seem out of line with the earlier practice which I have suggested that the epithets were chosen by the succeeding king, often based on titles which they have received from a city or from the army, and was not part of a general codification of the titles by Antiochus III.

It seems possible to conclude from this evidence that the official titles from the existing priest lists drew on pre-existing divine epithets that were used prior to the reign of Antiochus III, except in the case of his immediate predecessor. Therefore, it appears that Antiochus III was not creating a new list of divine epithets (except for Seleucus III). The second problem, whether these epithets were related to a general cult of the kings is more difficult. Given the apparent similarity and general continuity of epithets across a number of cities, it seems possible that beginning either at some point before or during the reign of Seleucus II some form of royal cult was established to which successive

²²³ *I. Smyrna 573 = OGIS 229 line 9.*

²²⁴ *Callinicus*: Appian, *Syr.* 66; Trog. *Prol.* 26; Polybius 5.40.4; Porphyry *FrGHist* 260 F 32.

²²⁵ Van Nuffelen 2004: 295.

kings would have been added (most likely upon their deaths). However, it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions from the lacunose evidence.

VI: CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is possible to say with certainty a few things and then to draw some possible inferences. Before the reign of Antiochus III it is clear that:

- The Seleucid kings certainly received civic cults from the cities of Asia Minor.
- Seleucus I and Antiochus I were portrayed as divine on the coinage of their successors.
- It is possible that Antiochus I was honoured as divine at Babylon during his own lifetime.
- It is possible that beginning with Seleucus II the Seleucid kings were honoured with divine rights at Uruk and Babylon.
- The Seleucid kings beginning with Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus II portrayed themselves with divine attributes on their coinage.
- Stratonice was assimilated with Aphrodite and received cult (although, except at Babylon, this may have been a civic cult).

While this does not provide conclusive evidence for a systematic cult of the Seleucid kings, we can suggest that a cult existed from this variety of honours. We can now return to the possible dates for the creation of a royal cult suggested by van Nuffelen: shortly before 193, c. 204, slightly before 209, or that it was a foundation of Antiochus I and reorganised by Antiochus III in 193.²²⁶ The best date therefore appears to be a carefully modified form of the last option. A central cult or at least a recognition of the divinity of the kings in a particular form existed for the Seleucid kings before the reign of Antiochus III and that in 193 Antiochus III made changes to this cult by the addition of his wife Laodice. It is also possible that Antiochus III had earlier in his reign adopted a loosely defined set of officially supported divine honours into a system that was similar to the centrally organised system of the Ptolemies. This leaves us with a three-stage process: each king was officially recognised as divine either during his lifetime or shortly after his death, although the extent of this recognition and its timing may have varied. This may have included an official cult in addition to those in the cities of Asia

²²⁶ Van Nuffelen 2004: 278-279.

Minor. The second step may have occurred at some point early in the reign of Antiochus III when these cults were combined into a single system (unless the evidence from Babylon from the reign of Seleucus III was the first manifestation of this cult in a local context). And a final stage in which this cult was expanded to include Laodice and was put under the care of the various high priest(esses).

CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued that the iconography on Seleucid coins was created in order to appeal to the various ethnic groups within the empire and therefore to reinforce the legitimacy of the dynasty. This thesis first examined the iconography of Seleucus I and argued that, as Seleucus became more secure in his rule, he began to develop a new iconography that was a blend of Alexander's and his own. This iconography placed a heavy emphasis on Zeus but also included a number of other gods. This pattern changed under Antiochus I. He replaced the Zeus of Alexander and of Seleucus with Apollo-on-the-omphalos. At approximately the same time, a dynastic myth of descent from Apollo was created and spread. This thesis has also argued that in addition to the traditional view that Apollo was readily identifiable to the Greco-Macedonians within the empire he was also accessible to the Babylonians through the god Nabû and to the Persians as a Greek (or Macedonian) version of the reigning king. This syllepsis made Apollo an ideal figure to represent the multi-ethnic ruling house and to speak to multiple ethnicities as one. This may also explain the dynasty's reluctance to deviate from the iconography established by Antiochus I.

In addition to Apollo-on-the-omphalos several other iconographic features reappear through the reigns of the various kings which suggest a deliberate attempt to advertise dynastic continuity. The horned-horse and the anchor first appeared during the reign of Seleucus I. Both of these symbols develop into badges for the Seleucid house and should usually be connected with Seleucus I. These symbols were used individually, together and in conjunction with Apollo symbolism. Under Antiochus II and Seleucus II a tripod rests on an anchor, this combines both the Apollo symbolism of Antiochus I and the personal anchor of Seleucus I (Figure 68).¹ This iconography may have been an attempt to demonstrate the continuity of Seleucid power from Seleucus I to the reigning king.

Another way in which continuity and legitimacy was expressed was through the similarity between portrait types. The portraits of Antiochus II and Antiochus Hierax both show a great number of similarities to the portraits of Antiochus I. This ambiguity appears to be intentional and to suggest a continuity of power. As the similarities in

¹ Houghton and Lorber 2002: nos. 575, 665-666.

portraiture are more pronounced in the kings named Antiochus this suggests that it was a deliberate policy rather than simply family resemblance.

The final repeated iconographic feature is the use of bull horns. This thesis has argued that bull-horns and bull-horned helmets were used by the kings to mark their divinity. Furthermore, that these features were not solely accessible to a Greco-Macedonian audience, but rather that they were also Near Eastern in origin. The representation of the kings as divine may suggest that there existed a ruler cult in the Seleucid empire before the reign of Antiochus III. This thesis suggested that it may have come into being by the reign of Seleucus II at the latest. Furthermore, in light of the diverse possible interpretations of Seleucid coinage, ruler cult for the Seleucids need not have been as systematic as either Roman or Ptolemaic cult.

This re-evaluation of the possible audiences for Seleucid coinage should aid in explaining how the Seleucids dealt with the various populations of their empire. This thesis may be particularly valuable in re-assessing Antiochus IV's motives for re-introducing Zeus onto Seleucid coinage. As this thesis has shown, Zahle's suggestion that it was related to an attempt to be more inclusive of local populations² must now be rejected or modified to emphasise particular populations. The role of Apollo-Nabû may also reveal why Apollo was retained at eastern mints even while Zeus was introduced in the west. A comprehensive analysis of the iconography of Seleucus IV until the end of the dynasty is required to answer these questions.

² Zahle 1990: 127-128.

THE EARLY SELEUCIDS, THEIR GODS AND THEIR
COINS

Volume 2 of 2

Submitted by Kyle Glenn Erickson, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in Classics and Ancient History, December 2009.

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by this or any other University.

(signature)

FIGURES

Figures are not to scale

FIGURE 1: Seleucus I, gold stater, Apollo/Artemis in
Elephant *biga*



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 257

FIGURE 2: Seleucus I, bronze, Apollo/butting bull



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 148

FIGURE 3: Seleucus I, bronze, Apollo/horned horse
head



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 112

FIGURE 4: Seleucus I, bronze, Apollo/bull head



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 113

FIGURE 5: Seleucus I, bronze, Apollo/Athena Promachos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 15

FIGURE 6: Seleucus I, bronze, Apollo/tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 18

FIGURE 7: Seleucus I, bronze, Apollo/tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 19

FIGURE 8: Seleucus I, bronze, Apollo/cithara



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 20

FIGURE 9: Lysimachus, tetradrachm, divine Alexander/Athena with Nike



SNG, Great Britain, Vol I, Part I.
The Collection of Capt. E.G. Spencer-Churchill,
1931, no. 106

FIGURE 10: Demetrius Poliorcetes, tetradrachm, Nike on the prow of a ship/Poseidon



SNG, Great Britain, Vol I, Part I.
The Collection of Capt. E.G. Spencer-Churchill,
1931, no. 136

FIGURE 11: Seleucus I, tetradrachm, horned horse/elephant



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1

FIGURE 12: Seleucus I, bronze, Medusa/bull



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 8

FIGURE 13: Seleucus I, tetradrachm, Heracles in lionskin headress/*Zeus Aetophoros*



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 36

FIGURE 14: Seleucus I, tetradrachm, Heracles in lionskin headress/*Zeus Nikephoros*



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 3

FIGURE 15: Seleucus I, tetradrachm, Zeus/elephant



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 187

FIGURE 16: Seleucus I, tetradrachm, Zeus/Athena in an elephant chariot



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 177

FIGURE 17: Seleucus I, silver obol, Atargatis/Atargatis enthroned



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 38

FIGURE 18: Antiochus I, tetradrachm, horned Seleucus I/horned horse head



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 322

FIGURE 19: Seleucus I, bronze, Medusa/butting bull



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 151

FIGURE 20: Seleucus I, tetradrachm, horned-helmeted head/Nike crowning a trophy



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 173

FIGURE 21: Seleucus I, tetradrachm, Heracles in lion-skin headdress/horned horseman on horned horse



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 203

FIGURE 22: Seleucus I, tetradrachm, Alexander in elephant headdress/Nike



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 183

FIGURE 23: Seleucus I, tetradrachm, Athena/Nike



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 12

FIGURE 24: Seleucus I, bronze, Athena/butting bull



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 125

FIGURE 25: Seleucus I, bronze, Athena/elephant



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 128

FIGURE 26: Seleucus I, bronze, Athena/warrior



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 303

FIGURE 27: Seleucus I, bronze, Heracles/Athena on ship



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 72

FIGURE 28: Seleucus I, bronze, Heracles/bow in case



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 243

FIGURE 29: Seleucus I, bronze, Heracles/elephant



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 265

FIGURE 30: Seleucus I, bronze, single Dioscurus/horse
forpart



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 269

FIGURE 31: Seleucus I, bronze, single Dioscuri/anchor



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 271

FIGURE 32: Seleucus I, tetradrachm, Ba'al/lion



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 88

FIGURE 33: Antiochus I, tetradrachm, Antiochus I/Apollo-on-omphalos with bow



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 327

FIGURE 34: Antiochus I, tetradrachm, Antiochus I/Apollo-on-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 325

FIGURE 35: Antiochus I, tetradrachm, Antiochus I/Apollo-on-omphalos single arrow



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 311.3

FIGURE 36: Antiochus I, tetradrachm, Antiochus I/Apollo-on-omphalos three arrows



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 311.2

FIGURE 37: Antiochus I, bronze, laureate
Apollo/anchor



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 326

FIGURE 38: Antiochus I, bronze, laureate
Apollo/cithara



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 424

FIGURE 39: Antiochus I, bronze, laureate
Apollo/omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 349

FIGURE 40: Antiochus I, bronze, laureate Apollo/tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 336

FIGURE 41: Antiochus I, bronze, Apollo/Athena



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 381

FIGURE 42: Antiochus I, bronze, Apollo/bull



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 354

FIGURE 43: Antiochus I, bronze, Apollo/anchor



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 359

FIGURE 44: Antiochus I, bronze, Apollo/horned helmet



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 448

FIGURE 45: Antiochus I, bronze, facing Apollo/Nike erecting a trophy



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 388

FIGURE 46: Antiochus I, bronze, Apollo/standing
Apollo



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 413

FIGURE 47: Achaemenid AR Siglos, Sardes Mint



Numismatik Lanz München Auction 144,
24th Nov. 2008, lot 327

FIGURE 48: Achaemenid AV Daric, Sardes Mint



ACANS Westmorland coll. no.32

FIGURE 49: Macedonian AV double daric, Babylon mint



ACANS Westmorland coll. no.26

FIGURE 50: Tarkumuwa/Datames, Cilician AR stater, Ba'al/archer



British Museum 1888, 1208.6

FIGURE 51: Arsaces I, AR drachm, Arsaces/archer



CNG Electronic auction 113, 11th May 2005, lot 54

FIGURE 52: Mithridates II, tetradrachm, Mithridates II/archer



CNG Triton XII, 6th Jan. 2009, lot 395

FIGURE 53: Antiochus I, bronze, Heracles in lionskin
headdress/horned horse



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 425

FIGURE 54: Antiochus I, bronze, Heracles in lionskin
headdress/bull



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 442

FIGURE 55: Antiochus I, bronze, Heracles in lionskin
headdress/club



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 445

FIGURE 56: Antiochus I, bronze, Heracles in lionskin
headdress/bow in bowcase



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 447

FIGURE 57: Antiochus I, tetradrachm, Antiochus
I/seated Heracles



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 313

FIGURE 58: Antiochus II, tetradrachm, elderly
Antiochus I/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 508

FIGURE 59: Antiochus II, tetradrachm, rejuvenated
Antiochus I/Apollo-on-the-omphalos with bow



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 540

FIGURE 60: Antiochus II, gold stater, partially
rejuvenated Antiochus I/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 499

FIGURE 61: Antiochus II, tetradrachm, Antiochus I/nude Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 484

FIGURE 62: Antiochus II, tetradrachm, Antiochus I/Apollo-on-the-omphalos with multiple arrows



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 518

FIGURE 63: Antiochus II, tetradrachm, Antiochus II/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 483

FIGURE 64: Antiochus II, tetradrachm, Antiochus II winged diadem/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 491

FIGURE 65: Antiochus II, tetradrachm, young king/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 514

FIGURE 66: Antiochus II, tetradrachm, young king winged diadem/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 492

FIGURE 67: Antiochus II, tetradrachm, Antiochus I/Apollo on lion-legged throne



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 507

FIGURE 68: Antiochus II, bronze, Apollo/tripod on anchor



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 522

FIGURE 69: Antiochus II, bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ facing Apollo/tripod



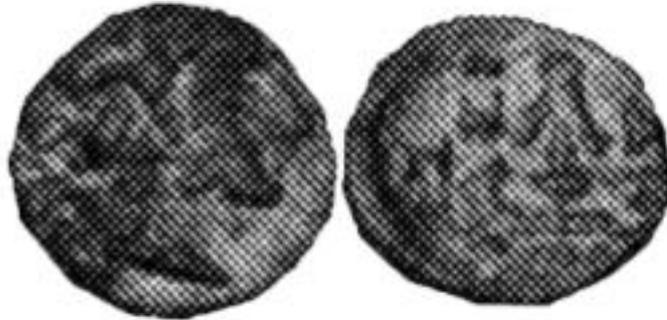
Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 530

FIGURE 70: Antiochus II, bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ facing
Apollo/tripod with horse legs



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 595

FIGURE 71: Antiochus II, bronze, Apollo/ anchor



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 531

FIGURE 72: Antiochus II, bronze, Antiochus II/Apollo
standing on omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 608

FIGURE 73: Antiochus II, bronze, horned helmet/raven with tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 610

FIGURE 74: Antiochus II, bronze, Apollo/cithara



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 528

FIGURE 75: Antiochus II, bronze, Apollo/Apollo-on-the-omphalos with cithara



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 572

FIGURE 76: Antiochus II, bronze, Athena/Apollo-on-the-omphalos with cithara and tall tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 591

FIGURE 77: Antiochus II, bronze, Apollo/Artemis



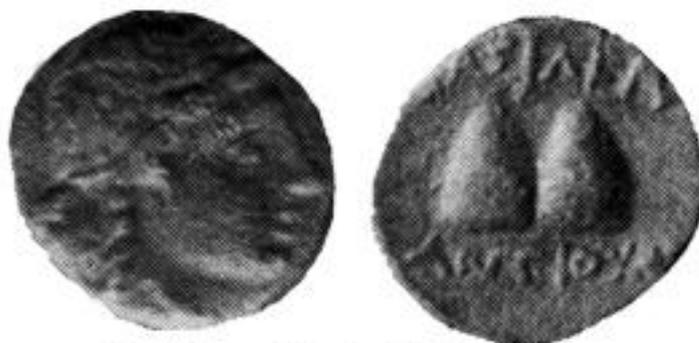
Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 598

FIGURE 78: Antiochus II, bronze, Apollo/Athena



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 588

FIGURE 79: Antiochus II, bronze, Apollo/caps of the Dioscuri



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 568

FIGURE 80: Antiochus II, bronze, Dioscuri/Athena



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 565

FIGURE 81: Antiochus II, bronze, Dioscuri/eagle on anchor



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 567

FIGURE 82: Antiochus II, bronze, Dioscuri/elephant



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 584

FIGURE 83: Antiochus II, bronze, Apollo/butting bull



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 542

FIGURE 84: Antiochus II, tetradrachm, Antiochus I/seated Heracles



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 516

FIGURE 85: Antiochus II, gold stater, Antiochus I/Athena



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 515

FIGURE 86: Antiochus II, gold stater, Athena/Nike



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 517

FIGURE 87: Antiochus II, tetradrachm, Heracles in lionskin headdress/Zeus *Aetophoros*



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 576

FIGURE 88: Antiochus *Soter* Coinage, tetradrachm,
Antiochus I/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 641

FIGURE 89: Antiochus *Soter* Coinage, gold stater,
Antiochus I/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 640

FIGURE 90: Antiochus *Soter* Coinage, bronze,
Antiochus I/anchor with caps of the Dioscuri



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 642

FIGURE 91: Seleucus II, tetradrachm, bearded Seleucus II/Standing Apollo



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 685

FIGURE 92: Seleucus II, gold stater, Seleucus II/Standing Apollo with bow



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 687

FIGURE 93: Seleucus II, tetradrachm, bearded Seleucus II/Standing Apollo with bow and tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 750

FIGURE 94: Seleucus II, tetradrachm, Athena/Standing Apollo with bow



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 691

FIGURE 95: Seleucus II, bronze, Artemis/Standing Apollo



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 673

FIGURE 96: Seleucus II, bronze, Heracles in lionskin headdress/Standing Apollo



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 825

FIGURE 97: Seleucus II, tetradrachm, Seleucus II/
Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 807

FIGURE 98: Seleucus II, bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ facing Seleucus II/
Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 802

FIGURE 99: Seleucus II, bronze, Apollo/Tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 696

FIGURE 100: Seleucus II, bronze, Apollo/Tripod with Satyr mask



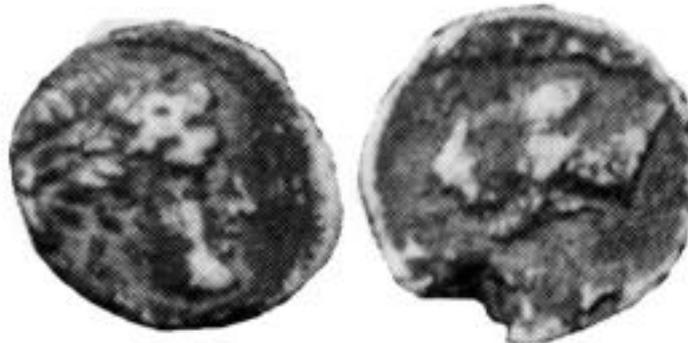
Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 665

FIGURE 101: Seleucus II, bronze, Apollo/butting bull



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 706

FIGURE 102: Seleucus II, bronze, Apollo/ bull forepart



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 707

FIGURE 103: Seleucus II, bronze, Apollo/standing bull



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 708

FIGURE 104: Seleucus II, bronze, Apollo/butting bull



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 773

FIGURE 105: Seleucus II, bronze, Apollo/ bucranium



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 774

FIGURE 106: Seleucus II, bronze, Apollo/ horned horse



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 775

FIGURE 107: Seleucus II, bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ facing Apollo/
walking bull



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 770

FIGURE 108: Seleucus II, bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ facing Apollo/ bull
head



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 771

FIGURE 109: Seleucus II, bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ facing Apollo/
horse head



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 772

FIGURE 110: Seleucus II, bronze, Apollo/Nike



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 740

FIGURE 111: Seleucus II, bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ facing Apollo/
Nike crowning Seleucus



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 779

FIGURE 112: Seleucus II, bronze, Athena/ elephant head



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 662

FIGURE 113: Seleucus II, bronze, Athena/anchor



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 663

FIGURE 114: Seleucus II, bronze, Athena/Nike crowning an anchor



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 695

FIGURE 115: Seleucus II, bronze, Athena/Nike with anchor embossed shield



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 715

FIGURE 116: Seleucus II, bronze, Athena/Nike



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 737

FIGURE 117: Seleucus II, bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ facing Athena/Nike



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 769

FIGURE 118: Seleucus II, bronze, Athena/Nike with tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 827

FIGURE 119: Seleucus II, bronze, Dioscuri/Elephant head



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 753

FIGURE 120: Seleucus II, bronze, Dioscuri/Nike crowning a trophy



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 776

FIGURE 121: Seleucus II, bronze, Dioscuri/anchor



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 756

FIGURE 122: Seleucus II, bronze, Dioscuri/Dioscuri charging on horseback



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 760

FIGURE 123: Seleucus II, bronze, Heracles/club and quiver



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 739

FIGURE 124: Seleucus II, bronze, Seleucus II/Pegasus



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 711

FIGURE 125: Seleucus II, bronze, Poseidon/Nike in *quadriga*



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 738

FIGURE 126: Seleucus II, bronze, Seleucus II/female archer deity standing on an animal



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 796

FIGURE 127: Seleucus II, bronze, Seleucus II/Seleucus II on horseback



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 709

FIGURE 128: Seleucus II, bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ facing horned Seleucus II/ Seleucus II on horseback spearing a fallen soldier



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 767

FIGURE 129: Seleucus II, bronze, Seleucus II/horse



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 710

FIGURE 130: Seleucus II, bronze, Seleucus II/horse with anchor embossed shield



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 716

FIGURE 131: Seleucus II, bronze, facing bust of Seleucus II crowned by Nike/elephant head



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 785

FIGURE 132: Seleucus II, bronze, ¾ facing horned Seleucus II/elephant with mahout



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 801

FIGURE 133: Seleucus II, bronze, Seleucus II/elephant with mahout



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 821

FIGURE 134: Seleucus II, bronze, Athena/elephant with mahout



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 821

FIGURE 135: Seleucus II, bronze, Seleucus II in *kausia*/Nike in a *biga*



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 798

FIGURE 136: Seleucus II, bronze, Seleucus II/Nike



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 759

FIGURE 137: Seleucus II, bronze, Seleucus II/bow in bow case and quiver



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 799

FIGURE 138: Antiochus Hierax, tetradrachm, Antiochus I/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 840

FIGURE 139: Antiochus Hierax, tetradrachm, Antiochus II/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 841

FIGURE 140: Antiochus Hierax, tetradrachm, Young king/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 842

FIGURE 141: Antiochus Hierax, tetradrachm, Antiochus I with winged diadem/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 875

FIGURE 142: Antiochus Hierax, tetradrachm, Young king with winged diadem/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 877

FIGURE 143: Seleucus III, tetradrachm, Seleucus III /Apollo-on-the-omphalos with tall tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 916

FIGURE 144: Seleucus III, tetradrachm, Seleucus III /Standing Apollo with tall tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 936

FIGURE 145: Seleucus III, bronze, Artemis/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 922

FIGURE 146: Seleucus III, bronze, Seleucus III/Apollo standing holding cithara



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 940

FIGURE 147: Seleucus III, bronze, Apollo/tripod with horse head at base



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 945

FIGURE 148: Antiochus III, drachm, Antiochus III/Apollo-on-the-omphalos without bow



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1280

FIGURE 149: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III or Apollo/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1048

FIGURE 150: Antiochus III, bronze, horned Antiochus III/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1223

FIGURE 151: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III/standing Apollo



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1243

FIGURE 152: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III or Apollo/standing Apollo



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1055

FIGURE 153: Antiochus III, bronze, horned $\frac{3}{4}$ facing Antiochus III/standing Apollo



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1222

FIGURE 154: Antiochus III, bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ facing Artemis /Apollo Citharoedus with tall tripod behind



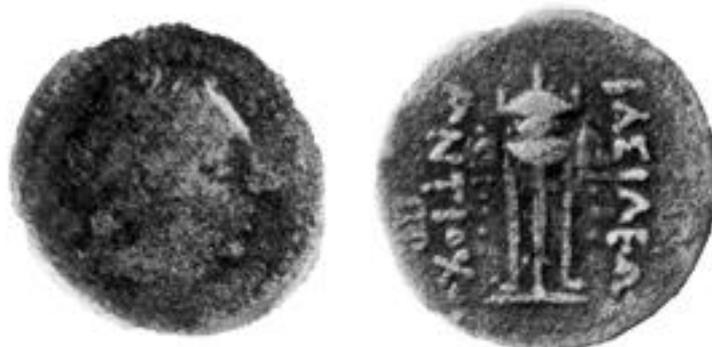
Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1186

FIGURE 155: Molon, bronze, Zeus/Apollo Citharoedus



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 949

FIGURE 156: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III/tripod with horse parts



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1252

FIGURE 157: Antiochus III, bronze, 3/4 facing
Apollo/tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1188

FIGURE 158: Antiochus III, bronze, jugate busts of
Artemis and Apollo/tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1189

FIGURE 159: Antiochus III, bronze, 3/4 facing
Zeus/Apollo with tripod



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1190

FIGURE 160: Antiochus III, bronze, Apollo/Artemis
advancing with a torch



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1184

FIGURE 161: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III
/elephant



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1275

FIGURE 162: Antiochus III, bronze, Apollo/elephant



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 976A

FIGURE 163: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III as Apollo/elephant



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1085

FIGURE 164: Antiochus III, bronze, Macedonian shield with gorgoneion/elephant



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1089

FIGURE 165: Antiochus III, bronze, Macedonian shield with gorgoneion/anchor



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1092

FIGURE 166: Antiochus III, silver hemi-obol,
Gorgoneion/elephant



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1093

FIGURE 167: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III/Nike
with anchor



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1240

FIGURE 168: Antiochus III, bronze, Horned Antiochus
III/Nike crowning the royal name



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1216

FIGURE 169: Antiochus III, bronze, Athena/Nike



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1151

FIGURE 170: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III/Nike on the prow of a ship



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1147

FIGURE 171: Antiochus III, bronze, Poseidon/Nike



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1150

FIGURE 172: Antiochus III, bronze, young king in elephant headdress facing $\frac{3}{4}$ right/horned horse



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1182

FIGURE 173: Antiochus III, bronze, female head in elephant headdress/Artemis holding a torch and bow



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1224

FIGURE 174: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III /horseman charging with a spear



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1259

FIGURE 175: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III/horse



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1264

FIGURE 176: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III/horse with foal



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1269

FIGURE 177: Antiochus III, bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ facing Apollo/Athena Promachos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1183

FIGURE 178: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III /Athena standing with spear and shield



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1207

FIGURE 179: Antiochus III, bronze, horned Antiochus III/seated Athena with spear and shield



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1218

FIGURE 180: Antiochus III, bronze, Apollo/Athena holding Nike crowning the royal name



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1024

FIGURE 181: Antiochus III, bronze, Athena/winged thunderbolt



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1228

FIGURE 182: Antiochus III, bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ facing bust of Athena/Apollo on the omphalos with a cithara and tall tripod behind



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. Ad 34

FIGURE 183: Antiochus III, bronze, Antiochus III /coiled serpent



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1174

FIGURE 184: Antiochus III, bronze, Hermes facing $\frac{3}{4}$ right wearing a petasus/Hermes wearing a *kausia*



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1192

FIGURE 185: Antiochus III, bronze, Hermes facing $\frac{3}{4}$ right wearing a petasus/elephant



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1193

FIGURE 186: Philetaerus, tetradrachm, Seleucus I /Athena



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 309

FIGURE 187: Antiochus I, tetradrachm, horned Seleucus I/Apollo-on-the-omphalos with bow



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FIGURE 188: Antiochus I, bronze, horned Seleucus I /horned horse



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 363

FIGURE 189: Antiochus I, bronze, horned Seleucus I /anchor



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 364

FIGURE 190: Antiochus I, tetradrachm, horned Seleucus I/horned horse



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 471

FIGURE 191: Antiochus Hierax, tetradrachm, Antiochus I with horn like hair/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 867

FIGURE 192: Seleucus III, tetradrachm, Seleucus III with horn like hair/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 925

FIGURE 193: Antiochus II, tetradrachm, Antiochus I with winged diadem/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 490

FIGURE 194: Antiochus III, tetradrachm, Antiochus I with horned lock/Apollo-on-the-omphalos



Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 1129

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