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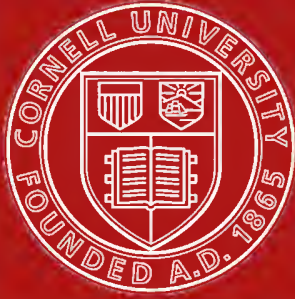
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THE SELEUCID MINT OF ANTIOCH

BY

EDWARD T. NEWELL



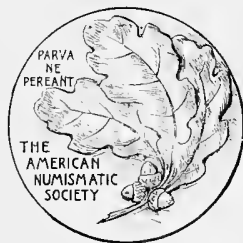
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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1918

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THE SELEUCID MINT OF ANTIOCH

BY EDWARD T. NEWELL

It is surprising that, while much has been written concerning the large and important coinage of the Seleucid sovereigns of Asia, we should still be at such a loss to assign the greater part of this coinage to the mints that were once so active in its production. To be sure, we can easily and correctly distinguish the issues of Sidon, Tyre, Berytos, and Ake Ptolemais — but only because, from the reign of Alexander Balas on, these coins bear such obvious mint marks that they can not be misread. Some of the later issues of Tarsos and Mallos in Cilicia are also distinguishable. But since the appearance of Dr. George Macdonald's two illuminating monographs¹ dealing with certain Seleucid coinages of Asia Minor, little advance² has been made and the origin of the bulk of the Seleucid coinage is still an enigma.

At first sight the vast material remaining seems to present almost insurmountable difficulties, but the inducements offered to students and historians to solve the problem are correspondingly many. The Seleucid coinage in particular is closely associated with, and therefore partakes of, the vicissitudes of the many rulers who issued it; its long and splendid line of living portraits — not only of the legitimate scions of the House of Seleucus but also of usurping regents and rebellious satraps such as Achaeus, Timarchus, Tryphon, and others — give it a vital and human interest that is not surpassed in Greek Numismatics. Its many mints and long existence give it a variety of types and of artistic style that is most attractive. While the time is certainly not yet ripe for a pretentious study of the Seleucid coinage as a whole (such as, for instance, has been done by Svoronos for the Ptolemaic series) much can be accomplished in sorting out the issues of various mints or in the intensive study of some one of these mints.

¹ Jour. Hell. Studies, Vol. XXIII, 1903. Vol. XXVII, 1907.

² Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has since published an article dealing with Seleucid coins in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* for 1913, but while this is important for new material and its association with types already known, only suggestions are made concerning the actual mints. Rev. Edgar Rogers has also published some Seleucid coins in his collection (*Num. Chron.*, 1912).

It is undoubtedly obvious that the most important and the longest lived of all the Seleucid mints was that of their capital Antioch. Curiously enough no systematic study has yet been made of this mint under the Syrian Kings. If the probably prolific issues of this great commercial and political centre, the heart as well as the head of the Seleucid Empire, could be picked out, gathered together, and studied, not only would a considerable advance be recorded in our knowledge of this particular field, but a long step would be taken towards solving the problems of the remaining mints. The following is an attempt in this direction.

Apologies, however, are necessary for the incompleteness of this work, due partly to the rush of other work but principally to the present war which has not only hastened the publication but, above all, has made it impossible to secure casts of certain important coins in the great public and private collections abroad. Reliance has therefore had to be placed solely upon the catalogues of the Seleucid coins in Paris, London, and Glasgow; the catalogue of the coins in the Hermitage Collection, Petrograd (*Jour. Int. Num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911); various sales catalogues of the past twenty years; catalogues of certain private collections; and finally upon such actual specimens as are to be found in the scattered collections of America. While, therefore, the following list of coins attributable to the great mint of Antioch is far from complete³, perhaps enough have been brought together to give us a more or less clear outline of the issues as a whole, to show their real sequence, and to throw in relief the comparative importance of this coinage and the light it sheds on the history of the times. It is also most unfortunate that we are forced to commence our studies of the Antiochene mint with a coin struck as late as the reign of Seleucus II. This was certainly not the first issue of our mint; its coinage undoubtedly goes back well into the reign of Antiochus I, if not earlier. But the coinages of the earlier sovereigns from Seleucus I to Seleucus II are notoriously obscure and complicated, and they can not be satisfactorily studied and elucidated without the assistance of hundreds of coins and casts. These, it is manifest, can not be secured at the present time. In this article we desire only to deal with coins which can be certainly attributed to Antioch, and as the issues of this mint emerge from chaos

³ Only the gold and silver issues have been treated with any fullness as these are the ones most commonly illustrated in our catalogues. The bronze issues have only been indicated, as it would be impossible to treat of these successfully without seeing and handling the actual specimens. Furthermore, the bronze coins are seldom illustrated in our catalogues.

into a clear and orderly sequence only with the following coin this one must, perforce, form the introduction to our study.⁴

SELEUCUS II, 246-226 B. C.

1 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Seleucus II to right. Circle of dots.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (to r.) ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked, standing to l., holds arrow in outstretched r., and leans with l. on tall tripod. On l., outside the inscription, ₤. On r., outside the inscription, ¥.

Newell, **Plate I** ; London, no. 5 ; Paris, no. 255.

2 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, and of similar style.
Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ₤. On r., outside inscription, Ⓝ.

Paris no. 256.

The attribution of these tetradrachms to Antioch is dependant upon the similar ones struck by Seleucus III and Antiochus III of which we will treat later. We here see a custom followed which seems to have been more or less prevalent in Greek regal coinages, namely that the issues of the capital or principal mint of a kingdom bore only magistrates' symbols or monograms — but never any mark to designate the particular city at which the piece was struck.⁵ Thus under the Ptolemies the issues of Alexandria bore only magistrates' marks, but the provincial mints of Cyprus and the Phoenician coast nearly always placed mint marks, in the full sense of this term, upon their coins. So it had been under Alexander the Great. The central mints of Pella, Amphipolis, Sardis, Halikarnassos, Tarsos, Babylon, and Alexandria used no distinctive marks to designate the issuing mint, while, on the other hand, subsidiary mints in Cyprus, Syria, Phoenicia and other localities often did employ real mint marks. The same thing is true of the later Macedonian and Pergamene royal issues. While this may seem a sweeping statement, close inspection will show that it is essentially correct. The few exceptions that from time to time occur only

⁴ The historical notes accompanying this article are based throughout on Bevan, "The House of Seleucus," and Niese, "Die Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten." Acknowledgment is here made the assistance afforded by these invaluable works.

⁵ This custom is not confined to ancient times as, for instance, to-day in the United States only the subsidiary mints of New Orleans, Denver, and San Francisco mark their issues, the principal mint, Philadelphia, does not.

tend to prove the existence of such a custom as a whole. It is also not meant to imply that *all* minor mints were accustomed to mark their coinages. There are innumerable instances where they too used only magistrates' marks; but in general, especially in the Seleucid Empire, they managed by monogram, symbol, or peculiar type to distinguish the local series from the larger mass of the royal issues struck in the great centres of the empire. To reiterate then, in the Seleucid coinage we will find that the mint of Antioch never, until a late period, placed a distinguishing monogram or symbol on its issues, in strong contrast to the smaller, or perhaps more autonomous mints, such as Tyre and other Phoenician cities, which from the time of Antiochus III gradually adopted the custom of using special marks for their coins. This custom was also later followed by mints in Cilicia.

SELEUCUS III, 226-223 B. C.

In 226 B. C. Seleucus III succeeded to his father's dominions, which by now had shrunk to Cilicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Persis, and Media. Without being able to increase these dominions he died suddenly (probably by poison) in the Summer of 223 B. C.

Such coins issued in his name and bearing his portrait as can be assigned to Antioch are the following:

3 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Seleucus III, with slight indication of a side beard, to right. Circle of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (to r.) ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to l. on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, ☩. On r., outside inscription, ♃.

London no. 1 (Pl. vii, 6); J. Ward Coll. no. 781 (Pl. xix); Jameson Coll. no. 1682 (Pl. lxxxiv); Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 657 (Pl. xix); Roll. & Feuard. Sale, June, 1913, no. 330, **Plate I**; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 575 (Pl. xvii); Hirsch, Weber Sale, no. 4047 (Pl. lvii); Newell (two specimens, one ex. Zschiesche & Köder Sale, April, 1913, no. 690, Pl. ix); Paris, nos. 297 and 298; Coll. Walcher de Moltheim, 1895, no. 2913 (Pl. xxv).

4 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Seleucus III with beard very evident. Circle of dots.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ☩. On r., outside inscription, ☉.

Paris, no. 296 (Pl. viii, 11); Egger Sale xli, no. 652, **Plate I**.

5 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, Ψ .

Paris, no. 299; London (Num. Chron., Ser. IV, Vol. XIV, Pl. viii, 8).

6 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, \mathfrak{z} . On r., outside inscription, $\Sigma\Omega$.

London, no. 2.

That these types belong to the same mint as no. 1 of Seleucus II is evident from similarity in style, and above all by the recurrence of the two characteristic monograms \mathfrak{z} and Ψ . The rule of Seleucus III was too short to bring about much change in the personnel of the mint. The comparative commonness of the type represented by no. 3 (it is easily the most frequent of all the tetradrachms of Seleucus III) points to the principal mint of this ruler's empire as their place of origin.

 ANTIOCHUS III, 223-187 B. C.

For a short time after the sudden death of Seleucus III the succession to the Seleucid throne was under debate.⁶ The younger brother of the dead king, Antiochus by name, was at this time in distant Babylonia as governor. Fortunately for him, however, his cousin Achaeus assumed the direction of affairs in the West in his favor until the new king could himself reach the capital and take over the actual rule. As Achaeus had thus declared for Antiochus III from the beginning, and occupied the central portion of the Empire, there is no doubt that coins were struck at Antioch in the latter's name shortly after the reception of the news of the death of Seleucus III. In full accord with this assumption we find a large series of tetradrachms closely bound by style and monograms to those of the dead king and evidently struck in the same mint with little or no interval between their respective appearances.

⁶ The well known coins with the portrait of a young boy and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ have been assigned to this period by Droysen and Babelon and supposed by them to have been struck by an ephemeral and shadowy Antiochus mentioned in an inscription. This attribution has since been discarded — and with right as we shall see.

SERIES I, Circa 223–206 B. C.

YOUTHFUL PORTRAIT.

a. Beaded Border.

7 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Youthful head of Antiochus III to r., diademed. Ends of diadem hang down. Circle of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ANTIOXOY (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to left on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, Ψ and ₤.

Bunbury Sale, no. 466, **Plate I**; Glasgow, no. 3 (Pl. lxxv, 7); Newell.

8 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar head but side beard not visible and one end of diadem flying.

Rev. Similar to above. On l., outside inscription, ₤ and Ψ.

Egger Sale xli, no. 659, **Plate I**; Sotheby Sale, July, 1899, no. 116 (Pl. iii).

9 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Youthful, diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Ends of diadem hang down. Circle of dots.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ₤. On r., outside inscription, ♀.

Egger Sale xli, no. 663, **Plate I**.

b. Fillet Border.

10 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Youthful, diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Ends of diadem hang down. Fillet border.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ₤ and Ψ.

Jameson Coll. no. 1686, **Plate I**.

11 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding. Fillet border.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, Ψ and ₤.

Helbing, Zschiesche & Köder Sale, April, 1913, no. 689 (pl. ix).

12 TETRADRACHM.⁷

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ₤.

Egger Sale, xli, no. 660; Egger Sale, xli, no. 661; Egger Sale, 1908, no. 577, **Plate I**; Merzbacher Sale, 1910, no. 823 (Pl. 14); Num. Chron., 1883, Pl. v. 1; London, no. 25; Coll. L. Walcher de Moltheim, 1895, no. 2920 (Pl. xxv); Amer.

⁷ The gold Oktadrachm in the Hunterian Coll., Glasgow, no. 1, Plate lxxv, 6, of this type, is now considered to be a forgery (cast).

Num. Soc.; Rome, Strozzi Sale, 1907, no. 1663 (Pl. xi); A. Cahn Cat. no. 24, no. 763 (Pl. iv).

13 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. More mature head, high relief. *Rev.* Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ϣ.
Border not visible.

Sardis (Publications of the Amer. Soc. for the excavation of Sardis), Vol. XI, Part I, 1910-14, no. 397 (Pl. i).

14 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding but of lower relief. Beaded border. *Rev.* Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ϣ.

American Numismatic Society, Plate I.

15 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ϣ and ϣ. On r., outside inscription, ϕ.

Newell, Plate I.

This compact series of tetradrachms is closely associated with those of Seleucus II and III by the constant recurrence of the two characteristic monograms ϣ and ϣ, and by the close similarity of their styles. With no. 10 appears for the first time in the Seleucid coinage the fillet border in place of the more usual beaded border. As Babelon, following Cavedoni, has shown,⁸ the significance of the fillet on account of the close association between this particular form of fillet and the worship of Apollo is to be referred to the Apolline origin of the Seleucid family. On well preserved Seleucid coins we are able to distinguish the fillet decoration on the omphalos upon which Apollo is seated. It is needless to draw the reader's attention to the great honor in which the worship of Apollo was held at Antioch and to the famous temple and sacred grove of this divinity situated just outside the walls at Daphne. There may be some significance, therefore, in the fact that it is upon the issues which we would attribute to the Antiochene mint that the fillet border first appears.

The portrait of Antiochus III, as found on this series, suits the circumstances of the case very well as we know that he was about eighteen years of age when he was called to the throne. The portrait is evidently that of a young man in his early twenties.

⁸ Babelon, *Les rois de Syrie, etc.*, Introduction, pp. lxxvi, lxxvii.

Running parallel with these silver coins there is also a bronze series containing at least two denominations. The types for the large size are: obv. Head of Antiochus III, rev. Apollo seated; those for the small size are: similar obverse, rev. Apollo standing. The monogram Σ is found on all of these and, in addition, the letters Δ (Paris no. 400), Γ (Paris, 399, 410, and London 49-51), \odot (Paris 398), and without letters (Paris 397). It is not impossible that these letters may form a portion of a series of regnal dates or the indications of numbered issues.

SERIES II, Circa 206-200 B. C.

MIDDLE-AGED PORTRAIT.

a. Elephant type.

16 STATER.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Ends of taenia hang down. Circle of dots. *Rev.* $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Sigma$ (to r.) ANTIOXOY (to l.) Elephant with raised trunk to r. In front, Υ , in exergue, A .

Paris, no. 393, Plate I.

17 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Ends of taenia hang down. Fillet border. *Rev.* $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Sigma$ (above) ANTIOXOY (below). Elephant to r. On l., A , on r., M.

Paris, no. 394, Plate I.

18 TETRADRACHM.⁹

Obv. Similar to preceding. *Rev.* Similar to preceding. On l., A , on r., M .

London, no. 28, Plate I.

b. Apollo type.

19 STATER.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus III to right. Ends of taenia hang down. Circle of dots. *Rev.* $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Sigma$ (to r.) ANTIOXOY (to l.) Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to l. on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, A . On r., outside inscription, M .

London, no. 3, Plate II; Hirsch Weber Sale, 1908, no. 4050 (Pl. lii).

⁹ If the rather common drachms of the elephant type are to be taken as an Antiochene issue, as now seems likely, they would form, in style and type, a transition between the tetradrachm no. 13 of the preceding series and nos. 17 and 18 of the present series. The monogram found on these drachms is not unlike that on the Elephant tetradrachms. Specimens of the drachm are to be seen in the following collections: London, nos. 30 (Pl. ii), 31, 32; Paris, nos. 395 (Pl. x. 3), 396; Jameson, no. 1689 (Pl. lxxxv); Newell (two specimens); Petrograd, nos. 268, 269; J. Ward Coll., no. 784 (illustrated); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 32 (Pl. lxxv. 13), 33.

20 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Head of Antiochus III as above *Rev.* Similar to preceding. On l., out-
except that ends of taenia are flying. Fil- side inscription, Ϝ .
let border.

Newell, **Plate II** ; Paris, nos. 374 and 375 ; Bourgey, Rousset Sale, April, 1908,
no. 198 (Pl. vii).

21 DRACHM.

Obv. Head as above. Circle of dots. *Rev.* Similar to preceding. On l., out-
side inscription, Ϝ .

London, no. 16.

22 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 20. Fillet border. *Rev.* Similar to no. 20. On l., outside
inscription, Ϝ .

Newell, **Plate II** ; Newell (another).

23 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 21. Border of dots. *Rev.* Similar to preceding. On l., out-
side inscription, Ϝ .

London, no. 14, **Plate II** ; Paris, no. 392 (Pl. ix, 16).

24 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 20. Fillet border. *Rev.* Similar to preceding. On l., out-
side inscription, TRIPOD (with base).

Newell, **Plate II** ; Paris, nos. 372 (Pl. ix, 11) and 385 (Pl. ix, 13) ; Bunbury
Coll., no. 474 (Pl. iv) ; Sardis (Publications of the Amer. Soc. for the Excavation of
Sardis), Vol. XI, Part I, 1910-14, no. 393 (Pl. i).

In the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* for 1913, pp. 187, 188, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has assembled certain of the coins which we have just enumerated, namely nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11 and 16 and, on account of the characteristic monograms Ϝ and Ϝ which these bear, has rightly enough discerned that the coins in question must be the product of a single mint, and suggests, furthermore, that this mint may have been Antioch. In this we can but agree with him as being the only possible solution because of the great number, not only of varieties but of actual specimens that have come down to us. In proceeding from the point at which Dr. Blumer left off and studying the succeeding series of coin issues which appear for every reign throughout the remainder of Seleucid history we will see that only Antioch could have been the source of such an unbroken sequence of coinages. When, however, Dr. Blumer

would see in the monograms ⌘ and ⌘ something else besides magistrate's marks because, as he states, the coins bearing these cover a period of fifty years or more, we find it impossible to follow him. His error lies in computing the years over which these two monograms must stretch by counting in the *full* reigns of both Seleucus II and Antiochus III, that is from 246 to 187 B. C.—a matter of some fifty-nine years. We have seen, however, that the two monograms in question only appear upon the coins of Seleucus II just before his death in 226 B. C. They then continue through the reign of Seleucus III (226-223), and through the first period (circa 223-206) of Antiochus III when his portrait is still that of a comparatively young man. At this point ⌘ drops out, but ⌘ appears again, but alone, during the next period which ends about 200 B. C. and whose coin issues show Antiochus III as a man of middle age—that is about thirty-five to forty years of age. In other words the two magistrates signing themselves ⌘ and ⌘ respectively were in office, the one not longer than from say 228 to about 206 B. C., the second from 228 to about 200 B. C. at the longest, an extended but never-the-less far from impossible tenure of office. Dr. Blumer appears to be mistaken in considering the features of Antiochus III on the later coins (our nos. 16 and 20) as those of an elderly man and therefore to be referred to the end of his reign. As can be seen on our plates the features of Antiochus on this Series (nos. 16 to 24) are still full and vigorous and without the trace of a single wrinkle. They would seem to be those of a man of strong personality and in the prime of life, perhaps some thirty-five to forty years of age, which fits in well with the dates assigned to these coins. A much older portrait will be found in the next series.

Looking closely at the coins which comprise Series II we see that it is but a continuation of Series I. We find a slightly older head, the same fillet border of the latest coins of the previous series, the characteristic monogram ⌘ , and in ⌘ a slight variant of the monogram ⌘ seen on no. 15. The elephant stater, no. 16, certainly belongs to our mint on account of the monogram ⌘ . It is therefore likely that the two tetradrachms nos. 17 and 18, with the same reverse type of an elephant, were struck here as well. In confirmation of this we should note the close similarity of style and workmanship between the obverses of these two remarkable pieces and the obverses of nos. 20, 22, and 24. The placing of the commencement of Series II in the year 206/205 B. C. is due to the sudden and ephemeral appearance of the elephant

for the reverse type. This animal would be the most natural emblem that could be selected to celebrate what Antiochus III was pleased to call his subjugation of Bactria and India. His achievements in the East undoubtedly made a great impression upon his contemporaries by whom he was henceforth called the "Great." There were no doubt great celebrations held at Antioch when news arrived of his successes, the acknowledgment of his suzerainty by Euthedemus and Sophagasenens, and the statement that the Bactrian king (and perhaps the Indian as well, though our historians do not say so) had turned over to the Seleucid army a large force of Indian elephants. These remained the pride and strength of the Seleucid armies until, in later years, when disasters had befallen the Empire, Rome saw fit to send a commission to Syria with the express purpose of destroying or rendering useless all elephants collected at Apamea the Seleucid arsenal.

With no. 24 monograms disappear for a time from the coinages of our mint, their place being taken, by symbols. The style and appearance of this piece is too similar to the preceding numbers to separate it from them.

The custom, first brought out in this series, of using the fillet border only for the tetradrachms, is to be noted; the smaller sized denominations, such as the stater and drachm, still use the beaded border.

SERIES III, Circa 200-187 B. C.

OLDER PORTRAIT.

25 GOLD OKTADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Ends of taenia flying. Fillet border.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ANTIOXOY (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to left on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, ΡΟΣΕ.

London, no. 1, **Plate II**.

26 TETRADRACHM.¹⁰

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BOW IN CASE.

London, no. 27, **Plate II**; Paris, nos. 378, 380, and 381; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 10 and 11; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 580 (Pl. xvii).

¹⁰ To this issue may belong Paris no. 373, with symbol: CORNUCOPIAE. As I have not seen the piece it has not been included. No. 582 in Egger Sale of Jan. 7, 1908, Plate xviii, with doubtful symbol in field, probably also belongs here.

27 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, BOW IN CASE. In exergue, AΣK.Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 12, **Plate II**; Paris, no. 379.

28 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, BOW IN CASE. In exergue, ACK.Newell, **Plate II**.

29 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, HORSE'S HEAD.Newell, **Plate II**.

30 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, ANCHOR.Newell (formerly Hirsch, Weber Sale, no. 4056), **Plate II**; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 14 (Pl. lxxv, 10); Egger Sale xlv, no. 753 (Pl. xxi).

The coins of Series III, as a glance at our plates will show, are but a continuation of the later coins of Series II. The only differences to be noted are the ageing of the king's features, and the general adoption of a symbol in the place of a monogram to designate the officiating mint magistrate. On nos. 27 and 28 an additional magistrate places his initial letters in the exergue. These letters AΣK have, not surprisingly, been thought by numismatists to indicate a mint at Ascalon in Palestine. But if we attribute these two pieces to Ascalon we will have to also assign all the coins nos. 19-30 to this mint as well, which is manifestly absurd. The indication of mints by letters or symbols on Seleucid silver issues did not become general until the time of Alexander Balas, although from the end of the reign of Antiochus III the Tyrian mint is indicated by a club. So far as I know this is the only mint throughout the reigns of Antiochus III, Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV and V, and Demetrius I that placed any direct allusion to locality on its silver coinages. We can not separate nos. 27 and 28 from the remainder of this Series as they are all too closely bound together by style and appearance.

The features of Antiochus on these coins show, as stated above, a distinct advance in age over those of the previous Series.

The most interesting of these coins is the gold oktadrachm no. 25. Although it is unlikely, as has been suggested, that this large coin (a very rare denomination in the Seleucid series and only struck under Antiochus III) has anything to do with the famous despoiling of the temple of Anaitis at Ecbatana at the commencement of the great Eastern expedition, we may perhaps attribute its appearance to the mighty preparations for the war against Rome. Or, with more likelihood, we may see in it an attempt to meet the demand for such pieces in the Phoenician cities after their removal from the Egyptian domination. Under the second and third Ptolemies, and at times under the later ones, many gold oktadrachms (of Phoenician weight) were struck in the mints of Sidon, Tyre, Ake-Ptolemais, Gaza, and Joppa. When these mints failed to strike any specimens of this particular denomination the mints of Cyprus and of Alexandria seem to have continued to do so. The inhabitants of these Phoenician cities would have grown accustomed to the use of a large denomination in gold and it might therefore have been in an attempt to conform with this usage that certain Seleucid mints proceeded to strike what was to them an unaccustomed piece. The apparent age of the features on our particular specimen would point to about the commencement of the second century B. C. as the date of striking. As by 197 B. C. the Phoenician coast was firmly in the possession of Antiochus this possibility is at least worth considering.

SELEUCUS IV, 188/7-176/5 B. C.

After the storm and stress of the glorious as well as disastrous reign of Antiochus III, surnamed the Great, the years of Seleucus IV, his son, passed in comparative peace and quiet. It is a period given up to the rebuilding of the Seleucid power, a power shaken and strained in every fibre of its being by the wars and turmoil, the victories and defeats of the past thirty years. This may have been a time of peace as it was not of prosperity — the losses of the colossal and far-flung wars of Antiochus were too great, the country groaned beneath the tribute which successful Rome had demanded of the defeated Empire. According to Polybius twelve thousand talents was the yearly stipend to be paid for the duration of twelve years. Theoretically this great assessment would have been completed by 178 B. C., but the bankrupt kingdom was unequal to the task and so we find that in the reign of

Antiochus IV the unsettled portions of the indemnity were still being paid.

31 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Seleucus IV to r. Fillet border.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (to r.) ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to l. on omphalos, holds arrow in extended r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, STAR.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 1, **Plate II**.

32 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but border of dots.
Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, FILLETED PALM BRANCH.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 10 (Pl. lxvi, 4).

33 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but filleted border.
Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, WREATH-BEARING NIKE.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2; Paris, no. 472.

34 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar. On l. outside inscription, FILLETED PALM BRANCH.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4; Paris, no. 469.

35 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, FILLETED PALM BRANCH. In exergue, ♣.

Newell, **Plate II**; Paris, nos. 464, 465; Petrograd, no. 307 and (?) 308; Sotheby, Guzman Sale, 1914, no. 112 (Pl. vi); Rome, Strozzi Sale, 1907, no. 1666 (Pl. xi).

36 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but with a circle of dots.
Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. In exergue, ♣.

Paris, no. 467.

37 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 35.
Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, FILLETED PALM BRANCH. In exergue, M.

London, no. 9; Paris, no. 470; Amer. Num. Society, **Plate III**; Petrograd, nos. 311 and 312.

38 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, FILLETED PALM BRANCH. In exergue, Φ.Paris, no. 468; Egger Sale, Jan. 7, 1908, no. 586, **Plate III**; London, no. 11.

39 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH and WREATH. In exergue, Φ.London, nos. 12 and 13, **Plate III**; Paris, nos. 462 and 463; Hirsch, Rhousopoulos Sale, no. 4450 (Pl. lv); J. Ward Coll., no. 785 (Pl. xix); Egger Sale, xli, 1912, no. 671 (Pl. xix); Newell; Amer. Num. Soc.; Petrograd, nos. 305 and 306; Egger Sale, Jan. 7, 1908, no. 587 (Pl. xviii); Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2928 (Pl. xxv); Sotheby, Cumberland Clark Sale, 1914, no. 264 (Pl. vii); Hirsch, xxxiii, 1913, no. 894 (Pl. xxi); Egger Sale, xlvi, 1914, no. 2443 (Pl. xxxix).

40 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, FILLETED PALM BRANCH and APLUSTRE. In exergue, Φ.London, no. 8; Paris, no. 466; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8, **Plate III**; Petrograd, no. 309.

41 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. In exergue, †P.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6.

The coinage of Antioch under Seleucus IV follows closely the model set by the last issues of Antiochus III. We see the magistrate's symbol in the field on the left outside the inscription; the fillet border on the obverse¹¹ for the tetradrachms; the circle of dots for the drachm; the same high relief for the head; the comparatively low relief for the reverse. With no. 35 and following, a magistrate's monogram is found in the exergue, while the symbol still continues in the field.

In contrast to the coinages of Antiochus III the issues of Seleucus, as a whole, seem to be divided between only three or four mints at most. The coins which we here attribute to Antioch easily predominate in number of varieties as well as in number of actual specimens. The issues of the supplementary mints of Tyre, Seleucia on the Tigris,

¹¹ Nos. 32 and 36 are the only exceptions.

and possibly one or two others, are scanty in comparison. Under Antiochus III, on the other hand, while the issues of Antioch are very plentiful and outnumber those of any other one mint, they do not comprise the bulk of his coinage by any means. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that Antiochus' reign was a long one; that his many and great campaigns kept him in the outlying portions of his empire which must have thrown a large part of the burden of coinage for military purposes upon the provincial mints rather than upon Antioch; and lastly his empire was of wide extent comprising many great and populous provinces with their capitals in which, because of the great distance from Antioch, and for reasons of economy which this fact involved, would be struck all money for local needs. When Seleucus came to the throne the empire had shrunk once more to Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, and the provinces to the East including Media. The new reign was not a warlike one and its energies were spent in trying to meet the financial drain of the huge indemnity exacted by Rome. It is most natural, therefore, that the coinage should have been principally minted at the capital and greatest city of the kingdom, Antioch.

ANTIOCHUS IV, EPIPHANES, 176/5-165/4 B. C.

The principal activity in the reign of Seleucus IV seems to have been the raising of money to meet the terrible drain of the Roman indemnity. The man who was charged with the thankless task of making the people meet this obligation was a certain Heliodorus, a citizen of Antioch. Not content with the great power he had thus secured he aimed higher and caused the assassination of Seleucus. At this time there was residing¹² in Antioch a younger¹³ son of Seleucus, and him Heliodorus caused to be proclaimed king. But there were other and more powerful claimants. After the disastrous battle of Magnesia and the peace terms dictated by the victorious Romans, the younger son of Antiochus III, also named Antiochus, had been sent to Rome as a hostage. A short time previous to the unexpected end of Seleucus IV, at the request of the Roman Senate he sent his own son Demetrius as hostage in place of Antiochus. The latter set out for the East, but on his way stopped at Athens where he seems to have spent some time. It was here that the news of his brother's sudden death reached him.

¹² Diodorus xxx 7, 2.

¹³ The oldest son, Demetrius by name, was at this time a hostage in Rome.

He first went to Asia Minor where he was warmly received by Eumenes king of Pergamum who caused him to be crowned with the royal diadem. A powerful army was also placed at his disposal with which to drive out the usurper and such persons as refused to see in him the rightful king of Syria. Details of the campaign are lacking but by the Summer of 175 B. C. we find Antiochus IV safely installed as the Seleucid king in Antioch. The little Antiochus, son of Seleucus IV, was done away with, his minister Heliodorus disappeared.

SERIES I, Circa 176/5-170/69 B. C.

a. Portrait of Antiochus IV.

42 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IV to r. Ends of diadem hang down. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (to r.) ANTIOXOY (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to l. on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, ΛΥΡΕ. In exergue, ♣.

Paris, no. 514, **Plate III**; Bunbury Coll., no. 488 (Pl. iv); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2; Petrograd, no. 329.

43 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On r., outside inscription, ΛΥΡΕ. In exergue, ♣.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3 (Pl. lxvi, 8).

44 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΤΡΙΠΟΔ. On r., outside inscription, ΛΥΡΕ. In exergue, ♣.

London, nos. 3 and 4, **Plate III**.

b. Portrait of young Antiochus.

45 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of the young Antiochus to r. Ends of diadem hang down. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (to r.) ANTIOXOY (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to l. on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., and rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, ΤΡΙΠΟΔ. In exergue, †P.

Newell (formerly Hirsch, Philippsen Sale, no. 2901), **Plate III**; London, no. 1; Paris, no. 329; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 1 (Pl. lxvii, 1).

46 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, Φ .Jameson Coll., no. 1683, **Plate III**; J. Ward Coll., no. 782 (Pl. xix); Petrograd, no. 383; Sotheby, O'Hagan Sale, 1908, no. 652 (Pl. xi).

47 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, \boxtimes .

Paris, no. 327.

48 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, Φ .

Paris, no. 328; Petrograd, no. 384 (slight variation in monogram).

49 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, Γ .

Paris, no. 326.

50 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, \mathcal{R} .

London, no. 2; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2.

51 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, B.London, no. 3, **Plate III**; Paris, no. 330 (Pl. viii, 17); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3.

52 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, Δ .Newell, **Plate III**; Paris, no. 325.

53 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, \mathcal{R} .

Petrograd, no. 382.

The first issue of Antiochus IV at Antioch follows the style and appearance of the last issues of Seleucus IV. A symbol is seen in the

left field, while the same monogram, Φ , as on Seleucus' coins, is in the exergual space.

The coins (nos. 45-53) which bear the childlike features of the young Antiochus, being of unusual character, have been the occasion of much conjecture and controversy and have, in the last fifty years, been assigned to no less than four different persons. Gardiner in the British Museum Catalogue, and Babelon in the Paris Catalogue, have both followed Droysen and given these coins to an Antiochus, son of Seleucus III, known to us only from an inscription. He could have reigned for only a very short time in 223 B. C., that is, in the perturbed period that intervened between the death of Seleucus III and the general acknowledgment of Antiochus III as king. Both Niese¹⁴ and Bevan¹⁵ have discarded this attribution. In fact, style and monograms are both fatal to it. These coins have nothing in common with the known issues of Seleucus III, the fillet border does not appear till the reign of Antiochus III, the monograms and symbol are not common to the coinages of previous rulers or to the first issues of Antiochus III, and, finally, the very existence of this ephemeral personage is doubtful.

It has also been suggested that these coins were struck in honor of the young son, Antiochus by name, whom Antiochus III left behind him as regent in Antioch when he embarked upon his eastern adventures in 212 B. C. I was at first somewhat inclined to follow this theory until a close inspection of the issues of the young Antiochus and of Antiochus III showed more divergence than similarity between them. In the first place the fillet border on the coins of the third Antiochus is large and boldly cut, on those of the little Antiochus it is far less prominent and of very different character; in the second place the reverse surface of the former's coins is flat, of the latter's coins it is distinctly concave; thirdly the two series have not a single monogram in common, and fourthly the symbol TRIPOD, which is also found on certain coins of Antiochus III for Antioch (see no. 24), varies in the two coinages—in the one it stands upon a base, in the other it does not. Finally the fact that the little son of Antiochus III was ten years old when his father left him regent in Antioch would seem fatal to the attribution of these coins to him. The portrait they bear is distinctly that of a very young child not more than two or three years of age. If we forced ourselves to accept this attribution we would have to admit that the coins, because of the childishness of the features, could only have been

¹⁴ Niese, *loc. cit.*, vol. II, p. 777, note to p. 172. ¹⁵ Bevan, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 300, note 3.

struck when Antiochus first left Antioch. In other words these pieces must have been struck nearer 212 B. C. than 200 B. C. But for this date their style is too late. Turn now to our Plate III where they have been placed following the coins issued by Seleucus IV. At once the close similarity between these two series becomes evident. Bevan has already drawn attention to the great likeness which exists between the features of Seleucus IV and this little Antiochus.¹⁶ We should also note the same concavity of the reverses, the similarity in treatment of the fillet border, and lastly the fact that the monograms †P and ‡ are common to both series.

Historical reasons, however, do not permit us to attribute these pieces to the reign of Seleucus, for, although we know he had a second son Antiochus by name, he never made him co-regent, and the eldest son (and therefore heir to the throne) bore the name Demetrius, and was at this time a hostage in Rome. It does not seem likely that coins would be struck with the portrait of a second son unless he had actually been proclaimed a partner in the government.

Bevan¹⁷ would see in these enigmatical pieces issues by the revolt-
ing Heliodorus in the name of the little Antiochus whose father he had just murdered. But the fatal objection to this theory lies in the fact that the time during which this Antiochus could have ruled before the arrival of Antiochus IV who claimed the succession and soon made good this claim, was far too short to allow the coin production from one mint to be so great as we know it to have been in this case. The coins with the infant's portrait are too common, consist of too many varieties of dies and monograms, and are of too careful workmanship to make it at all probable that they could have been issued during the few weeks of turmoil and uncertainty that intervened between the death of Seleucus IV and the arrival of Antiochus IV.

Another theory, put forward by Dr. Macdonald in the *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, 23, 111 ff. and *Cat. of Hunterian Coll.*, p. 53, is that these coins were struck by Antiochus IV in honor of his little son Antiochus who later became king and known as Antiochus V Eupator. This theory has been followed here as best fitting both the historical and numismatic evidence at our disposal. It is furthermore supported by the evidence certain Babylonian contract tablets of this period furnish us. The earliest¹⁸ tablet we possess of the reign of Antiochus IV is dated on the

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 126, note 1.

¹⁷ Bevan, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 126, note 1.

¹⁸ Clay, *Legal Documents from Erech*, N. Y., 1913, *Introd.*, page 14.

22nd day of the 2nd month, 138th year Aer. Sel. (= 174 B. C.) and is in the name of the joint kings Antiochus and Antiochus — evidently Antiochus IV and his eldest son Antiochus. The latest one we have with the *two* names is for the 29th day, 10th month, 142nd year, or 170 B. C. The present writer has in his possession another tablet dated the 6th day, 2nd month, 144th year (or 168 B. C.) *but with only the name of a single Antiochus*. This would seem to show that another tablet published by Dr. Clay and dated 12th day, 6th month, year 146 (or 166 B. C.) and also only bearing the single name Antiochus is to be assigned, not to Antiochus V Eupator as has been thought, but, because our literary sources speak of Antiochus IV reigning until 165/4 B. C., to Antiochus IV. In other words we gather from the evidence furnished by these Babylonian tablets that Antiochus IV associated his infant son with himself in the Government as early as 174 B. C., but by 168 B. C., at the latest, this arrangement, for some reason or other, had been discontinued in favor of his sole kingship. Now it is to just this period of double power that it seems best to assign the earliest tetradrachms which bear the portrait of the elder Antiochus, as well as all those which bear the infant's head. The two series are identical in style and fabric and bear in common the symbol TRIPOD. Probably in conjunction with this series were issued the following bronze coins which have for their obverse type a draped and veiled female bust, for their reverse type an elephant's head to left. All of these pieces have as symbol a TRIPOD, as on our silver issues, and, in addition, the following letters, ΘΕΚ (Hunter), Ω (Hunter), ΙΑ (Hunter), ΗΡ (Hunter), Α (Paris, Plate x, 12), Α (Paris, no. 487), and one with same types but a serrated edge and letter Δ (Hunter, no. 55). It is to be noted that not only have all these coins the same tripod symbol found on the silver issues but many of them have similar letters or monograms. Bronze coins of similar style and fabric are also to be found struck for Seleucus IV. Therefore the attribution to this period seems corroborated. Now that we also have such a numerous series of bronze coins to place alongside of the tetradrachms with the child's head the possibility of their having all been struck by the shadowy Antiochus, second son of Seleucus IV, in the short time he is supposed to have ruled, rapidly vanishes and we are only left with the alternative of the first years of the joint reigns of Antiochus IV and his son Antiochus.

SERIES II, Circa 169-167 B. C.

a. Regular issues.

54 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IV to r. Ends of diadem hang down and are adorned with STARS. (On some specimens these are not visible being off the flan.) Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Zeus, naked to waist, seated to l. on high-backed throne, holds Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. In exergue, ♃.

London, no. 15, **Plate III**, also nos. 13 and 14; Paris, no. 531; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 21 and 22 (Pl. lxvi, 13); Amer. Num. Soc.; Petrograd, no. 343; J. Ward Coll., no. 786 (Pl. xix); Bunbury Coll., no. 491 (Pl. iv); A. Cahn Sale, xxxv, 1913, no. 210; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 590 (Pl. xviii); Sotheby, Ashburnham Sale, 1895, no. 211 (Pl. iv).

55 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. Ends of diadem adorned with stars.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, ΙΣ.

Paris, no. 533, **Plate III**; Petrograd, no. 344.

56 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. Ends of diadem adorned with stars.

Rev. Similar, but without monogram or letters.

Newell, **Plate IV**; London, nos. 11 and 12; Paris, no. 532; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 23 and 24; Amer. Num. Soc.; Jameson Coll., no. 1697 (Pl. lxxxv); Hirsch, Weber Sale, 1908, no. 4066 (Pl. liii).

The peaceful reign of Selencus now began to bear fruit and the Seleucid Empire once more became a powerful factor in Eastern affairs. Particularly was this the case when Rome became involved in a mighty trial of strength with the Macedonian kingdom of Perseus. Antiochus was thus, to a certain extent, freed from the watchful and ever suspicious eye of Rome and did all that lay within his power to build up and perfect the Syrian army and navy. So successful was he in this that when the Egyptian kingdom, with remarkable lack of judgment and a poor understanding of conditions, attempted to assert the old claim to Coele-Syria and Phoenicia (lost to her under Antiochus III) Antiochus IV in two short and equally successful campaigns routed the Egyptian armies, seized the country from Memphis to the Sea, laid siege to Alexandria and all but captured it. At the last moment Rome, having successfully dealt with Perseus and being in no mind to see Egypt subject to Antiochus, intervened and forced a peace between the two kingdoms. Antiochus was thus cheated of his prize but gained immense prestige.

It was during these Egyptian campaigns that the preceding coins were probably struck. As the Babylonian contract tablets show us Antiochus was now reigning alone¹⁹ and so the coins bear only his portrait.

The new types which were now introduced in the Seleucid coinage by Antiochus IV are interesting as they are so intimately associated both with the events of the time and with the personality, political aims, and aspirations of Antiochus himself. Brought up in Rome, inspired by Greek learning and ideals, quickened by his sojourn in Athens, the intellectual metropolis of all true Hellenes, Antiochus IV considered himself the foremost champion of Hellenism in the East. He attempted to imbue his oriental subjects with this spirit, to conform their customs to this ideal, and more or less to standardize their innumerable local cults to one common form of worship. To focus their worship on some Hellenic deity, as near like the local divinities as possible, was his solution of the problem. Zeus Olympios, the nearest to the innumerable Baals or Baalim that had come down from the earliest days in every township of the kingdom, therefore became the leading and, one might say, the official god of the Empire. Not content with this, Antiochus seems to have identified himself with Zeus, to have presented himself to the people as the "effulgence in human form of the Divine, a god manifest in the flesh."²⁰ For it is thus that he styles himself upon these new coin issues: Θεὸς Ἐπιφανής, the God manifest. Most appropriately the type chosen for the tetradrachms was that of Olympian Zeus, now become the great Divinity of the Seleucid empire, to whom Antiochus had commenced the erection at Athens of a magnificent and colossal temple but destined never to be finished until the time of Hadrian. On the citadel at Antioch another sumptuous temple, adorned with plates of gold, was dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus; in the great temple of Apollo at Daphne a statue as near like the masterpiece of Pheidias at Olympia was set up; the temple of Jehovah in Jerusalem was rededicated to Zeus Olympios; the temple to Jehovah in Shechem in Samaria to Zeus Xenios. To make his own divine nature evident upon the coinage, Antiochus caused stars to be placed upon the ends of his diadem on the silver issues, and divine rays about his head on the bronze. Upon the reverses of the new tetradrachms is placed a close copy of the Zeus Olympios of Pheidias, the God seated in divine splendor holding a wreath-bearing Nike in his right hand,

¹⁹ See above, page 21.

²⁰ Bevan, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, page 154.

the God whose representative upon earth Antiochus claimed himself to be, the God who was to be the supreme divinity, the composite of all local gods, the emblem of the Syrian kingdom.

There are also bronze coins, consisting of two denominations, that appear to belong to this period. The larger has the radiated head of Antiochus on the obverse, and a standing figure of Zeus holding a sceptre on the reverse (B. M. Cat. Pl. xii, no. 6). The smaller denomination has a similar head upon the obverse and upon the reverse an advancing figure of Apollo holding a bow in his outstretched left and drawing an arrow from the quiver at his shoulder with his right (B. M. Cat. Pl. xii, no. 8). The specimen of this latter type in the writer's collection, corroborates the attribution to Antioch, as these types are restruck over an older coin with a veiled female bust on the obverse and an elephant's head upon the reverse — a coin which we have seen (page 21) is to be attributed to this mint for the first part of Antiochus' reign. The inscription on these two denominations is the same as on the tetradrachms, that is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. The style of the head is also identical with that of the silver issues. Because of similarity of style and types the municipal issues of Antioch (fig. 1) with the inscription ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ (B. M. Cat. nos. 61 to 71) should also be assigned to about this period. The tripod, which appears as an adjunct symbol on many of these bronze pieces should be compared with the same symbol on the tetradrachms of Series I.



Fig. 1.

SERIES II, Circa 168 B. C.

b. Commemorative Issues.

57 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IV to r. Ends of diadem hang down and are adorned with STARS. Border of dots.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Eagle standing to r. on thunderbolt.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 51, Plate IV.

58 BRONZE (Denomination I).

Obv. Head of Zeus-Serapis to r. wearing laurel wreath. Border of dots.
Rev. Inscription and types as on no. 57

Paris, Pl. xiii, no. 14.



Fig. 2.

59 BRONZE. (Denomination II).

Obv. Head of Zeus-Serapis as on no. 58.
London, Pl. xii, no. 11. (Fig. 2.)

Rev. Inscription and types as on no. 57.



Fig. 3.

60 BRONZE (Denomination III).

Obv. Bust of Isis wearing corn-wreath ending above in symbol of Isis. Circle of dots.

London, Pl. xii, no. 12. (Fig. 3.)

Rev. Inscription and types as on no. 57.



Fig. 4.

61 BRONZE (Denomination IV).

Obv. Radiated head of Antiochus IV to
r. Border of dots.

London, Pl. xii, no. 13. (Fig. 4.)

Rev. Inscription and types as on no. 57.

A full list of the known specimens of these most interesting coins can be found in Svoronos *Tà νομίσματα τῶν πτολεμαίων*. The drachm no. 57 is the key to the time and place of minting. Comparing it with the tetradrachms as illustrated on Plate IV it will be seen that it is of identical style and fabric. Particularly noticeable are the two stars which adorn the ends of the diadem — the characteristic emblem of this issue. Following the custom prevalent since the time of Antiochus III the drachm has a beaded border, leaving the fillet border to the tetra-

drachms. The reverse type of the eagle standing upon the thunderbolt of Zeus serves, perhaps, a double purpose. On the one hand, being the well-known symbol adopted by the Ptolemies of Egypt for their far-travelling coins, its sudden and passing appearance upon the coins of Antiochus IV no doubt celebrates the contemporary triumphs over the Egyptian kingdom, on the other hand it is but a condensed form of the type of Zeus Nikephoros of the tetradrachms, and is therefore emblematic of the great Hellenic god, now the leading divinity of the Seleucid kingdom.

Accompanying this drachm and belonging to the same mint and date is the well-known series of bronze coins in four denominations described above under nos. 58 to 61. On account of their several types, which offer a definite and undoubted allusion to the victorious Egyptian campaigns of Antiochus IV, these pieces have ever been thought of as having been struck in Egypt itself. There are, however, many objections to this view which, when taken together, would seem fatal to its final acceptance. In the first place it is evident that these bronze coins cannot be separated from the drachm no. 57, as they resemble it in style and particularly in absolute identity of their inscriptions and reverse type. This drachm, however, as we have seen above, is too closely allied to the tetradrachms nos. 54, 55, and 56 to be thus easily separated from them and attributed to a distant mint in an alien country. The bronze coins themselves are comparatively common (Svoronos has altogether enumerated as many as 107 pieces) while Antiochus' stay in Egypt was of short duration, and sufficient opportunity to issue so many coins (which there undoubtedly were, since they furnish us with so many examples) would seem to be lacking. Furthermore, if these coins had been struck in Egypt²¹ and distributed to the people, as has been supposed, they would have been principally used in that country and consequently *found* there to-day. Of the seven specimens in the writer's collection every one came to him from sources other than Egyptian, and this though on three separate occasions he spent several months in Egypt diligently collecting many thousands of coins. This is not meant to imply that these particular varieties are *never* found in Egypt — but that the writer has never seen any there or has never heard of any having been found there. In addition, four of the seven pieces in his collection were secured from definitely Syrian sources, another shows a patina (shiny black surface with reddish colored

²¹ Babelon, Introduction, page c.

earth adhering) which is peculiarly Syrian and once seen can never be mistaken; and, as a whole, none of them show an appearance or patina generally associated with coins found in Egypt. Of the two specimens in the Yale collection of this type one was secured in Constantinople and the other came by purchase from Syria (probably Marash). There are several specimens in the collection of Prof. Torrey at Yale whose collection was formed in Jerusalem and the Syrian coast. Of all the 107 specimens enumerated by Svoronos only two are mentioned as belonging to an Egyptian collection, but not therefore necessarily found in Egypt. In other words, with such material as is available at the present time, no reference can be found of coins of this type having ever been unearthed in Egypt. In comparing these pieces with contemporary issues of the Egyptian mints no similarity except, in a general way, in types and weights, can be found. Their fabric is utterly unlike anything known for Egypt, but closely approaches the bronze issues we know to have been struck at this time in Syrian mints. The only coin that can definitely be assigned to Egypt for the period of Antiochus' sojourn there is the unique piece in M. Dattari's (Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 234, no. 1422, Pl. xlviii, 7) collection which by style and types is undoubtedly of Egyptian origin, but utterly unlike the pieces now under discussion. Because both style and fabric of these four remarkable bronze coins are so at variance with a coin which we know to have certainly been struck in Egypt at this time, because such records of provenance as happen to be at our disposal point to Syria and not to Egypt, and because of the difficulties of time and opportunity, therefore our conclusion must be that the bronze coins nos. 58-61 can not possibly have been struck in Egypt. We must even go further and definitely assign them to the mint at Antioch because of the drachm no. 57. This piece can neither be separated from the bronze coins because of type and inscription, nor from the tetradrachms nos. 54-56 because of style, inscription, and the star adorned diadem. These tetradrachms, finally, can only be assigned to Antioch because of sequence of style and the continued appearance of the characteristic monogram Φ on the preceding Antiochene issues of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV, as well as the succeeding issues of Antiochus IV, Antiochus V, and Demetrius I. The entire issue, on account of its unusual types and denominations, was evidently a commemorative one to celebrate the victories won over the Ptolemaic armies in 169 and 168 B. C.

SERIES III, Circa 167-165/4.

a. Commemorative Issues for 167 B. C.

62 GOLD STATER.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IV to r. Ends of diadem hang down. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.) ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (in exergue). Zeus Olympios enthroned to l., naked to waist, legs placed parallel, holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre.

Paris, no. 534, Plate IV ; London (dotted border)=Num. Chron., Ser. IV, Vol. XII, 1912, no. 27 (Pl. vii, 11).

63 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Laureated head of Zeus to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.) ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (in exergue). Zeus Olympios as on preceding coin. The figure of Nike is sometimes to r. as on the tetradrachms of the previous issues, sometimes to l. as on the remainder of the coins of this issue.

Paris, no. 544, Plate IV, nos. 545 and 546 ; London, no. 22 (Pl. xi, 9) ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 50 ; Newell ; Egger Sale xli, no. 684 (Pl. xix) ; Jameson Coll., no 1700 (Pl. lxxxv), formerly Sotheby, Rome Sale, no. 165 ; Petrograd, no. 349.

64 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Laureated head of Apollo to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY | ΘΕΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (to l.). Apollo Kitharoedos to r., in long robes, holding lyre in l., and patera in outstretched r.

Jameson Coll., no. 1699, formerly Hirsch, Weber Sale, no. 4069, Plate IV ; Paris, no. 547 (Pl. xii, 12).

65 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Radiated and diademed head of Antiochus IV to r. Border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Medusa head upon Aegis.

Paris, no. 529, Plate IV, no. 530 ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 27 ; Coll. L. Walcher de Moltheim, 1895, no. 2935 (Pl. xxv).

66 DIOBOL.

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. Inscription as on preceding coin. Tripod on base.

London, no. 10, Plate IV.

b. Regular Issues for 167-165/4 B. C.

67 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IV
to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.)
ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.) ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
(in exergue). Zeus Olympios, naked to
waist, one end of chlamis draped over left
shoulder, legs parallel, holds wreath-bear-
ing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on
sceptre. On l., outside inscription, ♣.

London, nos. 17 and 18; Paris, no. 536 (Pl. xii, 10); Newell; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 47; Sotheby, American Artist Sale, 1910, no. 119, **Plate IV**; Egger Sale, Jan. 7, 1908, no. 591 (Pl. xviii); Coll. Walcher de Moltheim, 1895, no. 2934 (Pl. xxv); Rome, Strozzi Sale, 1907, no. 1669 (Pl. xi).

68 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscrip-
tion, ΙΣ.

London, no. 16; Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 674 (Pl. xix).

69 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscrip-
tion, ♣.

Newell, **Plate IV**.

70 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscrip-
tion, Π.

Sotheby, Butler Sale, no. 250, **Plate IV**; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 48; Paris, no. 539.

71 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscrip-
tion, Θ.

Amer. Num. Soc.

72 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscrip-
tion, Π.

Paris, nos. 535, 537 and 538; Petrograd, no. 345.

73 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscrip-
tion, Μ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 49 (Pl. lxvi, 18); Egger, Sale xli, no. 682 (Pl. xix).

In the Spring of 167 B. C. Antiochus, having safely returned from his Egyptian campaigns, sent messengers and deputations throughout the Greek world, inviting all and sundry to attend the magnificent games and other festivities shortly to be held near Antioch in honor of his recent achievements. Antiochus spared no expense to make this celebration a unique one of its kind. Our historians dilate upon the magnificence of the processions, the sumptuousness of the costumes and trappings, the extravagance of the displays and spectacles attending the festivities. It was undoubtedly on this auspicious occasion, to add to the general display and perhaps to furnish keepsakes for the countless visitors from distant lands, that Antiochus caused the commemorative series of coins to be struck which we have collected under nos. 62 to 66. On these coins we see the title *νικηφόρος* added to the already formidable and grandiloquent array, a title distinctly and unmistakably alluding to the great victories achieved in Egypt, and furnishing us with the final evidence needed to connect these coins with the celebrations of 167 B. C.

As the games and festivities were held ostensibly in honor of Apollo, the supposed progenitor of the House of Seleucus and its patron god, and of Zeus Olympios Nikephoros, now the chief divinity of the Seleucid empire, the scene of the celebration was most appropriately the beautiful grove and great temple of Apollo at Daphne, just outside the walls of Antioch. Here was located the famous colossal statue of that god, the work of Bryaxis, made of gold and wood with head and arms of marble. In this temple, too, Antiochus as we know, had shortly before erected a close copy of the chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia, the masterpiece of Pheidias. The special types chosen for the tetradrachms of the commemorative issues perpetuate these two famous statues. On no. 63 we see the laurel crowned head of the Olympian Zeus with his smiling and benignant features, on the reverse of the same coin is displayed the entire statue of the god enthroned, holding out in his hand a wreath-bearing Nike. On no. 64 we see on the obverse the head of the Apollo statue, on the reverse the statue itself, Apollo Kitharoedos in long robes, holding lyre and patera.

Small coins of rather unusual denominations, for the Seleucid series, seem also to have been struck. On nos. 65 and 66 the king's head, surrounded with the divine rays, adorns the obverse, the reverse type of the hemidrachm is Athene's aegis adorned with the Gorgo head, perhaps similar to one in gold set up by Antiochus in Athens;

the reverse type of the diobol is Apollo's tripod. These two small denominations have been associated here with the larger pieces of special type because of the peculiarity of their types and because of the tripod which would seem to connect the smaller of the two, at least, with the Apolline tetradrachm. On both of these pieces the title *νικηφόρος* has been omitted, perhaps on account of lack of room. In the bronze coin with the reverse type of the Aegis, illustrated in the British Museum Catalogue, Pl. xii, no. 7, we have a contemporary issue in this metal. To the writer, however, it seems quite probable that at the time of the great celebrations at Antioch the special issues in bronze with peculiarly Egyptian types (described above under nos. 58 to 61) continued still to be issued. Their types are so especially appropriate to an occasion particularly celebrating the Egyptian victories of the king that their issue at this time would seem most likely. They have been catalogued under the immediately preceding period only because the silver drachm (no. 57) — from which they can not well be separated — belongs by style and fabric and by the star adorned diadem, to the coins of Series II, and because the inscriptions on all of these pieces omit the title *νικηφόρος* which is the particular characteristic of Series III. Because their types were so peculiarly appropriate to the celebrations of 167 B. C. it is quite possible that their issue was continued. In support of this it must be noted that we have no bronze coins at all of Antiochus IV inscribed with the *νικηφόρος* title. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that bronze coins were issued after 167 B. C.; and, if so, that it was these particular pieces because of the very appropriateness of their types celebrating the Egyptian victories.

The gold stater no. 62 has been assigned to the commemorative series because of the *νικηφόρος* title it bears and because, after the reign of Antiochus II, the appearance of gold issues in the Seleucid series always has something of the unusual about it. To augment the ostentation and sumptuous display of the great occasion, what better symbol of his wealth and power could Antiochus devise than to strike and distribute specimens of the beautiful gold stater seen on Plate IV, with the king's portrait on the obverse and Zeus Nikephoros enthroned upon the reverse?

Throughout this third period of coinage tetradrachms of the usual type continue also to be struck. They vary from those of Series II only in the fact that stars are no longer visible on the diadem ends, that the title *νικηφόρος* is always found in their exergues, and that the legs of the

Zeus figure are always parallel and not crossed as they were in the previous issue. While the commemorative issues appearing at Antioch in the summer of 167 B. C. bear no magistrate's letters or monograms, the regular coinage, continuing from this date to the end of Antiochus' reign, display them as usual. Among them we find ⚡ and ⚡ of Series II and also a new one ⚡, whose owner is destined to hold office through several succeeding reigns.

ANTIOCHUS V EUPATOR, 164-162 B. C.

The unexpected and unfortunate death of Antiochus IV brought his young son to the throne, a child of but nine or ten years of age. He is known to history as Antiochus V and was given the surname Eupator.

At this time, it must be remembered, there still resided at Rome the son of Seleucus IV, Demetrius by name. But Demetrius in 175 B. C., by the swift action of his unclè Antiochus IV in hastening from Athens to Asia where he was immediately proclaimed king, had been forestalled in claiming the succession to the Seleucid throne. This prince, now grown into an ambitious and capable young man of twenty-three, enjoyed the friendship of many very influential Romans (among them our principal historian of this very period, Polybius) and formed a striking figure in the life of Rome. He naturally looked askance at what would seem to him the usurpation of a throne which by all rights was his. He sought, by every means at his command and with the help of his influential friends, to induce the Senate to acknowledge him king in the place of the boy Antiochus Eupator. The Senate, however, preferred to see the Seleucid kingdom at a disadvantage under the rule of a mere child, and so rejected Demetrius' petitions or returned evasive answers, while at the same time keeping a strict watch over his movements. In the meanwhile, in Syria, affairs were more or less in constant turmoil due to the machinations of various would-be regents and ambitious generals, each trying to turn to his own advantage the weakness of the child ruler, Antiochus; while serious rebellion in Judea and incipient revolt in Antioch kept matters in suspense.

To add to this, there arrived at Antioch in the year 163 B. C. Gnaeus Octavius, ambassador from Rome, sent to watch Seleucid

affairs, to block any attempt to increase the kingdom's power, and if possible and in the interests of Rome to destroy the elephants or any other asset of material strength the Syrian kingdom might still possess. So well and so harshly did Octavius follow the Senate's behest that he soon raised a storm of popular indignation against himself, in the course of which he was suddenly assassinated, an event which naturally brought Syria and Rome to the brink of war. At this juncture the young Demetrius seized the opportunity to escape from Rome — a dramatic incident vividly related to us by Polybius who himself was among the conspirators. Demetrius arrived safely in Palestine, and was enthusiastically welcomed by the people, now wearied with continual wars and the troubles due to the conflicting ambitions of various generals uncurbed by the too youthful Antiochus. Demetrius soon swept all before him and Antiochus V was murdered while trying to oppose him just outside the walls of Antioch, 162 B. C.

The short coinage at Antioch of the boy-king Antiochus V, is represented by the following coins :

74 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus V
to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ANTIOXOY (to l.) ΕΥΤΑΤΟΡΟΣ (in exergue). Zeus Olympios, as on the issues of Antiochus IV, enthroned to l., naked to waist, one end of chlamis over shoulder, holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, ♣.

London, no. 3, **Plate IV**, also no. 4; Sotheby, Butler Sale, no. 253 (Pl. vi); Egger Sale, Nov., 1909, no. 421 (Pl. xv); Petrograd, nos. 386 and 387; Coll. L. Walcher de Moltheim, 1895, no. 2944 (Pl. xxvi); Hirsch, xxxiii, 1913, no. 899 (Pl. xxi); Sotheby, Cumberland Clark Sale, 1914, no. 266 (Pl. vii); Sotheby, Ashburnham Sale, 1895, no. 212 (Pl. v).

75 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ▯.

London, nos. 5 and 6, **Plate IV**; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 4 and 5; Newell; Bunbury Sale, no. 495, now Jameson Coll., no. 1701 (Pl. xxvi); Paris, nos. 695 and 696 (Pl. xv, 9); Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 686 (Pl. xix); Hirsch xxv, Philippsen, 1909, no. 2902 (Pl. xxxiii); Hirsch, Weber Sale, 1908, no. 4072 (Pl. liii); Amer. Num. Soc.; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 594 (Pl. xviii); Petrograd, no. 385; Coll. L. Walcher de Moltheim, 1895, no. 2945 (Pl. xxvi).

76 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΔI.

Newell, Plate IV ; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 595 (Pl. xviii).

77 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, †P.

J. Ward Coll., no. 787, Plate IV.

77a TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar (same die as Plate IV, 77). *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, A.

Electrotype in author's collection, present whereabouts of original unknown.

78 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but border of dots.*Rev.* Similar.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6 (Pl. lxvii, no. 2)

The coinage for Antioch, comprising the above varieties, struck in the name of Antiochus V Eupator very closely follows the last coinages of his father in style and fabric. The two magistrates ♣ and ▯ were also continued from the preceding issues.

 DEMETRIUS I SOTER, 162-150 B. C.

Immediately after establishing himself firmly upon his throne at Antioch, Demetrius proceeded to reconquer the Babylonian provinces which had fallen away from the kingdom under the preceding reign. He soon overcame Timarchus, who had seized the Diadem, and was enthusiastically welcomed by the populace of Seleucia on the Tigris who hailed him as Saviour. It was here, in about the year 160 B. C., that Demetrius first received the title of Soter.

SERIES I, Circa 162-156 B. C.

a. Early Issues 1.

79 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Young head of Demetrius, diademed, to r. in laurel-wreath circle.*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to l.). Tyche, naked to waist, seated to l. on cippus adorned with two winged monsters whose bodies end in scrolls or fishes tails, holds sceptre in outstretched r. and cornucopiae in l. On l. outside inscription, ♣.

Bunbury Coll., no. 499, Plate V ; Newell (same obverse and reverse dies as preceding specimen. The monogram ♣ has been recut over another, perhaps ▯).

80 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar, but Tyche (also naked to waist) seated on throne, only one leg of which is to be seen. This has form of a winged lion's leg. On l., outside inscription, ♣.J. Ward Coll., no. 788, **Plate V**.**81 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar, but Tyche is completely draped and leg of throne has the form of a winged monster whose extremities end in scrolls. On l., outside inscription, ▯.Newell; London, no. 33, **Plate V**; Paris, no. 709; Petrograd, nos. 391 and 392; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4; Hirsch Sale xix, Nov., 1907, no. 599, **Plate V**.

b. Early Issues 2.

82 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Diademed head of Demetrius as before but of lower relief.*Rev.* Tyche as on no. 81. On l., outside inscription, ▯.Newell, **Plate V**; Egger Sale xlvi, 1914, no. 2448 (Pl. xxxix).

NOTE. — Probably the tetradrachm of Demetrius I, no. 29, on page 47 of the British Museum Catalogue, should be inserted here because it appears to bear the same monogram as our tetradrachm no. 77a (Antiochus V). As the attribution to Antioch would also depend upon the style and fabric of the piece, it has not been included here because of the impossibility of securing a cast at the present time.

83 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar to no. 82.*Rev.* Tyche as on no. 81 but of smaller proportions. On l., outside inscription, ♣.Newell, **Plate V**; London, no. 32; Petrograd, no. 397 (without casts of these last two pieces it is impossible to determine whether they belong here or under nos. 79 and 80).**84 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar to no. 82.*Rev.* Similar to no. 83. In exergue, ▯.Newell, **Plate V**; Paris, no. 710; Petrograd, no. 393; London, no. 34; Coll. L. Walcher de Moltheim, 1895, no. 2949 (Pl. xxvi); Hirsch xix, 1908, no. 599 (Pl. xv).**85 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar to no. 82.*Rev.* Similar to no. 83. In exergue, Λ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll., Pl. lxxvii, no. 4), no. 5; Paris, no. 715.

c. Later Issues.

86 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Older head of modified style and higher relief. *Rev.* Similar to no. 82. On l., outside inscription, Φ .

Cumberland-Clark Sale, 1914, no. 269, **Plate V**.

87 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ψ or Ψ .

Amer. Num. Soc., **Plate V** ; Paris, nos. 712 and 713 ; London, no. 27 ; Petrograd, no. 394.

88 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ .

Paris, no. 717 ; Merzbacher Sale, Nov., 1910, no. 826 (Pl. 14).

89 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. No monogram.

Newell, **Plate V** ; London, no. 25.

90 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ .

Hirsch, Sale xxxiii, 1913, no. 901 (formerly Egger, Sale Jan. 7, 1908, no. 596) **Plate V**.

91 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to no. 89. On l., outside inscription, Ψ .

Paris, no. 711 (Pl. xvi, no. 3) ; London, no. 31.

92 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Δ .

Newell, **Plate V** ; London, no. 26 ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2.

93 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, EY .

Newell, **Plate VI**.

94 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, EI .

Newell, **Plate VI**.

The mint at Antioch, upon the arrival of Demetrius, immediately began the coining of tetradrachms bearing the portrait, name, and types of the new king. The two magistrates Φ and M , who had officiated under Antiochus V, were evidently left in office and display their monograms upon the new coinage. There are several reasons for placing nos. 79, 80, and 81 at this particular point and so seeing in them the first coinages in Antioch of Demetrius. In the first place his features are more youthful than on any of his other coins; the figure of Tyche on nos. 79 and 80 is undraped to the waist, a peculiarity not found on any of the later coinages and therefore most likely to occur at the commencement when details of the type had not yet become fixed; the throne too, has not yet become stereotyped, for on no. 79 we see what appears to be a cippus decorated with the winged monsters which by no. 81 have become the sole support of Tyche and therefore unexplainable without this coin to serve as a prototype; and, finally, the same magistrates are functioning as under the preceding reign. On the obverse, instead of the fillet border as on the coinages of Antiochus III to V, we find a laurel wreath border. This innovation may perhaps be more or less directly due to the final successes which Demetrius gained over his adversaries just outside the walls of Antioch. It is quite possible that he actually attributed his victory to Apollo. For it must be remembered that Apollo had been, par excellence, the patron divinity of the Seleucid dynasty down through the reign of Seleucus IV. Antiochus IV Epiphanes, however, seems to have caused Apollo's worship to become of secondary importance in favor of Zeus Olympios. As a type Apollo was almost completely ousted from the Seleucid coinage during the reigns of Epiphanes and his son Antiochus V. With the return to power of the legitimate branch, in the person of Demetrius, Zeus disappears until the succeeding reign when Alexander Balas (who gave himself out as a second son of Epiphanes) replaces Zeus and discards Apollo. Demetrius II, son of Demetrius I, succeeds Alexander and once more Apollo assumes his rightful place. It is quite possible that in the tetradrachm illustrated in the British Museum Catalogue, Pl. xiv, no. 3, we should recognize the first coinage of Demetrius Soter upon his capture of Antioch. There is considerable artistic affinity between the head on this coin and the heads on our nos. 79, 80, and 81 to support this suggestion. If this is the case then Apollo was actually introduced again on the earliest of Demetrius' coinages to suggest the return of the legitimate branch. When Demetrius finally decided upon

a type of more personal significance (is the female divinity on his later coins really intended to be Demeter?) the favor of Apollo was still retained by placing that god's symbolic plant, the laurel, on the obverse in the form of a wreath surrounding the king's portrait, a procedure that at the same time, immortalizes Demetrius as the Victor.

The exact significance of the reverse type of the seated goddess has never been satisfactorily explained. It is even uncertain whether the figure is intended to be that of a Tyche or of Demeter. The fact that she is partially undraped on the earliest coins would seem inimical to either explanation, particularly so to the latter. It seems almost certainly to have been copied from some statue but from what one or why is still an enigma.

The coins have been roughly classed in what appears to have been their general order of appearance. The details of the several issues have only been worked out in a general way as the writer has had at his disposal only such pieces as have been illustrated in the various catalogues or exist in actual specimens in American collections.

SERIES II, Circa 156-155 B. C.

a. First Issue.

95 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius to r. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (to r.) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ
Laurel wreath border. (to l.). Tyche as on no. 94. On l., outside inscription, Α.

London, no. 30; Paris, no. 716; Petrograd, nos. 395/6; London (see Num. Chron., Ser. III, vol. X, 1890, Pl. xix, 19).

96 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Α.

Amer. Num. Soc., Plate VI; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3; Paris, no. 718.

97 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Η.

London, no. 28; Paris, no. 719.

98 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, Η.

Paris, no. 720; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6; Newell, Plate VI.

b. Second Issue with title $\Sigma\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$.

99 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ |
ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (to l.). Tyche as on no. 95.
On l., outside inscription, Α.Sotheby, Headlam Sale, May, 1916, no. 442, **Plate VI**; Newell.

100 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, Α.Newell, **Plate VI**; London, no. 23.

101 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ΗΡ.

London, no. 24; Egger Sale xlvi, 1914, no. 2454 (Pl. xxxix).

By their monograms and the style of their reverse dies the coins of Series II are the immediate forerunners of the dated coins we will study in the next paragraph. The title $\Sigma\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ also links these coins with those that follow. Although this title had already appeared upon the Babylonian issues of Demetrius (it was given him by the people of Seleucia on the Tigris as early as 160 B. C.) it does not appear upon the coinage of the Antiochene mint until about 155 B. C. as proved by the succeeding pieces — which bear the date HNP of the Seleucid Era, — that is from October 155 to the end of September 154 B. C.

SERIES III, 155–150 B. C.

a. Dated HNP Oct. 155 to Oct. 154.

102 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius to r.
Laurel wreath border.*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ |
ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (to l.). Draped figure of
Tyche seated to l. on throne the back leg
of which consists of winged monster the
body of which ends in two scrolls. Tyche
holds short sceptre in outstretched r., and
cornucopiae in l. On l., outside inscription,
Α | Α. In exergue, HNP.

London, no. 6; Newell; Paris, no. 742.

103 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription,
Α | Α. In exergue, HNP.London, no. 10; Paris, no. 743; Petrograd, no. 424; Hirsch, Hoskier Sale, 1907, no. 438, **Plate VI**.

104 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{☉} | \text{⊥}$. In exergue, HNP.

London, no. 13; Newell; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 18.

105 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{☉} | \text{M}$. In exergue, HNP.

Paris, no. 741.

b. Dated Θ NP Oct. 154 to Oct. 153.

106 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{☉} | \text{A}$. In exergue, Θ NP.

London, no. 7; Paris, no. 745; Petrograd, no. 425; Jameson Coll., no. 1702 (Pl. lxxxvi).

107 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{☉} | \text{A}$. In exergue, Θ NP.

Newell; Paris, no. 747; Yale Univ. Coll.

108 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{☉} | \text{⊥}$. In exergue, Θ NP.Newell, **Plate VI**; London, no. 14.

109 DRACHM.

Obv. Head as above, but in fillet border.*Rev.* $\text{B}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Sigma$ (to r.) $\Delta\text{H}\text{M}\text{H}\text{T}\text{P}\text{I}\text{O}\text{Y}$
 $\Sigma\text{O}\text{T}\text{H}\text{P}\text{O}\Sigma$ (to l.). Cornucopiae. Below,
 $\text{☉} \text{A} | \Theta$ NP.Newell, **Plate VII**; Paris, no. 746; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 22; Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 682 (Pl. xix).

110 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Below, $\text{☉} \text{⊥} | \Theta$ NP.

London, no. 36.

c. Dated Ξ P Oct. 153 to Oct. 152.

111 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 102.*Rev.* Similar to no. 102. On l., outside inscription, $\text{☉} | \text{A}$. In exergue, Ξ P.Newell, **Plate VI**; London, no. 8; Paris, no. 748.

112 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{𐌆} | \text{Α}$. In exergue, ΞΡ .

Newell; London, no. 11; Paris, no. 750.

113 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{𐌆} | \text{⊃}$. In exergue, ΞΡ .

London, nos. 15 and 16; Paris, no. 752; Petrograd, nos. 429 and 430.

114 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar to no. 109.*Rev.* Similar to no. 109. Below, $\text{𐌆} \text{Α} | \text{ΞΡ}$.

London, no. 39; Paris, no. 749; Petrograd, no. 427; Newell; Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2955 (Pl. xxvi); Yale Univ. Coll.

115 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Below, $\text{𐌆} \text{Α} | \text{ΞΡ}$.

Newell; Paris, no. 751; Petrograd, no. 428; Egger Sale xli, no. 694 (Pl. vii); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 23.

116 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Below, $\text{𐌆} \text{⊃} | \text{ΞΡ}$.

Paris, nos. 753 (Pl. xvi, no. 15) and 754; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 24; Yale Univ. Coll.

d. Dated ΑΞΡ Oct. 152 to Oct. 151 B. C.

1st Issue.

117 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar to no. 103.*Rev.* Similar to no. 103. On l., outside inscription, $\text{𐌆} | \text{Α}$. In exergue, ΑΞΡ .

London, no. 9.

118 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{𐌆} | \text{Α}$. In exergue, ΑΞΡ .

London, no. 12, Plate VI; Paris, no. 756; Newell.

119 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{𐌆} | \text{⊃}$. In exergue, ΑΞΡ .

London, nos. 17 and 18; Paris, no. 755; Petrograd, no. 431; Newell; Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2951 (Pl. xxvi); Hirsch xxx, Barron Sale, 1911, no. 591 (Pl. xviii).

120 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar to no. 110.*Rev.* Similar to no. 110. Below, $\text{Α} \text{Α} | \text{A}\Xi\text{P.}$

London, no. 40; Paris, no. 761; Petrograd, no. 433; Newell; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.) no. 27.

121 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Below, $\text{Α} \text{Α} | \text{A}\Xi\text{P.}$

Paris, nos. 758 and 762; Petrograd, no. 432; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 25; Yale Univ. Coll.

122 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Below, $\text{Α} \text{Η} | \text{A}\Xi\text{P.}$

London, no. 37, Plate VII, no. 38; Paris, nos. 763 and 764; Newell; Petrograd, no. 435; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 26 (Pl. lxxvii, 7).

2nd Issue.

123 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar to no. 103.*Rev.* Similar to no. 103. On l., outside inscription, $\text{Α} | \text{M.}$ In exergue, $\text{A}\Xi\text{P.}$

London, no. 19.

124 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{Α} | \text{Α.}$ In exergue, $\text{A}\Xi\text{P.}$

London, no. 20; Newell, Plate VI; Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 691 (Pl. xix).

125 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{Α} | \text{Α.}$ In exergue, $\text{A}\Xi\text{P.}$

Newell, Plate VI.

126 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar to no. 110.*Rev.* Similar to no. 110. Below, $\text{Α} \text{Α} | \text{A}\Xi\text{P.}$

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 28; Paris, nos. 759 and 760; H. R. Drowne Coll.; Newell, Plate VII; Schulman, White-King Sale, no. 568 (Pl. vi); Yale Univ. Coll.

127 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Below, $\text{Α} \text{P.}$ $\text{A}\Xi\text{P.}$

Newell, Plate VII.

e. Dated ΒΞΡ Oct. 151 to Spring 150.

128 GOLD TWO-AND-A-HALF STATER.

Obv. Goddess holding sceptre in r. and cornucopiae in l., seated on throne to l. Circle of dots. Beneath throne, ΒΛ (erased). On l., in field, ΒΛ.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to r.) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (to l.). Double cornucopiae adorned with taenia. On r., between inscription and design, ΒΞΡ. On l., between inscription and design, Ϟ | ΣΑ.

Paris, no. 765, **Plate VII.**

129 GOLD DISTATER.

Obv. Similar to preceding. On l., in field, Β.

Rev. Similar. On r., between inscription and design, ΒΞΡ. On l., between inscription and design, Ϟ | Α.

Berlin (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vol. VI, 1879, p. 2).

130 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 102.

Rev. Similar to no. 102. On l., outside inscription, Ϟ | Ϟ. In exergue, ΒΞΡ.

Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 599, **Plate VII**; Paris, no. 767; Newell.

131 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ϟ | Ϟ. In exergue, ΒΞΡ.

Paris, no. 766; (London, nos. 21 and 22 with uncertain monogram may go here).

132 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ϟ | Ϟ. In exergue, ΒΞΡ.

Paris, no. 768; Glasgow (*Hunterian Coll.*), no. 21, (Pl. lxxvii, 6).

133 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 109.

Rev. Similar to no. 109. Below, Ϟ Ϟ | ΒΞΡ.

Jameson Coll., no. 1704 (Pl. lxxxvi).

134 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Below, Ϟ Ϟ | ΒΞΡ.

Paris, no. 769; Petrograd, no. 437.

Demetrius ruled his kingdom with a firm hand but, perhaps for that very reason, was never able to gain the affections of his subjects, and by his foreign policies he soon aroused the enmities of neighboring states. By 151 B. C. a coalition of Ptolemy VII of Egypt, Ariarathes

V of Cappadocia, and Attalus II of Pergamum was formed against Demetrius. For some years previous to this time the Pergamene king had been championing the claim to the Syrian throne of a certain Alexander, surnamed Balas, who gave himself out as the second son of Antiochus IV. This person was now assisted with an army by the allied kings and effected a landing at Ptolemais in Palestine. Demetrius evidently felt that with sedition at home, and three powerful kingdoms against him his chances of successful resistance were small. He therefore sent his two little sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, away into safety and with that part of the army that could still be relied upon he advanced against Alexander. In the battle that followed his army was overwhelmed and Demetrius himself perished, fighting bravely to the end. This event took place in the spring of 150 B. C.²²

The third and last series of the Antiochene coinages of Demetrius is distinguished by bearing dates running from HNP to BΞP (158-162 Aer. Sel.); by a uniform coinage of tetradrachms and corresponding drachms; and by the fact that the minting of these pieces was under the constant supervision of one magistrate signing himself Ϟ, and assisted by three or more subordinates per year. Thus between October 155 and October 154 B. C. four subordinates were functioning Α, Α, Η, and ΜΙ. For the two years between October 154 and October 152 only the three magistrates Α, Α, Η, were active. The first issues of year ΑΞΡ (152-151 B. C.) were issued under Ϟ' supervision with the assistance of the same three Α, Α, Η who were later replaced by ΜΙ, Ϟ, and Ϛ. The following and last year of the coinage Ϟ, Ϛ, and a new one Μ were active for the silver, Α and ΞΑ for the special gold issues. This issue came to an end, naturally, with the death of Demetrius. The well known gold two-and-a-half stater piece (Paris, Pl. xvii, no. 1) was struck in Antioch along with the last issue of tetradrachms, as was also the corresponding gold double stater of the Berlin collection. These gold coins bear the monogram Ϟ, the letters ΞΑ or Α and the date BΞP. The monograms show conclusively that these unusual pieces were struck at the same mint as our tetradrachms. Both Friedlaender (*Zeit. für Num.*, vol. vi, 1872, pp. 2-7) and Babelon (*Introd.* cxx) have shown that these coins could not possibly have been struck in Cyprus as suggested by Lenormant (*Revue numismatique*, 1855, p. 89). Friedlaender, indeed, goes further, and on account of the monogram Α, attributes the Berlin specimen to Antioch. We now see that both coins

²² Bevan, *loc. cit.*, p. 211.

should be assigned to that mint. The immediate occasion for the issue of these curious denominations was probably the danger which threatened the rule of Demetrius in 150 B. C. and the consequent necessity for raising and equipping his army to meet it. Friedlaender is no doubt correct in assigning the unusual appearance of marks of value (B and B^Λ) found on these pieces to the confusion which might arise in distinguishing the two coins — both having similar types and the difference in weight being so slight as not to be easily discernible without recourse to the balance.

Both the British Museum and Paris catalogues have attributed the tetradrachms to various mints, e. g. those with the monogram Α to Apamea, Α to Antioch, ΗΡ to Heraclea, etc. When all these pieces have been assembled, however, it is clearly seen that they must have emanated from one and the same mint. The use of common obverse dies between coins bearing different monograms; steady and uniform progression in style and fabric, year by year, throughout the entire series; the appearance on *all* the coins of the one monogram Α, and other minor points place the fact of a single mint for the coins of Series III beyond a doubt, and if of Series III, then too of Series I and II because they are definitely bound together by style and community of monograms. Of all the cities in the realms of Demetrius it was obviously only at Antioch, the metropolis and capital of the kingdom, that there could have been located the mint that issued such a large, yet compact and consecutive a series as the one here described. It is certainly the largest and most complete of all that monarch's coinages, and it is inconceivable that any other mint than Antioch could have issued it, and besides, by style and monograms it is closely bound to the preceding Antiochene issues of Antiochus IV and Antiochus V.

The bronze issues of Demetrius for Antioch are possibly to be found in the very common series of three types with serrated edges brought together by Dr. Macdonald in his catalogue of the Hunterian Collection, pp. 55 and 56, nos. 8 to 15. These coins, comprising three denominations (I, Head of Apollo, rev. Tripod; II, Head of Artemis, rev. Bow and quiver; III, Horse's head, rev. Elephant's head), are easily the commonest of all the bronze coins found to-day with the name of Demetrius. Hence it is most likely that they were struck at the principal mint, Antioch, and their style is certainly in favor of this attribution especially as we have noted that bronze coins with serrated edges were struck here under Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV. Dr.

Macdonald also calls our attention to a corresponding series of three denominations with the same types but with plain edges and of half the weight. These should be assigned to the same mint.

In addition to Antioch, Seleucia on the Tigris and Tyre were two very active mints under Demetrius, supplemented by small and intermittent issues at one or two other cities of the kingdom.

ALEXANDER I BALAS, 150-145 B. C.

Alexander, when he had once become king, seems to have surrendered himself to a life of ease and license. He spent most of his time in the southern portion of his dominions, particularly at Ake-Ptolemais or in Phoenicia.²³ It was perhaps due to this predilection that the mints of the Phoenician cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Berytos became so active under his rule. Never-the-less, the mint at Antioch lost little of its importance and continued to coin, if not quite so profusely as under Demetrius, still in sufficient quantities to make its coins fairly common to this day. As yet no coins of Alexander Balas have been published, of the series attributable to Antioch, bearing the date ΒΞΡ, the last year of Demetrius' reign and the one in which Antioch fell to the new ruler.

SERIES I (Dated issues).

- a. Dated ΓΞΡ Oct. 150 to Oct. 149.

135 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander I to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ | ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (to l.). Zeus, with chlamis draped over l. shoulder and legs, seated to l. on throne (which sometimes has back), holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE. In exergue, ΓΞΡ ρ̄.

London, no. 8; Newell, **Plate VII**; Sotheby, Cumberland-Clark Sale, 1914, no. 273 (Pl. vii).

²³ Bevan, *loc. cit.*, p. 213, and note 3.

136 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 871.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE. In exergue, ΓΞΡ ϙ.

137 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell (same obverse die as no. 135 Newell).

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE, Θ. In exergue, ΓΞΡ.

138 DRACHM.

Obv. Head of Alexander I diademed to r. in dotted circle.

London, no. 17 (Pl. xvi, 2); Paris, no. 874; Petrograd, no. 483.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (to l.). Apollo seated to l. on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE. In exergue, ΓΞΡ.

139 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Jameson Coll., no. 1713 (Pl. lxxxvi).

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE. In exergue, ΓΞΡ ϙ.

140 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 873; Petrograd, no. 485.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE and ϙ. In exergue, ΓΞΡ.

141 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 872.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE and Ε. In exergue, ΓΞΡ.

b. Dated ΔΞΡ Oct. 149 to Oct. 148.

142 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 135.

Newell, Plate VII; London, no. 11; Paris, no. 876; Hirsch, Rhousopoulos Sale, no. 4455 (Pl. lvi).

Rev. Similar to no. 135. On l., between figure and inscription, ϙ. On l., outside inscription, ΠΠ. In exergue, ΔΞΡ.

143 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 10.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Ϝ . On l., outside inscription, Ϝ . In exergue, $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$.

144 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Roll. & Feuard. Sale, June 9th, 1913, no. 331 (Pl. xi).

Rev. Similar.. On l., between figure and inscription, Ϝ . On l., outside inscription, Ϝ . In exergue, $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$.

145 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Ϝ . In exergue, $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$, Ϝ .

146 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 9.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Ϝ . In exergue, $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$, Ϝ .

147 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 875 (Pl. xviii, 4).

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Ϝ . In exergue, $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$, Ϝ .

148 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 685 (Pl. xix).

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Ϝ . In exergue, $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$, Ϝ .

149 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 138.

London, no. 18.

Rev. Similar to no. 138. In exergue, $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$.

SPECIAL ISSUE FOR THIS YEAR.

150 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Head of Alexander I diademed to r. in fillet border.

London, no. 15, Plate VII.

Rev. $\text{BΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ} | \text{ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ}$ (to r.) $\text{ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ}$ (to l.). Athene, helmeted and draped, standing to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on spear and shield. On l., between figure and inscription, Ϝ Ϝ . In exergue, $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$.

c. Dated ΕΞΡ Oct. 148–Oct. 147.

151 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 135.

Newell, Plate VII.

Rev. Similar to no. 135. On l., between figure and inscription, ϙ. In exergue, ΕΞΡ, ΠΡ.

152 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Petrograd, no. 487.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ϙ. In exergue, ΕΞΡ, ΠΡ.

153 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 877.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ϙ. In exergue, ΕΞΡ, ϙ.

154 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 879.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, CORNUCOPIAE. In exergue, ΕΞΡ, Η.

155 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 878.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Δ. In exergue, ΕΞΡ, ΠΡ.

156 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Petrograd, no. 488.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, κ. In exergue, ΕΞΡ, Σ.

d. Dated ΣΞΡ Oct. 147–Oct. 146.

157 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 697, Plate VII, perhaps also Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 603 (Pl. xviii), monogram in exergue incomplete.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, κ. In exergue, ΣΞΡ, Ζ.

158 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 881 Plate VII.

Rev. Similar. (Throne has eagle decoration on leg.) On l., between figure and inscription, κ. In exergue, ΣΞΡ, Θ.

159 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell, Plate VII.

Rev. Similar. (Throne has plain leg.)
On l., between figure and inscription, Δ .
In exergue, SΞP, Θ.

160 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Coll. L. Walcher de Moltheim, 1895, no. 2966 (Pl. xxvi).

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and
inscription, Δ . In exergue, SΞP, \mathfrak{K} .

161 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and
inscription, Δ . In exergue, SΞP and \mathfrak{R} .

e. Dated IΞP after Oct. 146.

162 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 12.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and
inscription, \mathfrak{K} . In exergue, IΞP and un-
certain monogram.

The coin catalogued under no. 882 in the Paris catalogue has not been incorporated here as it has not been seen and seems to vary from any of the preceding coins in having a monogram under the throne. It may or it may not have been struck at Antioch.

SERIES II (Undated Issues).

163 GOLD STATER.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander I to
r. in circle of dots.

Paris, no. 793 (Pl. xvii, 9).

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to
r.) ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ | ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (to l.).
Zeus seated as on tetradrachm no. 135.

164 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 135.

Egger, Prove Sale, 1904, no. 1546 (Pl. x).

Rev. Similar to no 135. In exergue,
ΠΡΟ.

165 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell, Plate VIII; Paris, no. 797; Petrograd, nos. 448 and 449.

Rev. Similar. (Throne leg sometimes
decorated with eagle.) In exergue, ϩ.

166 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. (Throne leg sometimes decorated with eagle.) In exergue, ⲗⲑ .

Sotheby, Bunbury Sale, no. 505 (Pl. v); Paris, no. 795 (Pl. xvii, 10); Yale Univ. Coll.

167 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ⲗⲑ .

J. Ward Coll., no. 789 (Pl. xix); Sotheby, O'Hagan Sale, 1908, no. 669 (Pl. xi).

168 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ⲗⲑ .

Jameson Coll., no. 1707 (Pl. lxxxvi).

169 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ⲗⲑ .

Petrograd, no. 445 (has not been seen, but possibly belongs to our series).

170 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. In exergue, Δ .Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 602, **Plate VIII**.**171 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. In exergue, M .

Warren Coll., no. 1302 (Pl. xxx).

171a TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. In exergue, Σ .

Yale Univ. Coll.

171b TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. In exergue, Σ .

H. R. Drowne Coll.

Undated Drachms contemporary with tetradrachms of years $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$ — $Z\Xi\text{P}$.Series A (with ⲗⲑ).**172 DRACHM.***Obv.* Similar to no. 138.*Rev.* Similar to no. 138. On l., outside inscription, ⲗⲑ . In exergue, ⲗⲑ .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 10; London, no. 25; Petrograd, no. 453.



173 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⲗⲑ . In exergue, ⲗⲑ .

London, no. 26; H. R. Drowne Coll.

174 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.




London, no. 24.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, . In exergue, .

175 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.


Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 758, Plate VII; Petrograd, no. 462.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, . In exergue, .Series B (with )

176 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.


Newell, Plate VII; Paris, no. 802; Petrograd, no. 458; Yale Univ. Coll.; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, .

177 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 806.

Rev. Similar. In exergue,  .Series C (with )

178 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.



Newell; Paris, no. 796.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, .

179 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 12.

Rev. Similar. In exergue,  .

180 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.




Amer. Num. Soc.

Rev. Similar. In exergue,  .

181 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.




Petrograd, no. 447.

Rev. Similar. In exergue,  .Series D (with )²⁴

182 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8.

Rev. Similar. In exergue,  .²⁴ Because of minuteness this monogram on the drachms often has the form .

183 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.
Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, \triangle A.

184 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.
Newell.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, \triangle Φ .

Series E (Miscellaneous monograms).

185 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.
Newell.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, κ Ψ .

186 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.
London, nos. 21 and 22; Paris, no. 805.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, Θ .

187 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.
Paris, no. 803; Petrograd, no. 459.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, $\Pi\Pi$.

188 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.
London, nos. 19 and 20. (Here too Paris, no. 804?)

Rev. Similar. In exergue, Δ .

189 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Diademed and radiate head of Alexander I to r. in circle of pearls.

Rev. $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Sigma$ (to r.) $\text{A}\Lambda\text{E}\Xi\text{AN}\Delta\text{POY}$ (to l.). Apollo standing to l. holding arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 18 (Pl. lxvii, 11).

190 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Φ .

London, no. 29 (inscription reads $\text{A}\Lambda\text{E}\Xi\text{ATOPO}\Sigma$).

191 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Φ .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 17.

192 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Φ .

London, no. 30, Plate VII; Paris, no. 808 (Pl. xvii, 12); Petrograd, no. 464.

193 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. No symbol or monograms.

Paris, no. 807 ; London, no. 28 ; Petrograd, no. 463.

194 DIOBOL.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander to r.
in circle of dots.*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
(to l.). Tripod.

Paris, no. 809 (Pl. xvii, 13).

The two magistrates Ϝ and ϝ were carried over from Demetrius' issues of the year ΒΞΡ , to Alexander's of the year ΓΞΡ . Although Alexander substituted the figure of Zeus Olympios (the old type of his alleged father Antiochus IV, and his brother Antiochus V) for the seated Tyche of Demetrius, and the fillet border for the laurel wreath border, the style and general appearance of the two coinages at Antioch remain the same. For the year ΓΞΡ the superintendent of the mint signs himself CORNUCOPIAE. In the following year this superintendent drops out (or perhaps he simply changes his signature), and the monogram Ϝ takes the place of the CORNUCOPIAE symbol, while the subordinates remain the same, with one or two added. There is also a special issue of tetradrachms for this year with the reverse type of a standing Athene. The reason for this sudden innovation is obscure ; though, as we know from his other coin types (e. g. Brit. Mus. Cat., Pl. xvi, nos. 10 and 11) Alexander Balas was very partial to his namesake the great Alexander, and so perhaps desired to honor upon his coins the third of the divinities so particularly favored by the Macedonian. As on the coins of Alexander the Great, Athene, Zeus, and Herakles form the choice of types, so this Alexander placed these same three divinities upon his issues. The coinage of tetradrachms continues plentifully for the years ΕΞΡ and ΣΞΡ , while that of the dated drachms is superseded by an undated series. Many of the subordinate officials remain the same for these issues, but the two new superintendents Δ and Κ replace the previous ones. In the year ΖΞΡ the coinage of Alexander Balas is interrupted by his flight from the capital, and the accession of Demetrius II. Only one or two specimens are in existence of his Antiochene issues for this year, which leads one to infer that Alexander fled not many months after October 146 B. C.

Alongside of the dated series of tetradrachms there occurs also an undated series, our nos. 164 to 171. That they belong to our mint is made certain by similarity of style and especially by the fact that sev-

eral magistrates of the dated series also signed many of these pieces. It would seem that the entire coinage of these undated pieces occurred at one time, as the style of all is identical and several specimens of nos. 164, 165, 166, and 170 have their obverses from a single die.

As noted above, the coinage of *dated* drachms ceases in the year $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$, but their place is taken for this and the succeeding years by the undated drachms collected under nos. 172 to 188. On these the same letters and monograms are displayed as on the accompanying tetradrachms, while their style agrees with the issues actually dated $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$ to $Z\Xi\text{P}$.

Aside from the purely municipal bronze issues of Antioch (London, no. 63, Glasgow, nos. 65, 66, Paris, nos. 909-911) there were royal issues as well at this mint. Among these are some²⁵ of those with type Alexander (or Herakles) in lion's skin, reverse standing Apollo and symbols: CORNUCOPIAE, TRIDENT, STAR and with monograms met with on the silver coins. There certainly is a large series of serrated bronze coins, consisting of two denominations, which belong to Antioch. These are to be found brought together by Dr. Macdonald in his catalogue of the Hunterian Collection, pp. 64, 65, nos. 48-59. These pieces have monograms met with on the silver, and are a direct continuation of the serrated bronzes already noticed as having been struck at Antioch under Demetrius I.

DEMETRIUS II NICATOR.

First reign in Antioch²⁶ 146-144 B. C.

As early as the year 147 B. C., Ptolemy VII Philometor of Egypt, who had materially assisted in placing Alexander Balas upon the Syrian throne, became dissatisfied with the course of events then taking place in the neighboring kingdom. Rebellions and local disturbances at home due to the negligence and incapacity of Alexander, threatened invasions from abroad by rival claimants to the throne, all made Ptolemy's influence in Syria uncertain. With a strong army he advanced to Ptolemais whence Alexander, but a short time previously, had departed for Antioch to quell an incipient revolt and to meet an invasion from the North of the young Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius Soter's

²⁵ Those with symbol PALM BRANCH would seem to belong to another mint, probably Apamea.

²⁶ Demetrius ruled till 138 B. C. in Phoenicia.

sons. Ptolemy evidently felt that Alexander had now reigned long enough for Egyptian interests and, having advanced as far as Seleucia on the Orontes, found occasion to break openly with him. He proclaimed the little Demetrius (a child of some fourteen years of age) king in the place of Alexander. Antioch revolted and Alexander fled to the hills (shortly after Oct. 146 B. C. as shown by his Antiochene coins). Ptolemy thereupon entered Antioch and placed his young protégé upon the Seleucid throne as Demetrius II Theus Philadelphus Nicator. The following year (B. C. 145) Alexander made one more bid for his kingdom and with a hastily assembled army crossed the Amanus mountains into the plain of Antioch. Here a pitched battle was fought, just outside the walls of the city, Alexander was overwhelmed, managed to escape to the hills, but was assassinated by an Arab chieftain and his head sent to Ptolemy. Ptolemy, however, had also fallen in battle with a mortal wound, of which he died shortly after, leaving the little Demetrius Seleucid king without either friend or rival. But not for long. The Cretan condottieri and soldiers of fortune who formed Demetrius' principal stand-by and the most dependable part of his army now took things into their own hands and commenced to plunder the country mercilessly. An attempt was made to disband the national army in order that the strangers might be the more secure. This led to a terrible revolt in Antioch which was only suppressed after thousands had been slaughtered, a large portion of the city burned, and the remainder given up to plunder and rapine. At this time a more successful revolt also broke out at Apamea, the military arsenal of the kingdom, under a certain Diodotus who later became known as Tryphon. He secured the allegiance of the native soldiery in the name of the little Antiochus whom his father Alexander had placed in safety with an Arabian chief before his defeat by Ptolemy Philometor. In the 168th year of the Seleucid Era (144 B. C.) Antioch opened its gates joyfully to Antiochus VI Theus Epiphanes Dionysus, while Demetrius retreated to the cities of the Phoenician coast where he continued to rule for another six years.

The mint of Antioch, taken over bodily by the young Demetrius from his predecessor, commenced operations at once — if we may judge by the style of the first issues and the reappearance on them of nearly all the monograms belonging to those subordinate officials who were active under Alexander.

The following, then, are the coins struck by Demetrius during the two years of his disastrous reign in Antioch.

Dated ZEP, end of 146 or early in 145–Oct. 145.

a. With monogram \mathfrak{M} .

195 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius II to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to r.)
ΘΕΟΥ | ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ | ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Apollo naked seated to l. on omphalos, holding arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., between figure and inscription, \mathfrak{M} . In exergue, ZEP \mathfrak{M} .

Paris, no. 950.

196 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, \mathfrak{M} . In exergue, ZEP \mathfrak{H} .

Paris, no. 951.

197 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription \mathfrak{M} . In exergue, ZEP Θ .

London, no. 10.

198 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, \mathfrak{M} . In exergue, ZEP \mathfrak{A} .

London, no. 9, Plate VIII; another, no. 8.

199 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, \mathfrak{M} . In exergue, ZEP \mathfrak{K} .

Jameson Coll., no. 1716 (Pl. lxxxvi).

200 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, \mathfrak{M} . In exergue, ZEP \mathfrak{X} .

Cast in author's possession, present whereabouts of original unknown.

b. With \mathfrak{M} and PALM BRANCH.

201 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, \mathfrak{M} . In exergue, ZEP \mathfrak{A} .

Sotheby, Bunbury Coll., no. 524, Plate VIII.

202 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell, Plate VIII.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, \square .

In exergue, ZEP Ϝ .

203 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, \square .

In exergue, ZEP Ϝ .

204 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 952.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, \square .

In exergue, ZEP A .

205 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Petrograd, no. 500.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, \square .

In exergue, ZEP Ϝ .²⁷

206 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but with laurel wreath border.

Paris, no. 954, Plate VIII.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, \square . Between feet of Apollo, \odot . In exergue, ZEP.

Dated HEP, Oct. 145—early in 144.

207 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, with head in laurel wreath border.

Petrograd, no. 499.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, \square . Between feet of Apollo, K. In exergue, HEP.

²⁷ Not having seen this piece or Petrograd, no. 501, I would be inclined to question the exact form of the monograms there recorded.

208 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, ☐. Between feet of Apollo, ☉. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

Newell,²⁸ **Plate VIII**; London, no. 11 (which, however, is said to possess a fillet border); Hirsch, Rhousopoulos Sale, no. 4458 (Pl. lvi); Sotheby, O'Hagan Sale, 1908, no. 672 (Pl. xi).

209 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH.²⁹ On l., between figure and inscription, ☐. Between feet of Apollo, Η. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3 (Pl. lxvii, 18).

209a TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, ☐. Between feet of Apollo, ☉. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, 1883, p. 434, no. 103.

210 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius II to r. in dotted circle.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ | ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Apollo as above. On l., between figure and inscription, ☐. Between feet of Apollo, †. In exergue, ΗΞΡ (?).³⁰

Paris, no. 953.

211 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ☐. Between feet of Apollo, ☉. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

London, no. 12; Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 708, **Plate VIII**.

212 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ☐. Between feet of Apollo, Κ. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

Jameson Coll., no. 1723 (Pl. lxxxvii), **Plate VIII**.

²⁸ The reverse design having been struck a little to one side it is impossible to determine if the PALM BRANCH was originally on this die or not. Its presence, though, is probable.

²⁹ The stem of the PALM BRANCH is just visible.

³⁰ The date is obscure. Babelon suggests ΖΞΡ, but as all the other known drachms are ΗΞΡ it has been placed here until another specimen turns up.

213 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, STAR. On l., between figure and inscription, \square . Between feet, \square .

Newell ; London, no. 13 ; perhaps also Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5.

214 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but with fillet border.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, \mathfrak{S} . Between feet of Apollo, \mathfrak{A} . In exergue, HΞP.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4.

215 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius II to r. in dotted circle.

Rev. BAΣΙΑΕΩΣ (to r.) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked, standing to l., holding arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. In front of figure, \square | X.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 709, Plate VIII.

The first issue of Demetrius upon his arrival in Antioch consists of the tetradrachms nos. 195 to 200. The supreme magistrate is now \mathfrak{M} , but the subordinate ones we have all met with on the previous issues of Alexander Balas, showing conclusively that we here have to do with the issues of one and the same mint. The last date borne by the coins of Alexander was ZΞP which began in October 146 B. C. As we possess only one certain specimen of this coinage it must have been very small. Demetrius' issues for Antioch begin with the same date, that is ZΞP, but are very numerous. It is probable, therefore, that Alexander's flight before the threatening advance of Ptolemy Philometor and the insubordination of his own subjects in Antioch occurred towards the end of 146 B. C. It was not long, however, before Alexander was able to raise an army, whereupon, probably during the summer campaigning months, he approached Antioch only to meet defeat in pitched battle before the walls of the city. I would therefore assign the "a" series with the monogram \mathfrak{M} to the interval between the flight of Alexander and his return in the early summer of 145 B. C. Series "b" was issued after the great victory of Ptolemy and Demetrius his protégé and bears in the field of the reverse a large palm branch (significant of this success) *in addition to* the monograms of the officiating magistrates. The chief official is now \square , his subordinates consisting of some of our old friends together with a few new ones. To emphasize the victory, Demetrius, just before the close of the year ZΞP, sub-

stitutes a laurel wreath for the more usual fillet border which he had placed on the obverse of his tetradrachms at the beginning of his reign (see Plate VIII, no. 206 and following).

The issues of year ΗΞΡ continue as in the previous year with Ϝ as chief magistrate. This year is signalized by a plenteous issue of drachms and also a hemidrachm (no. 215). The majority of the subordinate officials have been met with before.



fig. 5

fig. 6

fig. 7

The bronze issues of Demetrius for Antioch are somewhat obscure, among them however is certainly a series of three denominations as illustrated in the accompanying cuts. All the varieties of this issue that I have been able to study show in the exergue the monogram Ϝ which is likewise found on series "a" of the tetradrachms. The bronze coins are therefore contemporary with these tetradrachms.

ANTIOCHUS VI DIONYSUS, In Antioch, 144-142 B. C.

It has already been related above how the native soldiery, at the instigation of a certain Diodotus whom we know better under the name Tryphon, revolted against the little Demetrius and declared for Antiochus, the infant child of Alexander Balas. The revolt originated at Apamea³¹ but soon spread to Antioch, Demetrius fled to Seleucia, and in the course of the 168th year of the Seleucid Era, Antiochus with his protector Tryphon entered the capital in triumph. He, however, was unable to secure the cities of the Phoenician coast which remained loyal to Demetrius throughout the remainder of that monarch's first reign.

These events must have occurred early in the summer of 144 B. C. for the issues of Antiochus VI, following closely upon those of Demetrius for the same year, are far from rare.

³¹ It was here that were struck the rare tetradrachms, Paris, pl. xx. 6, and Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 712.

Dated ΗΞΡ, Summer of 144–October 144.

216 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed and radiate head of Antiochus VI to r. in fillet border.

London, no. 1, Plate VIII.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY (above) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ (below). The Dioscuri, with couched spears, flying mantles, and star-adorned caps, galloping to l., the whole in wreath composed of lotus, ivy, and wheat ears. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ. Beneath horses, ΗΞΡ.

217 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but ends of diadem are flying.

Egger Sale xlv, no. 762, Plate VIII.

Rev. Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | ϙΡ. Beneath horses, ΗΞΡ.

218 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London (see Num. Chron., Ser. III, Vol. xx, 1900, Pl. xiv, 11).

Rev. Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | ϙ. Beneath horses, ΗΞΡ.

219 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Sotheby, Carfrae Sale, 1894, no. 314 (Pl. x, 9).

Rev. Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | ϙ. Beneath horses, ΗΞΡ.

220 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 988 (Pl. xx, 7); Hirsch xxx, Barron Sale, 1911, no. 596 (Pl. xviii).

Rev. Similar, but with thyrsos in front of Dioscuri. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | Κ. Beneath horses, ΗΞΡ.

221 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, star behind head.

Hirsch, Hoskier Sale, 1907, no. 441 (Pl. xv); Sotheby, Guzman Sale, 1914, no. 114 (Pl. vi).

Rev. Similar, with thyrsos. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | Χ. Beneath horses, ΗΞΡ.

222 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed and radiate head of Antiochus VI to r. in circle of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over r. thigh, seated to l. on omphalos holds arrow in outstretched r., l. rests on bow. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Between feet of Apollo, Κ. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

J. Ward Coll., no. 793, Plate IX; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3; E. Rogers, Num. Chron., Ser. IV, vol. xii, p. 253, no 21 (Pl. x, 9).

223 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Between feet of Apollo, Α . In exergue, $\text{H}\Xi\text{P}$.

224 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Between feet of Apollo, X . In exergue, $\text{H}\Xi\text{P}$.

225 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 695 (Pl. xix).

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Between feet of Apollo, Α . In exergue, $\text{H}\Xi\text{P}$.

226 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Between feet of Apollo, Α . In exergue, $\text{H}\Xi\text{P}$.

227 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 7 ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Between feet of Apollo, X . In exergue, $\text{H}\Xi\text{P}$.Dated $\Theta\Xi\text{P}$, Oct. 144–Oct. 143.

228 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 221, with star behind head.

Newell, Plate VIII (same obverse die as no. 221).

Rev. Similar to no. 220, with thyrsos. Behind riders, $\text{TPY} | \text{ITT} | \text{Α}$. Beneath horses, $\Theta\Xi\text{P}$.

229 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but no star.

London, no. 4 ; Paris, nos. 989, 990, and 991.

Rev. Similar, but no thyrsos. Behind riders, $\text{TPY} | \text{W}\text{P} | \Sigma\text{TA}$. Beneath horses, $\Theta\Xi\text{P}$.

230 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar to preceding.*Rev.* Similar to preceding. Behind riders, TPY | X or X | ΣTA. Beneath horses, ΘΞP.

Hirsch, Rhousopoulos Sale, no. 4459 (Pl. lv); Sotheby, Bunbury Sale (II), no. 531 (Pl. v); Ratto Sale, 1909, no. 4878 (Pl. xix); Hirsch xvi, 1906, no. 678 (Pl. xix).

231 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, TPY | A | ΣTA. Beneath horses, ΘΞP.

Egger Sale xlv, no. 694 (Pl. xix); Hoffmann Sale, 1898, no. 717 (Pl. iv).

232 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, TPY | Φ | ΣTA. Beneath horses, ΘΞP.

London, nos. 2 and 3, Plate VIII; Hirsch Sale xxxii, 1912, no. 582 (Pl. xxii) from same obverse die as no. 231.

233 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, TPY | ρ | ΣTA. Beneath horses, ΘΞP.

Egger Sale xlvi, 1914, no. 2458 (Pl. xxxix) formerly Ratto Sale, 1912, no. 1087; Hirsch Sale xxxi, 1912, no. 486 (Pl. xiii); Sotheby, Butler Sale, no. 262 (Pl. vi).

234 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, TPY | ρ | ΣTA. Beneath horses, ΘΞP.

Petrograd, no. 509.

235 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar to no. 222.*Rev.* Similar to no. 222. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. In exergue, ΘΞP ΣTA.

London, no. 8.

236 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Between feet of Apollo, W. In exergue, ΘΞP ΣTA.

Newell; Paris, nos. 992 and 993; Hirsch, Hoskier Sale, no. 442 (Pl. xv).

237 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Between feet of Apollo, X. In exergue, ΘΞP ΣTA.

London, no. 9; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6.

238 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Between feet of Apollo,
Α. In exergue, ΘΞΡ ΣΤΑ.

Petrograd, no. 512; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 7.

239 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Between feet of Apollo,
Α. In exergue, ΘΞΡ ΣΤΑ.

London, no. 10.

Dated OP, Oct. 143–Oct. 142.

240 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar to no. 229.*Rev.* Similar to no. 229. Behind riders,
ΤΡΥ | ρ | ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, OP.London, no. 5; J. Ward Coll., no. 749 (Pl. xx); Paris, no. 996; Sotheby, Cumber-
land-Clark Sale, 1914, no. 276 (Pl. viii).**241 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ |
ϱ | ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, OP.Paris, no. 995; Hirsch Sale xxix, no. 824 (Pl. xii); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.),
no. 1 (Pl. lxviii, 2).**242 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | ϱ |
ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, OP.

Paris, no. 994; Petrograd, no. 513; Egger Sale, Nov., 1909, no. 423 (Pl. xv).

243 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | ϱ
(ΣΤΑ omitted). Beneath horses, OP.Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 763, **Plate IX**; Hirsch xi, 1904, no. 447 (Pl. ix).**244 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | Φ |
ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, OP.London, no. 6, **Plate IX**; Newell (formerly Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 611, Pl.
xix); Schulman, White-King Sale, no. 587 (Pl. vi); Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 610
(Pl. xix).**245 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | Α |
ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, OP.Jameson Coll., no. 1725 (Pl. lxxxvii); Sotheby, Whitehead Coll., 1898, no. 14
(Pl. i); Egger Sale, 1914, no. 2459 (Pl. xxxix); Berlin Duplicates, Hess, 1907, no.
1187 (Pl. iv).

246 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 222.*Rev.* Similar to no. 222. Between feet of Apollo, Ϡ . In exergue, OP Σ TA.

London, no. 13; Petrograd, no. 516.

247 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Between feet of Apollo, Ϡ or Ϡ . In exergue, OP Σ TA.

Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3003 (Pl. xxvii); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 9, 10, and 11; Santa Maria, Hartwig Sale, 1910, no. 820 (Pl. xv).

248 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Between feet of Apollo, X or X . In exergue, OP Σ TA.

London, no. 11, Plate IX; Newell; Paris, no. 997 (Pl. xx, 8); Petrograd, no. 514; Hirsch Sale xiv, 1905, no. 571 (Pl. xiv); Sotheby, Headlam Sale, May, 1916, no. 447 (Pl. x).

249 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Between feet of Apollo, Φ . In exergue, OP Σ TA.

London, no. 12; Hirsch, Rhousoponlos Sale, no. 4460 (Pl. lv).

250 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. Between feet of Apollo, A . In exergue, OP Σ TA.

Newell; Paris, nos. 998, 999, and 1000; Jameson Coll., no. 1726 (Pl. lxxxvii).

Undated Issues.

251 HEMIDRACHM. (Type A, during H Ξ P).*Obv.* Diademed and radiate head of Antiochus VI to r. in circle of dots.*Rev.* BA Σ IAE Ω Σ (to r.) ANTIOXOY (to l.). Apollo, naked standing to l., holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow.

London, no. 15, Plate IX; Paris, no. 1042 (Pl. xx, 19); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 16 and 17.

252 HEMIDRACHM. (Type B, during H Ξ P to Θ Ξ P).*Obv.* Head as above.*Rev.* BA Σ IAE Ω Σ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) EΠIΦANOY Σ | ΔIONY Σ OY (to l.). Panther to l., r. forepaw raised. In exergue, K.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 18 and 19 (Pl. lxxviii, 5); Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3005 (Pl. xxvii).

253 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ϙ.Newell, **Plate IX** (formerly, Schulman, Kreling Sale, Dec., 1913, no. 541).

254 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ϙ.

Newell.

255 HEMIDRACHM. (Type C, during ΘΞΡ to ΟΡ.)

Obv. Similar to no. 244.*Rev.* Inscription as above. Panther to l. holding palm in mouth and r. forepaw. Above ΣΤΑ.London, nos. 16, **Plate IX**, 17, and 18; Jameson Coll., no. 1728 (Pl. lxxxvii).

256 DIOBOL.

Obv. Similar head to r.*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.)
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ (to l.). Thyrsos bound with fillet. ΣΤΑ.London, no. 19 (Pl. xix, 6); Petrograd, no. 520; Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, p. 435, no. 111.

Undated drachms struck 142 B. C.

257 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed and radiate head of Antiochus VI to r. in circle of dots.*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.)
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ (to l.). Macedonian helmet to r. adorned with spike, Ibex-horn and cheek pieces. On r., between horn and spike, ΤΡΥ. On r., beneath helmet, ϙ.

Paris, nos. 1002 and 1003.

258 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On r., between horn and spike, ΤΡΥ. On r. beneath helmet, ϙ or ϙ.London, no. 22, **Plate IX**; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 14 (Pl. lxxviii, 4); Petrograd, no. 517; Paris, no. 1004.

259 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On r., between horn and spike, ΤΡΥ. On r., beneath helmet, ϙ.

London, nos. 20 and 21; Petrograd, no. 518; Paris, no. 1005; Rome, Strozzi Sale, 1907, no. 1678 (Pl. xi).

260 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell.

Rev. Similar. On r., between horn and spike, TPY. On r., beneath helmet, ♀.

We have already noticed that during the first portion of the year ΗΞΡ, issues in the name of Demetrius II appeared at Antioch; the remainder of the same year was given up to the striking of coins for Antiochus VI. The little boy's head is engraved on the obverses of the new coins surrounded with the fillet border and adorned with the divine rays which had been introduced on the Seleucid coinage by his supposed grandfather, Antiochus IV Theus Epiphanes. It was no doubt to emphasize this alleged descent, that the new king took upon himself (or rather the regent Tryphon probably instigated the move as his protégé was only a child of some two or three summers) the surname of Epiphanes and the divine rays. The reverses of the new tetradrachms give us a spirited representation of the Twin Gods charging to left on horseback. The reason for this particular choice of type is obscure. M. Babelon, following Ott. Müller and Wieseler, suggests some incident at the battle which saw the defeat of Demetrius II and the triumph of Antiochus. It must be remembered, however, that the Dioscuri seem to have been particularly favored in Syria under their other name of *Κάβειροι Συρίων*. They had a temple near Seleucia on the Orontes, and they frequently appear on the coins of Seleucus I; their type is therefore not a sudden innovation in the Seleucid series. It is certain, however, that in this case the choice had nothing to do with the worship of these gods at Tripolis in Phoenicia as has been suggested — our coins being all struck at Antioch and it being very doubtful if Antiochus VI ever held Tripolis.³²

If the reason for the choice of the surname Dionysus is also uncertain, the epithet certainly influenced the adoption of the wreath on the reverse of the tetradrachms and the types of the hemidrachms and diobols.

All of the tetradrachms and drachms issued for the year ΗΞΡ at Antioch show the three letters TPY of Tryphon's name and so bear witness to the preponderant position this man held in the government. The monograms and letters of subordinate mint officials are, as usual, placed in the field of the coin, and it is furthermore to be noted, that one and all of these were officiating under Demetrius II, many of them

³² For a discussion of the significance of this type see Babelon, *loc. cit.*, cxxxv. ff.

under Alexander Balas and even Demetrius I showing, as we have already had ample opportunity to observe, how long a period of activity these lesser mint officials at Antioch enjoyed.

Under Demetrius II, during the last year of his rule in Antioch, we noticed a large issue of drachms. This issue continued under Antiochus VI with exactly similar types except for the change in portrait and name. Note that the symbol of the chief magistrate on these pieces is a BUNCH OF GRAPES. Before the close of the year another symbol, the Thyrsos, appears on the tetradrachms.

For the year ΘΞΡ the coinage of tetradrachms and drachms continues actively. At first the Thyrsos symbol again occurs on the tetradrachms but is almost immediately replaced by the letters ΣΤΑ which have caused considerable discussion among numismatists. The majority concur in seeing in them the initials of the name ΣΤΑφύλος and have explained this as either some honorary name of Tryphon, or as the personal name of some official holding an office only secondary to that of Tryphon. The Rev. E. Rogers (Num. Chron. Ser. IV, vol. xii, p. 254) thinks that it is but another name or title of Antiochus VI Dionysus because of the close mythological connection between the two names. From ancient authors we gather that the God Dionysus either had a son by this name, or that Staphylus was a son of Oenomaus, king of Assyria who protected the young Dionysus. It must be noted, however, that on all the Antiochene coin issues, from the first introduction of dating the coins in the year ΗΝΡ of Demetrius I, there appears, in addition to the many subordinate officials, a superior one who places his signature on *all* their issues so long as he remains in office. Under Demetrius I this was Ϟ; under Alexander I it was Ϡ, κ, and Δ; under Demetrius II it was Ϟ; while under Antiochus VI all the drachms of the first issue, in addition to the customary subordinates, are signed Bunch of Grapes, the tetradrachms either the Thyrsos or nothing. The coins for the next year commence with the Thyrsos and the Bunch of Grapes³³ but these are soon dropped in favor of ΣΤΑ. The suggestion is obvious that ΣΤΑ is nothing more than the chief official at the Antiochene mint under Antiochus VI Dionysus, as Ϟ had been under Demetrius I; Ϡ, κ, and Δ under Alexander; and Ϟ under Demetrius II. If ΣΤΑ is correctly rendered Στάφυλος what more appropriate personal symbols could he choose than Thyrsos and Bunch of Grapes? It is of course, an unusual coincidence that Antiochus VI should take (or

³³ The drachm no. 235 has ΣΤΑ as well as the symbol.

be given) the name Dionysus and that at the same time a man of, one might say, Dionysiac name should be his mint master. There was, however, thus a double reason for the markedly Dionysiac character of the types chosen for the new coinage.

Year OP continues with a very heavy coinage of tetradrachms and drachms. There seems also to have been continued the striking of the more unusual denominations of the hemidrachm and diobol. The former had first appeared, probably in year HEP, with the types used by Antiochus' father Alexander (see nos. 189-193) but these change almost immediately to ones of a definitely Dionysiac character.



fig. 8

fig. 9

Among the bronze issues of Antioch for this reign are to be placed two denominations of serrated coins, both with obverse type of the little king's head radiate, and with reverse type (for the larger) elephant holding torch; (for the smaller) panther holding palm branch with mouth and right paw. Both these types bear the letters ΣΤΑ and, in addition the magistrate symbols Cornucopiae, Star, Palm Branch.

It was also in the year OP, the last of the reign, and perhaps at the very time the regent Tryphon was meditating his treacherous seizure of the throne, or even immediately after he had taken the final step, that there appeared a new issue of drachms with an innovation in the reverse type. The radiate head of the young Antiochus still holds the obverse, but on the reverse we see a Macedonian helmet of peculiar form, adorned in front with a large and conspicuous Ibex horn, henceforth to be the constant symbol of Tryphon. The letters ΤΡΥ (for the first time on the drachm) are conspicuously placed, but we no longer find a date. It is certain that Tryphon, so soon as he had seized the supreme power, discarded the use of the Seleucid Era for dating, and substituted one of his own. His Phoenician issues bear the dates Α to Δ, — in other words, his own regnal years. On the Antiochene issues, commencing with the above drachms, the very useful and, to us, most desirable custom of dating is now finally dropped from the silver coinage. The monograms of subordinate mint officials are, however, still continued from the preceding coinages.

TRYPHON, 142-138 B. C.

In and around the end of the year OP Tryphon felt his position in the kingdom strong enough to bring about the sudden death of the boy Antiochus, whose regent and guardian he had till then been, and to assume in name as well as in actuality the supreme power. He caused the troops under his command to declare him *Βασιλεύς*, he himself assumed the title *Ἀυτοκράτωρ* "ruler by his own power"; in other words, the Seleucid line is supposed to have come to an end and a new one to have risen in its place. It must be remembered, however, that Demetrius II was still maintaining himself in the cities of the coast, from Selucia to near the Egyptian border, though Tryphon soon after his usurpation, came into possession of Ascalon and Ptolemais. For four years Tryphon ruled and was then suddenly overthrown by another scion of the House of Seleucus. Tryphon's Antiochene issues are the following:

261 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Tryphon to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ (to r.) ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Chased Macedonian helmet to l. with spike, large Ibex horn in front, cheek guards and taenia. Beneath helmet, \times .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 1, **Plate IX**.

262 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, but the entire design surrounded by an oak wreath. Beneath helmet, \times .

Paris, no. 1043 (Pl. xxi, 1); Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 716, **Plate IX**.

262a TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Beneath helmet, \odot .

Electrotype in author's collection, present whereabouts of original unknown.

263 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. No monogram.

London, no. 2 (Pl. xx, 1).

264 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Beneath helmet, \square .

Paris, no. 1044.

265 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to tetradrachm except that in place of fillet border there is dotted circle. *Rev.* Similar to tetradrachm no. 261. On l., beneath helmet, X.

London, no. 4 (Pl. xx, 2); Hirsch, Rhousopoulos Sale, 1905, no. 4461 (Pl. lv).

265a DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath helmet, X.

Newell.

266 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath helmet, XP.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3.

267 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath helmet, P.

Newell (formerly Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 699), Plate IX; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2; Roll. & Feuard., Duruffé Sale, 1910, no. 626 (Pl. xiv).

268 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath helmet, PP.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 717 (Pl. xix).

269 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath helmet, A.

London, no. 3; Jameson Coll., no. 1729 (Pl. lxxxvii) formerly Sotheby, Benson Sale, 1909, no. 764 (Pl. xxv); Paris, no. 1045 (Pl. xxi, 2); Petrograd, no. 540.

270 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath helmet, R.

Paris, no. 1046; Petrograd, no. 541.

271 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath helmet, A.

Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 615 (Pl. xvii).

272 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath helmet, P.

Hirsch (xxx), Percy Barron Coll., no. 597 (Pl. xviii).

We have seen that the useful system of dating the silver coins was discarded in the last issue of drachms bearing the portrait and names of Antiochus VI Dionysus. The coins, both silver and bronze, now struck with the portrait and titles of Tryphon the usurper, also bear no

dates; but the silver are still marked with the monograms of the same magistrates who had held office both in the preceding and in earlier reigns. Thus we meet once more and for the last time our old friends X, and Ϝ.³⁴ The Antiochene bronzes, as under Antiochus VI, bear symbols (Star, Akrostolion, Ear of Wheat, Caps of the Dioscuri) but are no longer serrated.

The Macedonian helmet chosen for the reverse type of all these issues has direct reference to the claim of Tryphon that,— according to the time honored Macedonian custom,— he was supposed to have been unanimously elected by free Macedonian soldiers in open assembly. There may also be intended a punning reference to his name, for in both Homer and Hesiod a helmet is sometimes called *τροφάλεια*.

ANTIOCHUS VII EUERGETES, 138-129 B. C.

During the period covered by the reigns of Alexander Balas, Antiochus VI, and Tryphon, and the contemporaneous rule in Phoenicia of Demetrius II, the brother of the latter, Antiochus by name, was growing into manhood at the busy seaport and powerful city of Side in Pamphylia. When this young man, who had inherited much of his father's ability and strength of character, was somewhere between the ages of twenty and twenty-three, news suddenly reached him that his elder brother, Demetrius II, had been taken prisoner in distant Media whither he had gone to deliver the eastern provinces from Parthian domination and add them once more to the Seleucid dominions. There was now no legitimate Seleucid king in power, for Tryphon was everywhere considered a mere usurper.

Antiochus immediately left Side and landing in Syria, was received with acclaim by all, delighted once more to own allegiance to a rightful and legitimate sovereign of the House of Seleucus. Tryphon was deserted by both people and army. He sought safety in flight but was pursued from place to place until finally, cornered and in despair, he perished by his own hand. Antiochus VII Euergetes, popularly known as Sidetes on account of the place of his bringing up, now ruled alone in the lands of his ancestors.

³⁴ A occurs once more here, as well as under the following reign.

a. With Φ and one letter or monogram.

273 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus VII to r. in fillet border.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) EYEPΓETOY (to l.). Athene standing to l., helmeted, holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on shield adorned with Medusa head, and holds spear. The whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | Α or Α .

J. Ward Coll., no. 795, **Plate IX**; London, no. 30; Amer. Num. Soc.

274 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | Η .

Newell.

275 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | Α .

Newell; Paris, no. 1151; London, no. 29.

276 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | Α .

Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 764, **Plate IX**.

277 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | Α .

Electrotype in author's collection. London, no. 28, and Petrograd, no. 575, may be this variety.

278 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | Α .

Newell.

279 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | Η .

Paris, no. 1152; London, no. 31.

280 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | Α .

London, no. 32; Petrograd, no. 574.

281 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | Π .

London, nos. 33, 34, and 35; Paris, nos. 1149 and 1150.

282 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A.

Paris, nos. 1147 and 1148; Petrograd, no. 572; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 10; Newell (several specimens); Schulman, White-King Sale, 1904, no. 595 (Pl. vi); Sotheby, Bunbury Sale, no. 535 (Pl. v); Sotheby, Cumberland-Clark Sale, 1914, no. 278 (Pl. viii)

b. Φ | A and one monogram or letter.**283 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar, but at times Nike faces to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, Θ .

Paris, nos. 1142 and 1143; London, no. 22; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 9; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 620. Plate IX; Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 708 (Pl. xix).

284 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar, with Nike at times facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, \mathfrak{R} .

Paris, nos. 1145 and 1158; London, no. 23a; Jameson Coll., no. 1730, Pl. lxxxvii; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 7.

285 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, Δ .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5, (Pl. lxviii, 14).

286 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, Φ l.

London, no. 27.

287 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, A.

Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 623, Plate IX.

288 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar, sometimes Nike facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, Δ .

Paris, no. 1144; London, no. 21; Yale Univ. Coll.; Newell.

289 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, H.

London, no. 20; Newell.

290 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, O.

Paris, no. 1146; London, no. 23; Petrograd, no. 571; Amer. Numis. Soc.

291 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar, Nike facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, Σ .

Paris, no. 1157 (Pl. xxi, 14).

292 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar, Nike sometimes facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, Φ .

London, no. 26; Petrograd, no. 582; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 621 (Pl. xix); Newell; Santa Maria, Hartwig Sale, 1910, no. 821 (Pl. xv).

c. Φ | A and two letters.

293 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar, Nike facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, A. On r., behind Athene, B.

Paris, no. 1155.

294 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar, Nike facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, A. On r., behind Athene, E.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 11.

295 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar, Nike facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, A. On r., behind Athene, K.

Schulman Sale, Oct., 1912, no. 83 (Pl. ii).

296 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar, Nike sometimes facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, T. On r., behind Athene, A.

London, no. 25; Amer. Numis. Soc.

297 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar, Nike facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, T. On r., behind Athene, A.Paris, nos. 1153 and 1154 (Φ | A = Δ | A); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 13 and 14; Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3020 (Pl. xxvii); Petrograd, nos. 577 and 580 (T = Γ ?); Newell; H. R. Drowne Coll.**298 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, O. On r., behind Athene, A.

Newell; London, no. 24; Paris, no. 1156.

299 TETRADRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, M. On r., behind Athene, K.

Petrograd, no. 576.

d. Drachms with Φ and one letter, contemporaneous with preceding three classes.**300 DRACHM.***Obv.* Diademed head of Antiochus VII to r. in fillet border.*Rev.* $\text{BΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} | \text{ANTIOXOY}$ (to r.) ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (to l.). Nike advancing to l. holds wreath in outstretched r., and gathered drapery in l. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A.

Paris, no. 1162 (Pl. xxi, 15); London, no. 40; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 15; Newell.

301 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 39.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ . On r., beneath wing, A.

302 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Petrograd, no. 589.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A.

303 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 16.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ . On r., beneath wing, \mathfrak{R} .

304 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell, Plate X.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | O.

305 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 41; Paris, no. 1160; Petrograd, no. 586; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 18 (Pl. lxxviii, 15).

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ . On r., beneath wing, O.

306 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 1161; Petrograd, no. 587.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | Π .

307 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Jameson Coll., no. 1734 (Pl. lxxxvii); London, no. 42; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 17; Paris, no. 1159; Petrograd, no. 583.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ . On r., beneath wing, Π .

308 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Coll. L. Walcher de Moltheim, no. 3032 (Pl. xxviii).

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | Φ .

309 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 1163.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ . On r., beneath wing, Φ .

310 DRACHM.*Obv.* Similar.

Newell.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, \boxtimes^P | Φ .e. Issues without Φ .**311 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar to no. 273.Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3; Newell (monogram \boxtimes), Plate X.*Rev.* Similar to no. 273. On l., beneath Nike, \boxtimes | A.**312 DRACHM.***Obv.* Similar.

Paris, no. 1164; Petrograd, nos. 591 and 592; Yale Univ. Coll.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, \boxtimes | Δ .**312a DRACHM.***Obv.* Similar.

Yale Univ. Coll.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, \boxtimes^P | \mathcal{R} .**313 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar.

London, no. 36; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, B | A.**314 DRACHM.***Obv.* Similar to no. 300.*Rev.* Similar to no. 300. On l., outside inscription, A | B.**315 TETRADRACHM.***Obv.* Similar to no. 273.

Petrograd, no. 573; Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 728, Plate X.

Rev. Similar to no. 273. On l., beneath Nike, \boxtimes | A. In exergue, \boxtimes^P .**316 DRACHM.***Obv.* Similar to no. 300.

Paris, no. 1165.

Rev. Similar to no. 300. On l., outside inscription, Σ .**317 DRACHM.***Obv.* Similar.

London, no. 38.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Σ . On r., beneath wing, O.

Antiochus VII seems to have struck silver coins in great quantity at his mint in Antioch. The person who, as in the preceding reigns, was placed in charge of this coinage signs himself Φ . This soon becomes $\Phi | A$; but the letter A does not seem to belong to Φ as we find it in conjunction with other letters on the coins of class "e." Perhaps it is the initial of another official, or might even be taken as the initial letter of Antioch; in other words a real mintmark in the full sense of that term. On the death of Antiochus VII it disappears until the second issue (series "b") of the reign of Antiochus VIII. The monogram Φ we have already met with on the coinages of Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV, Antiochus V and Demetrius I, but it can hardly be that of the same person. As mint officials at Antioch seem to have enjoyed such long tenure of office, it would not do violence to our credulity to suppose that members of the same family and with similar names held the office at various times. Perhaps, therefore, this Φ is a son or even grandson of the first Φ . The very fact that persons were employed in the mint for such a long time presupposes that they reached a grade of sufficient authority to sign the coins with their monogram or initial at a comparatively early age. It must be remembered that at Rome, at this time, one of the first steps for a young man desirous of entering public life was to be made a triumvir of the mint.

Among the subordinates of Φ we find $\hat{\Lambda}$, $\hat{\Omega}$, and \mathcal{R} all of whom were active under Antiochus VI and Tryphon, and so form the connecting link between the coinages of these rulers and those of Antiochus VII. At one period of Antiochus VII's reign the coinage of tetradrachms was so large that a more complicated system of supervision of the issues was temporarily introduced. In class "c" we have coins which are all supervised by both Φ and A (if this letter denotes a separate official) and, in addition, we have the sub-supervisors A, T (perhaps also Γ), O, and M with *their* subordinates A, B, E, K, Λ , and O. The style, too, of the majority of these particular coins shows hasty work, as if the mint were operating under unusual stress, and so, for this reason, new and poorer die-cutters had to be called in to assist in supplying the demand. It may even be possible to assign this group to the period (131-130 B. C.) when Antiochus was bending every energy to assemble an immense army for the approaching campaign against the Parthians.

There is little doubt but that the silver coin issues of Antiochus VII for Antioch can in time be worked out more surely and more

minutely than it has here been possible to do. The tetradrachms are so common that they are therefore not generally illustrated in the catalogues at my disposal. This means that only a comparatively small number could be studied from the standpoint of sequence of style and dies and so only a general outline of the issues has been given, which a study based on a larger number of actual examples or illustrations may later modify.

Although the Antiochene silver issues of this reign do not bear dates³⁵ we are most fortunately assisted by the contemporaneous bronze issues which do. These consist of four denominations as follows: I,



obv. Ship's prow, rev. Trident (fig. 10); II, obv. Winged bust of Eros, rev. Head-dress of Isis (fig. 11); III, obv. Lion's head, rev. Club (fig. 12); IV, obv. Prow of ship, rev. Caps of the Dioscuri (fig. 13). Taking together the facts that these are easily the commonest of all the bronze coins of Antiochus VII, that in style and fabric they are the immediate successors of the Antiochene bronze coins of Tryphon and bear many of the same symbols, and finally that the monogram Φ is found on practically every specimen, we see clearly proved that their mint must have been Antioch. They all bear dates from $\Delta O P$ (Oct. 139-Oct. 138) to $\Gamma \Pi P$ (Oct. 130-Oct. 129) inclusive, the former being the year in which Antiochus invaded Syria, the latter in which he met his death in the campaign against the Parthians. To be exact, during the summer and autumn of 130 B. C. occurred the successful battles in which Antiochus drove the Parthian out of Babylonia and Media, the winter of 130-129 was passed in Media, the spring of 129 saw the total defeat and death

³⁵ The series of tetradrachms (see Brit. Mus. Cat., pl. xx, 6) bearing dates from SOP to BTP and of Attic weight and royal type — in contradistinction to the dated issues of this king of Phoenician type and weight — did not emanate from our mint.


of the Seleucid king. The bronze issues bearing his name and the date ΓΠΡ must have come to an end with the receipt in Antioch of the news of the great disaster in the late spring of 129 B. C.

DEMETRIUS II, Second Reign in Antioch 129-128 B. C.

The last we heard of Demetrius II was as captive of the Parthian king. Phraates, early in 129 B. C., to ward off the threatening blow of Antiochus VII and not counting on his own sudden victory, sent Demetrius back to Syria with a small force to cause a diversion in Antiochus' absence. With the death of Antiochus everything was changed, and Phraates made a vain attempt to recapture Demetrius. But the latter succeeded in making good his escape and arrived in Antioch about the same time as the news of Antiochus' end. Once more Demetrius was king in Syria.

318 TETRADRACHM.


Obv. Diademed and bearded head of Demetrius II to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Zeus enthroned to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, .

Paris, no. 1218.

319 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription,  | Ε (?).

Jameson Coll., no. 1735 (Pl. lxxxviii).

320 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ. Beneath throne, Ο.

Newell, **Plate X**; Egger Sale, xli, 1912, no. 733 (Pl. xx); Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 715 (Pl. xx); Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 628 (Pl. xix); London, no. 17; Paris, no. 1212; Petrograd, no. 607; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2.

321 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ. Beneath throne, Δ.

London, no. 18, **Plate X**; Paris, nos. 1215 and 1216.

322 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 734 (Pl. xx).

Rev. Similar. In exergue, Ξ O.

323 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.Newell, **Plate X**; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4; Paris, no. 1217.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ . Beneath throne, Δ .

324 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, nos. 19 (Pl. xxi, 4) and 20; Petrograd, no. 610.

Rev. Similar. No letters.

325 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5 (Pl. lxviii, 24).

Rev. Similar. Between feet, Δ . Beneath throne, Ω .

In conjunction with the above may have been struck the bronze coins with reverse type Nike to left (Brit. Mus. Cat., Plate xxi, 12, and Hunterian Coll., Plate lxix, 3) and the letter Ξ in field and symbol Cornucopiae outside the inscription (fig. 14). The Ξ is found on the



fig. 14

silver issues of this mint, and the symbol is a common one on the bronzes of Antiochus VII also struck here.

Demetrius did not long enjoy his newly regained kingdom in its entirety. He had hardly returned to Antioch when his mother-in-law,³⁶ Queen Cleopatra of Egypt, begged his support to restore her to her kingdom from which she had just been driven by her brother, Ptolemy Euergetes. Demetrius spent the winter of 129-128 collecting an army for the invasion of Egypt. In the spring he set out but was checked at Pelusium, for Antioch had suddenly risen in revolt behind him. Ptolemy seized this opportunity to send an Egyptian army to that city, and, with the inhabitants acclaim, to set upon the throne a creature of his own, said to be of Seleucid descent and an adopted son of Antiochus VII. The name of this new usurper was Alexander, pop-

³⁶ Bevan, *loc. cit.*, page 248.

ularly called Zabinas or the "Bought-one."³⁷ Demetrius was thus relegated, once more, to Seleucia and the Phoenician cities. His coinage in Antioch was therefore of but short duration, — from the late spring of 129 to the spring of 128. His issues here are the continuation of the last ones under Antiochus VII on which the monogram Ξ and the letters Ξ and O^{38} are found. It is probably only due to the preparations against Egypt that his Antiochene issues are fairly prolific, when we consider the short period of their striking.

ALEXANDER II, 128-123 B. C.

We have just seen the circumstances surrounding the accession to the Seleucid throne of Alexander II. His dominions at first did not extend much further than over Antioch and the valley of the middle Orontes.

a. $\lvert \Sigma \lvert$ in field.

326 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander II to r. in fillet border.

Rev. $BA \Sigma IAE \Omega \Sigma$ (to r.) $AAE \Xi AN \Delta POY$ (to l.). Zeus enthroned to l. holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, $\lvert \Sigma \lvert$. Beneath throne, Δ .

Paris, nos. 1278 (Pl. xxiii, 4) and 1279.

327 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\lvert \Sigma \lvert$. Beneath throne STAR over Δ .

Num. Chron., 1883, Pl. vi, 5; Paris, no. 1280; Petrograd, nos. 632, 633, and 634.

328 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\lvert \Sigma \lvert$. Beneath throne, Σ .

Hirsch, Weber Sale, 1908, no. 4112 (Pl. liii).

329 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\lvert \Sigma \lvert$. Beneath throne, STAR over Σ .

J. Ward Coll., no. 797, Plate X; London, no. 2; Paris, no. 1281.

³⁷ Bevan, *loc. cit.*, page 249.

³⁸ See nos. 311, 315, 317.

330 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Petrograd, no. 638.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{I}\Sigma\text{I}$. Beneath throne, STAR over Δ .

331 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Schulman, White-King Sale, 1904, no. 610 (Pl. vi).

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{I}\Sigma\text{I}$. Beneath throne, STAR over $\text{\textcircled{B}}$.b. $\text{\textcircled{AP}}$ in field.

332 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Egger Sale xlv, no. 720 (Pl. xx).

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{\textcircled{AP}}$. Beneath throne, Δ .

333 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Petrograd, no. 635; C. S. Bement Coll.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{\textcircled{AP}}$. Beneath throne, STAR over Δ .

334 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 735, Plate X.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{\textcircled{AP}}$. Beneath throne, STAR over Σ .

335 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 632 (Pl. xx); Sotheby, Cumberland-Clark Sale, 1914, no. 283 (Pl. viii).

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\text{\textcircled{AP}}$. Beneath throne, $\text{\textcircled{AP}}$.

336 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 5, Plate X.

Rev. $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Sigma$ (to r.) $\text{A}\Lambda\text{E}\Xi\text{A}\text{N}\Delta\text{P}\text{O}\Upsilon$ (to l.). Helmeted Athene standing to l. holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on shield and spear. On l., outside inscription, $\text{\textcircled{AP}}$ | A.

337 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 12 (Pl. lxix, 9).

Rev. $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Sigma$ (to r.) $\text{A}\Lambda\text{E}\Xi\text{A}\text{N}\Delta\text{P}\text{O}\Upsilon$ (to l.). Single cornucopiae. On l., outside inscription, $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ ($\text{\textcircled{AP}}$?) | Σ .

338 DIOBOL.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 1297 (Pl. xxiii, 8).

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
(to l.). Inverted anchor.

c. ⚡ in field.

339 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 326.Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 631, **Plate X**; London, no. 4 (Pl. xxii, 2); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4; Paris, no. 1283.*Rev.* Similar to no. 326. On l., outside inscription, ⚡. Beneath throne, Δ.

340 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 1282; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5; Sotheby, Headlam Sale, 1916, no. 449 (Pl. x).

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⚡. Beneath throne, Σ.

341 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 768 (Pl. xxi); Newell; Amer. Num. Soc.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⚡. Beneath throne, ΑΦ (sometimes has form ΑΙ).

342 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander II to r. in dotted circle.Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8; Jameson Coll., no. 1741, **Plate X**.*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
(to l.). Double cornucopiae bound with taenia. On l., between design and inscription, ⚡ | Δ.

343 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 1291 (Pl. xxiii, 5); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 9; London, no. 6.

Rev. Similar. On l., between design and inscription, ⚡ | Σ.

344 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 1292; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 7.

Rev. Similar. On l., between design and inscription, ⚡ | ΑΦ.

345 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 1293.

Rev. Similar. On l., between design and inscription, ⚡ | ΔΙ (or is this also ΑΦ?).

346 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Single cornucopiae. On l., outside inscription, ϜϘ . On r., between design and inscription, Δ .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 11.

d. Ξ in field.

347 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 326.*Rev.* Similar to no. 326. On l., outside inscription, Ξ . Beneath throne, Δ .Paris, no. 1289; Sotheby, Delbeke Coll., 1907, no. 222, **Plate X**.

348 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ . Beneath throne, Σ .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6 (Pl. lxix, 7).

349 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ . Beneath throne, A.

Paris, no. 1288.

350 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 342.*Rev.* Similar to no. 342. On l., between design and inscription, Ξ | Σ .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 10 (Pl. lxix, 8); Petrograd, no. 639.

351 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., between design and inscription, Ξ | A Φ .Newell; London, no. 7, **Plate X**.

352 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding.*Rev.* $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Sigma$ (to r.) $\text{A}\Lambda\text{E}\Xi\text{A}\text{N}\Delta\text{P}\text{OY}$ (to l.). Winged Nike advancing to l., holds wreath in outstretched r., palm branch in l. On l., between figure and inscription, Ξ | A Φ .

London, nos. 10 (Pl. xxii, 5) and 11.

e. ⌘ in field.


353 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 326.*Rev.* Similar to no. 326. On l., outside inscription, ⌘ . Beneath throne, Σ .Jameson Coll., no. 1739, **Plate X**.

354 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.



Paris, no. 1286.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, . Beneath throne, A.

355 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.


Petrograd, no. 637.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, . Beneath throne, A.f.  in field.

356 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 342.


Paris, no. 1294.

Rev. Similar to no. 342. On l., between design and inscription,  | AΦ.

357 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 8.

Rev. Similar. On l., between design and inscription,  | A.

g. No monograms or letters.

358 GOLD STATER.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander II to r. in fillet border.*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.) ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (in exergue). Zeus enthroned to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., and rests l. on sceptre.

London (formerly Montagu Coll., Sotheby, March, 1896, no. 716) Plate X.

The Antiochene tetradrachms of Alexander follow those of Demetrius II in style and type: obverse, the king's head, reverse, Olympian Zeus enthroned. Five supervising magistrates $\text{I}\Sigma\text{I}$, $\text{I}\Psi\text{I}$, $\text{I}\Phi\text{I}$, $\text{I}\chi\text{I}$, $\text{I}\kappa\text{I}$, corresponding perhaps to the five years of Alexander's reign, place their signatures in the field of the tetradrachms, while their subordinates, four to each superior, place their signatures beneath the Zeus throne. $\text{I}\Sigma\text{I}$ we know to have been in office shortly after the revolt which overthrew Demetrius' rule in Antioch (spring of 129 B. C.) and continued therein until the end of that year or the commencement of the next. This fact is determined by a series of bronze coins, consisting of two denominations as follows: (I) Diademed head of Alexander Zebinas, rev., standing Dionysus; (II) Bust of winged Eros, rev., Anchor, all



bearing the signature Σ and the dates $\Delta\Pi\Pi$ (year ending October 128 B. C.) and $\Theta\Pi\Pi$ (after October 128), of the latter only one or two specimens being known. The next series of bronze that we can with certainty attribute to Antioch, also consists of two denominations: (I)



Head of Alexander in lion's skin, rev., Nike to left; (II) Helmeted head of Alexander, rev., Tyche with rudder (Hunterian Coll., no. 40, Pl. lxxix, 12). These pieces bear no date, but have the signature $\Pi\Pi$ of the third magistrate found on the tetradrachms. The dating of the bronze issues seems, therefore, to have been discontinued shortly after the commencement of the year $\Theta\Pi\Pi$.

The first issue of drachms has a standing Athene for their reverse type, which in the next issue is changed to a double cornucopiae; the half drachm has the single cornucopiae. The letters and monograms of the fractional pieces are the same as on the larger denomination with the exception of the last issue of the drachm which has ⌘ , a monogram which does not occur on the tetradrachm. But, in revenge, the latter have the monogram ⌘ not found on the drachms.

In no. 358 we have a special coinage of gold staters which in style seem to parallel the later issues of the silver coins. This would corroborate the suggestion already made by M. Babelon (*loc. cit.*, p. cl.) that their appearance was closely connected with the famous seizure of the golden Nike from the statue of Olympian Zeus set up by Antiochus IV in the Apollo temple at Daphne. To such straits had the royal treasury been reduced under Alexander II! When the people murmured at this sacrilege, Alexander is said to have replied that he was only 'accepting the victory that Zeus offered him' — this after he had but a short time previously been routed by the army of Antiochus VIII!

Quite in keeping with the spirit of this reply would be the title Nikephoros and the Zeus type of the coins struck from the metal of the stolen statue.

REGENCY OF CLEOPATRA FOR ANTIOCHUS VIII.

Rule in Antioch 122-120 B. C.

This strong-willed queen, first the wife of Alexander Balas, then of Demetrius II, and during the latter's captivity in Parthia, of Antiochus VII, received with ill grace the return of Demetrius now imbued with Parthian manners. When in 126 B. C. he was disastrously defeated by Alexander II she repudiated him and seized the reins of government in her own name and that of their joint son Antiochus — nicknamed Grypus because of his hooked nose. Demetrius himself perished a short time after and Cleopatra divided the Seleucid lands with the usurper Alexander. Cleopatra soon secured the assistance of Ptolemy against the man he himself had once helped to place on the throne of Syria. The forces of Alexander were completely routed in 123 B. C., and in the following year Cleopatra and her son, now Antiochus VIII, secured the possession of the capital Antioch. It was in this year then (Aer. Sel. 9P or 190) that coins were first struck at the Antiochene mint in the joint names and bearing the portraits of Cleopatra and Antiochus, although their coins had been appearing at Ake-Ptolemais since ZΠP.

359 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Draped bust of Cleopatra with stephanos to r., in front of diademed head of Antiochus VIII. Border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ | ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ (to r.) ΚΑΙ | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to l.). Zeus, legs draped, end of chlamis hanging over l. arm, seated to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, IE. Beneath throne, A.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3, **Plate XI**.

360 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE. Beneath throne, Δ.

Newell, **Plate XI**; London, no. 5; Petrograd, no. 661.

361 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On L, outside inscription, IE. Beneath throne, AI.

Paris, no. 1361; L. & L. Hamburger, Sale of Prince Alexander of Hesse, Oct., 1889, no. 288 (Pl. ii).

The style and details of the reverses of these tetradrachms is the same as those of Alexander II for Antioch, as are also the subordinate magistrates A, Δ, and AI all of whom are found active under the two reigns. The silver issue is small while that of the bronze is much larger. In the latter we have two denominations, fortunately all dated.



fig. 18

fig. 19

The largest has obverse, Diademed and radiated head of Antiochus VIII, reverse, Owl on amphora and inscription identical to that on the tetradrachms. The small denomination has obverse, Bust of Tyche, reverse, Rudder handle and a similar inscription. It is noticeable that the inscription on both the bronze and the silver issues of Antioch omits the title *Θέα* after Cleopatra's name, a peculiarity not found on the issues of the other large mint at Ake-Ptolemais where coins of regal types and Attic weight were being struck at this time. Another and absolute proof that our tetradrachms and the bronzes just described belong together lies in the fact that the same supervising magistrate signs his initials (IE) on both. This magistrate (IE) is perhaps the same individual who in ΣΠΡ is found signing the issue of Phoenician tetradrachms struck by Demetrius II at Ascalon (Jameson Coll., no. 1736, Pl. lxxxviii). He seems to have later become a supporter of Cleopatra and as a reward was placed in charge of the central mint at Antioch when that city came under her dominion on the fall of Alexander. His assistants, however, belong to Antioch, and their signatures, together with the style and technique of the new coins issued, prove the Syrian capital to have been the mint. The subordinates on the silver sign with letters, on the bronze with symbols, a peculiarity already long in vogue on the coinages of our mint. These bronzes, in addition to the letters IE and the symbols, all bear the dates 9P and A9P, showing that the issues in the two metals appeared early in 122

B. C. and lasted till perhaps the end of 121 B. C. We have coins dated as late as B⁹P with the portraits and names of Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII for Sidon and Ake-Ptolemais, but their Antiochene issues seem to have ceased in A⁹P (Oct. 122-Oct. 121).

ANTIOCHUS VIII.

First rule in Antioch, 121-113 B. C.

Sometime in the course of the year 121-120 B. C. Antiochus VIII found cause to suspect the designs of his mother Cleopatra and forced her to drink a poison cup which she had actually intended for him. After this event Antiochus VIII ruled alone in what remained of the Seleucid dominions.

a. Athene type.

362 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus VIII to r., in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Athene, helmeted and adorned with Aegis, standing to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., spear in l. which she rests on shield. The whole in laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, IE | Θ.

London, no. 17 Plate XI; Newell; Petrograd, no. 687.³⁸

363 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | ⚡.

Paris, no. 1428.

364 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | ⚡.

Paris, no. 1429 (Pl. xxv, 7).

In the Brit. Mus. Cat., Syria, nos. 18, 19, and 20 of Antiochus VIII are three coins which may belong to this series, but as none of them have the characteristic letters IE and as I have not been able to study them in the original or in casts, they have not been included.

³⁸ Jameson Coll., no. 1746 (Pl. lxxxviii) has not been included as it appears to be a barbaric imitation.

b. Zeus Uranius type.

365 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar inscription. Zeus Uranius, naked to waist, end of chlamis over l. shoulder, standing to l., head adorned with crescent, holds star in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole enclosed in laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, A.Paris, no. 1416; Jameson Coll., no. 1745, **Plate XI**; Petrograd, no. 677.

366 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, AI.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 7.

367 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, N.

London, no. 10; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8: Newell.

368 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, O.

Paris, no. 1413 (Pl. xxv, 3); Schulman Sale, 1904, White-King Coll., no. 617 (Pl. vi).

369 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, P.

Paris, no. 1419.

370 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, A. In exergue, K.

Paris, no. 1418.

371 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 9, **Plate XI**.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, A|. In exergue, K.

372 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, P. In exergue, K.

373 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

J. Ward Coll., no. 799 (Pl. xx); Paris, no. 1415.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, Φ. In exergue, K.

374 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 11; Newell.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, N. In exergue, N.

375 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 1414.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, P. In exergue, P.

376 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell, **Plate XI**.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. In exergue, Δ.

376a TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 12.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. In exergue, P.

377 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 1417.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. In exergue, Φ.

378 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 16.

Rev. Similar, but Zeus entirely undraped. On l., outside inscription, $\text{IE} | \text{A}$. In exergue, II .

c. Drachms with Tyche type.

379 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head as above, in fillet border.*Rev.* $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Sigma | \text{ANTIOXOY}$ (to r.) $\text{EΠI}\Phi\text{ANOY}\Sigma$ (to l.). Tyche standing to l. holds rudder in r., cornucopiae in l. On l., outside inscription, IE .

Petrowicz Coll. (published by Dr. Macdonald in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1912, vol. 29, Pl. v, 13). Because of the very youthful head on this coin it probably is to be placed under the first issue of this reign.

380 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but an older portrait and with border of dots.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription; $(\text{I})\text{E}$.

Petrowicz Coll. (published by Dr. Macdonald in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1912, vol. 29, Pl. v, 14).

The tetradrachms just catalogued are accompanied throughout by a bronze coinage consisting of two denominations: (I) obverse, Radi-



fig. 20



fig. 21

ate and diademed head of Antiochus VIII to right, reverse, Eagle to left (fig. 20); (II) obverse, Bust of Artemis, reverse, standing Apollo (fig. 21). As the tetradrachms, so these bronze coins all bear the magistrate's initials IE . In addition the bronze coins bear dates from $\text{B}\Psi\text{P}$ to $\text{O}\Psi\text{P}$ inclusive, definitely placing the silver issues within a period commencing not earlier than October 121 or lasting not later than October 113 B. C. But we know from our historical sources that in the latter year the half brother of Antiochus Grypus, also named Antiochus with the nickname Cyzicenus, having received help from Egypt and having invaded Cilicia, at last obtained the decision over Antiochus VIII (Grypus) and drove him out of Antioch. This event probably took place in the early spring of 113 B. C. at the commencement of the campaigning season.

ANTIOCHUS IX. First rule in Antioch, 113-112 B. C.

Antiochus IX Philopator, nicknamed Cyzicenus, now ruled in Antioch and struck the following coins.

381 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IX, with slight beard, to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Athene, helmeted, standing to l. holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on shield and holds spear. The whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, $\overline{\text{N}}$ | A.

Paris, no. 1474; Petrograd, no. 711.

382 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\overline{\text{N}}$ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, A.

Newell, Plate XI; Newell; Paris, nos. 1469 and 1470; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5; Hirsch, Weber Sale, 1908, no. 4132 (Pl. liv); Sotheby, O'Hagan Sale, 1908, no. 694 (Pl. xi).

383 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\overline{\text{N}}$ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, Δ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6; Paris, no. 1473.

384 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\overline{\text{N}}$ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, N.

Paris, nos. 1471 and 1472; Petrograd, nos. 708, 709, and 710; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 7; London, no. 14; Amer. Num. Soc.; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 652 (Pl. xx).

385 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, $\overline{\text{N}}$ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, O.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8 (Pl. lxx, 3); Newell; London, no. 13.

The reverse type here chosen by Antiochus IX Cyzicenus for his tetradrachms, reproduces exactly that of his father Antiochus VII, a

gentle reminder to his subjects of his claim to the Syrian throne. N is now supervising magistrate in the place of Grypus' man IE , but the accompanying A still remains. Although the superior has been changed, the subordinates have not, and so we find Δ , N , O in office during both coinages. As under Grypus, so now, we have a corresponding issue of bronze coins which, being dated, establishes the exact period at which the entire series appeared. As yet only one denomination has turned

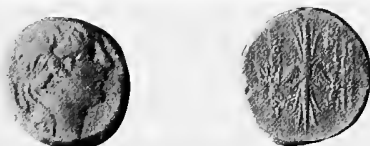


fig. 22

up, obverse, Head of Antiochus IX of exactly similar style and appearance as on the tetradrachms; reverse, Thunderbolt. The monogram N which these bronze coins all bear associates them unmistakably with the silver, and the dates ΘP and Σ place them between the end of 114 and the beginning of 112 B. C. As Grypus' bronze coins end with a plentiful issue under the date ΘP , the present pieces could not have appeared earlier than the spring of 113 B. C. and it is at just this date that our historical sources³⁹ place the first arrival of Cyzicenus in Antioch.

The new king, however, did not long hold the Syrian capital; for by the following year Grypus, having reorganized his forces, returned, defeated his half brother near Antioch, drove him into flight and laid siege to the city now defended by Cyzicenus' wife Cleopatra. In due course the city fell, and Cleopatra was murdered at the jealous and vindictive insistence of her own sister Tryphaena, the wife of Grypus. The latter was now once more master in Antioch and naturally put an end to the coinage bearing the name, portrait, and types of his brother. These events are proved by the coins to have taken place not later than the spring and summer of 112 B. C., for under the following section is described a bronze coin of Grypus of Antiochene mintage also with the date Σ (year ending October 112 B. C.). The city must therefore have surrendered some little time before the beginning of October of that year.

³⁹ Euseb. I, 257, 38, where this event is placed in the fourth year of the 166th Olympiad, or exactly 113 B. C.; see also Justin XXXIX, 2, 9, "Octo annis" that is 121-113.

ANTIOCHUS VIII. Second reign in Antioch, 112 B. C.

Although, as we have seen, Cyzicenus had suffered a bad defeat outside Antioch and had been forced to leave his wife Cleopatra to defend that city, he must never-the-less have saved a goodly portion of his army and received some reinforcements in addition, for our historians relate that soon after the terrible death of Cleopatra at the hands of Tryphaena, he returned, defeated Grypus, and seized and executed Tryphaena. Grypus found himself so hard pressed that he had once more to evacuate Antioch and fled as far as Aspendus.

We have a bronze coin (Paris, no. 1401) of the same types as described under the first coinage of Grypus but dated Σ . This can only be assigned, on account of the date, to the short period of his second rule in Antioch. As only one specimen has come down to us, the coinage must have been small, which fact harmonizes well with the very short duration of time during which it could have been struck. No silver coins have as yet been published that could, with any probability, be assigned to this particular period.

ANTIOCHUS IX. Second rule in Antioch, early in 111 B. C.

After avenging himself on the person of Tryphaena for the murder of his wife, Cyzicenus did not long enjoy his regained kingdom. By the spring or summer of 111 B. C., Grypus had once more recuperated his forces, and returning from Aspendus drove his half brother out of the capital.⁴⁰ Even so, however, Cyzicenus found enough time to issue the following rare tetradrachm.

386 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IX, with indication of beard, to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Athene, helmeted, standing, to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., her l. holds spear and rests on shield. On l., outside inscription, ΤΜ | Α. On r., between figure and inscription, Γ.

Coll. L. Walcher de Moltheim, no. 3058 and later in the S. Rosenberg (Frankfurt A/M) Sale, March, 1914, no. 143 (Pl. v), Plate XI; Paris, no. 1475.

⁴⁰ Eusebius (ed. Schoene) actually says: "Postquam Antiokhus in Aspentum se recepit, A. CLXVII Olompiadis anno primo (= 112-111 B. C.), Kizikenus Antiokhus est potitus. Verum secundo anno eiusdem Olompiadis (= 111-110 B. C.), iterum reversus ab Aspento Antiokhus et ipse Syriam tenet, Kizikenus vero aliquam partem."

Cyzicenus' second reign in Antioch was of such short duration (late in the year 112 to early in the year 111 B. C.)⁴⁰ that there could not have been many coins struck. No bronze coins have been published that can with certainty be assigned to this time. The suggestion, however, is here made that the silver tetradrachm just described might have appeared during this short interval between Grypus' second and third reigns in Antioch. The supervisor \mathcal{M} is known only from the two specimens in existence described above and could not therefore have long been in office. The accompanying Λ associates this coin with all the Antiochene issues of both Grypus and Cyzicenus, the style is most like the issues of Grypus for his third reign and a compromise between the styles of Cyzicenus' first and third reigns, the subordinate Γ has not appeared before but is actually found on the immediately succeeding issue of Grypus. All these internal evidences seem to point to the attribution here suggested.

ANTIOCHUS VIII. Third reign in Antioch, 111-109 B. C.

As related above, Grypus by the early summer of 111 B. C. had once more appeared⁴¹ in Syria, driven Cyzicenus from Antioch, and commenced what was now his third reign in that city.

387 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus VIII to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Zeus Uranius, head adorned with crescent, lower part of body draped, end of chlamis over l. shoulder, standing to l., holds star in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, Φ | Λ . On r., between figure and inscription, Γ .

Paris, no. 1421 ; Newell.

388 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | Λ . On r., between figure and inscription, Δ .

Newell, Plate XI [formerly Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 771 (Pl. xxi)].

⁴⁰ See note on preceding page.

⁴¹ Euseb., 259, 2, : Olymp. 167, 2 = 111/10 B. C.

389 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, K.

Paris, no. 1422; Petrograd, no. 678; Newell.

390 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, Ξ .

Newell. Plate XI.

391 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus VIII to r. in dotted circle.*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ (to l.). Tripod. On l., outside inscription, Φ | Γ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 15.

392 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | N.

London, nos. 7 and 8; Jameson Coll., 1749, Plate XI; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 16; Paris, no. 1423 (Pl. xxv, 4).

393 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar inscription. Winged Nike to l., holds wreath in outstretched r., palm branch in l. On l., outside inscription, Φ | Γ.

London, nos. 9, Plate XI, and 10; Petrograd, no. 689; Newell.

394 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | N.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 18.

395 DIOBOL.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar inscription. Ear of wheat, on stalk with two leaves, to r. On l., in field, Φ | A.

Imhoof-Blumer, Monnaies Grecques, p. 436, no. 116.

For this series of tetradrachms Φ is mint supervisor. The letter A, as heretofore, accompanies the monogram, together with the subordinates Γ, Δ, Κ, and Ξ, all of whom we have met with before.

In addition to the drachm we find the hemidrachm and diobol, both of which denominations had not been struck for some time.

Accompanying the silver coins are three varieties of bronzes, all evidently of the same denomination, and two of them fortunately dated. In the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow are bronze coins nos. 39-41 (Plate lxx, 2) with the same types as are found in the first and second reigns of Grypus at Antioch, namely: obverse, Head of Antiochus VIII, reverse, Eagle to left, the inscription giving Grypus the (for his coins) unusual title Philometor, and in the exergue the date ΒΞ (between October 111 and October 110). In Paris (no. 1404, Plate xxv, 1) is a similar coin but with the more usual title Epiphanes. The date on this piece is also ΒΞ. These particular coins seem to be scarce; the more usual bronzes struck for the remainder of this period of Grypus' rule in Antioch have for their obverse type, Head of Antiochus VIII, for the reverse, Tripod surmounted by a thunderbolt (see Brit. Mus. Cat., Plate xxvi, 7). These pieces bear no date, but are furnished with the same monogram as the silver, namely, ⌘ or ⌘. The dated bronzes just described also have the two forms of monogram ⌘ and ⌘.

ANTIOCHUS IX. Third reign in Antioch, 109-108 B. C.

396 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IX, with slight beard, to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Athene, helmeted, standing to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., holds spear in l., which she rests on shield; the whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, ⌘ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, O.

London, no. 11, Plate XII; Petrograd, no. 714.

397 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⌘ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, P.

Schulman, Dos Santos Coll., Sept., 1906, no. 4846 (Pl. ii).

398 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 1476.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⌘ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, ⌘.

399 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⌘ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, KY.

400 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Paris, no. 1477 (Pl. xxvi, 9).

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⌘ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, ⌘.

401 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 10 (Pl. lxx, 4).

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⌘ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, ⌘.

402 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Newell.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⌘ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, Δ.

403 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

London, no. 12; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 9; Newell.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⌘ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, ⌘.

404 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IX, as above, in dotted circle.*Rev.* Inscription as on preceding coin. Winged Nike to l. holds wreath in outstretched r. On l., outside inscription, ⌘ | M.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 752. Plate XII.

Modern historians⁴² have generally considered this a period of enforced peace between the two antagonists, Grypus now ruling in the

⁴² Among others, see Bevan, *loc. cit.*, vol. II, p. 255.

north, and Cyzicenus in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. Our coins would seem to modify this supposition in so far as the cessation of hostilities will have to be placed as late as 108/107 B. C., at which time Grypus definitely secured Antioch and retained it until his death in 96 B. C. For we have the above series of tetradrachms which by style and monogram certainly belong to Antioch. The portrait, type, and inscription show the pieces to have been struck by Cyzicenus. In fabric and style they are the latest of his Antiochene issues *with the Athene type*; in style and fabric they are subsequent to the issues of Grypus' third reign (see Plate XI, nos. 388, 390), but certainly precede the fourth reign issues of the same ruler (Plate XII) as well as the last issues of Cyzicenus himself (Plate XII, nos. 414-5, 417-8). Sequence of style and fabric would therefore place them at just this juncture. In cor-



fig. 23

roboration of this dating we find a series of bronze coins of the fabric peculiar to Antioch (conformed to by all the bronze issues of this city since the first days of Antiochus VII Sidetes), with types, obverse, Bearded head of Herakles, reverse, Athene armed with helmet, spear and shield, standing to left. These coins all bear in the field the monogram K of the silver, and in the exergue the date $\Gamma\Sigma$ (Glasgow, nos. 20 and 21). This entire coinage of silver and bronze coins falls, therefore, at some point between October 110 and October 109.⁴³

If our conclusions are accepted — and it seems gratuitous to discard what appears to be clear and definite evidence furnished by our coins — there is revealed to us a period of rule by Cyzicenus in Antioch unrecorded in the confused and meagre historical notices of this period,

⁴³ Brit. Mus. Catalogue "Kings of Syria," p. 93, nos. 24 and 25 give the date $\text{E}\Sigma$. This date on no. 25 is very doubtful and is questioned by Gardner himself. Mr. G. F. Hill, in answer to my query and in spite of the difficulty due to war conditions, very kindly undertook to verify the dates on these two British Museum specimens. He reports that the date on no. 24 reads $\Gamma\Sigma$, on no. 25 $\text{E}\Sigma$. As the middle seriph is entirely lacking, and the lower seriph is very faulty we would seem to be justified in reading these dates $\Gamma\Sigma$ as on the Glasgow specimens. It is to be remarked here that the series of bronze coins of Antiochus IX, obv. Bust of Eros, rev. Nike (type of B. M. Cat., nos. 27-30), bearing an almost unbroken series of dates running from Σ to $\text{A}\Sigma$ could not possibly have been struck at Antioch, because Cyzicenus did not reign so many years in that city. They are rather to be attributed to Sidon.

once more seized the reins of government in that city. But the letter itself speaks of the honor decreed to Seleucia as having *only just* (*ὡνὶ δὲ*) been given — that is, in 108 B. C.—and by its wording suggests that the immediate reason for the granting of this honor was the loyalty and friendship shown to Antiochus by the city in very recent times of great danger or trouble (*ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς*). Wilcken himself⁴⁶ draws attention to the otherwise curious fact that three years had elapsed between the return of Grypus from Aspendus and the promulgation of the decree; and yet one would infer from the wording of the letter that the particular occasion which induced the granting of the honor had taken place quite recently. If now, as our coins would seem to show, Cyzicenus did succeed in once more driving Grypus out of Antioch (about 109 B. C.) and the latter in this strait was received by Seleucia, loyally supported by her inhabitants, and so enabled not long afterwards to regain Antioch, we would possess a full and very plausible explanation not only of the immediate reason for the granting of the honor of autonomy, but also for the date (108 B. C.) at which this was accomplished. Thus the decree and our coins, when taken together, reciprocally serve to explain and throw light upon each other.

ANTIOCHUS VIII. Fourth reign in Antioch, 108-96 B. C.

405 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus VIII
to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.)
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Zeus, legs draped,
seated to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike
(always to r.) in outstretched r., rests l. on
sceptre; the whole surrounded by laurel
wreath. On l., outside inscription, Ε | Α.
Beneath throne, Δ or ⚡.

Newell, **Plate XII**; Newell (another); Petrograd, nos. 695, 696, and 697; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 12 (Pl. lxix, 20); Coll. L. Walcher de Moltheim, no. 3072 (Pl. xxix); London, no. 2 (Coins of the Ancients, Pl. 61); Paris, nos. 1433, 1434 and 1435; Jameson Coll., no. 1744 (Pl. lxxxviii); Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, nos. 648, 649, and 650 (Pl. xx); J. Ward Coll., no. 800 (Pl. xx); Hirsch, Weber Sale, no. 4127 (Pl.

⁴⁶ His actual words (*loc. cit.*, p. 444-5) are: "Jetzt aber, d. h. nach Obigem im Sommer des Jahres 108 v. Chr., hat er ihnen die vornehmste Wohlthat (*πρώτη εὐεργεσία*) erwiesen, indem er sie für ewige Zeit für 'frei' erklärt hat . . . Weshalb er gerade im Jahre 108 sich dazu entschlossen hat, wissen wir nicht." (The italics are mine.)

liv); Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 772 (Pl. xxi); Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 746 (Pl. xx); Sotheby, Bunbury Sale, 1896, no. 589 (Pl. vi); Cumberland-Clark Sale, 1914, no. 285 (Pl. viii); Schulman, Dos Santos Coll., Sept., 1906, no. 4845 (Pl. ii).

406 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ | A. Beneath throne, A.

London, no. 1; Petrograd, no. 693.

407 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ | A. Beneath throne, Π .

London, nos. 3 and 4; Paris, no. 1431 (Pl. xxv, 9); Amer. Num. Soc.; Petrograd, nos. 690 and 691; Schulman, White-King Sale, 1904, no. 621 (Pl. vii); Egger Sale xlvi, 1914, no. 2469, **Plate XII**.

408 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ | A. Beneath throne, Φ .

London, no. 5; Paris, no. 1432; Petrograd, no. 694.

409 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar head in circle of dots.

Rev. Similar inscription. Tripod. On l., outside inscription, Ξ | A.

London, no. 6 (Pl. xxvi, 4); Coll. L. Walcher de Moltheim, no. 3054 (Pl. xxviii).

410 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ | Γ .

Newell; Petrograd, no. 680; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 13, **Plate XII**.

411 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ | Δ .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 14.

412 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ | P.

Petrograd, no. 679.

413 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Head as on preceding.

Rev. Inscription as on the preceding. Winged Nike to l., holds wreath in outstretched r. On l., outside inscription, Ξ | A.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 17.

Aside from the evidence furnished by a natural sequence of style, the date of the appearance of this issue of tetradrachms, drachms and hemidrachms is fixed by the fact that it evidently served as the prototype for the autonomous coin issues of Seleucia in Pieria, first struck in 104 B. C. This city, for its steadfast loyalty to Grypus, was granted autonomy by him in 108 B. C. Comparing this date with the last year of Antiochus IX 'Cyzicenus' third reign in Antioch (coins dated $\Gamma\Sigma$ and therefore struck before October of 109 B. C.), the inference becomes obvious that Seleucia stood loyally by Grypus in this his last period of exile from his capital and probably aided him to a great extent in recovering it. This therefore furnished him the real reason for granting the city its autonomy at this particular time.

Dr. Macdonald has already suggested the attribution to the Antiochene mint of the coins described above (nos. 405-413) because of their great similarity in every respect to certain bronze coins of autonomous type struck a little later than this time in that city (see Catalogue of the Hunterian Coll., vol. iii, p. 100).



Accompanying the series of three denominations in silver as described above, there was a further issue of three denominations in bronze (I) obverse, Diademed head of Grypus, reverse, Double cornucopiae; (II) Similar head, reverse, Tyche standing with cornucopiae and rudder; (III) Similar head, reverse, Rose. Unfortunately none of these are dated but all bear the monogram ϵ exactly as found on the silver.

The sequence of types and style, as seen on our Plates XI and XII, is sufficient to prove correct M. Babelon's assignment of these coins to Antiochus VIII Grypus rather than to Antiochus XI as suggested by Gardner in the British Museum Catalogue. The fallacy of the latter's attribution was also seen and definitely refuted by J. Friedländer in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vol. VII, 1880, pp. 225-227.

ANTIOCHUS IX. Fourth reign in Antioch, 96-95 B. C.

Upon the murder of Grypus by his minister of war Heraclion, Antiochus IX Cyzicenus apparently was able to seize Antioch once more. His success was immediately challenged by Grypus' eldest son Seleucus who proclaimed himself king and in the following year was able to overthrow Cyzicenus. The latter either perished by his own hand in the final battle (according to Eusebius) or was captured and put to death by Seleucus (according to Josephus).

414 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed and beardless head of Antiochus IX to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Zeus, naked to waist, enthroned to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, ⸙ | A Beneath throne, Δ or ⚡.

Sotheby, Bunbury Sale, no. 577, **Plate XII**; Paris, no. 1480 (Pl. xxvi, 10); Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3057 (Pl. xxviii); Hirsch, Weber Sale, 1908, no. 4131 (Pl. liv); Newell.

415 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⸙ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, Η. Beneath throne, Δ.

Newell, **Plate XII** (formerly Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 774); London, no. 5 (Pl. xxv, 1); Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 654 (Pl. xx).

416 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⸙ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, Π. Beneath throne, Δ.

Schulman, White-King Sale, 1904, no. 627 (Pl. vii).

417 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⸙ | A. Beneath throne, Π.

Jameson Coll., no. 1752, **Plate XII**.

418 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⸙ | A. Beneath throne, Ν.

Newell, **Plate XII**.

419 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar head as above in dotted circle.

Rev. Similar inscription as on preceding. Tyche, with calathos, standing to l. holds rudder in r., cornucopiae in l. On l., outside inscription, $\text{Ξ} | \Pi$.

London, no. 15, Plate XII; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 11 and 12.

420 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar inscription. Winged Nike to l. holds wreath in outstretched r. On l., outside inscription, Ξ .

Paris, no. 1481 (Pl. xxvi, 11); Newell, Plate XII.

Not only has there been some discussion as to when and where the above series was struck, but it has even been doubted⁴⁷ that it was issued by Cyzicenus. The portrait is unlike any other known one of Antiochus IX in that it is clean shaven.

Comparing the tetradrachms with those of the fourth reign of Grypus in Antioch and those of Seleucus VI (Plate XII) we see that because of style, fabric, and monograms the present series can only fall *between* the coins of those two sovereigns. The monogram Δ and the letter Π occur on the last coins of Grypus (nos. 405 and 407), while on the coins of Seleucus we find not only Δ , but, in addition, the letter N which is to be seen beneath the throne on no. 418 (Cyzicenus) but not on any of Grypus' latest issues. These coins of Cyzicenus must belong to Antioch, as they are of identical fabric with this city's coinage under the preceding king as well as under the later kings. We have already found the monogram Δ used on the Antiochene issues in and from the time of Antiochus VII, while the letter A (which *may* denote the Antiochene mint) has accompanied the monogram of the supervising magistrate for Antiochus VII, VIII and IX. All these evidences combined place the coins in question at Antioch between the death of Antiochus VIII Grypus and the arrival in that city of Seleucus VI.

In looking closely at the portrait of Cyzicenus on these coins we recognize that although it is clean shaven, still it has a decidedly older look than the portrait on the issues of this monarch which we have studied under nos. 381-385, 386, 396-404. On these the features are not so heavy, the cheeks are thinner, and, in spite of the slight beard running around the curve of the jaw, there is an unmistakable air of youthfulness about it that is entirely lacking on the clean-shaven heads.

⁴⁷ See Bevan, *loc. cit.*, vol. II, p. 304, appendix V.

Cyzicenus, when he first secured possession of Antioch in the year 113 B. C., was a young man between twenty and twenty-five years of age, for we know that in 129 B. C. his mother Cleopatra had sent him to Cyziens for his education. His features, with nascent beard, as they appear on his first coin issues at Antioch, resemble those of many a young Syrian of to-day. By 96 B. C. Cyzicenus was in his late thirties or early forties and, like the majority of modern Levantines, may well have grown gross and fleshy. In fact we know from our historians that he was a very heavy drinker, which would certainly, to a great extent, account for the changed features found on his last issues of the years 96 to 95 B. C. There is no reason to suppose that these coins, bearing as they do his characteristic inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ are the issues of any other of the Seleucid kings than Antiochus IX Cyzicenus.

In speaking of the war which raged between Cyzicenus and Seleucus after the death of Grypus, Eusebius distinctly mentions the fact that Cyzicenus held Antioch.⁴⁸ Our coins undoubtedly show that Cyzicenus held Antioch almost immediately after the death of Grypus, and that some months must have elapsed before Seleucus was able to dispossess him. It may be to this period, when Cyzicenus found himself hard pressed by Seleucus VI and in great need of funds, that the story related by Clement of Alexandria (Protrept. 4, 52) is to be assigned, in which Cyzicenus caused a golden statue of Zeus in Antioch to be melted and replaced by one of gilt.



fig. 27

As usual there was also a coinage of bronze in addition to the silver. The types are, obverse, Beardless head of Cyzicenus to right, as on the silver, reverse, Zeus Nikephoros enthroned to left, in field the monogram $\frac{\epsilon}{\alpha}$, and various symbols. For representations see Brit. Mus. Cat., Syria, Plate xxv, 4 (fig. 27), and Paris, Plate, xxvi, 15.

⁴⁸ Eusebius (Ed. Schoene) "Antiochus vero Kizikenus exercitu collecto ex Antiochia urbe, et praelio commisso devictus est. . . . Universum itaque regnum ad Seleukum veniebat, et Antiochiam obtinuit.

SELEUCUS VI. Ruled in Antioch, 95-94 B. C.

After a considerable struggle ending in a pitched battle Seleucus VI was enabled to vanquish his uncle Cyzicenus, and make good his own claim to his father's dominions in Syria.

a. With monogram ∇ .

421 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Seleucus VI to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Zeus, naked to waist, enthroned to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, A | ∇ | A. Beneath throne, Δ .

Newell, **Plate XII** (formerly Hirsch, Philippsen Sale, no. 2937); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 7; Paris, no. 1513; Petrograd, no. 730; Sotheby, O'Hagan Sale, 1908, no. 700 (Pl. xi).

422 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, A | ∇ | A. Beneath throne, A.

Newell, **Plate XII**.

423 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, A | ∇ | A. Beneath throne, N.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 757 (Pl. xxi), same obverse die as Newell specimen of 421 (see **Plate XII**); Paris, no. 1512; Jameson Coll., no. 1756 (Pl. lxxxix); Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 656 (Pl. xx), same obverse die as following no. 424, Newell specimen.

b. With monogram ξ .

424 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ξ | A. Beneath throne, C.

Newell, **Plate XII** (formerly Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 755), same obverse die as Egger specimen catalogued under no. 423; Paris, no. 1511 (Pl. xxvii, 1); Newell.

425 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Portrait of Seleucus VI slightly bearded.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ξ | A. Beneath throne, C.

Jameson Coll., no. 1757 (Pl. lxxxix).

426 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar head with slight beard, to r.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to r.)
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Winged Nike to l. holds wreath in outstretched r. On l., outside inscription, Ϝ | Α. To r. of Nike, C.

Jameson Coll., no. 1758, **Plate XII**; Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 737 (Pl. xx).

427 DRACHM.

Obv. Bearded portrait to r.

Rev. Similar to preceding but inscription omits title ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. On l., outside inscription, Ϝ | Α. On l., between figure and inscription, C.

Paris, nos. 1518 (Pl. xxvii, 3) and 1519.

428 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to r.)
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Double cornucopiae bound with taenia. On l., outside inscription, Ϝ (perhaps Ϝ | Α?). To l. of cornucopiae, C.

London, nos. 5, **Plate XII**, and 6; Paris, no. 1520 (Pl. xxv, 4); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 8 (Pl. lxx, 9) and 9.

The Antiochene issues of Seleucus VI follow his predecessors' closely in both style and types. The coinage is divided into two series, each characterized by a special mint supervisor. N of nos. 421 to 423 we have already met with in the first coinage at Antioch of Cyzicus; P is new to our studies. The A which accompanies the chief magistrate's monogram on all the coins of the previous few reigns is again found. Of the subordinates only C is new. That the N and the P series really emanated from one and the same mint is definitely proved by the fact that certain obverse dies are common to both. The latest



fig. 28



fig. 29



issues of the P group comprise an issue of drachms and hemidrachms and are all characterized by the portrait of Seleucus showing a slight beard.

In addition to the silver coins there was also struck a bronze coinage of two denominations as follows: (I) Head of Seleucus, reverse, Apollo standing leaning against column (fig. 28); (II) Similar head, reverse, Tripod (fig. 29). The monogram ⊠ is found on all these pieces.

ANTIOCHUS X. Reign in Antioch, 94-92 B. C.

On the death of Cyzicenus, his grown up son, also named Antiochus, asserted his claim to the throne and declared himself king as Antiochus (X) Eusebes Philopator. Having gathered an army he attacked Seleucus in Antioch, was successful and drove him into flight. Antiochus X was now ruler in Antioch and here the following coins were struck in his name.

a. With monogram ⊠ .

429 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus X to r. Fillet border.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.)
 ΕΥΞΕΒΟΥΣ | ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.).
 Zeus, naked to waist, enthroned to l. holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, ⊠ | A. Beneath throne, Δ .

Newell, **Plate XIII**; London, no. 1; Egger Sale xlvii, 1914, no. 2474 (Pl. xl).

b. With monogram ⊠ .

430 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊠ | A. Beneath throne, Δ .

Egger Sale xli, no 759, **Plate XIII**; Newell; London, no. 2 (Pl. xxvi, 1); Jameson Coll., no. 1759 (Pl. lxxxix); Paris, nos. 1526, 1527 (Pl. xxvii, 7), 1528, 1529, and 1530; Petrograd, nos. 737, 738 (?), and 739 (?); Coll. L. Walcher de Moltheim, no. 3070 (Pl. xxix); J. Ward Coll., no. 802 (Pl. xx) formerly Bunbury Sale (II), 1896, no. 588; E. Bourgey, Dr. Rousset Coll., April, 1908, no. 202 (Pl. vii).

431 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar head in dotted circle.
Rev. Inscription as above. Tyche standing to l. holds rudder in r., and cornucopiae in l. On l., outside inscription, ⊠ | A.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 1, **Plate XIII**; Paris, no. 1531 (Pl. xxvii, 8).

432 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar head in dotted circle.

Rev. Inscription as above. Winged Nike to l. holding wreath in outstretched r., palm branch in l. On l., outside inscription, Σ | A.

Berlin (published by Dr. Macdonald in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1912, vol. 29, Pl. v, 17).

The short rule of Antiochus X in Antioch was filled with constant warlike expeditions against the several surviving sons of Grypus in order to defend his own claim to the Syrian throne. Seleucus VI had, indeed, perished in a popular uprising at Mopsuestia in Cilicia whither he had fled after his disastrous battle with Antiochus X, but his two younger brothers, Antiochus and Philip, continued the struggle and were, with difficulty, defeated in 93 B. C. Eusebes, by his acts had aroused the enmity of Ptolemy Lathyrus of Cyprus, who now brought forward a fourth son of Grypus, Demetrius by name, and caused him to be crowned king in Damascus. In 92 B. C. with Demetrius advancing from the south, and Philip attacking from Cilicia in the north, the two brothers were together able to overthrow Antiochus X Eusebes who sought safety in flight to the Parthians.

The coinage of Eusebes in Antioch follows the model established by his immediate predecessors. We have two mint supervisors \boxtimes and Σ , both with the usual accompanying A which letter, as remarked before, may either denote another magistrate or, perhaps with more likelihood, the Antioch mint. The subordinate Δ is still active.

There is also a series of bronze coins in two denominations: (I) Head of Eusebes as on the silver, reverse, Bonnets of the Dioscuri; (II) Head as before, reverse, Winged Nike. On these bronzes we find the monogram $\mathbb{K}|C$ (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, 6; Paris, no. 1532) already met with on



fig. 30



fig. 31

the coins of Seleucus VI, as also the monogram Σ of Eusebes' own silver issues.

ANTIOCHUS XI EPIPHANES PHILADELPHUS.

Ruled in Antioch for a few weeks in 93 B. C.

The tetradrachm described below proves that greater success attended the efforts of Grypus' two sons, Antiochus and Philip, to avenge the defeat of their oldest brother Seleucus VI at the hands of Antiochus X Eusebes than our classical sources would seem to suggest. The writings of our Greek and Roman historians, incomplete and contradictory as they are, speak only of a great battle fought outside of Antioch, in which the brothers were totally defeated by Antiochus X. The elder of the two, Antiochus XI, is said to have lost his life in attempting to escape after the battle by swimming across the Orontes. None of the writers definitely state that the brothers ever succeeded in actually entering Antioch and holding it, even for a short time. But the following coin now proves that not only did Antiochus Philadelphus capture Antioch in the first flush of his success, but that he was able to hold it long enough for its mint to strike at least a few coins in his name. The number certainly could not have been large as only one specimen is so far known to have come down to us, but it is sufficient to prove that the city did fall into the hands of Philadelphus, and that this must have taken place *previous* to the great battle in which he was defeated and eventually lost his life. His brother Philip made good his escape into Cilicia, from which he emerged not long afterwards to try conclusions once more with Eusebes.

433 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus XI
to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.)
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ (to l.). Zeus
enthroned to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike
in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The
whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On
l., outside inscription, Φ | Α. Beneath
throne, Δ.

Berlin, **Plate XIII** (published by Dr. Macdonald in the "Zeitschrift für Numismatik," 1912, vol. 29, Pl. v, 19).

This attribution, which would amplify if not correct certain statements of our classical sources, is not based on the mere interpretation of some complicated monogram. This latter form of historical "reconstruction" has most unfortunately been far too often attempted by

numismatists, particularly with Greek regal coinages, to the great satisfaction of the discoverer, but to the consequent detriment of the trustworthiness of the Science of Numismatics. If correctly and scientifically handled, there is no surer or more trustworthy aid to the history of these times than their coinages, but every sane historian rightly looks with suspicion on the "discoveries" made in the past by numismatists trusting in their ingenuity to convert monograms into mint names, and thereupon rewriting history. Lenormant was the arch type of this kind of archaeological numismatist, and his followers have been many. By this the implication is not intended to be conveyed that no monogram on a Greek regal coin *ever* denotes a mint, but that all monograms, apparently easy of solution into the name of some city, should be looked on with the greatest suspicion until by means of style, fabric, dies, types, and every device known to numismatists, their solution has been definitely proved. There are few such monograms in the Seleucid series.

In the present case the attribution of no. 433 to the mint at Antioch rests primarily on consideration of style and fabric. Comparing the coin with the Antiochene issues of Seleucus VI, Antiochus X, and Demetrius III, as shown on our plates, the striking resemblance between them all is unmistakable. In fact the obverses of nos. 433 and 422 are so similar that a second look must be taken to make sure that the dies are not identical. It is most probable that the same die cutter was used for both. Closely following the system of control at Antioch, our coin displays a supervisor's monogram in the field on the left between the inscription and the laurel wreath. Accompanying this monogram is the usual A of the coinages of Antiochus VII and all the later rulers from Grypus on. Under the throne is Δ the monogram of an official who for years has been the most active subordinate in our mint. Finally, as in the preceding issues of Antiochus X and the succeeding issues of Demetrius III and Philip, Antiochus XI is here given two



fig. 32

titles. Taken together, these evidences of the community of origin of the coinages of the above kings would seem to be clearly substantiated, and Antioch will have henceforth to be considered as one of the mints

of the short reign of Antiochus XI Philadelphus. Very probably the bronze coin published by Babelon in the Paris catalogue, Plate xxvii, 12, was also struck at Antioch. Its style and fabric resembles those of other bronze pieces issued here about this time, its reverse type — that of Athene with helmet, spear and shield — has often been employed at this mint, its issuing magistrate Φ is the same as on the silver tetradrachm.

Before leaving the rare coinage of Antiochus XI it must be emphasized that only the silver tetradrachm and the bronze piece here described can be attributed to Antioch. The comparatively common tetradrachms (a specimen of which is to be found on Pl. xxvii, no. 11, of the Paris catalogue) which have often been assigned to this Antiochus belong, as we shall soon see, to a later ruler. The rare but well known tetradrachm with the accolated busts of Antiochus XI and his brother Philip (Paris, Pl. xxvii, 13) is of sufficiently different style to make it absolutely impossible to assign it to our mint.

DEMETRIUS III. Reigned in Antioch circa 92-89 B. C.

The exact space of time that Demetrius reigned in Antioch is somewhat doubtful. From the confused and incomplete chronicles of these times we gather that in and around 92 B. C. the allied forces of the two brothers, Demetrius and Philip, temporarily drove Antiochus X out of all Syria. In 89 B. C. we find Philip and Demetrius themselves at war, with Demetrius besieging his brother in Beroea. The latter now called in to his assistance the Arab chieftain Azizos as well as Mithridates a Parthian governor. Demetrius in turn was surrounded by these superior forces, his water supply cut off, and eventually forced to surrender. Appian definitely states that the Antiochenes in his army were allowed to return home unmolested and that Philip, shortly afterwards, entered Antioch and was received with joy by the populace. It is evident, therefore, that Demetrius ruled in Antioch until the disaster that overtook him before Beroea sometime before 88 B. C.

In the year from October 92 to October 91 B. C. the municipality of Antioch commenced striking a series of bronze coins of two denominations inscribed $\text{ANTIOXEQN TH\S MHTPOΠOΛEQ\S}$ and dated according to the Seleucid Era.⁴⁹ Evidently Demetrius had been forced to grant

⁴⁹ G. Macdonald, Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, Vol. III, pp. 143-144.

the city a certain amount of local autonomy in order to attach her the more to his side in case of a possible struggle with his brother. Whereas Seleucia had always been noted for her steadfast loyalty to the interests of the legitimate Seleucid ruler, Antioch seems ever to have favored the one not actually ruling within her walls. Again this was probably the case, for when Philip did eventually triumph, our historian takes the pains to state that he was joyfully received by the people of Antioch. The series of autonomous bronze coins just mentioned continues to appear alongside of the royal issues until towards the close of the reign in Antioch of Tigranes. The last date we possess is $M\Xi$ or 73/72 B. C.

The royal issues of Demetrius for his Syrian capital are the following.

434 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius III
to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to r.)
ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ | ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (to l.).
Zeus, naked to waist, enthroned to l., holds
wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r.,
rests l. on sceptre. The whole surrounded
by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscrip-
tion, ω | π | A. Beneath throne, Δ .

Petrograd, no. 761.

435 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but portrait is bearded.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ | ΘΕΟΥ
(to r.) ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ | ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (to
l.). Zeus seated as on previous coin. On
l., outside inscription, N | A. Beneath
throne, Δ .

Paris, no. 1570, Plate XIII; Coll. L. Walcher de Moltheim, no. 3078, Plate XIII.

Here the supervising magistrates are ω | π and N, with, in each case, the usual A in accompaniment, as well as the Δ of previous reigns. For the bronze issues we have two pieces described in the Paris collection (nos. 1574 and 1575) which seem to belong here. They have for their obverse type the head of Demetrius as on no. 435, for reverse a standing Hermes; while one of the monograms found on them is the Δ of the tetradrachms. The titles given to Demetrius on these particular bronzes are identical with those found on the tetradrachm no. 435.

PHILIP PHILADELPHUS.

Reigned in Antioch, 89-83 B. C.

a. With N.

436 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Philip to r. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ (to r.)
 Fillet border. ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ (to l.). Zeus,
 naked to waist, seated to l. on throne,
 holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched
 r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole in laurel
 wreath. On l., outside inscription, N | A.
 Beneath throne, Δ.

J. Ward Coll., no. 803, **Plate XIII** (formerly Bunbury Sale (II), no. 591).

b. With φ and letter in field.

437 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscrip-
 tion, φ | A. Beneath throne, Δ.

London, nos. 1, 2, and 3; Sotheby, O'Hagan Coll., 1908, no. 700, **Plate XIII**;
 Newell (two specimens); Paris, nos. 1546 (Pl. xxvii, 14) and 1547; Petrograd, no.
 746; Roll. & Feuard. Sale, June, 1913, no. 338 (Pl. xi).

438 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscrip-
 tion, φ | A. On l., between figure and
 inscription, Δ. Beneath throne, Δ.

London, no. 8.

439 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscrip-
 tion, φ | A. On l., between figure and
 inscription, Η. Beneath throne, Δ.

London, no. 9; Jameson Coll., no. 1762 (Pl. xc); Newell.

440 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscrip-
 tion, φ | A. On l., between figure and
 inscription Θ. Beneath throne, Δ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2; Petrograd, no. 757.

441 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, N. Beneath throne, Δ .

London, no. 10, Plate XIII; Paris, nos. 1554 (Pl. xxvii, 16) and 1557; Petrograd, nos. 753 and 754; Newell; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3.

442 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, O. Beneath throne, Δ .

Paris, no. 1558.

443 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, Φ . Beneath throne, Δ .

London, no. 11; Paris, no. 1559.

c. Similar, but with letter in exergue.

444 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, Δ .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8.

445 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, Λ .

Petrograd, no. 748.

446 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, M.

Newell.

447 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, N.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 9; London, no. 15; Paris, no. 1555.

448 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, Π .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 10; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 663, Plate XIII; Petrograd, no. 755; London, no. 16; Newell; Sotheby, Guzman Coll., 1914, no. 120 (Pl. vii).

449 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, Σ .

Paris, no. 1548; London, no. 4; Newell.

450 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, Υ .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 11; Petrograd, no. 747; Newell.

, d. With letters in field and exergue.

451 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, A. Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, H.

London, no. 12; Paris, no. 1560; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 12.

452 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, \square . Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, H.

London, no. 13; Paris, no. 1561 (Pl. xxvii, 17); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6.

453 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, l. Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, Θ .

London, no. 14.

e. Presence of Φ | A doubtful, monograms in field and exergue.

454 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Φ . Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, \mathfrak{A} .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 15.

455 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, \mathfrak{B} . Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, \mathfrak{T} .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 14.

456 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, \mathfrak{H} . Beneath throne, Δ .

Paris, no. 1552.

457 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ω or $\omega\mathfrak{B}$ | \mathfrak{A} . Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, AN.

Paris, no. 1553; Coll. E. Rogers (Num. Chron., 4th Ser., 1912, Pl. xi, 9).

458 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, \mathfrak{B} . Beneath throne, Δ .

J. Ward Coll., no. 804, Plate XIII.

459 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, $\Delta\mathfrak{H}$ | O | M | $\epsilon\mathfrak{P}$. Beneath throne, Δ . In exergue, ?.

Paris, no. 1562.

Owing to the lack of a sufficient number of coins, casts, or reproductions, the issues of Philip have not been worked out as thoroughly as the writer would have desired. Therefore only groups a, b, c, and d can with confidence be assigned to Antioch, because they seem to embody most of the characteristics peculiar to the Seleucid coinage struck in this city during the last few decades of that dynasty's rule. The coins of group 'e' are much more doubtfully assigned to our mint.

To take up these groups in detail, it can readily be appreciated that group 'a' must have followed closely upon the rare coins of Demetrius

III struck at Antioch. The mint supervisor N is continued from these to the coin struck in Philip's name, as is also his assistant Δ, while the letter A is likewise to be seen in its accustomed position. Above all, style and fabric remain the same. N did not long retain his office but was shortly replaced by φ who seems to have remained supervisor so long as this office continued to be designated on the coins,—in other words, throughout groups 'b,' 'c,' and 'd.' The style and execution, as well as the weight, rapidly deteriorates in the course of these issues. The flans on which the coins are struck now grow so small in diameter that the letters φ | A are, more often than not, entirely off the coin, or, when they can be distinguished on the very edge of the piece, they appear so inextricably tangled up with the leaves of the surrounding laurel wreath that it is difficult to distinguish them. Particularly is this now the case, because through crude workmanship and the mechanical deterioration of the design, these letters have degenerated into something like † | A or † | ||. By the time group 'e' is reached it seems probable that φ | A has disappeared altogether. At least, the few specimens that the writer has been able to inspect, either have this part of the design entirely off the flan or show only a few meaningless lines which may have been intended for leaves. This, however, is a surmise only and we may really have to do with the letters φ | A in their crudest and most degenerate form. Even though group 'e' does not show φ | A it still remains probable that it was struck at Antioch as its style, though poorer and with a more stereotyped reverse, has still much in common with that of groups 'a'—'d.' Above all, the monogram Δ continues to occupy its old position beneath the throne of Zeus and would therefore seem to indicate that we have to do with an Antiochene issue.

Mention, at least, should here be made of another large and important series of tetradrachms bearing the name of Philip. This series is characterized by the monogram ✕ or ✕₃ to be seen in the field, and the numerical letters Γ, Δ, Η, ΒΙ, ΘΙ, Κ, ΚΑ, ΒΚ, ΚΔ, ΣΚ, ΙΚ, ΗΚ, ΘΚ in the exergue. These coins are all of a peculiar style which differs widely from that found on the remainder of Philip's issues. The portrait, too, is unlike that exhibited by the coins we have just been studying. The alphabetical numbers probably represent dates, for if they had been used as serial numbers to designate successive issues of coin, every one from Α to ΘΚ would have been employed. This would not necessarily have been the case if the numbers denote years, regnal or otherwise.

Therefore, because only certain numbers are represented in the series in question,—although the actual coins of this series that have come down to us are comparatively common,—these numbers must be considered as representing dates. Now, if these are therefore accepted as being dates, either of regnal years or of some era yet to be determined, the coins which bear them cannot possibly have been struck at Antioch *at this time*, for Philip is known to have reigned here not longer than from circa 89 to 83 B. C.

The question of the true mint and date of this peculiar series is most interesting—but the solution is both complicated and lengthy and for that reason has here been deferred until a more propitious occasion. Besides, the present article is intended to deal only with Seleucid coins attributable to the Antiochene mint from the last years of Seleucus II to the transformation of Syria into a Roman province by Pompey in 64 B. C.

To return to the issues which we can feel reasonably sure were struck by Philip in Antioch, it is most noticeable that unlike the issues of all previous kings in this city there are absolutely no bronze coins of regal types to accompany the silver. This is, however, abundantly accounted for by the fact that, commencing with the two hundred and twenty-first year of the Seleucid Era (92/91 B. C.), a large series of autonomous bronze coins, composed of two denominations, appears at Antioch and continues until the two hundred and fortieth year (73/72 B. C.). The style and fabric exhibited by these latter pieces which, as the inscriptions they bear explicitly state, were struck by the Municipality of Antioch, resemble in the closest manner those of our tetradrachms bearing the name of King Philip. Thus they furnish an additional proof that Antioch must also have been the mint of the contemporaneous royal silver issues we have just been studying. These civic issues being plentiful, there was now evidently little need of striking bronze coins with royal types.⁵⁰

To maintain his position at Antioch, Philip was forced to wage constant wars, first against his own brother, Demetrius III, then against Antiochus X who had escaped from or been sent back by the Parthians, later against Antiochus XII the son of Demetrius, and lastly against Tigranes the powerful king of Armenia whom the people of Syria, wearied at last with the endless fratricidal wars, called in to free them. Philip was driven from Syria and is supposed to have perished; Tigranes henceforth ruled at Antioch in his stead.

⁵⁰ See Macdonald, Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, Glasgow, vol. iii, pages 143, 144.

TIGRANES I OF ARMENIA,

Ruled in Antioch 83-69 B. C.

Although, logically, the Antiochene issues of Tigranes fall into place between those of Philip and of Antiochus XIII they have nevertheless been omitted here because they have already been so carefully and satisfactorily handled by Dr. Macdonald⁵¹ that nothing new could be added to his researches, and also because, while struck at Antioch and therefore partaking generally of the style and fabric of the Seleucid issues, they are yet the coinages of an alien king and our interests here are primarily centred only on those of the Seleucid princes.

A typical example of the series of tetradrachms struck by Tigranes during his rule in Antioch is given on Plate XIII (A).

ANTIOCHUS XIII, Ruled in Antioch circa 69-65 B. C.

We have still to consider the probable coinages at Antioch of the last of the Seleucid kings actually ruling in that city—Antiochus XIII, nicknamed Asiaticus. That he did strike coins seems to the writer probable almost beyond discussion. Antioch, the metropolis of Syria and one of the largest and most important cities of the East, had possessed an active mint for about two centuries. Her coinages had been both continuous and unusually prolific. Antiochus XIII was king by right of descent, by acknowledgement of the Syrians themselves (Appian, *Syr.* 49), and finally by solemn consent of Lucullus (*Just.* xl, 2, 3) who had recently forced Tigranes out of Syria. Syria was not definitely made a Roman province until the coming of Pompey and was therefore still an independent state and in a position to issue its own money. Why then have numismatists found it so difficult to satisfactorily assign any coins to the thirteenth Antiochus when everything would point to the fact that he must have issued such? The answer evidently is that numismatists have not made themselves sufficiently acquainted with the true sequence and style of preceding Antiochene issues and have therefore committed the unfortunate error of assigning to Antiochus XI the following coins which by style, fabric, and inscription can only belong to the time of Antiochus XIII.

⁵¹ *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV, vol. ii, 1902.



fig. 33

460 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus XIII to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ (to l.). Zeus, naked to waist, seated to l. on throne, holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole in laurel wreath. On l., in front of Zeus, ☒.

Newell (fig. 33); Paris, no. 1538 (Pl. xxvii, 11); Rev. Edgar Rogers, Num. Chron., Ser. IV, vol. xii, 1912, p. 363, no. 32 (Pl. xi, 10); Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 761 (Pl. xxi); Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 741 (Pl. xx).

461 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., in front of Zeus, ☒. Beneath throne, P.

Newell, Plate XIII; Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 777 (Pl. xxi); Jameson Coll., no. 1760 (Pl. lxxxix).

We have already had occasion (page 117) to note that these coins cannot possibly, as some authorities have suggested, be assigned to Antiochus XI. The true Antiochene issue of that king is found in no. 433, Plate XIII. Our two coins (nos. 460 and 461) are of a much later style and fabric as shown most clearly by the low relief, poor drawing, closely packed letters; and the absence of the usual monogram and letter A outside the inscription. In these respects our two coins are midway between the later issues of Philip Philadelphus (nos. 454-459) and the posthumous issues of that king characterized by the monograms Σ and Σ . The true issues of Philip came to an end with his death in 83 B. C. The issues of Tigranes evidently commenced in and around that same year when the Armenian king had finally secured Antioch, and continued until his evacuation of Syria before the threatening advance of Lucullus. In a forthcoming number of the Numismatic Chronicle the writer will show that the above mentioned posthumous issues of Philip took place under Roman dominion or, in other words, after the constitution of Syria as a Roman province. The only possible occasion therefore, between these two groups of Philip

coins, to which our pieces with their Antiochus inscription could possibly be assigned is the reign of Antiochus XIII. This assignment is thoroughly corroborated by the style and fabric of our two tetradrachms. We should notice the same small flans, the rather poor character of the silver used, the very low relief, the flat, thin style of the portraiture, the clumsily made letters so characteristic of the later issues both contemporary and posthumous, which bear the name of Philip as well as those which bear the names and types of Tigranes. Like nos. 454-459 a monogram appears in the field immediately in front of Zeus, while the monogram and accompanying mintmark A, always placed on the left outside the inscription on the Antiochene issues of the Seleucid rulers from Grypus to the first years of Philip, are absent. Stylistically therefore our pieces come after rather than before the reign of Philip. Every detail of their technique is purely and only characteristic of the Antiochene coinages of this period. As our coins bear the name of Antiochus it is obvious that they can only be attributed to a king of that name. Their late style precludes their being assigned to Antiochus XI. Furthermore, to judge from the number of specimens that have come down to us, the original size of their issue must have been quite large, which fact would not at all harmonize with the very short period of time during which the eleventh Antiochus could possibly have held Antioch. Neither can they be given to Antiochus XII, first because his official titles were Dionysus Epiphanes Philopator Callinicus while the title appearing on our coin is Philadelphus; secondly because he only ruled in and around Damascus while the style and fabric of nos. 460 and 461 clearly show that these coins must have been struck in the mint of Antioch.

Antiochus XIII, according to Pauly-Wissova (the best available historical sketch of this prince based on a careful and critical analysis of the obscure and often erroneous statements of ancient historians) was the son of Antiochus X Eusebes and the Egyptian princess Cleopatra Selene. He spent his youth in Asia Minor (whence his nickname Asiaticus) until about 75 B. C. when he went to Rome accompanied by his younger brother. Cicero (*Verr.* IV, 27, 28, 30) mentions their sojourn in Rome and their experiences at the hands of the unscrupulous Verres when the brothers stopped over in Sicily on their way back to the East. After Tigranes had been forced to evacuate Antioch (69 B.C.) Antiochus, who was now a young man, put himself forward and was gladly received as ruler by the Syrians (*Appian, Syr.* 49). After Lu-

cullus had won the decisive battle near Tigranocerta (Oct. 6th, 69 B.C.) he confirmed Antiochus as king of Syria. His reign however was very troubled. While engaged in an unsuccessful campaign against the Arabs (Dio Cassius states, XXXVI, 19, 3, that in 67 B. C. the Antiochenes were fighting Arabs) the people of Antioch revolted. The uprising was suppressed but the ringleaders managed to escape to Cilicia where they put forward as rival king the son of Philip Philadelphus also called Philip. Azizos, the Arab chieftain, immediately declared for the latter but Antiochus secured the assistance of Sampsigeramus the rival chieftain of Emesa. In a very short time the Arab leaders had come to an understanding between themselves and together plotted to do away with both the Seleucid princes and divide Syria amongst themselves. In pursuance of this Antiochus was actually seized by Sampsigeramus. At this juncture Pompey, now commander-in-chief of the Roman armies in Asia, arrived (64 B. C.). To him Antiochus appealed for assistance and begged him to reinstate him in his kingdom. Pompey had other ideas and as the people themselves appeared very loath to have Antiochus back again (Just. XL, 2, 3) he decided to form Syria into a Roman province. Not long afterwards Antiochus XIII was murdered by the Arab chieftain Sampsigeramus.

The two tetradrachms, which we have seen can only be assigned to Antiochus XIII, are valuable historically as they afford us a definite record of that ruler's official title. Hitherto modern writers have concluded that Antiochus' title was probably Eusebes from the fact that Justin, Porphyry, and Appian have all confused him with his father Antiochus X surnamed Eusebes. This conclusion is perhaps well founded, but our coins show further that his principal⁵² title was undoubtedly Philadelphus—assumed probably in honor of the brother with whom he undertook the eventful but, in the end, unsuccessful mission to Rome.

Antiochus XIII was the last of the Seleucid princes ruling in Syria—as Appian expressly states (b. c. V. 10, Syr. 70). With his coins we have also reached the end of the long, varied, and therefore unusually interesting series which bears the names, portraits, and types of such scions of the House of Seleucus, or base pretenders to that proud name, as held sway in their great capital at Antioch.

⁵² Seleucid princes, ever since the reign of Antiochus IV, were given to the habit of assuming several titles. Antiochus XII boasted of no less than four.

RÉSUMÉ

COINAGE AND MINT.

In the preceding pages we have studied the coinage of our mint, ruler by ruler. A more general treatment of the coinage as a whole may not be out of place in order that we may secure a general perspective of the issues, that we may see how they connect the one with the other, and why they should be assigned to Antioch.

Under Antiochus III we have found a coinage of gold oktadrachms and staters, silver tetradrachms and drachms, which fall naturally into three series corresponding more or less closely to the three main phases of that ruler's life: (I) the early years of his reign, (II) the eastern expedition, (III) his Phoenician conquests and the war with Rome. Series I we found growing immediately out of the issues of Seleucus II and III and bound with them by the common monograms Ξ and Υ . The portrait of Antiochus is that of a young man, the time limit easily contained in the space of some seventeen years during which he grew from a youth of eighteen to a man of about thirty-five. The latter part of this series is made conspicuous by the sudden introduction of a fillet border decoration in the place of the older beaded border. Series II continues this same fillet decoration, the magistrate Ξ is no longer active, but Υ is there to prove that Series II is but the continuation of Series I and therefore from the same mint, as Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has already pointed out. Attention should be called to the peculiar custom of placing the fillet border only on the tetradrachms, coins of smaller module, such as gold stater and silver drachm, still bearing the beaded border. The portrait of Antiochus on this series is that of a somewhat older man. There now follows Series III bearing the head of Antiochus III but with features showing advancing age. In style, however, these are but the continuance of the previous issues.

Under the son and successor of Antiochus III the coinage follows closely the style and fabric of the latter's third series and therefore undoubtedly was struck in one and the same mint.⁵³ We have already had occasion to observe that of all Antiochus III's many coinages the one here brought together is the largest, also the most consecutive in types

⁵³ The writer has only now become aware that Dr. Macdonald in his catalogue of the Hunterian Collection in Glasgow, vol. iii, p. 31, has already made this observation, and furthermore suggests that we should look for this common mint at Antioch. It certainly gives me great pleasure to make the discovery that our observations, arrived at separately, tally so exactly.

of portraiture — from the smooth-faced youth of the earliest coins of Series I, through the early manhood and middle age of Series I and II, to the features sharpened and seamed by arduous campaigns and the troubles of a particularly active and vicissitudinous life, as portrayed on his last issues. In a similar, though smaller, way the issues here studied of Seleucus IV are the largest and at the same time most homogeneous of his none too numerous coinages. Considering these points together, only Antioch, the capital and the commercial as well as political centre of the empire, can possibly be thought of as a location for the issuing mint.

This coinage of Seleucus IV merges easily into that of his successor Antiochus IV. On this we see not only the head of Antiochus himself but also that of his little son of like name, a mere child of not more than two years of age. The magistrate Φ serving under Seleucus IV as well as under Antiochus IV, is definite proof of the connection between the two issues. Towards the middle of Antiochus IV's reign the flans upon which his coins were struck show a tendency to grow broader and thinner, while various titles are added to his name. Introducing his last issue and closely conforming to it in style, fabric, and inscriptions, comes the interesting and special series with the Zeus Olympios and Apollo Kitharoedos types. The close connection between these coins and the famous celebrations held at Daphne is too obvious to be further insisted upon here. Because of this it will hardly be denied that the coins themselves could only have been struck at Antioch.

The ordinary coinage of Antiochus IV was followed by an exactly similar one issued in his son's name, many of the same magistrates officiating. Closely linked by the same monograms comes the coinage of Demetrius I who succeeded Antiochus V. In the seventh year of Demetrius' reign, or the one hundred and fifty-eighth of the Seleucid Era, a reform was made in the visible control of the coinage. Heretofore, as a rule, only one magistrate signed each reverse die, no matter how many such officials chanced to be in office at the same time. This is very neatly illustrated by our nos. 99, 100, and 101. The magistrates who signed these three coins were in office together, as can be judged by the scarcity of these varieties, the appearance on all three of the title $\Sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\sigma$ which, together with the three monograms, is carried on to the immediately succeeding issues. At this point comes the reorganization of the control, and, henceforth, we find on all the silver

coins of Demetrius a date reckoned according to the Seleucid Era, a controller \boxtimes who signs every coin, and numerous subordinates, one of whom places his monogram on the reverse below that of the controller's.

Alexander I, on his issues, retains this system of dates as well as the supervising and subordinate magistrates. While the former are frequently changed, the latter often continue from reign to reign. This fact, backed by considerations of style and fabric, is of the greatest assistance when it comes to finally determining what is or is not to be considered an issue of our mint.

Demetrius II strikes coins of similar style and signed by many of the same magistrates as Alexander's issues, but as he held Antioch for only two years his Antiochene coinage naturally bear only the two dates $Z\Xi P$ and $H\Xi P$. Though driven out of the capital, Demetrius II still retained the major portion of his kingdom and continued to strike in his remaining mints. But here is to be noted the significant fact that his coins of the type, which for other reasons we would assign to Antioch, now cease. In other words, they are found only with the dates of the very two years during which our historical sources claim that he actually ruled in Antioch. This would seem to be proof positive that our deductions are soundly based and that Antioch really was the mint of our entire series. Furthermore, we gather from our historians that the king who followed Demetrius, namely Antiochus VI, held sway only in the Orontes valley, and so it is no surprise to find that his coinage consists only of pieces displaying the style and fabric which we have now come to associate with Antioch. The dates follow immediately upon those of his predecessor, while many of the magistral monograms are common to both reigns.

Unfortunately the custom of dating the silver coinage at Antioch is finally dispensed with in the following reign,—that of Tryphon.

Antiochus VII, for his very large coinage, employs only one controller \clubsuit until, in the last year of his reign, \clubsuit retires and others take his place. During his term of office \clubsuit was assisted by many subordinates, among whom were several who, in their turn, were accompanied by still lower officials. On one coin, therefore, we will find the controller's mark \clubsuit , his subordinate A or \top , and, in addition, a series of other letters or monograms which must denote the names of lesser magistrates. Furthermore, on *all* these coins the letter A is constantly present, is always to be found beneath the controller's monogram,

and may, not improbably, denote the mint Antioch. I would not insist on this except for the fact that after the two following reigns of Demetrius II (2nd term), and Alexander II the A makes its reappearance, and is henceforth found on all the tetradrachms struck at our mint until the fall of the Seleucid kings and the accession of the Armenian Tigranes. Besides, this A is always found in the same place, namely beneath the monogram of the supervising magistrate. As it occurs in the reigns covering the years 138 to 129 B. C. and 121 to 83 B. C. its interpretation as a magistrate's initial is hardly possible unless we are willing to suppose that more than one official whose name commenced with this letter occupied the constant post of chief assistant to the controller. For though the supervisor was continually being changed throughout this length of time, the letter A is always found occupying its accustomed position beneath the latter's monogram. It therefore occurs unfailingly on all the coins which by style, fabric, sequence of type or magistratal monogram we would, under any circumstances, have assigned to Antioch.

From the time of Antiochus VII to the end of the dynasty the Antiochene mint was kept busy striking new coin for the rapidly alternating or changing rulers. As outlying provinces fell away in the general break-up of the kingdom, or as autonomy was granted (usually perforce of circumstances) to the various large cities of the land, nearly all of whom had in by-gone days been greater or lesser royal mints,—such as Seleucia on the Orontes, Tripolis, Sidon, Tyre, Ake-Ptolemais and others—Antioch became practically the sole remaining place in all the land where coins could still be struck in the name of that person who,—even for a short while,—could rightfully claim the once proud title of Seleucid king. When furthermore we find that the great majority of the coins bearing the portraits and names of Antiochus VIII, IX, Seleucus VI, Antiochus X, XI, Demetrius III, and Philip Philadelphus are all of one style, one fabric, one type, and show one uniform system of mint control, then it is clearly only to Antioch that these coinages can possibly be assigned. For, as stated above, it is only Antioch that at this time possessed a sufficiently large *royal* mint, was the only important commercial city directly under Seleucid authority, and, lastly, was the only city in which *all* these princes ruled at one time or another. Seeing then that this uniform coinage of the last seven kings could only have been struck at Antioch, and that the issues of the intervening rulers Demetrius II (2nd reign), Alexander II, Cleopatra and

the early series of Antiochus VIII form an unbroken bridge in style, fabric, and monograms between the latter and the issues of Antiochus VII back, we then become assured that this great and homogeneous coinage from the days of Seleucus II to the arrival of Tigranes must have been struck in the capital and metropolis of the Seleucid Empire, —Antioch on the Orontes.

TYPES. There is not room here to discuss in detail the numerous and important types which make the reverses of the Seleucid coinage of such greater value and interest than, for instance, the Ptolemaic with its everlasting eagles and cornucopiae. The types of gold, silver and bronze have been touched on in our text wherever they chanced to prove of particular interest and importance to our subject. For a more thorough and valuable treatment, the reader is referred to M. Babelon's introduction to the Paris catalogue 'Les rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène.' A brief survey is all that is here necessary.

The very first type of all the Seleucid coinage was that of Zeus Olympios as borrowed from the coinage of Alexander the Great. Shortly afterwards, still in the reign of Seleucus I, the eagle which the god holds in his right hand was exchanged for a wreath-bearing Nike, thus making the type conform more closely to its prototype, the great chryselephantine statue of the god at Olympia. But during the long rule of the House of Seleucus many other types arose and enjoyed predominant popularity for a space of time. It was not until the fourth reign of Grypus in Antioch (circa 107-96 B. C.) that Zeus Olympios triumphs over his numerous rivals and remains the constant reverse type of the Antiochene tetradrachms until the coming of Tigranes. The struggle for popular favor had indeed been one of long duration and many vicissitudes. Displaced by Apollo, the patron god of the Seleucid family and the predominant type at the time our study commences, Zeus Olympios Nikephoros once more comes into favor in the reign of that brilliant but erratic man, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and thenceforth vies with Tyche, Apollo, the Dioscuri, Athena, and Zeus Uranius for the honor of being chosen for the reverse type on the tetradrachms. But finally, as if in mockery, Zeus Olympios Nikephoros having graced the coinage of Seleucus I Nikator whose realm stretched from the Propontis across Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, to the distant plains of Central Asia and the broad rivers of Northern India, now for the last time lends dignity in its fallen state to a debased and ugly coinage struck by the degenerate and wrangling de-

scendants of the first Seleucus that now ruled only in a small province embracing little more than the valley of the Orontes. Tigranes put a temporary end to this coinage and introduced in its stead a type of purely local significance, but more worthy of the proud city of Antioch, still destined to remain, under Roman rule, the great and puissant mistress of the East.

DIES AND MONOGRAMS. Working with such material as has been at the writer's disposal on this side of the Atlantic, the dies at Antioch seem all to have been either adjusted or actually fixed in the position $\uparrow\uparrow$ before striking. At least, among the silver and bronze coins examined in the original no other position has been discovered.

When the full material of the Seleucid issues at Antioch can be studied in casts or in the original it will undoubtedly be found that obverse dies were often employed for a considerable length of time. Working only from a few coins in the original, and depending on photographs and plates for the remainder, it has not always been possible to establish beyond a doubt the seeming identity of dies used continuously for successive issues. In a few instances, however, the fact that a certain obverse die has been used by various magistrates has been noted. Such use, incidentally, proves the writer's thesis that all monograms found on the Antiochene issues are personal in character and cannot be translated into city names as has so often and so disastrously been attempted in the past. Only the letter A, holding a regular and particular position on the reverses of the tetradrachms of Antiochus VII and on those from Antiochus VIII to the end of the dynasty, has any claim to pose as an indication of the mint.

There are instances throughout the coinage where certain monograms seem to have become slightly changed in form through constant use in successive issues but, none the less, probably belong to one and the same magistrate. Thus, to mention but a few, we have ⌘ under Demetrius II (1st reign, no. 199), ⌘ , ⌘ , and ⌘ under Demetrius II, Antiochus VI and Tryphon. ⌘ and ⌘ seem also to be interchangeable. An intensive study of these monograms would be both instructive and interesting, but time as well as material are at present lacking. There are numerous gaps still to be filled as the writer's own experience would seem to show. In several instances where observation of a preceding and a following series would suggest the presence of a certain monogram, coins bearing these monograms have turned up before the completion of this paper to fill the gap and to prove that there

really was some systematic ordering in the officials signing the various issues. A combined study of both monograms and dies will eventually give us a more or less complete list of those yearly controllers and their assistants who seem to have varied in number under the different reigns. Under Demetrius there seem to have seldom been over three or four subordinates yearly, under Antiochus VI this number has risen to six and seven. Perhaps the number depended upon the exigencies of the times, the quantity of money to be issued, or possibly, under certain reigns, to the number of official positions that had to be dispensed as favors among persons who had helped a successful king to overthrow his predecessor.

DENOMINATIONS. The denominations struck at Antioch are more numerous and appear under the different reigns in more complete series, than at any other mint of the empire. In gold we have the okta-drachms (or quadruple staters) and staters; in silver we have tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms (or triobols), diobols and obols; in bronze we have what appear to be two denominations which at times are increased to three and, under Antiochus IV, to five or more. The subject of the bronze issues, through lack of enough actual specimens, has had to be merely touched upon in this paper and it is to be hoped that some one with better opportunities will carry it further. For these bronze coins have more varied types than the silver, and many more magistrate's letters, monograms and symbols which will undoubtedly assist in filling lacunae left by the silver.

Under the Seleucid sovereigns at Antioch the various denominations in the precious metals were always struck on the Attic standard. On the whole, the Antiochene standard of fineness and fullness of weight compares very favorably with the issues of other Greek states at this time. But, like the history of so many other coinages in the past, the Seleucid, too, gradually became of poorer and more stereotyped style, of lighter weight and more debased metal as the puppet kings in whose name it was struck grew weaker in power, ability, resources, and morals.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

SELEUCUS II. The bronze coinage that was issued in conjunction with our tetradrachm no. 1 is to be found in the comparatively common variety with obverse: Head of Athene to right in crested Corinthian helmet; reverse: Nike standing to left placing wreath on king's name, before her inverted anchor, behind her, ⌘ (Hunterian Coll., no. 24, there attributed to Seleucus I). This monogram is a characteristic one of the Antiochene mint at this time.

SELEUCUS III. Because of its strikingly close similarity in appearance and technique to our tetradrachm no. 3 (Plate I) we should undoubtedly also assign to the Antiochene mint for this reign the British Museum tetradrachm no. 5 illustrated as no. 7 on Plate vii of the London catalogue. At any rate a comparison of the obverse dies of these two coins would certainly lead one to suppose that the same artist had cut them, and if this is the case, then probably in the same mint.

A specimen of the contemporary bronze coinage of Seleucus III struck at Antioch will be found in nos. 6 and 7 (Plate vii, no. 8) of the British Museum Catalogue. These coins are identical in style with the immediately succeeding bronze issues of Antiochus III and, in addition, bear the characteristic monogram ⌘ .

ANTIOCHUS III. In studying closely the details of the portrait appearing on the gold stater no. 19 (Plate II) it becomes evident that this coin should be transferred from Series II to Series I. The features not only are those of a young man (at the time of Series II Antiochus was over thirty-five years of age) but the actual details and style of the portrait approximate very closely to the one found on the obverse die of our no. 12, Plate I.

In conjunction with the two denominations of bronze coins described on page 8, there is a third size midway between. The types are identical with those of the largest size, namely: obverse, Laureated head of Antiochus III; reverse, Apollo seated. A specimen is given as no. 51, page 28 of the British Museum Catalogue.

DEMETRIUS II (First reign). The monogram in the exergue of no. 201 should be ⌘ .

ANTIOCHUS VI. The reference to Plate IX for no. 258, page 67, should be disregarded; while no. 259 (London, no. 20) is represented under no. 259 on Plate IX.

ANTIOCHUS VIII. A specimen of drachm no. 391 is reproduced under that number on Plate XI.

TABLE OF ISSUES

No.	Denomination	On left	SELEUCUS II	In exergue	On right
1	Tetradrachm	Ξ			Υ
2	"	"			Ξ
SELEUCUS III					
3	Tetradrachm	Ξ			Υ
4	"	"			⊠
5	"	Υ			
6	"	Ξ			ΣΩ
ANTIOCHUS III					
Series I					
Group a					
7	Tetradrachm	Υ Ξ			
8	"	Ξ Υ			
9	"	Ξ			⊠
Group b					
10	Tetradrachm	Ξ Υ			
11	"	Υ Ξ			
12	"	Ξ			
13	"	Υ			
14	"	" (variety)			
15	"	Υ ⊠			⊠
Series II					
Group a					
16	Stater			Α	Υ
17	Tetradrachm	⊠			Μ
18	"	"			Π
Group b					
19	Stater	⊠			Π
20	Tetradrachm	Υ			
21	Drachm	"			
22	Tetradrachm	⊠			
23	Drachm	"			
24	Tetradrachm	TRIPOD			

No.	Denomination	On left		In exergue	On right
Series III					
25	Oktadrachm	ROSE			
26	Tetradrachm	BOW IN CASE			
27	"	" " "		AΣK	
28	"	" " "		ACK	
29	"	HORSE'S HEAD			
30	"	ANCHOR			
SELEUCUS IV					
31	Tetradrachm	STAR			
32	"	FILLETED PALM BRANCH			
33	"	WREATH-BEARING NIKE			
34	"	FILLETED PALM BRANCH			
35	"	" " "		⋄	
36	Drachm	PALM BRANCH		"	
37	Tetradrachm	FILLETED PALM BRANCH		M	
38	"	" " "		⋄	
39	"	PALM BRANCH and WREATH		⋄	
40	"	FILLETED PALM BRANCH and APLUSTRE		"	
41	"	PALM BRANCH		⋄	
ANTIOCHUS IV					
Series I					
Group a					
42	Tetradrachm	LYRE		⋄	
43	"			"	LYRE
44	"	TRIPOD		"	"
Group b					
45	Tetradrachm	TRIPOD		⋄	
46	"	"		⋄	
47	"	"		⊠	
48	"	"		⋄	
49	"	"		⊠	
50	"	"		⋄	
51	"	"		⋄	
52	"	"		B	
53	"	"		Δ	
Series II					
Group a					
54	Tetradrachm			⋄	
55	"			ΙΣ	
56	"			—	

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
Group b				
57	Drachm		no monogram	
58	Bronze I		" "	
59	" II		" "	
60	" III		" "	
61	" IV		" "	
Series III				
Group a				
62	Stater		no monogram	
63	Tetradrachm	(Zeus type)	" "	
64	"	(Apollo type)	" "	
65	Hemidrachm		" "	
66	Diobol		" "	
Group b				
67	Tetradrachm	⋈		
68	"	ΙΣ		
69	"	⋈		
70	"	⌘		
71	"	⌘		
72	"	⌘		
73	"	M		
ANTIOCHUS V				
74	Tetradrachm	⋈		
75	"	⌘		
76	"	ΔΙ		
77	"	⌘		
77a	"			⌘
78	Drachm	no monogram		
DEMETRIUS I				
Series I				
Group a				
79	Tetradrachm	⋈		
80	"	" (variety)		
81	"	⌘		
Group b				
82	Tetradrachm	⌘		
83	"	⋈		
84	"			⌘
85	"			Λ

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
Group c				
86	Tetradrachm	⊕		
87	"	⊕ or ⊖		
88	"	⊖		
89	"	no monogram		
90	"	⊕		
91	"	⊖		
92	"	⊖		
93	"	EY		
94	"		EI	
Series II				
Group a				
95	Tetradrachm	⊖		
96	"	⊖		
97	"	⊖		
98	"		⊖	
Group b				
99	Tetradrachm	⊖		
100	"	⊖		
101	"		⊖	
Series III				
Group a				
102	Tetradrachm	⊖ ⊖	HNP	
103	"	" ⊖	"	
104	"	" ⊖	"	
105	"	" MI	"	
Group b				
106	Tetradrachm	⊖ ⊖	⊖NP	
107	"	" ⊖	"	
108	"	" ⊖	"	
109	Drachm		⊖ ⊖ ⊖NP	
110	"		" ⊖ "	
Group c				
111	Tetradrachm	⊖ ⊖	⊖P	
112	"	" ⊖	"	
113	"	" ⊖	"	
114	Drachm		⊖ ⊖ ⊖P	
115	"		" ⊖ "	
116	"		" ⊖ "	

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
Group d (1st issue)				
117	Tetradrachm	☉ Ἀ	ΑΞΡ	
118	"	" Ἀ	"	
119	"	" ΗΡ	"	
120	Drachm		☉ Ἀ ΑΞΡ	
121	"		" Ἀ "	
122	"		" ΗΡ "	
Group d (2nd issue)				
123	Tetradrachm	☉ ΜΙ	ΑΞΡ	
124	"	" ☉	"	
125	"	" ⲗ	"	
126	Drachm		☉ ☉ ΑΞΡ	
127	"		" Ρ "	
Group e				
128	2½ Stater	☉ ΣΑ		ΒΞΡ
129	2 "	" Ἀ		"
130	Tetradrachm	" ☉	ΒΞΡ	
131	"	" Π	"	
132	"	" ϩ	"	
133	Drachm		☉ Π ΒΞΡ	
134	"		" ϩ "	

ALEXANDER I

Series I

Group a

135	Tetradrachm	CORNUCOPIAE	ΓΞΡ ϩ	
136	"	"	" ⲗ	
137	"	" and Θ	"	
138	Drachm	"	"	
139	"	"	" ⲗ	
140	"	" and ☉	"	
141	"	" and E	"	

Group b

142	Tetradrachm	ΠΡ, ⲗ	ΔΞΡ	
143	"	☉, "	"	
144	"	ⲗ, "	"	
145	"	"	" ☉	
146	"	"	" ⲗ	
147	"	"	" ΠΡ	
148	"	"	" Η	
149	Drachm		"	
150	Tetradrachm	ⲗ ΠΡ	"	

No.	Denomination	On left		In exergue	On right
Group c					
151	Tetradrachm	Ⲁ		ΕΞΡ ΠΡ	
152	"	"		" Ⲁ	
153	"	"		" Ⲁ	
154	"	CORNUCOPIAE		" Η	
155	"	ⲁ		" Ⲁ	
156	"	ⲕ		" Μ	
Group d					
157	Tetradrachm	ⲕ		ΣΕΡ Ζ	
158	"	"		" ⊙	
159	"	ⲁ		" "	
160	"	"		" Ⲁ	
161	"	"		" Ⲁ	
Group e					
162	Tetradrachm	Ⲁ		ΙΞΡ (—)	
Series H					
163	Stater	no monogram			
164	Tetradrachm			ΠΡΟ	
165	"			Ⲁ	
166	"			Ⲁ	
167	"			Η	
168	"			Π	
169	"			Ⲁ	
170	"			ⲁ	
171	"			Μ	
171a	"			Μ	
171b	"			Μ	
Series A					
172	Drachm	Ⲁ		Ⲁ	
173	"	"		Ⲁ	
174	"	"		Ⲁ	
175	"	"		⊙	
Series B					
176	Drachm			Ⲁ	
177	"			" Η	
Series C					
178	Drachm			Ⲁ	
179	"			Ⲁ Η	
180	"			" ⊙	
181	"			" Μ	

No.	Denomination	On left		In exergue	On right
			Series D		
182	Drachm			△ Θ	
183	"			" A	
184	"			" ϕ	
			Series E		
185	Drachm			κ ϕ	
186	"			Θ	
187	"			ΠΠ	
188	"			△	
189	Hemidrachm	CORNUCOPIAE			
190	"	∧			
191	"	⊠			
192	"	Φ			
193	"	no monogram			
194	Diobol	" "			

DEMETRIUS II (1st reign)

Group a					
195	Tetradrachm	∩		ZΞP	⊠
196	"	"		"	∩
197	"	"		"	Θ
198	"	"		"	⊠
199	"	"		"	ϕ
200	"	"		"	⊠
Group b					
201	Tetradrachm	PALM BRANCH, ∩		ZΞP	⊠
202	"	" " "		"	ϕ
203	"	" " "		"	∩
204	"	" " "		"	∩
205	"	" " "		"	ϕ
206	"	" " "	" , ⊠	"	
Group c					
207	Tetradrachm	PALM BRANCH, ∩, K		HΞP	
208	"	" " "	" ∩	"	
209	"	" " "	" H	"	
209a	"	" " "	" ∩	"	
210	Drachm	∩, ∩		HΞP	
211	"	" ∩		"	
212	"	" K		"	
213	"	STAR " ∩		—	
214	"	∩, ∩		HΞP	
215	Hemidrachm	∩ X			

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
ANTIOCHUS VI				
Group a				
216	Tetradrachm	HΞP		TPY
217	"	"		TPY Ϡ
218	"	"		" Ϡ
219	"	"		" Ϡ
220	"	THYRSOS, HΞP		" K
221	"	" "		" X
222	Drachm	BUNCH OF GRAPES, K	HΞP	
223	"	" " " Ϡ	"	
224	"	" " " X	"	
225	"	" " " Ϡ	"	
226	"	" " " Ϡ	"	
227	"	" " " Ϡ	"	
Group b				
228	Tetradrachm	THYRSOS ΘΞP		TPY ITT Ϡ
229	"	" "		" Ϡ ΣTA
230	"	" "		" X or X "
231	"	" "		" Ϡ "
232	"	" "		" φ "
233	"	" "		" Ϡ "
234	"	" "		" Ϡ "
235	Drachm	BUNCH OF GRAPES	ΘΞP ΣTA	
236	"	Ϡ	" "	
237	"	X	" "	
238	"	ρ	" "	
239	"	Ϡ	" "	
Group c				
240	Tetradrachm	OP		TPY Ϡ ΣTA
241	"	"		" Ϡ "
242	"	"		" X "
243	"	"		" " —
244	"	"		" φ ΣTA
245	"	"		" Ϡ "
246	Drachm	ρ	OP ΣTA	
247	"	Ϡ or Ϡ	" "	
248	"	X or X	" "	
249	"	φ	" "	
250	"	ρ	" "	
Group d				
251	Hemidrachm	no monogram		
252	"		K	

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
253	Hemidrachm		𐌆	
254	"		𐌆	
255	"			ΣΤΑ
256	Diobol			"

Group e

257	Drachm			ΤΡΥ 𐌆
258	"			" X or X
259	"			" 𐌆
260	"			" P

TRYPHON

261	Tetradrachm	X	
262	"	X	
262a	"	⊙	
263	"	no monogram	
264	"	𐌆	
265	Drachm	X	
265a	"	𐌆	
266	"	XP	
267	"	𐌆	
268	"	ΤΡ	
269	"	Λ	
270	"	𐌆	
271	"	𐌆	
272	"	Π	

ANTIOCHUS VII

Group a

273	Tetradrachm	⋈ Λ or Λ
274	"	" Η
275	"	" ΑΙ
276	"	" 𐌆
277	"	" 𐌆
278	"	" ⊙
279	"	" Η
280	"	" Λ
281	"	" Π
282	"	" Α

Group b

283	Tetradrachm	⋈ Α	𐌆
284	"	" "	𐌆
285	"	" "	Δ
286	"	" "	Φ

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
287	Tetradrachm	☩ A		A
288	"	" "		Δ
289	"	" "		H
290	"	" "		O
291	"	" "		Σ
292	"	" "		Φ
Group c				
293	Tetradrachm	☩ A, A		B
294	"	" ", "		E
295	"	" ", "		K
296	"	" ", T		A
297	"	" ", "		Λ
298	"	" ", O		Λ
299	"	" ", M		K
Group d				
300	Drachm	☩ A		
301	"	"		A
302	"	" A		
303	"	"		℞
304	"	" O		O
305	"	"		O
306	"	" Π		Π
307	"	"		Π
308	"	" Φ		Φ
309	"	"		Φ
310	"	☩ ^P Φ		
Group e				
311	Tetradrachm	☩ A		
312	Drachm	☩ Δ		
312a	"	☩ ^P ℞		
313	Tetradrachm	B A		
314	Drachm	A B		
315	Tetradrachm	Ξ A	☩	
316	Drachm	Σ		
317	"	"		O
DEMETRIUS II (2d reign)				
318	Tetradrachm	☩		
319	"	☩ E		
320	"	Ξ	O (beneath throne)	
321	"	"	Δ " "	

No.	Denomination	On left	Beneath throne	On right
322	Drachm		Ξ O (in exergue)	
323	"	Ξ	Δ	
324	"	no letters		
325	"	Δ	Ω	

ALEXANDER II

Group a

326	Tetradrachm	Σ	Δ	
327	"	"	STAR over Δ	
328	"	"	Σ	
329	"	"	STAR over Σ	
330	"	"	" " A	
331	"	"	" " ⊕	

Group b

332	Tetradrachm	AP	Δ	
333	"	"	STAR over Δ	
334	"	"	" " Σ	
335	"	"	AP	
336	Drachm	" A		
337	Hemidrachm	AP (AP?) Σ		
338	Diobol	no monogram or letter		

Group c

339	Tetradrachm	AP	Δ	
340	"	"	Σ	
341	"	"	AΦ (A)	
342	Drachm	" Δ		
343	"	" Σ		
344	"	" AΦ		
345	"	" Δ (or AΦ?)		
346	Hemidrachm	" , Δ		

Group d

347	Tetradrachm	Ξ	Δ	
348	"	"	Σ	
349	"	"	A	
350	Drachm	" Σ		
351	"	" AΦ		
352	Hemidrachm	" "		

Group e

353	Tetradrachm	⊗	Σ	
354	"	"	A	
355	"	"	A	

No.	Denomination	On left	Group f	Beneath throne	On right
356	Drachm	☉ AΦ			
357	"	" AI			
			Group g		
358	Stater	no monogram or letters			

CLEOPATRA AND ANTIOCHUS VIII

359	Tetradrachm	IE		A	
360	"	"		Δ	
361	"	"		AI	

ANTIOCHUS VIII (1st reign)

No.	Denomination	On left	Group a	In exergue	On right
362	Tetradrachm	IE Θ			
363	"	" ☉			
364	"	" ☉			
			Group b		
365	Tetradrachm	IE A			A
366	"	" "			AI
367	"	" "			N
368	"	" "			O
369	"	" "			P
370	"	" "		K	A
371	"	" "		"	AI
372	"	" "		"	P
373	"	" "		"	Φ
374	"	" "		N	N
375	"	" "		P	P
376	"	" "		Δ	
376a	"	" "		P	
377	"	" "		Φ	
378	"	" "		Π	
379	Drachm	IE			
380	"	(I)E			

ANTIOCHUS IX (1st reign)

381	Tetradrachm	☉ A			
382	"	" "			A
383	"	" "			Δ
384	"	" "			N
385	"	" "			O

ANTIOCHUS IX (2d reign)

386	Tetradrachm	☉ A			Γ
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No.	Denomination	On left	Beneath throne	On right
ANTIOCHUS VIII (3d reign)				
387	Tetradrachm	Φ A		Γ
388	"	" "		Δ
389	"	" "		K
390	"	" "		Ξ
391	Drachm	" Γ		
392	"	" N		
393	Hemidrachm	" Γ		
394	"	" N		
395	Diobol	" A		

ANTIOCHUS IX (3d reign)

396	Tetradrachm	Φ A		O
397	"	" "		P
398	"	" "		Ξ
399	"	" "		KY
400	"	" "		Φ
401	"	" " , Φ		
402	"	" "		Δ
403	"	" " , Φ		
404	Drachm	" N		

ANTIOCHUS VIII (4th reign)

405	Tetradrachm	Ε A	Δ (Φ)	
406	"	" "	A	
407	"	" "	Π	
408	"	" "	Ϟ	
409	Drachm	" "		
410	"	" Γ		
411	"	" Δ		
412	"	" P		
413	Hemidrachm	" A		

ANTIOCHUS IX (4th reign)

414	Tetradrachm	Ε A	Δ (Φ)	
415	"	" " , H	"	
416	"	" " , Π	"	
417	"	" "	Π	
418	"	" "	N	
419	Drachm	Ε Π		
420	Hemidrachm	"		

No.	Denomination	On left		Beneath throne	On right
SELEUCUS VI					
Group a					
421	Tetradrachm	A ∇ A		Δ	
422	"	" " "		A	
423	"	" " "		N	
Group b					
424	Tetradrachm	\mathbb{P} A		C	
425	"	" "		"	
426	Drachm	" "			C
427	"	" " , C			
428	Hemidrachm	\mathbb{P} , C			
ANTIOCHUS X					
Group a					
429	Tetradrachm	\boxtimes A		Δ	
Group b					
430	Tetradrachm	Σ A		Δ	
431	Drachm	" "			
432	Hemidrachm	" "			
ANTIOCHUS XI					
433	Tetradrachm	Ω A		Δ	
DEMETRIUS III					
434	Tetradrachm	ω Π A		Δ	
435	"	N A		"	
PHILIP					
Group a					
436	Tetradrachm	N A		Δ	
Group b					
437	Tetradrachm	Φ A		Δ	
438	"	" " , Δ		"	
439	"	" " , H		"	
440	"	" " , Θ		"	
441	"	" " , N		"	
442	"	" " , O		"	
443	"	" " , Φ		"	
Group c					
No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	Beneath throne	On right
444	Tetradrachm	Φ A	Δ	Δ	
445	"	" "	Λ	"	
446	"	" "	M	"	
447	"	" "	N	"	

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	Beneath throne	On right
448	Tetradrachm	Φ A	Π	Δ	
449	"	" "	Σ	"	
450	"	" "	T	"	
Group d					
451	Tetradrachm	Φ A, A	H	Δ	
452	"	" " , \boxtimes	"	"	
453	"	" " , \downarrow	Θ	"	
Group e					
454	Tetradrachm	Φ A (?), Φ	\mathcal{A}	Δ	
455	"	" " (?), \boxtimes	\mathcal{N}	"	
456	"	" " (?), \mathfrak{H}		"	
457	"	" " (?), $\omega\mathfrak{B}$ \mathfrak{K}	AN	"	
458	"	" " (?), \boxtimes		"	
459	"	Δ H O M ϵ P	(?)	"	
ANTIOCHUS XIII					
460	Tetradrachm	\boxtimes			
461	"	"		P	



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SELEUCUS II (1), SELEUCUS III (3-4), ANTIOCHUS III (7-18)



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ANTIOCHUS III (19-30), SELEUCUS IV (31-35)



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SELEUCUS IV (37-40), ANTIOCHUS IV (42-44, 54-55), ANTIOCHUS V (45-52)



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ANTIOCHUS IV (56-70), ANTIOCHUS V (74-77)



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DEMETRIUS I



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DEMETRIUS I (109-130), ALEXANDER I (135-192).



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ALEXANDER I (165-170), DEMETRIUS II (198-215), ANTIOCHUS VI (216-232).



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ANTIOCHUS VI (222-259), TRYPHON (261-267). ANTIOCHUS VII (273-287)



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ANTIOCHUS VII (304-315), DEMETRIUS II (320-323), ALEXANDER II (329-353).



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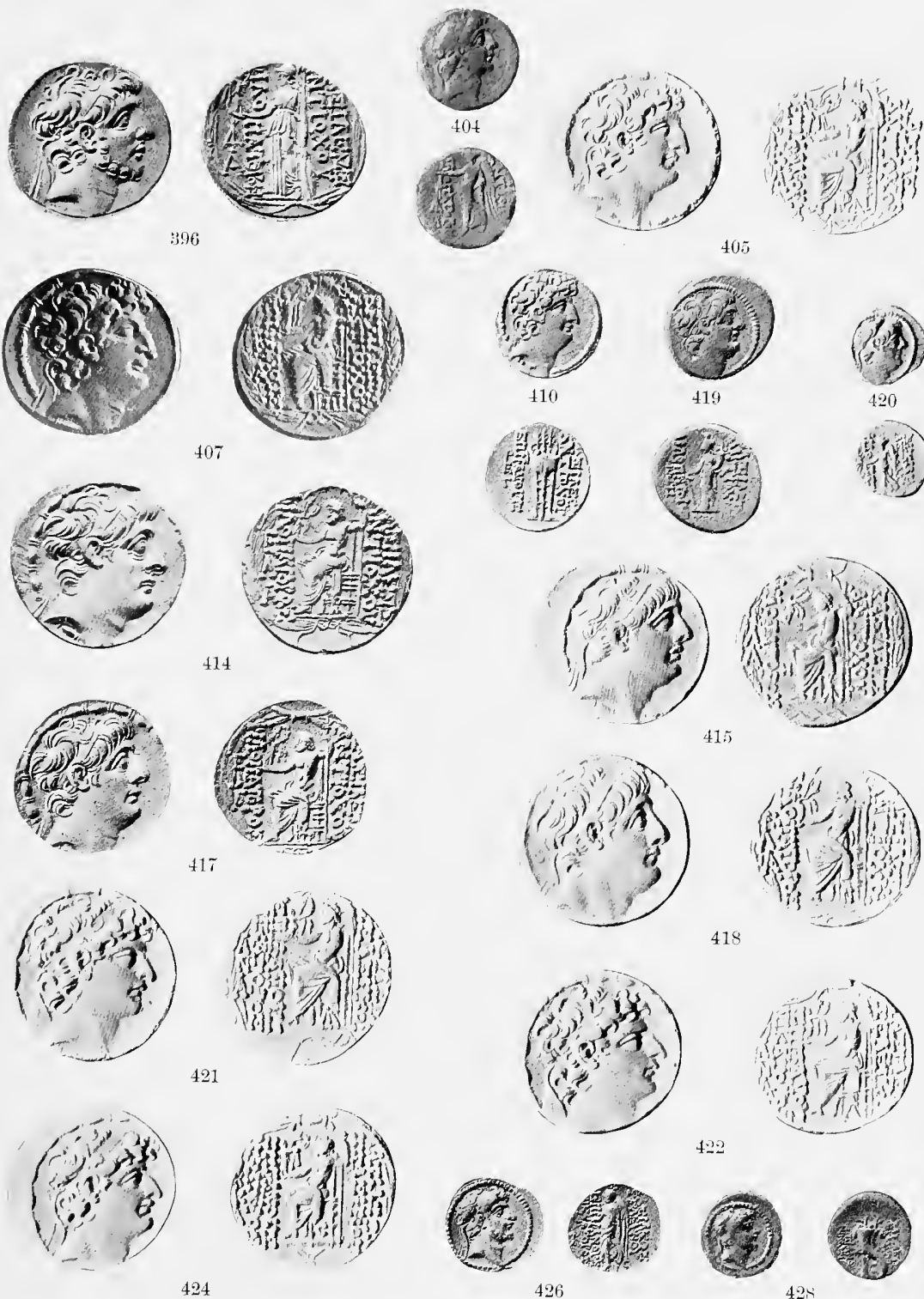
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CLEOPATRA AND ANTIOCHUS VIII (359-360), ANTIOCHUS VIII, first reign (362-376),
ANTIOCHUS IX, first reign (382), ANTIOCHUS IX, second reign (386), ANTIOCHUS VIII, third reign (388-393)



ANTIOCHUS IX. Third reign (396-404), ANTIOCHUS VIII, Fourth reign (405-410),
 ANTIOCHUS IX, Fourth reign (414-420), SELEUCUS VI (421-428).



ANTIOCHUS X (429-431), ANTIOCHUS XI (433), DEMETRIUS III (435a-435b), PHILIP (436-458),
TIGRANES (A), ANTIOCHUS XIII (461).

