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ARTHUR HOUGHTON

THE REVOLT OF TRYPHON AND THE ACCESSION OF
ANTIOCHUS VI AT APAMEA

The Mints and Chronologies of Antiochus VI and Tryphon¹

Plates 16–18

The historical sources record a period of desperate political confusion following the brutal quelling of a civil revolt at Antioch by the Seleucid king Demetrius II who, supported by mercenaries from Crete, had imposed a despotic rule upon the city following his victory over Alexander I Balas in 145 B.C.²

Abbreviations

Antioch Project	A. Houghton, <i>The Antioch Project, Mnemata</i> , Papers in Memory of Nancy Waggoner (New York 1991).
CSE	A. Houghton, <i>Coins of the Seleucid Empire</i> , ACNAC 4 (New York 1983).
De Clercq	G. Le Rider/H. Seyrig, <i>Objets de la collection Louis De Clercq</i> , RN 1967, pp. 7–53.
Fischer, Zu Tryphon	Th. Fischer, <i>Zu Tryphon</i> , Chiron 2, 1972, pp. 201–213.
Le Rider, Antiochos VI	G. Le Rider, <i>Un trésor de monnaies séleucides trouvé dans le Hauran en 1979 ou 1980: Antiochos VI à Ptolemaïs</i> , <i>Studies in Honor of Leo Miltenberg</i> (Wetteren 1984), pp. 165–169.
Mallus	A. Houghton, <i>The Royal Seleucid Mint of Mallus and the Cult Figure of Athena Magarsia</i> , <i>Studies in Honor of Leo Miltenberg</i> (Wetteren 1984), pp. 91–110.
Mørkholm, Posthumous Issue	O. Mørkholm, <i>A Posthumous Issue of Antiochus IV of Syria</i> , NC 1960, pp. 25–30.
Seyrig, Notes	H. Seyrig, <i>Notes on Syrian Coins</i> , NNM 119 (New York 1950).
SMA	E.T. Newell, <i>The Seleucid Mint of Antioch</i> , AJN 51, 1917–1918, pp. 1–151.

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¹ This article is a revised and expanded version of a paper read by the author at the XIth International Numismatic Congress, Brussels, September 11, 1991 (a summary appears in the Congress's *Abstract of Papers*, p. 42).

² Josephus, *Ant.* 13, 5.1–6.7; 1 Macc. 11, 20–23 and 15, 15–24; Diodorus 33, 4a, 17; Str. 16, 2, 10; Appian, *Syr.* 68.

When Demetrius took steps to dissolve the Seleucid army and disarm its troops, matters came to a head. The garrison at Apamea mutinied. Its commander, Diodotus Tryphon, a former officer of Alexander Balas, seized the army's weapons and proclaimed Alexander's baby son, Antiochus, king and heir to the Seleucid throne. Soon after, Tryphon seems to have made the city of Chalcis in Syria his campaign headquarters. At an uncertain date he decisively defeated Demetrius in battle. Tryphon then proceeded to Antioch, entered the city in triumph and placed on the Seleucid throne the child king Antiochus Epiphanes Dionysus, known to modern historians as Antiochus VI.

The sources give no exact chronology to the events surrounding Tryphon's revolt and the accession of Antiochus VI. Since Demetrius' dated silver issues of Antioch end, and the coinage of Antiochus that has been attributed to this city begins, in year 168 of the Seleucid era it has generally been assumed that at some point in 145 or 144 B.C., following a short campaign, Tryphon captured Antioch and put Antiochus on the throne.³

A careful review of the numismatic evidence, however, indicates that Antioch did not strike coinage for Antiochus until S.E. 169 – likely as late as 143 B.C. – and remained in Demetrius' hands until that date. Instead, Apamea, the initial locus of Tryphon's revolt, became Antiochus' first mint, using personnel from the mint at Antioch to produce money for the new king.⁴ The coins indicate that Antiochus VI and Demetrius II ruled separately as rival kings in northern Syria for the better part of a year, before Demetrius was defeated by Tryphon's forces and fled to Phoenicia. The coins and the historical record, taken together, suggest that in the months between Tryphon's mutiny and his successful occupation of Antioch, the Seleucid capital was wracked by civil strife, the virtual breakdown of administration, and the defection of many of its inhabitants to Tryphon's side.

³ O. Mørkholm, A Posthumous Issue of Antiochus IV of Syria, *NC* 1983, p. 61; A.R. Bellinger, The End of the Seleucids, *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Sciences* 38, 1949, p. 57; Newell, *SMA*, p. 56; E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, 2nd ed. (Nancy 1982), p. 405. Fischer, *Zu Tryphon*, suggests that the event took place at some point between the Spring of 145 and late Summer of 144 B.C., probably in the Fall of 145/Spring of 144 B.C. («Anfang 168 S.A.»).

⁴ The coins of S.E. 167 with the posthumous portrait of Antiochus IV that Newell, *SMA*, p. 61, n. 31, followed by Seyrig, *Notes*, p. 12, n. 18, suggest were struck at Apamea have been shown to have been issued at Antioch by G. Le Rider, *Monnaies à légende grecque et monnaies des rois d'Elymaïde trouvées à Suse de 1946 à 1956, Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Iran* 37, 1960, pp. 33–34 and Mørkholm, *Posthumous Issue*, arriving separately at the same conclusion (Newell, *AJA* 7, 1953, p. 297, seems to have changed his mind and accepted that they were struck at Antioch). Against Mørkholm's view that these coins were issued either by Alexander Balas in an attempt to remind the Antiochenes of his supposed descent from Antiochus IV, or by the magistrates of Antioch during a brief *interregnum* after Alexander's flight from the city about the end of 146 B.C., Fischer, *Zu Tryphon*, p. 210, proposes instead that they were issued by Demetrius' troops, the Antiochenes or, most likely, by Tryphon and his companions before Antiochus' proclamation as king.

Antiochus VI's Radiate Portrait Coins

The evidence is provided by the coins with a radiate portrait of Antiochus VI that show on the tetradrachms the Dioscuri, mounted, charging to the left with javelins outthrust and, on the drachms, the standard Seleucid dynastic type of a seated Apollo.

The Attic weight tetradrachms and drachms of the radiate portrait/Dioscuri or seated Apollo series were universally dated according to the Seleucid year of their issue. They were produced during only three of the four Seleucid years that Antiochus is known to have ruled – 168, 169 and 170, equating with 145/4, 144/3 and 143/2 B.C. No dated issues of the series are known to have been produced in S.E. 171, the last year of Antiochus' reign, although undated drachms with Antiochus' radiate portrait and the reverse type of a Macedonian helmet were likely produced at the end of S.E. 170 and early in S.E. 171 (Excursus, below).

The tetradrachms of the series can be divided into three groups, according to their related characteristics:

ANTIOCHUS VI *Tetradrachms with Radiate Portrait*

The characteristics of the three groups are distinct. Group X is marked from its third issue by the presence of a symbol, *thyrsos*, placed in the far left field of the tetradrachm reverses. It is also distinguished by monograms that appear singly in year 168 and, beginning with the second issue of year 169, that are then accompanied by a primary control, ΙΠ.

The second Group – Group Y – has no symbol. From the beginning, the coins of this Group show both a primary control, ΣΤΑ, and a single monogram or letter. Group Z, which is more fully discussed below, is represented by a single, evidently very short issue, set apart from the coins of Groups X and Y by the absence of any symbol, control or secondary monogram. The tetradrachms of all three groups bear the initial letters of Tryphon's name, ΤΡΥ, the only coins of Antiochus VI to do so.⁵

The differences between Groups X and Y are not limited to symbol and controls. Group X was produced in Seleucid years 168 and 169 only, while Group Y began only in S.E. 169 and ended in S.E. 170. The Group X tetradrachms, moreover, were struck in only limited amount, as is indicated by the recorded use of only eleven obverse dies for the entire series, six in S.E. 168 and five in S.E. 169, while the production of Group Y tetradrachms involved a minimum of twenty-four obverse dies in total.⁶

⁵ H.-R. Baldus notes the publication of a unique, presumably authentic, stater of Group Y, formerly in Warsaw but now lost, with *obv.* rayed portrait of Antiochus, *rev.*, standing Athena to l. and, in the left field, ΣΤΑ and ΤΡΥ, both retrograde; KP; and the date of S.E. 169: A. Szemiothowa, *Wiadomosci Numismatyczne* 5, 1961, n. 86.

⁶ The ratio of the number of coins to obverse dies of Group X, 3.36, suggests the possibility that another die may be found. The current record (1 Aug. 1992) of coins to obverses for Group Y, 5.96, indicates that the likelihood of the appearance of another obverse die for this group is very low (see esp. on this point W. McGovern, *Missing Die Probabilities, Expected Die Production and the Index Figure*, MN 25, 1980, pp. 209–223).

Table 1: Antiochus VI. Tetradrachms with Radiate Portrait

Seleucid Year	Group X			Group Y			Group Z		
	Symbol	Primary Control	Mono(s)	Symbol	Primary Control	Mono(s)	Symbol	Primary Control	Mono(s)
168	none	none	$\text{K} \text{A}$	none			none	none	none
	thyrsos	none	K	none			none	none	
	thyrsos	none	K	none			none	none	
	thyrsos	none	K	none			none	none	
	thyrsos	none	$\text{K} \text{A}$	none			none	none	
	thyrsos	none	X	X	none			none	none
169	thyrsos	none	X	none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	$\text{K} \text{A}$	none		
	thyrsos	$\text{I} \Gamma$	K	none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		
	thyrsos	$\text{I} \Gamma$	K	none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		
	thyrsos	$\text{I} \Gamma$	X	none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		
	thyrsos	$\text{I} \Gamma$	Flower on Boss	none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	Flower on Boss	none		
				none					
				none					
				none					
				none					
				none					
				none					
170				none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		
				none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		
				none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		
				none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		
				none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		
171				none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		
				none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		
				none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		
				none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		
				none	$\Sigma \text{T A}$	K	none		

No dated tetradrachms

Groups X and Y are also marked by stylistic differences. The tetradrachms of Group X include frequently diverse portraits of Antiochus, evidently the product of different engravers working over the course of the Group's history, while the issues of Group Y consist of generally uniform, classicizing representations of the child king. Finally, there are no die linkages between the tetradrachms of the two Groups, as might be expected if both were the product of the same mint.

The latter fact is not, in itself, persuasive evidence that Groups X and Y were issued at separate locations, but adds to the evidence that favors such a conclusion including, as indicated above, differences of symbol, control, chronology of production and style. If such was the case, the question that follows is, which Group was issued at what locale? Coin type, style, primary controls and secondary monograms are of little help in arriving at a solution. The tetradrachms of both Groups show the same reverse types – mounted Dioscuri on the tetradrachms, a seated Apollo on the drachms. $\text{I}\Pi$ of Group X and $\Sigma\text{T}\text{A}$ of Group Y are unique to the Seleucid series, appearing on no other coinage of the area and period; they suggest no attribution to a particular city. The secondary monograms are ambiguous, since many of these appear on coins of both Groups. Several monograms appear both earlier and later, on issues of Demetrius II and Tryphon identifiably struck at Antioch. While it seems clear from these associations and the historical record that one of the two Groups must have been issued at the Seleucid capital, the monograms do not in themselves permit a determination as to which.

The Thyrsos as City Symbol: the Coins of Apamea

The symbol is a different matter. In another publication, this author has noted that coins produced at Cilician mints operating during and after the reign of Antiochus IV (175–164 B.C.) had symbols that identified their city of origin if their reverse type was not in itself explicit.⁷ Between 180 B.C. and the end of the second century, various Syrian mints also experimented with the use of symbols at one time or another.⁸ The most important exception to this practice was the mint of the capital city, Antioch, which after the early reign of Antiochus IV, generally avoided the use of any symbol on its silver coinage.⁹

⁷ A. Houghton, *The Royal Seleucid Mint of Seleucia on the Calycadnus*, Kraay/Mørkholm Essays (Louvain-la-Neuve 1989), pp. 79–80. Isolated exceptions include Tarsus, which struck coins with standard dynastic reverse types and no identifying symbol under Antiochus VII and Demetrius II, Second Reign (A. Houghton, *The Second Reign of Demetrius II at Tarsus*, MN 24, 1979, pp. 111–116); and Mallus, which appears to have struck a limited drachm issue without symbol under Tryphon (Mallus, p. 95, nos. 10–11).

⁸ Including Ake-Ptolemais, the capital of Coele-Syria: A. Houghton, *The Coinage of Demetrius I at Ake-Ptolemais*, *Florilegium Numismaticum. Studia in honorem U. Westermark edita* (Uppsala 1992), pp. 163–9. Exceptions include the tetradrachms of Antiochus IV and Demetrius II attributed to Seleucia Pieria by O. Mørkholm, *INJ* 3, 1965–1966, p. 9 and 11; see also CSE 404 and 411.

⁹ Exceptions include silver issues of Alexander Balas of S.E. 163, which show a cornucopiae (CSE 173–175), and tetradrachms of Demetrius II that carry a palm branch on their reverses (CSE 214–215; 217–220).

With specific regard to the *thyrsos* that characterizes the coins of Group X, the same symbol appears as the reverse type on a municipal bronze issue of Apamea struck after the city received *asylia* status from Tigranes II in the first century B.C. (Plate 18, A).¹⁰ The connection – *thyrsos* as city symbol of Apamea, and *thyrsos* as the city badge on the tetradrachms of Group X – is indicative within the context of Seleucid mint practice. Taken together with the other indicators given above, the argument that Apamea was the city of origin for these issues seems compelling.

Support for the suggested attribution is found in Antiochus' radiate portrait drachms with Apollo reverses, one series of which is marked by a *bunch of grapes* in their outer left field – the same symbol that appears as a reverse type on small bronzes of Apamea struck at the same time as the *thyrsos* issues noted above (Plate 18, B).¹¹ The drachms of this series, like the tetradrachms of Group X, were produced only in S.E. 168 and 169. They carry no primary control. To the knowledge of this author, all other Apollo-type drachms with Antiochus' radiate portrait are dated in S.E. 169 and 170, and carry the ΣΤΑ that marks the tetradrachms of Group Y. The evidence of both tetradrachms and drachms support the view that Apamea was the issuing mint for the Group X coins.

Returning to Group Z, the coins of this Group are distinguished by the absence of any symbol, control, or monogram, with the exception of Tryphon's initials noted above. The period of issue was evidently short, as is indicated by the fact that the Group is represented by only one obverse and two recorded reverse dies. All the coins of Group Z are dated in S.E. 168, the year when Antiochus had been established at Apamea but, apparently, nowhere else. Very unusually, its five recorded examples were struck on oval flans or flans with hammered edges – a shape and technique quite unlike those employed on the coins of Groups X and Y. Significantly, their obverses do not carry the soft and childlike portrait of Antiochus VI. Instead, they bear a head with features recognizably those of Antiochus IV, Antiochus VI's «grandfather», in style close to the idealized representations of the former that appear on Antiochus IV's final tetradrachms of Antioch,¹² with rays similar to those that adorn the king's portraits on coins struck at Antioch and elsewhere (Plate 18, C).¹³

¹⁰ BMC Galatia, etc., p. 234, nos. 9, 12–13; Hunter 3, p. 192, nos. 12–15. The date of Apamea's *asylia* is discussed by H. Seyrig, *Sur les ères de quelques villes de Syrie; Antioche, Apamée... Doliché, Syria* 27, 1950, p. 18. The illustrated example is in New York, 7.17 g.

¹¹ An example of the bronze is shown in H. Lindgren/F. Kovacs, *Ancient Bronze Coins of Asia Minor and the Levant from the Lindgren Collection* (San Mateo 1985), p. 107, 2035. The illustrated coin is in New York, 2.05 g.

¹² Mørkholm, above n. 3, p. 61; *Ibid*, Antiochus IV of Syria, Copenhagen 1966, p. 185. Le Rider, *Antiochos VI*, p. 169, notes that the portraits on Antiochus VI's drachm of Tarsus and his tetradrachms of Ake of S.E. 160 carry the features of Antiochus IV. R. Fleischer, *Studien zur seleukidischen Kunst I: Herrscherbildnisse* (Mainz 1991), p. 67, considers the Group Z portrait to represent Antiochus VI.

¹³ Antiochene bronzes with Antiochus' rayed portrait include CSE 102; 123–133 (CSE 130 is illustrated on Pl. 18, c). Other rayed portraits on Antiochus' bronze coinage are included in O. Mørkholm, *The Municipal Coins with Portraits of Antiochus IV of Syria*, *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica*, Roma, 1961 (Rome 1965), pp. 63–67. For a preliminary discussion of Antiochus VI's rayed portrait, see Th. Fischer, *Antiochos das Kind*, *Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten* 26, July 1991, p. 164. It is not clear why of all Antiochus' mints, only Apamea and Antioch applied rays to the king's portrait.

The characteristics of the Group Z coins – all of which were struck in S.E. 168, Antiochus' first regnal year – are what one might expect of a prototype issue produced at a newly opened mint. In addition to their irregular, hammered flans, they include the absence of any monograms or controls, suggesting that they were produced at a moment of administrative uncertainty as the mint was being organized. Most importantly, they show on their obverses an iconography that was evidently developed in an attempt to visually associate the new king with his powerful «grandfather» and through him, to the succession of Seleucid rulers who stemmed from the founder of the dynasty, Seleucus I. Although these tetradrachms have no mark or symbol that can conclusively point to their origin, the evidence strongly indicates that they, too, were struck at Apamea as Antiochus VI's first issue.

With the attribution of Group Z to Apamea, the known coins struck for Antiochus VI at this city can be catalogued:

CATALOGUE¹⁴

Tetradrachms

Obv. Diademed, radiate head of Antiochus IV (Group I) or Antiochus VI (Groups II–XXI) r.; fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ

Dioscuri riding l., to r., ΤΡΥ, beneath horses, date; wreath border of laurel, grain, lotus, ivy (and oak leaves on issues of 168 S.E.); to l., *thyrsos*, as indicated; to r., control and monogram, as indicated.

Drachms

Obv. Diademed, radiate head of Antiochus VI to r.; dotted border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ

Nude Apollo seated l. on omphalos, holding arrow in r. hand and resting l. on bow; in outer l. field, *bunch of grapes*; in exergue, date; monogram between Apollo's legs.

Hemidrachms

Obv. Diademed, radiate head of Antiochus VI r.; dotted border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ

Panther standing l., r. foreleg raised; monogram in exergue.

¹⁴ Unless indicated otherwise, the locations of coins in the catalogue refer to the principal public collections in the cities named.

Dated Issues

Year 168 S.E. = 145/4 B.C.

Group I: No symbol or monogram

Tetradrachms


- | | | | | |
|---|----|----|-------|---|
| 1 | A1 | P1 | 16.48 | London. BMC 1. Pl. 16.1. |
| 2 | A1 | P1 | 15.12 | Ars Classica 15, 1930, 1078. |
| 3 | A1 | P1 | 16.44 | Knobloch FPL 28, 1965, 140; Knobloch FPL 23, 1963, 445. |
| 4 | A1 | P2 | 16.18 | Brussels. De Hirsch 1695. |
| 5 | A1 | P2 | 16.85 | Jerusalem, A. Spaer coll. NFA, 14 Dec. 1989, 671; Auctiones 7, 1977, 324. |

Group II:

Tetradrachms, without *thyrsos*.

- | | | | | |
|---|----|----|-------|--|
| 6 | A2 | P3 | 16.4 | Egger 45, 1913, 762. SMA 217. Pl. 16.2. |
| 7 | A2 | P3 | 15.23 | Bochum, Ruhr Universität (inv. 2027). H. Frey, 15 Apr. 1955, 1185. |

Drachms

- | | | | | |
|---|----|----|------|---|
| 8 | a1 | p1 | 3.92 | New York. |
| 9 | | | 4.00 | The form of the monogram is  . Jerusalem, A. Spaer collection. |

Group III:

Tetradrachm, without *thyrsos*.

- | | | | | |
|----|----|----|--|---|
| 10 | A2 | P4 | | Weight not recorded. Glendining, 11 Dec. 1974, 110. Pl. 16.3. |
|----|----|----|--|---|

Drachms

- | | | | | |
|----|----|----|------|------------------------------|
| 11 | a2 | p2 | 4.12 | New York. SMA 223. Pl. 16.4. |
| 12 | a2 | p3 | 4.03 | London. |
| 13 | a3 | p4 | 3.43 | Neville 10, 1925, 1223. |

Group IV: K

Tetradrachms, without (P5–6) or with (P7–12) *thyrsos*.

- | | | | | |
|----|----|-----|-------|---|
| 14 | A2 | P5 | 16.79 | MM 41, 1970, 294. Pl. 9.5. |
| 15 | A2 | P6 | 15.66 | Paris. De Clercq 169. |
| 16 | A3 | P7 | 16.49 | Frankfurter Münzhandlung 109, 1970, 2145. Pl. 16.6. |
| 17 | A4 | P8 | 16.61 | Munich Market, Apr. 1992 |
| 18 | A5 | P9 | 16.88 | Paris. Babelon 988 (wt. given as 14.35); De Luynes 3371. SMA 220. |
| 19 | A5 | P10 | 16.51 | New York. Weber Coll. 7916. Pl. 16.7. |
| 20 | A5 | P11 | 16.80 | Paris (Seyrig coll.). |
| 21 | A5 | P12 | 16.05 | Helbing, 8 Nov. 1928, 4073; Hirsch 30, 1911 (Barron), 596. |

Drachms

- | | | | | |
|----|----|-----|------|---|
| 22 | a4 | p5 | 4.16 | New York. Naville 10, 1925, 1222. SMA 252. |
| 23 | a4 | p6 | | Weight not recorded. Hesperia Art 8 (1964), 19. Pl. 16.8. |
| 24 | a4 | p7 | 3.92 | Peus 280, 1972, 221. |
| 25 | a5 | p8 | 4.16 | Glasgow. Hunter 3, p. 72,3. |
| 26 | a6 | p9 | | Weight not recorded. HMF Schulman, 6 Feb. 1969, 433. |
| 27 | a7 | p10 | | Weight not recorded. Superior, 17 Jun. 1974, 303. |
| 28 | a8 | p11 | 3.87 | Symbol off flan. Paris. De Clercq 170. |
| 29 | a9 | p12 | 4.08 | Myers-Adams 6, 1973, 230. Sotheby's, 4 Apr. 1973 (Ward), 677. |

Group V: A

Tetradrachms

- | | | | | |
|----|----|-----|-------|--|
| 30 | A5 | P13 | 16.46 | Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung. Pl. 16.9. |
| 31 | A5 | P14 | 16.52 | Myers 12, 1975, 248; Sotheby's, 1958 (Haughton), 220; Sotheby's, 1894 (Carfrae), 314. SMA 219. |

Drachm

- | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----|------|--|
| 32 | a10 | p13 | 4.20 | Glasgow. Hunter 3, p. 72,4. |
| 33 | a11 | p14 | 3.80 | Giessener Münzhandlung 36, 1987, 282. Pl. 16.10. |

Group VI: ⚡ (P15) or ⚡ (P16)

Tetradrachms

- 34 A5 P15 16.63 *Crédit de la Bourse*, 22 Apr. 1992, 21.
35 A5 P16 16.15 *Monetarium FPL* 51, Spring 1989, 75; *Athena (Munich)* 2, 1988, 229. Pl. 17.1.

Drachms

- 36 a11 p15 4.33 *Lanz* 36, 1986, 488.
37 a12 p16 3.92 *New York*. Pl. 17.2.
38 a13 p17 3.50 *London*.

Group VII: ¶

Tetradrachms

- 39 A5 P17 16.65 *Leu* 7, 1983, 274. Pl. 17.3.
40 A5 P18 16.12 *London*. *NC* 1900, p. 294, 31; *SMA* 218.

Drachms

- 41 *Egger* 45, 1913, 695. *SMA* 225.
42 Weight not recorded. *Auctiones* 15, 1985, 194.

Group VIII: ✕

Tetradrachms

- 43 A5 P19 16.53 *Leu-NFA*, 16 Oct. 1984 (*Garrett* 2), 298. Pl. 17.4.
44 A6 P19 16.57 *A. Hess*, 18 Dec. 1933, 107; *Neville* 10, 1925, 1217; *Sotheby's*, 1914 (*Guzman*), 114; *Hirsch* 20, 1907 (*Hoskier*), 441. Pl. 17.5.

Drachms

- 45 a9 p18 4.21 Date partly off flan. The form of the monogram is ✕. Private U.S. collection.
46 a14 p19 3.93 *New York*. *SMA* 224. Pl. 17.6.

Group IX: ⚡

Drachm

- 47 a15 p20 Weight not recorded. *Superior*, 3 Oct. 1977, 1005. Pl. 17.7.

Year 169 S.E. = 144/3 B.C.

Group X: ⚔

Tetradrachm

48 A7 P20 16.31 Stack's, 19 Jun. 1969, 194. Pl. 17.8.

Drachms

49 a16 p21 4.00 Lanz 46, 1988, 328. Pl. 17.9.

50 3.37 Jerusalem, A. Spaer coll.

Tetradrachms: Obv: to l., with (A10) or without (A8–9; A11), *star*
Rev: with ΙΓΓ.

Group XI: ϩ

Tetradrachms, without (P21) or with (P22–P25) *thyrsos*.

51 A8 P21 16.58 MM FPL 356, May 1974, 10.

52 A9 P22 16.36 Lisbon, Gulbenkian coll. Naville 1, 1921 (Pozzi), 2991. G.K. Jenkins and M.C. Hipolito, A Catalogue of the Calouste Gulbenkian Collection of Greek Coins (Lisbon 1989), 1046. Pl. 17.10.

53 A9 P23 16.53 New York.

54 A9 P29 16.91 Private U.S. Collection. Sotheby's, 9 Apr. 1992, 120.

55 A10 P25 16.53 New York. Pl. 17.11.

56 A10 P25 16.35 Brussels. De Hirsch 1696.

57 A10 P25 16.00 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Sotheby's, 1896 (Bunbury 2), 533. SNG Fitzwilliam 5722.

Group XII: ⚔

Tetradrachm

58 A10 P26 15.32 Kricheldorf 4, 1957, 366; Ciani, 1 Jun. 1920, 98. Pl. 17.12.

Group XIII: Κ

Tetradrachm

59 A10 P27 16.02 Rasmussen, 10 Mar. 1970, 861; Ciani, 1935 (Grandprey), 211. Pl. 18.1.

Drachm

60 a17 p22 4.10 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. McClean 3, p. 339, 9318.

Group XIV: X

Tetradrachm

61 A10 P28 16.52 NFA 7, 1979, 282 (formerly W. Wahler collection, Palo Alto).
Pl. 18.2.

Group XV: Φ

Tetradrachm

62 A10 P29 16.65 Sternberg 12, 1982, 294. Pl. 18.3.

Drachm

63 a18 p23 3.81 Paris. SNG Delepierre 2963.

Group XVI: Flower (rose?) on a boss.

Tetradrachm

64 A11 P30 16.33 Private U.S. collection. Sternberg 12, 1982, 293. Pl. 18.4.

Group XVII: Å

Drachms

65 a19 p24 3.93 Naville 10, 1925, 1223.

66 3.91 Jerusalem, A. Spaer collection.

Group XVIII: Å

Drachms

67 a20 p25 4.10 Naville 10, 1925, 1224. Pl. 18.5.

68 a20 p26 4.32 Egger 39, 1912, 339.

Group XIX: ⊙ (? – the form of the encircled mark is uncertain).

Drachm

69 a21 p27 Platt, 1922 (Luneau), 744. Pl. 18.6.

Group XX: ⌘

Drachm

70 a22 p28 Weight not recorded. Glendining, 11 Dec. 1974, 111. Pl. 18.7.

Group XXI: no monogram

71 a22 p29 Paris. De Clercq 174 («fourree»).

72 a23 p30 3.88 London. BMC 8.

A number of undated hemidrachms lack ΣΤΑ, but carry monograms that appear at both Apamea and Antioch. They cannot therefore be definitively attributed to either city, but are here listed as possible issues of Apamea.

Hemidrachms with Κ

73 2.03 Glasgow. Hunter 3, p. 74, 18. SMA 252a.

74 1.80 Glasgow. Hunter 3, p. 74, 19. SMA 252b.

75 Walcher de Molthein 2005. SMA 252c.

Hemidrachms with Ϡ

76 2.00 New York. SMA 252. Pl. 11.8.

77 2.01 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. SNG Fitzwilliam 5731.

Hemidrachm with ⌘

78 1.53 New York. SMA 254.

Hemidrachm with ⌘

79 2.03 London.

The internal chronology of Antiochus' Apamea coinage is based on five elements: a) the attribution of the Group I tetradrachms as Apamea's first issue in Antiochus' name; b) the obverse die link (A2) between Groups II, III, and IV; c) A5, which links Group IV to Groups V–VIII; d) the monogram link (⌘) between Group VIII of S.E. 168 and the first issue (Group X) of S.E. 169; and finally, e) the obverse die linkages and primary control, ΙΠ, that tie together the tetradrachms of S.E. 169, through Group XV. The moneyer's mark, *flower on a boss* that appears on the single known tetradrachm of Group XVI is anomalous, but the attribution of no. 64 to Apamea is supported by the fact that this coin carries both the *thyrsos* and ΙΠ.

The sequence of issues can be seen to progress from tetradrachms which first carried no symbol, control or secondary monogram (Group I), to those on which a single monogram appears (Groups II and III), to issues with both *thyrsos* and a monogram (tetradrachms of Groups IV–VIII in S.E. 168 and Group X in S.E. 169) and, finally,

to the tetradrachms of Groups XI–XVI that carry the *thyrsos*, ΠΠ, and secondary monograms or moneyers' mark on their reverses.

The drachms with *bunch of grapes* generally fit into the tetradrachm series, although some drachms – particularly of S.E. 169 – carry monograms that have no correlative mark on the recorded tetradrachms of their year of issue. To this date no drachms of Group I are known to have been recovered, and it may be that none were struck. It is to be noted that the drachms of S.E. 169 have no primary control, carrying a single monogram only in addition to the date. The hemidrachms listed above lack ΣΤΑ, but cannot be assigned with certainty to Apamea.

Apamea may have produced no bronze coinage for Antiochus. The known bronze coins of Antiochus either carry the letters ΣΤΑ, and therefore belong to Antioch; or their symbols and other marks, if any, are ambiguous and require caution in attributing them to any other mint.

The Coinage of Antiochus VI at Antioch

With the attribution of the tetradrachms and drachms with *thyrsos* and *bunch of grapes* to Apamea, the tetradrachms of Group Y, associated drachms struck in S.E. 169 and 170 with ΣΤΑ (Pl. 18, D and E), and all fractional silver and bronzes of the ΣΤΑ variety, must be assigned to Antioch. Style; monogram linkages to earlier Antiochene coinages through the Apamea series, and the later coins of Tryphon as sole ruler; the volume of production, which equates closely to the production of Antioch during this period;¹⁵ even the absence of any identifying symbol – all point to the Seleucid capital as their issuing mint.

Antiochus' ΣΤΑ issues were produced in only two years, S.E. 169 and 170. They were succeeded by a short issue of drachms, also struck in Antiochus' name, but with the reverse type of a Macedonian helmet adorned with an ibex horn and diadem, Tryphon's personal badge. This last Antiochene coinage of Antiochus VI seems likely to have been produced late in S.E. 170, and was almost certainly continued into the early part of the following year, when Tryphon assumed the royal title for himself (below).

Metrology

A frequency distribution table of Antiochus' Apamea tetradrachms indicates that, to the extent that the limited number of known tetradrachms is a reliable indicator, the weight standard used with these issues is the same as that of Antiochene tetradrachms of the period:

¹⁵ Antioch's ten obverses in S.E. 169 and 14 in S.E. 170 are comparable to the 8–16 obverse dies used each year at the Seleucid capital under Demetrius I (162–150 B.C.), and the approximately 6–7 per year during the second reign of Demetrius II (at Antioch, 129–128 B.C.): Antioch Project, p. 80. Preliminary investigation indicates that tetradrachm production at Antioch during the first reign of Demetrius II involved ten obverse dies in each of S.E. 167 and 168.

Table 2: Tetradrachm Frequency Distribution¹⁶

Weight (Grams)	APAMEA	ANTIOCH		
	Antiochus VI	Demet. I (dated series, 155/4–150 B.C.)	Demet. II	Ant. VI
17.00		1		
16.90-9	1	5	2	6
16.80-9	3	11	3	12
16.70-9	1	52	6	30
16.60-9	3	59	22	20
16.50-9	8	41	8	20
16.40-9	5	27	7	4
16.30-9	5	12	12	3
16.20-9		6	5	5
16.10-9	3	7	5	3
16.00-9	3	1	3	
15.90-9		2		2
15.80-9		2	1	1
15.70-9			1	3
Below 15.70	4	5	3	6
Total coins	36	231	78	115

*Tetradrachm Frequency Distribution*¹⁶

As can be seen from the table, there is little difference between the modal weight of Antiochus' Apamea tetradrachms and that of Demetrius' issues struck at Antioch at virtually the same time. These do not vary significantly, moreover, from the modal weight of tetradrachms struck during the final period of rule of Demetrius I, some five to ten years earlier. While there are isolated examples of other Seleucid challengers reducing the weight of their coinage, and perhaps its fineness, at a time of great financial stress,¹⁷ this seems not to have been the case at Apamea during the short period when Antiochus VI struck coins at that city.

The available coins show a slight increase in the modal weight of Antiochene tetradrachms struck under Antiochus, but the difference is so small as to be statistically insignificant, and in any event cannot be explained as a deliberate administrative decision of the city's mint authorities. Against the recorded coinage of the Seleucid capital, care seems to have been taken during this period to maintain a stable

¹⁶ Source: Demetrius I and Antiochus VI at Antioch: Antioch Project, p. 97; Demetrius II, first reign at Antioch: new record.

¹⁷ The modal weight of tetradrachms produced at Seleucia on the Calycadnus by Seleucus VI during the period of his preparations for an assault on Antioch (Houghton, above n. 7, pp. 91–95), is as much as 0.5 g. below that of closely contemporaneous issues of struck under both Antiochus VIII and Antiochus IX at the Seleucid capital. A note on the implications of the reduced Attic standard at Seleucia is forthcoming.

tetradrachm weight, following the reduction in the tetradrachm standard under Antiochus IV c. 173/2 B.C., and before the beginning of a further decline in the Attic standard at Antioch that began after the reign of Alexander II Zabinas (at Antioch, 129/8-c 123/2 B.C.) and continued progressively until it stabilized again during the reign of Antony and Cleopatra in the latter part of the first century.¹⁸

Seleucid Year 169

The attribution to Apamea and Antioch of Antiochus VI's radiate portrait issues make it possible to review, and amend, the history of the months that led to Antiochus' accession. As has been noted, the written record is clear that Tryphon mutinied and advanced Antiochus VI as Seleucid king at Apamea, probably during the summer of 144 B.C. Tetradrachms of the new, radiate portrait type, announcing the appearance of the new king (at first on tetradrachms showing the portrait of Antiochus IV) were soon thereafter struck at the garrison city. In the meantime, Demetrius II seems to have maintained his hold on Antioch. Although Demetrius' Antiochene silver coinage was discontinued in S.E. 168, as scholars have long known, bronze coins of Antiochene type were likely struck at the Seleucid capital into S.E. 169.¹⁹

Significantly, the marks of most of the mint officials who worked at Antioch under Demetrius throughout the early part of his reign appear at an early point on Antiochus VI's coins of Apamea (Table III), suggesting that a mass defection to the latter city of personnel from Antioch took place soon after the declaration of Tryphon's revolt. The suggestion finds support in a passage from Diodorus, who graphically describes the confiscations of property, indiscriminate killings and civil rioting that drove many Antiochenes to flee their city in fear, then wander through Syria while biding their time to seek revenge against Demetrius.²⁰ The evidence of the coins indicates that some – perhaps many – went directly over to Tryphon.

Soon into the new year – likely only some months, judging from the production of tetradrachms at both Apamea and Antioch in S.E. 169 – Apamea's mint operations were moved to Antioch, where Antiochus VI continued to reign nominally until the end of 142 or beginning of 141 B.C.

¹⁸ The weight reduction under Antiochus IV was first recorded by O. Mørkholm, *Studies in the Coinage of Antiochus IV of Syria* (Copenhagen 1963), pp. 34–43. For discussion of the tetradrachm standard of the later period, see E. Schlösser, *Gewichte der attischen Tetradrachmen der Seleukiden aus der Münzstätte Antiocheia am Orontes*, SM 143/36, 1986, pp. 62–66; and Antioch Project, p. 78, n. 20.

¹⁹ The type: *obv.* head of Zeus, *rev.* standing Athena holding a Nike (BMC Syria Seleucid Kings, p. 62, 34: the date has been confirmed by the author). The Antiochene origin of these coins is indicated by their monograms, which include Α and Β of Demetrius' Antiochene silver. The suggestion by D. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, Vol. 4, Part 2, Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusader's Coins (Princeton 1952), p. 15, 163, and Le Rider/Seyrig, *De Clercq*, pp. 28–29, that such coins of this date were struck at another mint after Demetrius lost Antioch can be discarded in view of the new evidence that this event did not take place until well into S.E. 169. For additional commentary on these and correlative bronzes with *obv.* head of Apollo, *rev.* Tripod, see the note following CSE 231.

²⁰ Diodorus 33.4.4.

EXCURSUS

The Mints and Chronologies of Antiochus VI and Tryphon (144–138/7 B.C.)

The regnal dates of Antiochus VI and Tryphon have been made unclear by several factors. These include the lack, until recently, of unambiguous evidence that could clearly establish when Tryphon revolted and advanced Antiochus as king and claimant to the Seleucid throne; the fact that neither the literary sources nor Antiochus' coins provide a specific *terminus* for this king's reign, or the beginning of Tryphon's at Antioch; and the fact that Tryphon's own issues are dated only to his own regnal years, rather than to the Seleucid era, which has known external reference points that could make clear his period of rule. A complicating factor has been the difficulty of reconciling the historical accounts with each other, and with the coins of the period.

Much scholarly discussion, and some uncertainty, has resulted about exactly when each king ruled. In weighing the available numismatic evidence against the contradictory record of the literary sources, Seyrig concluded that Antiochus VI ruled for three full calendar years and two fractions of years, from S.E. 167 (146/5 B.C.) to S.E. 171 (142/1 B.C.); and that Tryphon then ruled for two full calendar years and two fractional years, from S.E. 171 to S.E. 174 (139/8 B.C.).²¹ Based on a different interpretation of the coins and the literary sources, and accepting that Antiochus was proclaimed king in S.E. 167, H.R. Baldus proposed that he continued in authority as co-regent after Tryphon assumed the royal title in S.E. 171, until the arrival of Antiochus VII three years later.²² In a rejoinder to Baldus, Fischer held to the early date for the declaration of Antiochus' kingship (S.E. 167), but rejected the idea of a co-regency in the view that Tryphon murdered Antiochus when he named himself king.²³ Le Rider accepts, with slight hesitation, S.E. 171 as the last year of Antiochus' reign and the beginning of Tryphon's own rule.²⁴

²¹ Seyrig, Notes, pp. 12–17. Seyrig's early date was based on Newell's judgment, SMA p. 61, n. 31, that coins of S.E. 167 with the posthumous portrait of Antiochus IV were issued by Antiochus at Apamea. Mørkholm subsequently demonstrated, Posthumous Issue, that these issues were in fact produced at Antioch prior to the reign of Demetrius II, and later affirmed that Antiochus VI was not proclaimed king until 144 B.C.: The Monetary System of the Seleucid Kings until 129 B.C., International Numismatic Convention, Jerusalem, 27–31 December 1963 (Jerusalem 1967), pp. 80–81.

²² H.R. Baldus, *Der Helm des Tryphon und die seleukidische Chronologie der Jahre 146–138 v. Chr.*, JNG 20, 1970, pp. 217–239. Seyrig, Notes, p. 16, has suggested that Tryphon may have kept Antiochus alive for some years after taking the royal title himself, but not as co-regent. K. Brodersen, *Appians Abriss der Seleukidengeschichte* (Munich 1989), p. 221, n. 4, has most recently pointed to a passage from Livy that supports the view that Antiochus was not killed until long after Tryphon's accession (I am grateful to H.-R. Baldus for providing me with the reference to Brodersen's study).

²³ Zu Tryphon, esp. pp. 210–213. As is indicated above, n. 4, Fischer has proposed that the issues of S.E. 167 with Antiochus IV's posthumous portrait were most likely issued by Tryphon before the proclamation of Antiochus VI as king.

²⁴ Le Rider, *Antiochos VI*, p. 167.

An overview of the coins now known to have been struck by each ruler provides useful insight into the historical record. According to our current information, six cities produced coinage for Antiochus VI. These include Apamea and Antioch in Seleucis and Pieria; Tarsus and Mallus in Cilicia; Byblus in Phoenicia; and Ake-Ptolemais in Coele-Syria. Coins of Tryphon are known for Antioch, Mallus, Byblus, and Ascalon as well as Ake-Ptolemais in Coele-Syria. The known mints and issues of both kings can be listed as follows:

	<u>Antiochus VI</u>	<u>Tryphon</u>
<u>SYRIA SELEUCIS</u>		
<u>Apamea</u>	Tetradrachms and drachms of S.E. 168 and 169.	None.
<u>Antioch</u>	Tetradrachms and drachms of S.E. 169 and 170; undated hemidrachms; undated bronzes; undated helmet reverse drachms.	Undated tetradrachms and drachms; undated bronzes. ²⁵
<u>CILICIA</u>		
<u>Tarsus</u>	Undated tetradrachms and drachms. ²⁶	None.
<u>Mallus</u>	Undated tetradrachms. ²⁷	Undated drachms? ²⁸
<u>PHOENICIA</u>		
<u>Byblus</u>	Didrachms of S.E. 171. ²⁹	Tetradrachms of year 2 and Didrachms of year 4. ³⁰ Undated bronzes. ³¹

²⁵ Seyrig, Notes, pp. 22–23. The unique bronze with *obv.* head of Tryphon, *rev.*, ibex horn, to r. and l. of which, Dioscuri caps, now in Munich (ex Lanz 30, 1984, 357), is likely also a product of Antioch.

²⁶ Leu 50, 1990, 207 (tetradrachm); J. A. Seeger, An Unpublished Drachm of Antiochus VI, NC 1972, 305 (drachm).

²⁷ Leu 50, 1990, 206; Mallus, p. 99, n. 16.

²⁸ Mallus, p. 95, 10–11.

²⁹ A. Houghton, A Didrachm Issue of Antiochus VI of Byblus, INJ 9, 1986–1987, pp. 22–25.

³⁰ De Clercq 180 (tetradrachm); CSE 702 (didrachm).

³¹ Seyrig, Notes, p. 12.

COELE-SYRIA

<u>Ake-Ptolemais</u>	Tetradrachms from S.E. 169–171. ³²	Tetradrachms of years 1, 3, and 4. ³³
<u>Ascalon</u>	None.	Bronzes of years 1, 3 and 4. ³⁴

The evidence of the coins leads to a number of conclusions:

1. Antiochus VI's reign began first at Apamea in S.E. 168, likely in the summer of 144 B.C. Early in S.E. 169 (about the beginning of 143 B.C.) his (and Tryphon's) court moved to Antioch.
2. Antiochus remained sole ruler at Antioch from S.E. 169 until the early part of S.E. 171. While this is not evident from his dated issues, which end the previous year, it is implied by his coinage at Byblus and Ake-Ptolemais, and is supported by the likelihood that his undated, helmet reverse drachms were struck after his seated Apollo drachms of S.E. 170: there are no known die links between the two series that would suggest they were produced in parallel rather than sequentially. Reasonably, the helmet reverse drachms were struck as Antiochus' final issue of Antioch, towards the latter part of S.E. 170 and into the beginning of S.E. 171 (about the very end of 142 B.C.).
3. Tryphon, then, declared himself king and began his first year of rule early in S.E. 171, at a time when his authority extended over much, but not all, of the western part of the Seleucid kingdom.³⁵ The commencement of Tryphon's fourth year (in which his last dated coins were struck) can thus be put at the beginning of S.E. 174, the year when, according to Maccabees and the coins, Antiochus VII established himself in Syria Seleucis and Phoenicia.³⁶
4. Despite Antiochus VII's successes in the Syrian north and Phoenician coast, Tryphon retained footholds at various cities in the Seleucid West into S.E. 174. Parts of northern Phoenicia, including Byblus, may have remained under his control through much of this year. Judging from the issues of Ake-Ptolemais and Ascalon, areas of Coele Syria also remained loyal to Tryphon for at least part of 174.

³² Le Rider, *Antiochos VI*, p. 168.

³³ Seyrig, *Notes*, p. 23.

³⁴ A. B. Brett, *The Mint of Ascalon under the Seleucids*, MN 4, 1950, p. 48, nos 8–9 (years 3 and 4); H.-R. Baldus, *SM* 13/4 1964, pp. 145–147; CSE 816–817 (years 1 and 4).

³⁵ The territorial limits, of Tryphon's power are clarified in part by the dated coins of Demetrius II. These include tetradrachms of two north Syrian mints, one that issued an unusual tetradrachm of S.E. 171 with a sideburned portrait and ⋆ (Münz Zentrum Köln 61, 1987, 292, now Jerusalem, A. Spaer collection); the other, perhaps Seleucia Pieria, that produced tetradrachms in S.E. 171 and 172 (CSE 411 and accompanying note); and issues of Sidon and Tyre, both of which struck coins for Demetrius through S.E. 173.

³⁶ I Maccabees 11, 39. Coins of Antiochus VII dated in S.E. 171 were produced at Antioch, Seleucia Pieria and Tyre: Antioch: CSE 272–276; Seleucia: G. Macdonald, *ZfN* 1912, p. 99, n. 27, cited by Seyrig, *Notes*, p. 13, n. 21 with relevant commentary (examples of this unusual issue are in New York, London and Paris; an example dated in S.E. 172 is in Vienna); Tyre: E. T. Newell, *The Seleucid Coinages of Tyre, a Supplement*, NNM 73 (New York 1936), n. 188.

5. Dora, a coastal stronghold in Coele-Syria, remained in Tryphon's hands into S.E. 175, although the sling bullet dated to Tryphon's fifth year from the Tel Dor may not be unequivocal on that point.³⁷ Whatever the circumstance, there is little to indicate that by the end of S.E. 174 Tryphon's weakening grasp included more than a few areas on the coast and in the north, including the seaport of Orthosia, which gave access to the southern Orontes Valley, and Apamea, where he is said to have been killed.³⁸

To summarize, the coins indicate that Antiochus reigned from S.E. 168 at Apamea (from S.E. 169 at Antioch) to S.E. 171, or, calculating in accordance with the Christian calendar, from about the middle of 144 B.C. to the turn of 142/1 B.C., a total of about two and a half calendar years. Tryphon's reign lasted for the better part of four full years in Syria and Phoenicia, from 142/1 B.C. to about the turn of 138/7 B.C., and a partial fifth year, during which he was either besieged or in flight, that *may* have extended into 137 B.C. The following table illustrates what is known of the production of selected western Seleucid mints in the period 146–137 B.C.

Selected Western Seleucid Mints 146–137 B.C.

The overview given above does not depart significantly from the views of Newell, Seyrig, Mørkholm, Le Rider or other, primarily «numismatic» scholars, except to put Antiochus VI at Apamea and not at Antioch in 144 B.C., and to note (if one accepts Gera's reading of the Tel Dor sling bullet) the possible extension of Tryphon's reign through 138 B.C., and perhaps into 137. It supports the interpretation that Josephus was reckoning by the Seleucid calendar in giving Antiochus a reign of four years (that is, one that extended into each of the four Seleucid years, 168 to 171).³⁹ It leaves in question, however, why Josephus should also report that Tryphon ruled only three years⁴⁰ – unless he meant Tryphon's reign *at Antioch only*; and that Antiochus VII had taken the Seleucid capital at the very beginning of S.E. 174.

Both are possible; but the first assumption, which is charitable to Josephus, raises the question of the reliability of literary chronologies of Seleucid rulers, when these may apply only to their reigns at particular cities. The issue itself is one that historians and numismatists have both recognized makes problematic the ordered reconstruction of the later Seleucid period – after about the midpoint of the second century B.C. – as the kingdom fragmented and the succession became increasingly non-linear. While in previous periods, Seleucid successors had been able to establish their authority over the kingdom as a whole within a few months of the death or departure of their predecessors, now claimants to the throne frequently occupied only parts of the kingdom, even if for extended periods.

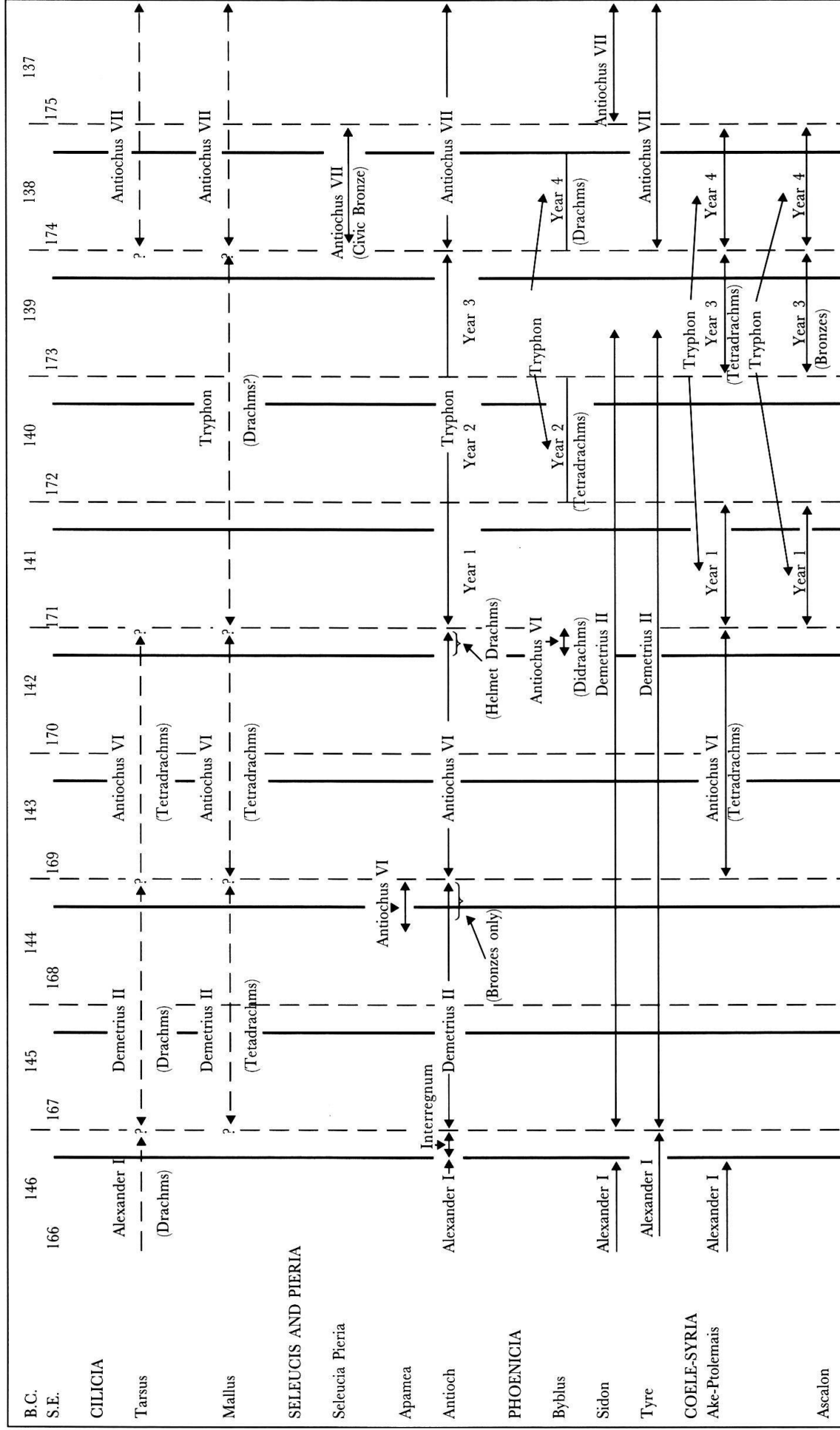
³⁷ D. Gera, Tryphon's Sling Bullet from Dor, *IEJ* 35, 1985, pp. 153–163. Gera's reading is not accepted by Th. Fischer, Tryphons verfehelter Sieg von Dor (forthcoming).

³⁸ I Maccabees 15, 37; Josephus, *Ant.* 13, 224.

³⁹ Josephus, *Ant.* 13, 218; see on this point Seyrig, Notes, pp. 16–17.

⁴⁰ Josephus, *Ant.* 13, 224.

Table 4: Selected Western Seleucid Mints 146–137 B.C.¹



— Year of Issue, dated Coins
 - - - - - Possible Year of Issue, undated Coins

Tryphon, acting through Antiochus VI, for example, could lay claim to a segment of northern Syria through the Summer of 144 B.C. and Winter of 144/3, but Demetrius II apparently continued to rule at the Seleucid capital. Even after Tryphon drove Demetrius from Antioch, the latter continued as Seleucid ruler over large parts of Phoenicia and all of the Seleucid East, until his capture by the Parthians in the Spring or Summer of 139 B.C.⁴¹ Later, Cleopatra Thea established a virtually independent kingdom for the better part of a year (126–125 B.C.) at Ake-Ptolemais, as rival to the legitimate Seleucid ruler, Alexander II Zabinas (at Antioch, 128–123/2 B.C.), before seizing the Syrian coast and interior.⁴² And Cleopatra's son, Antiochus VIII, who was given a brief «preview» in 128 B.C.,⁴³ emerged as sole ruler seven years later, but soon found himself in a desperate struggle with his half brother, Antiochus IX, that consumed the entire kingdom into the first century B.C. as it broke up into a patchwork of territories loyal to one claimant or the other.⁴⁴

For the historian and the numismatist, the problem is one that requires thoughtful interpretation of the material and literary sources, certainly; but it also needs acknowledgement in the contemporary record. Cumbersome (even pedantic) as it may seem, the clearest manner of presenting the chronologies of late Seleucid rulers may be to note both regnal dates and dates at the principal city, together. In the case of the current discussion, this would suggest: Antiochus VI (144–142/1 B.C.; at Antioch 143–142/1 B.C.); and Tryphon (142/1–138/7 B.C.; at Antioch, 142/1–139/8 B.C.?).

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⁴¹ For a discussion of the date, see G. Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes* (Paris 1965), p. 371.

⁴² E.T. Newell, *Late Seleucid Mints in Ake Ptolemais and Damascus*, NNM 84 (New York 1939), pp. 10–13; CSE 803.

⁴³ A. Houghton/G. Le Rider, *Un premier règne d'Antiochos VIII Epiphane en 128*, BCH 112, 1988, pp. 401–411.

⁴⁴ The asynchronism of the rules of both kings in Coele-Syria alone is illustrated by the table in A. Houghton/W. Müseler, *The Reigns of Antiochus VIII and Antiochus IX at Damascus*, SM 159/40, 1990, p. 60.



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Arthur Houghton, The Accession of Antiochus VI at Apamea



Arthur Houghton, The Accession of Antiochus VI at Apamea



Arthur Houghton, The Accession of Antiochus VI at Apamea

