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CATHARINE LORBER (\*)

## PTOLEMAIC BRONZES OF ANTIOCHUS IV

Two bronze denominations of Ptolemaic type were issued in the name of King Antiochus. The tiny corpus of known specimens comprises just three coins (1):

*Obv.* Head of Ammon r., wearing *basileion*, dotted border.

*Rev.* ANTIOXOY to l., [BAΣIAEΩΣ] to r., two eagles with closed wings standing left on thunderbolt, dotted border.

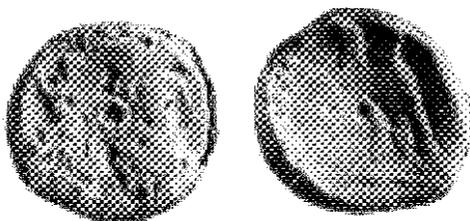


Fig. 1. 21/24mm. n.w. Dattari coll. Svoronos 1422, pl. XLVIII, 7.



Fig. 2. 26 mm. 12.95 gm. Jerusalem. SNG Spaer 1187.

*Obv.* Head of Isis right, wreathed with grain, dotted border.

*Rev.* ANTIOXOY to l., [BAΣIAEΩΣ] to r., eagle with spread wings standing l. on thunderbolt, dotted border.



Fig. 3. 25 mm. 8.08 gm. Copenhagen. SNG Copenhagen: *The Seleucids*, 206.

(\*) Catharine LORBER, 5450 Fenwood Avenue, Woodland Hills, CA 91367, USA; e-mail: catharinelorber@hotmail.com.

(1) Sincere thanks to Andreas Blasius for stimulating discussions, for great help with Egyptian textual sources, and for commenting on several versions of the manuscript. The conclusions offered here are my own.

The first of these coins has been known since the time of J.N. Svoronos, and one or more of them have been commented upon by Svoronos, K. Regling, W. Otto, O. Mørkholm, and E. Schlösser. The scholarship is unanimous in the conclusion that these coins belong in the context of the Sixth Syrian War (170-168 B.C.), when Antiochus IV Epiphanes twice invaded Egypt.

The events of the Sixth Syrian War can be summarized briefly. Eulaeus and Lenaeus, the feckless regents for the young Ptolemy VI Philometor, attempted to invade the Seleucid kingdom to recover the province of Syria and Phoenicia, which had been lost to Antiochus III in the Fifth Syrian War (202-197 B.C.)<sup>(2)</sup>. Shortly before the outbreak of war, probably at the start of the New Year on 5 October 170, the king's two siblings, Cleopatra II and Ptolemy the Brother (the future Ptolemy Euergetes II), were elevated to a coregency with Philometor and a new count of regnal years was begun<sup>(3)</sup>. In late November 170 the Ptolemaic and Seleucid armies met near Mt. Casius and Antiochus IV Epiphanes won a decisive victory, earning goodwill in Egypt by sparing the lives of the defeated soldiers<sup>(4)</sup>. During the cease-fire that followed, Antiochus got possession of the fortress of Pelusium<sup>(5)</sup>. In subsequent months his army occupied part of Egypt<sup>(6)</sup>. The Lagid government, now led by different ministers, sought the intercession of various Greek envoys already present in Alexandria, who met with Antiochus but were won over by his diplomacy<sup>(7)</sup>. The surviving sources do not report what happened immediately after these negotiations, but ultimately Ptolemy Philometor joined Antiochus in his camp at Memphis<sup>(8)</sup>. The court at

(2) Diod., 30.15-16; Polyb., 28.1.1-6; John of Antioch (C. MÜLLER, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Vol. IV, Paris, 1851, p. 558, fr. 58).

(3) *P. Ryl.* IV 583 (12 November 170). The first year of the coregency was also recognized on dated Cypriote tetradrachms of Citium and the short-lived mint of Amathous (O. MØRKHOLM and A. KROMANN, *The Ptolemaic Silver Coinage on Cyprus, 192/1-164/3 B.C.*, in *Chiron*, 14, 1984, p. 161, n° 46, and p. 162, n° 1, with commentary on p. 152). On the likelihood that the new regnal count began with the New Year, see A.E. SAMUEL, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, in *Münchener Beiträge zu Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 43, 1962, p. 141-142.

(4) Porphyry, *FGrHist*, II 260 F 49a; Diod., 30.14.

(5) Polyb., 30.14, 30.18.

(6) Polyb., 28.19.1.

(7) Polyb., 28.19-20. O. MØRKHOLM, *Antiochus IV of Syria* (Classica et Mediaevalia Dissertationes, VII), Gyldendal, 1966, p. 78, calculated that the embassy to Antiochus took place after the first of May 169. But *P. Lond.* VII 2190, dated 17 April 169, seems to place Ptolemy Philometor already in Antiochus' camp, see T.C. SKEAT, *Notes on Ptolemaic Chronology II: 'The Twelfth Year which is Also the First': The Invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes*, in *JEA*, 47, 1961, p. 110-112.

(8) Porphyry, *FGrHist*, II 260 F 49a-b; John of Antioch, *FGrHist*, IV, fr. 58 (who states that Philometor sought refuge with his relation after being rejected by the Egyptians).

Alexandria established a rival government in the name of Philometor's siblings and erstwhile coregents <sup>(9)</sup>. Because Egyptian documents reverted to dating by Philometor's regnal count (year 12), papyrologists have concluded that virtually all Egypt outside Alexandria recognized Philometor <sup>(10)</sup>. The Syrian invader controlled the country as far south as Thebes <sup>(11)</sup>. Claiming to uphold the rights of Philometor, Antiochus besieged Alexandria but failed to take it <sup>(12)</sup>. In autumn of 169 he withdrew to Syria with his army, leaving Philometor in Memphis and explicitly recognizing him as sovereign of Egypt; but a Seleucid garrison remained in Pelusium <sup>(13)</sup>. Over the winter of 169/8 Philometor reconciled with his siblings and returned to Alexandria <sup>(14)</sup>. This provoked a new attack by Antiochus in spring of 168. A Seleucid fleet was sent to Cyprus, whose governor, Ptolemy Macro, surrendered the island and pledged fealty to the Seleucid king <sup>(15)</sup>. Antiochus led his army to the Egyptian frontier and demanded the cession of Cyprus and Pelusium <sup>(16)</sup>. His demands rejected, he marched unopposed to Memphis and occupied most of Egypt, from the Faiyum to Elephantine <sup>(17)</sup>. Porphyry's report that Antiochus was crowned at Memphis according to the Egyptian rite may belong in this context, though several scholars have questioned its accuracy <sup>(18)</sup>. We now know that Antiochus established at least a rudimentary administrative apparatus in Upper Egypt, attested by a clay seal impression

(9) Livy, 44.19.6-8; Polyb., 29.23.4.

(10) T.C. SKEAT, *op. cit.* [n. 7], p. 108-109; A.E. SAMUEL, *op. cit.* [n. 3], p. 141; L. MOOREN, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes und das ptolemäische Königtum*, in *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie, Brussels 1977*, Part IV. *Papyrologie Documentaire* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 19), Brussels, 1979, p. 78.

(11) *Bucheum Stele 8*, l. 6 (= H.W. FAIRMAN, in R. MOND and O.H. MYERS *et al.* (eds), *The Bucheum*, Vol. II: *The Inscriptions* (Egypt Exploration Society, 41), London, 1934, p. 5f., n° 8).

(12) Livy, 44.19.6-12, 45.11.1; Porphyry, *FGrHist*, II 260 F 49b; Polyb., 28.22.

(13) Livy, 45.11; Polyb., 28.23.

(14) Polyb., 29.23.4; Livy, 45.11.2-7.

(15) Livy, 45.11.9, 45.12.7; 2 *Macc.*, 10.12f.

(16) Livy, 45.11.10-11.

(17) Antiochus' possession of Memphis is attested by the Hor ostraca (J.D. RAY, *The Archive of Hor*, London, 1976, demotic text 3, l. 11-12). His authority in the Faiyum is implied by a *prostagma* to the cleruchs of Crocodilopolis (*P. Tebt.* III 698 = M.-Th. LINGER, *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées*, Brussels, 1964, n° 32). The *prostagma* was dated to 168 by O. MØRKHOLM, *op. cit.* [n. 7], p. 92, and by L. MOOREN, *op. cit.* [n. 10], p. 83-84. The presence of Syrians at Elephantine is proved by a graffito (G. VITTMANN, *Das demotische Graffito von Saletempel auf Elephantine*, in *MDAI(K)*, 53, 1997, p. 264, l. 4-4b).

(18) Porphyry, *FGrHist* II 260 F 49a-b. For some expressions of skepticism, see O. MØRKHOLM, *op. cit.* [n. 7], p. 82-83; L. MOOREN, *op. cit.* [n. 10], p. 81-86; and G. HÖLBL, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London-New York, 2001, p. 147.

from Edfu (Apollinopolis Magna) bearing his portrait <sup>(19)</sup>. The invader advanced only slowly on Alexandria <sup>(20)</sup>. At his camp in Eleusis he was confronted by the Roman envoy C. Popilius Laenas, who ordered him to quit Egypt <sup>(21)</sup>. All Seleucid forces were evacuated by 30 July 168 <sup>(22)</sup>.

The earliest attempt to interpret Antiochus' Ptolemaic-type bronzes was based on an iconographic notion, that the number of eagles on the reverse reflected the number of reigning kings. Svoronos, followed by Otto and Schlösser, asserted that the larger denomination, with its double eagle reverse, was an issue of the joint reign of Antiochus and Ptolemy VI Philometor at Memphis in 169; Schlösser further developed this theme by submitting that the smaller denomination, with its single eagle, was symbolic of a sole rule, thus of Antiochus' coronation as Pharaoh during his second invasion in spring of 168 <sup>(23)</sup>. K. Regling, however, expressed skepticism about the double eagle symbology of the larger denomination. He pointed out that the double eagle reverse type had been employed by Ptolemy II, certainly without indicating a joint reign; and he also objected that the legend did not acknowledge Ptolemy VI <sup>(24)</sup>.

In his 1966 doctoral dissertation, O. Mørkholm treated Antiochus' Ptolemaic-type coinage within a broader examination of the historical sources and context. He argued that Antiochus' claim to be protecting Philometor's interests, like the Egyptian documents dated to Philometor's twelfth year, excluded any assertion of sovereignty over Egypt during the first invasion <sup>(25)</sup>. Thus the coins did not fit the historical context of 169, but rather that of 168, when Antiochus could no longer pose as Philometor's guardian and "had to usurp the authority in his own name" <sup>(26)</sup>. Though Mørkholm's text referred to the Egyptian fabric of the bronzes, a footnote hinted at a Cypriote fabric for the Copenhagen coin <sup>(27)</sup>. In 1981 Mørkholm broke with all previous scholarship in assigning both bronze issues of Antiochus IV to the Seleucid occupation of Cyprus in 168 <sup>(28)</sup>. Mørkholm based his attribution entirely upon fabric, claiming that the

(19) D. PLANTZOS, *A Royal Seal of Antiochos IV of Syria and Some Contemporary minima ptolemaica*, in *RBN*, 147, 2002, p. 33-39.

(20) Livy, 45.12.1-2.

(21) Polyb., 29.27; Diod., 31.2; Livy, 45.12.3-6; App. *Syr.*, 66; Porphyry, *FGrHist*, II 260 F 50.

(22) J.D. RAY, *op. cit.* [n. 17], Demotic text 3, l. 14 and p. 29, note 1.

(23) J.N. SVORONOS, *Ta Nomismata tou Kratous ton Ptolemaion*, Athens, 1904-1908, Vol. II, col. τσβ' and Vol. IV, col. 287 (German translation); W. OTTO, *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers*, Munich, 1934, p. 2, 30-42, 53-55, 58-59; E. SCHLÖSSER, *Egyptian Bronze Coins of Antiochus IV of Syria*, in *SM*, 147, August 1987, p. 54-56.

(24) J.N. SVORONOS, *op. cit.* [n. 23], Vol. 4, cols. 492-493 with note 1.

(25) O. MØRKHOLM, *op. cit.* [n. 7], p. 80-84.

(26) *Ibid.*, p. 92.

(27) *Ibid.*, p. 81 with n. 69.

(28) O. MØRKHOLM, *Two Cypriot Coins of Antiochus IV of Syria*, in *Cyprus Numismatic Society. The Numismatic Report*, 12, 1981, p. 51-53.

thin flans and rounded upper edges of these bronzes are typical of Cyprus in the second century B.C., whereas Alexandrian flans of the same period are thicker, with the upper edge bevelled at an angle. Mørkholm observed that the relation between diameter and weight differs greatly between the two kinds of flans; given the same diameter, Alexandrian coins will weigh significantly more on average than Cypriote coins.

At the time of Mørkholm's writing, there was considerable confusion about what bronze coinage, if any, should be attributed to Cyprus under Ptolemy VI Philometor. Reporting the coin finds in the excavations at Curium, D.H. Cox had catalogued as Paphian a bronze in the name of Cleopatra I and Ptolemy VI, with a ΠΑ monogram on the reverse (Svor. 1382), represented by a single excavation coin<sup>(29)</sup>. To Cyprus generally Cox had assigned a series of bronzes with a lotus blossom in the reverse field, sometimes accompanied by letters between the eagle's legs (Svor. 1403, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1412, 1414), of which the larger denominations were represented by single specimens, but the two smallest by 6 and 18 examples respectively<sup>(30)</sup>. In *SNG Copenhagen*, Mørkholm and A. Kromann listed no Cypriote bronzes of Ptolemy V or VI<sup>(31)</sup>. They gave Cox's first issue (Svor. 1382) to Alexandria<sup>(32)</sup>, but the other bronzes of Ptolemy VI found in the Curium excavations were not represented in the Danish National Collection. Moreover, bronze coins of Ptolemy VIII with the epithet Euergetes in the legend (*SNG Cop.* 651-659), which Kromann and Mørkholm catalogued as Cypriote, have since been reattributed to Cyrene by T.V. Buttrey, based on excavation finds there<sup>(33)</sup>. It is thus not clear how Mørkholm derived his understanding of typical Cypriote fabric. He may have extrapolated from bronzes of Ptolemy VIII, perhaps including coins of Cyrenean origin.

In 2001 Lorber attempted to identify the Cypriote bronze coinage of Ptolemy VI<sup>(34)</sup>. Citing provenances, she demonstrated that bronzes bearing a lotus symbol in the reverse left field circulated almost exclusively on Cyprus. Clear evidence was lacking for only one of eight series, Series

(29) D.H. COX, *Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932-1953* (ANSNM, 145), New York, 1959, n° 90. By implication, Cox's attribution extended to other denominations of the same series (SVORONOS 1380-1381), and also to a closely related series from which the name of Cleopatra is lacking (SVORONOS 1383-1386), which shares the same ΠΑ monogram and is very similar in types, style, fabric, denominations, and control convention.

(30) D.H. COX, *op. cit.* [n. 29], n° 91-96.

(31) A. KROMANN and O. MØRKHOLM, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum. Egypt: The Ptolemies*, Copenhagen, 1977, pl. xxi.

(32) *Ibid.*, n° 278.

(33) T.V. BUTTREY, *Part I: The Coins*, in D. WHITE (ed.), *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Report, VI* (University of Pennsylvania Museum Monograph, 97), Philadelphia, 1997, n° 281-350.

(34) C.C. LORBER, *The Lotus of Aphrodite*, in *SNR*, 80, 2001, p. 39-52.

VI, with the letters EYA between the legs of the eagle (Svor. 1396-1397, 1401-1402). This series unquestionably belongs to the years immediately preceding the Sixth Syrian War, because selected denominations were countermarked with the Seleucid anchor, and the known provenances are neither Egyptian nor Cypriote, but Syrian<sup>(35)</sup>. Despite the lack of confirming provenances, the Cypriote origin of the EYA series is beyond reasonable doubt, not only because of the strong association of the lotus symbol with Cyprus, but also because the same types and denominations are repeated in Series VII, for which many Cypriote provenances are known.

Mørkholm followed R.S. Poole, Svoronos, Regling, and Cox in assigning the EYA series to Egypt<sup>(36)</sup>. This long unquestioned attribution rested on the belief that the letters EYA were the initials of Eulaeus, the tutor of Ptolemy VI who, with the Syrian freedman Lenaeus, guided the government of Egypt after the death of Cleopatra I in 176 and provoked the catastrophic war with Antiochus IV. Fabric was probably another if tacit reason behind the Egyptian attribution of the EYA series. These coins are beautifully crafted on thick flans with their upper edges bevelled at a slight angle — precisely the characteristics that Mørkholm ascribed to Alexandrian flans.

Tables 1 and 2 briefly catalogue the pre-invasion bronze coinages of Ptolemy VI Philometor that circulated on Cyprus and in Egypt. These coinages differ considerably in their types. The Cypriote issues used one pair of types — Ammon and an eagle with closed wings — on all denominations, with a sceptre added as a denomination marker on the second largest coin (C2). Alexandria provided each denomination with a distinguishing pair of types, varying the pose and attributes of the eagle as well as the deity portrayed on the obverse. It is clear that the number of eagles on the reverse does not have the significance imputed by Svoronos, Otto, and Schösser. The double eagle reverse, far from symbolizing a joint reign, is merely a denomination marker for the largest coin of the set (E1 and E4), functionally equivalent to the sceptre in the Cypriote series.

The two Ptolemaic bronze issues of Antiochus IV imitate Egyptian, not Cypriote, models. The heavier denomination reflects the types of E1 and E4, the largest bronze denomination being minted in Egypt at the time of the Syrian invasions. The smaller bronze imitates the types of

(35) For provenanced examples, some countermarked, see D. WAAGE, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, Vol. IV, 4/2, Princeton, 1952, n° 982-983.

(36) See A. KROMANN and O. MØRKHOLM, *op. cit.* [n. 31], n° 293-295; R.S. POOLE, *BMC The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt*, London, 1882, p. LXIII, p. 80, n° 16-19, p. 81, n° 20-22; D.H. COX, *op. cit.* [n. 29], p. 103-104. An unusual dissent was registered by W. WEISER, *Katalog Ptolemäischer Bronzemünzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln* (Papyrologica Coloniensia, XXIII), Opladen, 1995, n° 151-154, attributed to "Salamis on Cyprus for Alexandria".

E5, the second largest denomination of the contemporary Egyptian system. The imitation of these Egyptian bronzes would make little sense on Cyprus, where the coin typology was different. The types of Antiochus' bronze issues thus confirm their Egyptian origin, vindicating Svoronos, E.T. Newell<sup>(37)</sup>, and Schlösser. Nevertheless, Mørkholm's observations about fabric remain troubling.

An imitative coinage that fell short of its Ptolemaic prototypes in size and weight seems entirely out of character for the vainglorious Antiochus IV Epiphanes. In Syria he repeatedly issued handsome and innovative coinages — some of them in bronze — to advertise his claims of divinity<sup>(38)</sup>, his devotion to Zeus<sup>(39)</sup>, his Egyptian victories<sup>(40)</sup>, his beneficence toward the cities of his kingdom<sup>(41)</sup>, and his great panhellenic festival at Daphne in 166<sup>(42)</sup>. It is very difficult to imagine that as the triumphant conqueror of Egypt, perhaps even its newly crowned Pharaoh, he settled for a low-value coinage that presented him as a mere imitator of Ptolemy Philometor. (Simply compare Antiochus' "Egyptianizing" bronzes, minted at Antioch and so well made as to suggest presentation pieces, with the Dattari specimen of his Egyptian coinage, with its very irregular flan). Substandard size, low weight, careless manufacture, imitative types, and poor style are all features commonly seen in the unofficial coinages produced in Egypt in the Ptolemaic period, including bronzes struck during the secession of Upper Egypt from 205 to 184/3<sup>(43)</sup>. It is tempting to regard the Egyptian bronzes in the name of Antiochus as something less than the official currency of a reigning king of Egypt.

One possible explanation is that these coins were issued as campaign currency, to be used by the Seleucid troops as *sitarchia* (provision money) and spent in local Egyptian markets. Such a campaign currency need not be linked to a claim of sovereignty over Egypt, for as Mørkholm pointed out, in the eastern Hellenistic world the use of the royal title attached to

(37) E.T. NEWELL, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, in *AJN*, 51, 1917-1918, p. 26-27, reattributed to Syria much of the coinage of Antiochus IV that Svoronos gave to Egypt, but affirmed the Egyptian origin of Svoronos 1422.

(38) O. MØRKHOLM, *Studies in the Coinage of Antiochus IV of Syria* (Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Vol. 40, N° 3), Copenhagen, 1963, p. 17-18, 46.

(39) O. MØRKHOLM, *op. cit.* [n. 38], p. 17 and 31, with n° 14; G. LE RIDER, *Antioche de Syrie sous les Séleucides. Corpus des monnaies d'or et d'argent. I. De Séleucos I à Antiochos V, c. 300-161* (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, n.s., XIX), Paris, 1999, p. 227.

(40) E.T. NEWELL, *op. cit.* [n. 37], p. 26; G. LE RIDER, *op. cit.* [n. 39], p. 223-224.

(41) O. MØRKHOLM, *The Municipal Coinages with Portrait of Antiochus IV of Syria*, in *Congresso internazionale di numismatica, Roma 1961*, II, Rome, 1965, p. 63-67; O. MØRKHOLM, *op. cit.* [n. 7], p. 125-130.

(42) O. MØRKHOLM, *op. cit.* [n. 38], p. 33-34; G. LE RIDER, *op. cit.* [n. 39], p. 228.

(43) S.M. HUSTON and C. LORBER, *A Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins in Commerce, October 1992* (*CH* 8, 413), in *NC*, 161, 2001, p. 20 and 23-24.

the king himself, not his kingdom, and did not imply authority over a particular territory unless paraphrases were employed<sup>(44)</sup>. Other such campaign currencies have been identified, notably bronzes of Antiochus III with an elephant reverse, some of which are of indifferent workmanship<sup>(45)</sup>. But any coinage struck especially for use by the Seleucid army in Egypt would likely have borne Seleucid dynastic or military symbols, not standard Ptolemaic types. That Seleucid types were unfamiliar to the Egyptians need not have been an impediment to their use: a conquering king had the power to compel acceptance of his currency, as is illustrated by the example of Antiochus III in Coele Syria during the Fifth Syrian War.

A more promising hypothesis is that these bronzes were produced for payments to Egyptian partisans of the Syrian king. It is difficult to gauge the actual extent of support for the invader among the native Egyptians. Some scholars suggest that it was widespread<sup>(46)</sup>. But there is vivid evidence that the Egyptians, like all occupied populations, suffered shock and hardship<sup>(47)</sup>. Bucheum Stele 8, l. 5-6, laments, "There was an attack by many foreign countries against Egypt in the year 12, and great civil strife broke out in Egypt. The great wall of Thebes was manned by foreigners"<sup>(48)</sup>. A demotic graffito from Elephantine complains that in year two of the joint reign, i.e., in 168, "The sanctuary of the great Sothis, mistress of Elephantine, was torn down. / The Mede (i.e. Syrian) came to Egypt. / ... [The] Mede came / when the measures (weights?) issued in (Egypt's) name were short, when wheat cost 120 *deben* per *artaba*"<sup>(49)</sup>. This text seems to hint at direct Seleucid interference with weights and measures. Its latest editor, G. Vittmann, believed that the passage referred to a reduction of the monetary weight standard

(44) O. MØRKHOLM, *op. cit.* [n. 7], p. 81; E. BIKERMAN, *Institutions des Séleucides*, Paris, 1938, p. 6.

(45) A. HOUGHTON and C. LORBER, *Antiochus III in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia*, in D. BARAG (ed.), *Studies in Memory of Leo Mildenberg* (= *INJ*, 14, 2000-2002), Jerusalem, 2002, p. 44-58; A. HOUGHTON and C. LORBER, *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue, Part I. Seleucus I through Antiochus III*, New York-Lancaster-London, 2002, p. 373-375, n° 976A-982; p. 463-464, n° 1272-1277. Similar campaign currencies are to be recognized in the bronzes of Ptolemy I with helmet and/or aphaelastion symbol (Svor. 155-157, 157A, 163, 167, 170A, 171-173).

(46) E.g., W. CLARYSSE, *Hakoris, an Egyptian Nobleman and his Family*, in *Ancient Society*, 22, 1991, p. 240; G. VITTMANN, *op. cit.* [n. 17], p. 267, note 18; W. HUß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit, 332-30 v. Chr.*, Munich, 2001, p. 553.

(47) A. BLASIUS, *Zur Frage des geistigen Widerstandes im griechisch-römischen Ägypten — die historische Situation*, in A. BLASIUS and B.U. SCHIPPER (eds), *Apokalyptik und Ägypten* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 107), Leuven-Paris-Sterling, Va., 2002, p. 55-57.

(48) H.W. FAIRMAN, *op. cit.* [n. 11], p. 5f., n° 8.

(49) G. VITTMANN, *op. cit.* [n. 17], p. 264, l. 3-5. On the Egyptian use of Medes as a metaphor for Syrians, see *ibid.*, p. 267-268, and A. BLASIUS, *op. cit.* [n. 47], p. 55.

during the Sixth Syrian War<sup>(50)</sup>. He based himself on Heichelheim's theory of copper inflation, which alleged that monetary manipulation between 173 and 168 produced a sharp increase in the prices of basic commodities<sup>(51)</sup>. The coinage itself does not support such interpretations. Hoard evidence indicates that the most recent weight reduction occurred at or near the outset of the regency of Cleopatra I, i.e., c. 180, when weight of the largest bronze coin of the Egyptian system fell from c. 29 g to c. 24 g<sup>(52)</sup>. Table 2 shows that the weight standard remained stable from her regency to the sole reign of Philometor. The Corinth hoard of 1948 (IGCH 248) demonstrates that the principal bronze coin of the subsequent joint reign of Philometor and his brother was Svoronos 1424, of the same types and weight as the pre-war bronzes<sup>(53)</sup>. The only documented shortfall in the weight of the coinage comes with the Ptolemaic bronzes of Antiochus IV, but our sample is too small to be significant, and we have no proof that such coins circulated at Elephantine. The true cause of the extortionate price of wheat at Elephantine was almost certainly the invasion itself, which must have entailed some combination of the usual wartime evils — destruction of crops, military requisitions by the invading army, panicky hoarding, and profiteering.

The ultimate Egyptian view of Antiochus IV was probably that expressed by *The Potter's Oracle*, an apocalyptic text that recalled the trauma of his invasions even as it predicted the eventual destruction of Alexandria: "And a king will come down out of Syria who / will be hateful to all men"<sup>(54)</sup>.

The main evidence for native Egyptian collaboration with the invader is *P. Köln* IV 186<sup>(55)</sup>. This papyrus is a report from a Ptolemaic battlefield commander to his superior, penned at some point during the Sixth Syrian War. Lines 1-11 describe a battle between the Lagid army and a

(50) G. VITTMANN, *op. cit.* [n. 17], p. 270-271.

(51) F. HEICHELHEIM, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen der Zeit von Alexander bis Augustus*, Jena, 1930, p. 29-31.

(52) S.M. HUSTON and C. LORBER, *op. cit.* [n. 43], p. 24-26.

(53) Svor. 1424 was associated with specimens of Svor. 1380 and 1384 in the Corinth hoard (IGCH 264) (M. THOMPSON, *A Ptolemaic Bronze Hoard from Corinth*, in *Hesperia*, 20, 1951, p. 355-367). For the metrology of Svor. 1424, see S.M. HUSTON and C. LORBER, *op. cit.* [n. 43], p. 26.

(54) P<sub>3</sub> (*P. Oxy.* 22.2332), col. 1, l. 30-31. The critical edition of L. KOENEN, *Die Prophezeiungen des 'Töpfers'*, in *ZPE*, 2, 1968, p. 178-209, has been corrected piecemeal in a series of subsequent articles by L. KOENEN, who plans a new edition. For his new German translation and commentary, see L. KOENEN, *Die Apologie des Töpfers an König Amenophis oder das Töpferorakel*, in A. BLASIUS and B.U. SCHIPPER (eds), *op. cit.* [n. 47], p. 139-187. The most recent published English translation is that of A. KERKESLAGER, *The Apology of the Potter: A Translation of the Potter's Oracle*, in I. SHIRUNG-RUMACH (ed.), *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology* (Aegypten und Altes Testament, 40), Wiesbaden, 1998, p. 67-79.

(55) B. KRAMER *et al.* (eds), *Kölner Papyri (P. Köln)*, Vol. IV (Papyrologica Coloniae, VII), Opladen, 1982, p. 151-163.

group of native Egyptian insurgents, resulting in a victory for the government and the capture of more than 120 of the enemy, including an apparently well known rebel leader named Harkonnesis; a Hellenized Egyptian named Euphron, son of Akoris; and one Apollonios, identified as a man of Antiochus. There is no indication that the Seleucid army was involved in the battle, so Apollonios was probably a "military advisor", charged with coordinating the tactics of the insurgents with those of the Seleucid army, or with Antiochus' overall strategy. Possibly he was even a *provocateur*, sent to multiply the challenges to the government at Alexandria by instigating rebellion among the native Egyptians. Such agents could have been present in Egypt even when Antiochus himself was absent, that is, between his two invasions (autumn 169-spring 168) <sup>(56)</sup>. Line 16 of the papyrus indicates that the Ptolemaic army must remain in the field because of some problem presented by "all the Egyptians throughout the *chôra*" (a lacuna obscures the key verb). Line 17 refers to concern about being attacked from behind by an expeditionary force perhaps originating at Pelusium.

The editors of *P. Köln* IV 186 suggested that the defeated Egyptians were adherents of Ptolemy VI Philometor, who was recognized in the *chôra* <sup>(57)</sup>. Nothing in the papyrus itself supports this inference, which seems to have been inspired by the views of J.D. Ray, editor of the Hor archive. Hor, a priest of Isis and Thoth from Sebennytos, recorded prophetic dreams that foretold the salvation of Alexandria and Antiochus' eventual retreat from Egypt. The visionary priest twice used a phrase for which Ray provided a very colorful translation. Demotic text 1, l. 7, recalls "the time [when] Antiochus was to the north of Pr-3wrys [an unknown place name] [and] Egypt divorced itself" <sup>(58)</sup>. Demotic text 3, l. 9-11, expands the phrase: "at the time [when] Egypt divorced itself [from] Alexandria, Antiochus fought to the north of Pr-3wrys" <sup>(59)</sup>. Ray's commentary on this phrase appears historically imprecise. He refers to the *stasis* that followed the Egyptian defeat of November 170, when Egypt recognized Ptolemy VI Philometor and Alexandria supported the claims of his brother <sup>(60)</sup>. But the elevation of Ptolemy the Brother as a rival to Ptolemy Philometor did not take place until after the spring of 169, following the failure of negotiations and the reconciliation between Philometor and Antiochus. Moreover, Demotic text 3 continues (l. 11-12): "Gry3, his agent, had not yet left Memphis in year 13, Paoni, day 1" <sup>(61)</sup>. This indicates that Antiochus had left a subordinate named Creon or Cleon at

(56) *Ibid.*, p. 159.

(57) B. KRAMER *et al.*, *op. cit.* [n. 55], p. 154 with note 8.

(58) J.D. RAY, *op. cit.* [n. 17], translation p. 11.

(59) *Ibid.*, translation p. 26.

(60) *Ibid.*, p. 13, note p, and p. 125.

(61) *Ibid.*, Demotic text 3, l. 11-12 (translated p. 26).

Memphis as governor of his “spear-won” territory<sup>(62)</sup>. The date (11 July 168) places the phrase about Egypt’s divorce from itself in the context of Antiochus’ second invasion, when Ptolemy VI had rejoined his sibling monarchs in Alexandria<sup>(63)</sup>. M. Chauveau has provided a new and more accurate translation: “At the time when Egypt was disrupted, when Rhakotis [Alexandria] was in turmoil, [and when] Antiochus was in the north of Pr-3wrjs”<sup>(64)</sup>. In this rendering Hor’s phrase does not necessarily imply hostility between Egypt and Alexandria. Yet it is not inconsistent with the events reported by *P. Köln* IV 186, which may also belong to the time of the second invasion.

A careful reading of the texts does not support the view that Egyptian insurgents were upholding the claims of Ptolemy VI Philometor. However we need not assume that they were whole-hearted adherents of Antiochus IV, either. Their collaboration may have been opportunistic, their ultimate objective the reestablishment of a native Pharaoh (The enduring national aspirations of the Egyptians were attested by repeated revolts against the Ptolemies, as well as by apocalyptic texts like *The Potter’s Oracle*). It is plausible that the cooperation of some Egyptian insurgents was assured by means of payments, probably delivered by agents of Antiochus IV like Apollonius and Cleon. The monies offered need not have been handsome or well made, but they did need to conform to the monetary denominations and types that were familiar in the Egyptian *chôra*.

TABLE 1  
PTOLEMAIC BRONZES ON CYPRUS, 180-170 B.C.

*Series with lotus blossom and EYA*

- C1. Bronze hemidrachm (36 mm, 46.9 g): Ammon head r., dotted border//ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., eagle with closed wings standing l. on thunderbolt, LOTUS BLOSSOM in l. field, EYA between eagle’s legs, dotted border.  
Countermark (r. field, placed sideways): ΠΤ monogram in incuse square  
Reference: Private collection. The royal name ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ is effaced from this specimen; perhaps the countermark represents a restoration.
- C2. Bronze trihemiobol (30 mm, c. 24 g): Types as preceding, with LOTUS BLOSSOM in l. field, SCEPTRE under eagle’s far wing, EYA between legs, dotted border.  
Reference: Svoronos 1396, pl. XLVII, 21; *SNG Copenhagen* 293; *Köln* 151.

(62) J.D. RAY, *op. cit.* [n. 17], p. 127. L. MOOREN, *op. cit.* [n. 10], p. 85, insisted that the Hor ostraca do not specify the official position of Cleon (?).

(63) This was also the conclusion of L. MOOREN, *op. cit.* [n. 10], p. 85.

(64) M. CHAUVEAU, *Alexandrie et Rhakôtis : le point de vue des Égyptiens*, in *Cahiers de la villa Kérylos (Beaulieu-sur-Mer)*, 9, Paris, 1999 [*non vidi*]. I am grateful to Andreas Blasius and Prof. H.-J. Thissen for drawing the new translation to my attention.

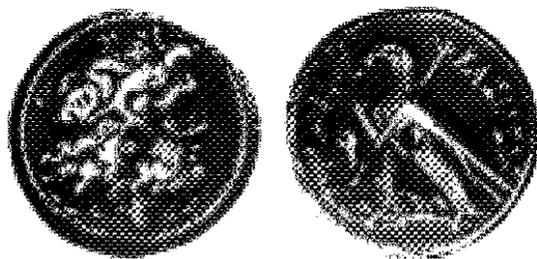


Fig. 4. Cypriote issue of Ptolemy VI, before 168 BC. ANS.

- C3. Bronze obol (25 mm, c. 15 g): Types as preceding, but without the SCEPTRE.  
Countermark: ANCHOR  
Reference: a) without countermark: Svoronos 1397, pl. XLVII, 22; b) with countermark: Svoronos 1398, pl. Δ, 5; *SNG Copenhagen* 294; *Köln* 152.  
Notable provenance: b) Antioch excavations, Waage 982.
- C4. Bronze tritartemorion (22 mm, c. 12 g): Types as preceding.  
Countermark: ANCHOR  
Reference: Svoronos 1401, pl. XLVII, 24 [specimen γ with Seleucid anchor countermark]; *SNG Copenhagen* 295.  
Notable provenance: 3 in Antioch excavations, Waage 983 (1, without countermark) and Waage 984 (2, with countermark).
- C5. Bronze hemiobol (18 mm, c. 8 g): Types as preceding.  
Reference: Svoronos 1402, pl. XLVII, 25.
- C6. Bronze dichalkon (16 mm, 3.5 g): Types as preceding.  
Reference: S. Huston coll., Union City, California.

TABLE 2  
PTOLEMAIC BRONZES OF ALEXANDRIA, 180-170 B.C.

ΠΑ series in the name of Cleopatra I and Ptolemy VI, 180-176 B.C.

- E1. Denomination 1 (30 mm, c. 24 g): ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ on l., ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ on r., Ammon head r., dotted border//ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., two eagles with closed wings standing l. on two thunderbolts, DOUBLE CORNUCOPIAE in l. field, ΠΑ monogram between second eagle's legs, dotted border.  
Reference: Svoronos 1380, pl. XLVII, 9; *SNG Copenhagen* 274-275.  
Notable provenances: Corinth hoard, Thompson, *Hesperia*, 20, 1951, n° 32; Tell El-Farâ'in excavations, *JEA*, 52, 1966, p. 163-171.
- E2. Denomination 4 (22 mm, c. 7.5 g): ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ on l., ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ on r., head of deified Alexander r. in elephant headdress, dotted border//ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., eagle with spread wings standing l. on thunderbolt, ΠΑ monogram in l. field, dotted border.  
Reference: Svoronos 1381, pl. XLVII, 13; *SNG Copenhagen* 276-277.
- E3. Denomination 5 (17 mm, c. 4 g): ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ on l., ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ on r., Isis head r. with corkscrew curls, crowned with grain, dotted border//ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., eagle with closed wings standing l. on thunder-

bolt, head reverted, CORNUCOPIAE over shoulder, ΠΑ monogram in l. field, dotted border.

Reference: Svoronos 1382, pl. XLVII, 15; *SNG Copenhagen* 278.

Notable provenances: 3 in Egypt hoard, 1922 (*IGCH* 1703), together with 2 specimens of Svoronos 1234; Curium excavations, Cox 90.

ΠΑ series, without name of Cleopatra, after 176 B.C.

- E4. Denomination 1 (30 mm, c. 23 g): Ammon head r., dotted border//ΠΤΟΑΕ-ΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., two eagles with closed wings standing l. on two thunderbolts, DOUBLE CORNUCOPIAE in l. field, ΠΑ monogram between second eagle's legs, dotted border.

Reference: Svoronos 1383, pl. XLVII, 10.



Fig. 5. Egyptian issue of Ptolemy VI, probably before 170 BC. From commerce.

- E5. Denomination 2 (27-28 mm, c. 14-17 g): Isis head r., crowned with grain, dotted border//ΠΤΟΑΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., eagle with spread wings standing l. on thunderbolt, ΠΑ monogram in l. field, dotted border.

Reference: Svoronos 1384, pl. XLVII, 11; *SNG Copenhagen* 279-287.

Notable provenances: 31 in Corinth hoard, Thompson, *Hesperia*, 20, 1951, n° 1-31; Tell El-Farā'in excavations, *JEA*, 52, 1966, p. 163-171; Nea Paphos excavations, *Paphos* II, p. 75, 573.



Fig. 6. Egyptian issue of Ptolemy VI, probably before 180 BC. From commerce.

- E6. Denomination 3 (25 mm, c. 10 g): Bearded Herakles head r. in lion skin, dotted border//ΠΤΟΑΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., eagle with closed wings standing l. on thunderbolt, ΠΑ monogram in l. field, dotted border.

Reference: Svoronos 1385, pl. XLVII, 12; *SNG Copenhagen* 288-290.

- E7. Denomination 4 (22 mm, c. 7 g): Head of deified Alexander r. in elephant head-dress, dotted border//ΠΤΟΑΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., eagle with spread wings standing l. on thunderbolt, ΠΑ monogram in l. field, dotted border.

Reference: Svoronos 1386, pl. XLVII, 14; *SNG Copenhagen* 291-292.

- E8. Denomination 5 (17 mm, c. 4.5 g): Isis head r., crowned with grain, dotted border//ΙΙΤΟΑΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., eagle with closed wings standing l. on thunderbolt, head reverted, ΚΟΡΝΟΥΟΠΙΑΕ over shoulder, ΠΑ monogram in l. field, dotted border.

Reference: Svoronos 1387.

Notable provenance: El Farâ'in excavations, *JEA*, 52, 1966, p. 163-171.

TABLE 3  
WEIGHTS OF LARGEST EGYPTIAN BRONZE COIN,  
LATTER REIGN OF PTOLEMY V / REIGN OF PTOLEMY VI

Weight in grams	Ptolemy V Latter reign (Svor. 1424A) <sup>(65)</sup>	Cleopatra I 180-176 (Svor. 1380) <sup>(66)</sup>	Ptolemy VI 174-170 (Svor. 1383) <sup>(67)</sup>	Ptolemy VI After c. 170 (Svor. 1424B) <sup>(68)</sup>
36.01—37.00	1			1
35.01—36.00	1			2
34.01—35.00	5			
33.01—34.00	2			1
32.01—33.00	3			5
31.01—32.00	5			5
30.01—31.00	9			3
29.01—30.00	<b>12</b>			13
28.01—29.00	<b>14</b>			11
27.01—28.00	6			8
26.01—27.00	2	1	1	7
25.01—26.00	2	5		14
24.01—25.00	2	7		18
23.01—24.00		5	<b>3</b>	29
22.01—23.00		7		<b>43</b>
21.01—22.00		<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	27
20.01—21.00		1	1	13
19.01—20.00		1		10
18.01—19.00				9
17.01—18.00				8
16.01—17.00				1
15.01—16.00				1

(65) Weights from specimens in *CH* VIII, 413, see HUSTON and LORBER, *art. cit.* [n. 43], p. 16-18, nos. 99-161.

(66) Based on 35 specimens from Svoronos, *SNG Copenhagen*, Paris, ANS, Frankfurt, Cologne, Malter II, and a lot in U.S. commerce in September, 1997.

(67) Based on 8 specimens from Svoronos, Frankfurt, CNR XX/2 Supplement, a lot in U.S. commerce in September, 1997, and a private collection.

(68) Based on 221 specimens from Svoronos, *SNG Copenhagen*, Paris, ANS, the Saq-qâra excavations, and a lot in U.S. commerce in September, 1997.