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Seleucid Campaign Beards

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Résumé

À l'exception de Démétrios II lors de son second règne, les rois séleucides étaient normalement représentés sans barbe sur leur monnayage. Toutefois, un certain nombre de Séleucides portait la barbe sur une partie des portraits numismatiques. Cet article explore l'hypothèse selon laquelle ce type de barbe temporaire était la manifestation d'un vœu effectué avant une campagne militaire et qu'elle était dès lors rasée à son terme. Les barbes étaient associées à des types de campagnes particulières, contre des envahisseurs orientaux, des usurpateurs et des rivaux dynastiques. Les divinités auxquelles chaque Séleucide faisait ses vœux pourraient avoir été celles qui étaient figurées sur les monnaies aux portraits barbues.

Abstract

With the exception of Demetrius II in his second reign, the Seleucid kings were normally portrayed clean-shaven on their coinage. Nevertheless, a number of Seleucids wear beards in a portion of their coin portraits. The paper explores the hypothesis that such a temporary beard was the outward mark of a vow undertaken before a military campaign, then shaved off at its successful completion. The beards were associated with particular types of campaigns, against eastern invaders, usurpers, and dynastic rivals. The deities to whom each Seleucid offered his vows may be those depicted on coins with his bearded portrait.

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Seleucid Campaign Beards*

What was the significance of the beard in Antiquity? There are several sources dealing with the wearing or the shaving of a beard. Beardlessness was primarily related to young gods like Apollo or Hermes, who are mostly represented beardless, as opposed to mature gods, especially Zeus and Poseidon, who are always depicted wearing a full beard.¹ Heroes such as Achilles, who died in their youth, were depicted beardless, as were athletes; this could be interpreted as an effort to assimilate those victorious youths with the “ephebic ideal.”² K.J. Dover interprets the smooth chin as a mark of the passive homosexual – the *eromenos*.³ In general, the beardless depiction of a man had negative connotations in fourth-century society and imagery.

The situation changed under Alexander the Great, who introduced the beardless portrait. His example set the trend and this mode became the standard depiction from c. 300 onwards. Nevertheless the introduction of the clean-shaven mode met a certain resistance; two decrees from Rhodes and Byzantium prohibited beardlessness, even though the effect of such a prohibition can be disputed.⁴ Alexander’s diadochs adopted the practice introduced by the great Macedonian. R.R.R. Smith remarks that this mode of depiction was a way for them to set “their image off from both the Greeks of the cities and the Persians... all of whom wore full beards.”⁵ The author rightly points out that there are a few exceptions among the Hellenistic kings, but he is mistaken in enumerating only four cases out of more than fifty recorded: the Antigonids Philip V and Perseus, and the Seleucids Achaeus and Demetrius II.⁶ More Hellenistic kings are depicted on coins wearing a beard (the Seleucid cases examined

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¹ For beardless depictions of youthful gods, see *RE*, s.v. “Bart”, col. 31.

² A. STEWART, *Faces of Power. Alexander’s Image and Hellenistic Politics*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1993, p. 75 hesitates to attribute this meaning to the beardless portraits of the youths. On the ephebic ideal, see now A.S. CHANKOWSKI, *L’éphébie hellénistique : étude d’une institution civique dans les cités grecques des îles de la Mer Égée et de l’Asie Mineure*, Paris (forthcoming 2009).

³ K.J. DOVER, *Greek Homosexuality*, London, 1978, p. 71, 87 and 144. Also STEWART, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 74.

⁴ ATHENAEUS, XIII, 565c-d. *New Pauly. Brill’s Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World II* (2003), s.v. “Beard”, col. 568 believes that these laws remained ineffective.

⁵ R.R.R. SMITH, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, Oxford, 1988, p. 46.

⁶ SMITH, *o.c.* (n. 5), p. 46, n. 2.

below are not included here): Prusias I on coins minted at Nicomedia, Mithridates III of Pontus, and king Nabis of Sparta all bear beards of different styles and lengths.⁷

Roman generals⁸ and emperors followed the Hellenistic clean-shaven practice until the reign of Hadrian.⁹ Numerous Roman sources refer to the practice of *depositio barbae*, the first cutting off of the first beard, a semi-religious rite marking the entrance of the young man into manhood.¹⁰ The age at which this rite took place varied considerably: Octavian celebrated his *depositio barbae* at the age of twenty-three¹¹ and Caligula at the age of nineteen.¹² The offering of the first beard was intended for the Roman gods; in the case of Nero the first shavings were placed in a golden box adorned with pearls and dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus.¹³

Archaeologists and art historians, using the literary sources, have tried to determine a typology of beards as they appear in visual representations, mainly on sculptures and in reliefs. It is not without interest for our purpose to note the neglect of numismatic portraits in such studies. Different terms are used in Greek sources to designate a beard and it is not always clear which type of beard is meant by a particular name: γένειον, γενειάς, πώγων, ὑπήνη, προπωγώνιον, χνόος or ἴουλος.¹⁴ The general trend in scholarship has been to define two broad categories of portraits: *bearded Greeks* and *beardless Romans*, an overly simple classification that has

⁷ Prusias I: *SNG* Copenhagen 623; Mithridates III: Bank Leu 20, 25 April 1978, lot 109; Nabis: O. MØRKHOLM, *Early Hellenistic Coinage. From the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336-188 B.C.)*, Cambridge, 1991, no. 511.

⁸ The exception is Flamininus, portrayed bearded on gold staters issued probably in Chalcis, see M.H. CRAWFORD, *Roman Republican Coinage*, London/New York, 1974, no. 548/1b.

⁹ For the portraits of the Roman emperors, see P. BASTIEN, *Le buste monétaire des empereurs romains*, I-III, Wetteren, 1992-4, *passim*. For the reintroduction of the bearded portrait by Hadrian, see P. ZANKER, *The Mask of Socrates. The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (translated by A. Shapiro), Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1995, p. 198-266 and C. EVERS, *Les portraits d'Hadrien : typologie et ateliers*, Brussels, 1994, *passim*.

¹⁰ The term *depositio barbae* never appears in the sources and is a convention of modern scholarship.

¹¹ CASSIUS DIO, XLVIII, 343. See Marleen FLORY, “Abducta Neroni uxor: The Historiographical Tradition on the Marriage of Octavian and Livia”, *TAPhA* 118 (1988), p. 343-359 for the date of Octavian’s *depositio barbae*.

¹² SUETONIUS, *Calig.*, 10. On the age of maturation and growing of a full beard in Antiquity as opposed to our modern societies, see H. MOLLER, “The Accelerated Development of Youth: Beard Growth as a Biological Marker”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29/4 (1987), p. 748-762: from the scarce evidence available for Greek and Roman Antiquity, the author concludes that the full growth of the beard during that period is to be placed sometime after the twenty-first year (as opposed to the sixteenth year for teenagers in our societies).

¹³ SUETONIUS, *Ner.*, 12.

¹⁴ For these words, see their lemma-entries in *LSJ*. These terms and their occurrences in Greek literature are considered in C. DAREMBERG and E. SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, I, Paris, 1873, s.v. “Barba”; *RE*, s.v. “Bart”, col. 30-31; *New Pauly*, s.v. “Beard”, col. 566-568.

created some important confusion in terms of identifying unnamed portraits.¹⁵ P. Zanker, in his study of the intellectual in Greek and Roman Antiquity, arrives at the conclusion that philosophers were a category bearing a beard which served as a mark of their belonging to a particular School and constituted a statement of their teachings and style of life.¹⁶ Smith adopts this thesis concerning the philosophers and argues that the beard of Hellenistic statesmen, associated with the himation, is to be considered as an external identifier of the civic character of the person as opposed to the royal character of beardless persons: “Generally, as far as we can see, the external signs of being a court and royal person versus a city and non royal person seem to have been used in an exclusive way.”¹⁷

The most recent and interesting study for our purpose is by Sheila Dillon.¹⁸ The American scholar offers a general overview of the different categories of beards on sculptures and funerary monuments of the Classical period and arrives, following J. Bergemann, at the general conclusion that “[the] age categories were primarily defined visually by the length and style of the hair and beard, the shorter the hair and beard, the younger the subject, the longer the hair and beard, the older the subject.”¹⁹ The category that interests us more in the frame of this study is the short-cropped beard the author identifies on funerary monuments. Such a beard serves to mark adult males belonging in the age group that falls between young beardless and mature bearded men, specifically those leaving the gymnasium and about to enter the agora.²⁰ This type of beard is associated with military costume in four figures and this observation suggests the military character of the short-cropped beard. Such a conclusion is to be treated with caution, however, since not every military figure wears this type of beard.²¹

Different hypotheses have been advanced to explain the presence of beards on coin portraits and on the statues of kings and generals in the Hellenistic period. J. Six identified the beard as a trend of the end of the Republic.²² For W. Schick, the light beard is to be understood as an aspect of the *imitatio Alexandri*, representing Alexander’s eternal youth.²³ A. Linfert proposed that the beard was a sign of mourning, for the death of a loved one, for the condition of the state, for the loss of a

¹⁵ Very interesting in this regard is the article of S. SCHMIDT, “Fashion and Meaning. Beardless Portraits of Artists and Literati in the Early Hellenistic Period”, in P. SCHULTZ and R. VON DEN HOFF (eds.), *Early Hellenistic Portraiture. Image, Style, Context*, New York, 2007, p. 99-100 describing the famous case of the identification of the portrait of Menander.

¹⁶ ZANKER, *o.c.* (n. 9), p. 110-111.

¹⁷ R.R.R. SMITH, “Kings and Philosophers”, in A. BULLOCH *et al.* (eds.), *Images and Ideologies. Self-definition in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1994, p. 207 and 211.

¹⁸ S. DILLON, *Ancient Greek Sculpture. Contexts, Subjects, and Styles*, Cambridge, 2006.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 67.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 70, n. 72.

²² J. SIX, “Ikonographisches Studien”, *MDAI(R)* 13 (1898), p. 60-78, especially p. 77-78.

²³ W. SCHICK, *NJA* 33 (1914), p. 22 [cited from Fr. QUEYREL, *Les portraits des Attalides*, Athens/Paris, 2003, p. 204, n. 44].

battle, or for a personal misfortune such as indictment or condemnation.²⁴ He gave particular attention to the beard as the mark of a pretender who laid claim to the throne; it was an expression of mourning for supreme power ardently desired but not possessed.²⁵ Linfert argued this case persuasively for one Seleucid, Antiochus IX.²⁶

But he blundered when he tentatively associated the beard of Seleucus II with a supposed Persian captivity: “Möglichkeit hat angesichts der langen persischen Gefangenschaft Seleukos II sehr viel Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich, dies um so mehr, als Demetrios II... einen Bart gleicher Art trägt. Demetrios II hatte aber, wie Seleukos II, längere parthische Gefangenschaft zu erleiden.”²⁷ N. Himmelmann considered the beard as the external and obvious sign of the heroic character of the depicted person.²⁸ As a second explanation he endorsed one of Linfert’s interpretations – namely, that the beard attests the mourning condition of a person who lost

a dear relative – but concluded that this explanation is applicable only to long, neglected beards and not to short, light beards like that of the “Terme Ruler” (fig. 1).²⁹ Fr. Queyrel criticized Linfert’s interpretation, which he qualified as *pure pétition de principe*.³⁰ The French scholar proposed, on the contrary, to identify the beard as the sign of a general on campaign.³¹ In the “Terme Ruler” he saw a victorious general after his military campaign. The hypothesis is attractive, but the demonstration fails because it confuses the significance of a neglected beard and that of a neat, well-groomed beard.³² Queyrel further weakened his case by offering an alternative approach, reading the beard as a sign of closeness with the philosophers in order to facilitate the identification of the “Terme Ruler” as Attalus II,

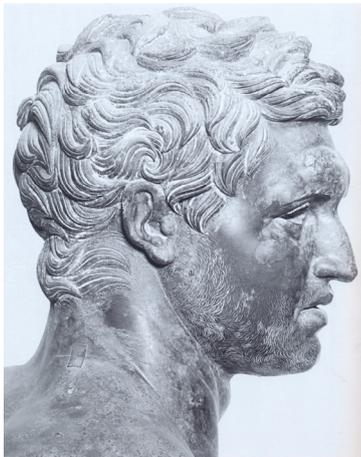


Fig. 1

²⁴ A. LINFERT, “Bärtige Herrscher”, *JDAI* 91 (1976), p. 158.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 159.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 159.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 160.

²⁸ N. HIMMELMANN, *Herrscher und Athlet. Die Bronzen vom Quirinal. Exposition Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, June 20th-September 5th 1989*, Milan, 1989, p. 181. Two categories of beard are identified: the long, curly sidelocks which are interpreted as signs of an assimilation to the young Heracles and the long, full beard which is associated with older heroes.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 127-128.

³⁰ FR. QUEYREL, “Portraits princiers hellénistiques : chronique bibliographique”, *RA* 1990, p. 104, no. 27.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 206.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 206.

disciple of the philosopher Carneades.³³ A. Herrmann identified the beard as a sign of a Heracleian endurance as opposed to a Dionysiac *tryphé*.³⁴

Our inquiry involves a particular class of beards found on Seleucid coins – beards that suddenly appear on the face of a king who is normally portrayed clean shaven, and in most cases disappear with equal abruptness.³⁵ These beards do not lend themselves to a classification according to neatness or neglect. They assume varying forms, sometimes close cropped, sometimes curly, sometimes long and full, and with some kings we can trace the growth of the beard from one form to another. In *Seleucid Coins*, Part II,³⁶ such beards are called campaign beards and are explained, hypothetically, as the outward token of a vow to a god or gods to ensure the success of a particular military campaign. Queyrel approximated this idea when he identified the beard as the mark of a military commander on campaign. The full exposition of our hypothesis will reveal that Linfert captured another aspect when he interpreted the beard as a sign of mourning. But for us it is the assumed vow that can explain every instance of a temporary Seleucid beard.

The structure of a prayer (*euche* in Greek; *votum*, *devotio* in Latin) in the Classical world is rigid and tripartite: a. The first step concerns the invocation of the deity or deities; b. In the second stage, the suppliant presents a narrative argument justifying the petition; c. At the end, the request itself is presented.³⁷ Vows are conditional: if you grant me X, I will bring the following offering. The *euche* referred to in the inscriptions should usually be regarded as a prayer of supplication combined with a vow whose redemption is conditionally connected with the answering of the prayer.³⁸

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 206. For an alternative identification of the “Terme Ruler” as a portrait of Demetrios I, with an extended analysis of the technical characteristics, not cited in Queyrel’s bibliography, see P.P. IOSSIF, “« Antiochos III » du Louvre et le « Souverain des Thermes »: quelques réflexions sur le portrait royal hellénistique et tardo-républicain”, *NAC* 31 (2002), p. 205-237.

³⁴ A. HERRMANN, “A Hellenistic Portrait Head”, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 21 (1993), p. 39.

³⁵ Our arrangement of the portraits follows A. HOUGHTON and C. LORBER, *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue. Part I: Seleucus I through Antiochus III*, Lancaster/New York, 2002 [hereafter *SC* Part I] and A. HOUGHTON, C. LORBER and O. HOOVER, *Seleucid Coins. A Comprehensive Catalogue. Part II: Seleucus IV through Antiochus XIII*, Lancaster/New York, 2008 [hereafter *SC* Part II]. The arrangement of the numismatic material in *SC* depends on objective evidence to the degree that it is available, and our paper cites the evidence pertaining specifically to bearded portraits. In some cases, where evidence was lacking, the authors of *SC* relied on the assumption of the campaign beard as an organizing principle.

³⁶ See previous note.

³⁷ For the structure of the prayer in the Classical world, see L.J. ALDERINK and L.H. MARTIN, “Prayer in Greco-Roman Religions”, in M. KILEY (ed.), *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine. A Critical Anthology*, London/New York, 1997, p. 123-127. See also S. PULLEYN, *Prayer in Greek Religion*, Oxford, 1997, p. 59-64 for *euche* from an etymological point of view.

³⁸ For a rather exhaustive catalogue of inscriptions referring to the *euchai*, see F.T. VAN STRATEN, “Gifts for the Gods”, in H.S. VERSNEL (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, Leiden, 1981, p. 65-151.

The dedication and/or sacrifice are therefore a gift brought to the god in recognition that the god has done what he or she was asked to do. Many early verse dedications request that the god continue to show favour in gratitude for the present dedication; in that event, further dedications may follow, and this cycle of χάρις will continue *ad infinitum*. This process implies the notion of bargaining, of commercial transaction, between man and god.³⁹ We see from numerous inscriptions that votive offerings, just like sacrifices, were often presented to redeem a *vow* previously made in a prayer.⁴⁰ The best way this notion is expressed can be seen through the frequent use of the Latin term *ex voto*, which came to be used as a noun meaning “votive offering.” The answering of a prayer by the deity is often implied or stated in detail in votive inscriptions. The offering and/or sacrifice could also be used as a reminder to the god that the vow had been redeemed. An excellent example comes from an epigram by Callimachus: “Know that you have received the debt, Asklepios, which Akeson owed you because of his prayer for his wife Demodike; were you to forget it and claim it a second time, the votive tablet will serve as evidence.”⁴¹

The same Callimachus provides another example of a prayer/vow from the Ptolemaic royal family: When Ptolemy III was about to depart for the Laodicean War, his wife Berenice prayed for his safe return, promising to dedicate a lock of her hair in the temple of Arsinoe Aphrodite if her prayer was granted.⁴² The lock was duly dedicated but mysteriously disappeared, only to be discovered among the stars by the court astronomer Conon. The queen’s *ex voto* was also commemorated in official art.⁴³ A seal impression from the Aetolian archive at Kallipolis shows the queen unveiled, *with short hair*, wearing a broad headband and ears of grain.⁴⁴ The grain ears reflect her assimilation to Demeter and Isis, while the broad band is apparently an attribute of Isis.⁴⁵ Berenice’s *ex voto* has often been compared to the dedication of

³⁹ This sense of bargaining, clearly exemplified in the prayers of Cato, is expressed in the Roman distinction between *votum*, “vow” or promise by the suppliant to recognize the deity in an appropriate manner upon compliance with the suppliant’s request, and *devotio*, a recompense by the suppliant *in advance* of the deity’s response.

⁴⁰ For the notion of *gift to the god*, see VAN STRATEN, *l.c.* (n. 38).

⁴¹ CALLIMACHUS *Anth. Pal.* VI, 147.

⁴² CALLIMACHUS *Aitia* IV, 110; R. PFEIFFER, ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΠΛΟΚΑΜΟΣ, in A.D. SKIADAS (ed.), *Kallimachos*, Darmstadt, 1975, p. 100-142; G. NACHTERGAEL, “Bérénice II, Arsinoé III et l’offrande de la boucle”, *CE* 55 (1980), p. 240-253. The poet DEMAGETOS, *Anth. Pal.* VI, 227, alludes to the dedication of a lock by (the future) Arsinoe III to the goddess Artemis. NACHTERGAEL, p. 240, dates this dedication shortly before the battle of Raphia. If the dedication was associated with a vow, most likely the vow was made before the battle and the dedication followed its successful outcome.

⁴³ The dedication of the lock of Berenice is not the only personal royal gesture to receive a quasi official character. This was a common practice in the Hellenistic period. We can cite an example from the Seleucid kingdom: after being informed that his brother, his *frère-ennemi*, Antiochus Hierax was still alive, Seleucus II ordered celebrations in all the cities of the kingdom; see PLUTARCH, *Regum et Imperatorum apophthegmata*, 172b-208a. We thank John Ma for drawing this example to our attention.

⁴⁴ P.A. PANTOS, “Bérénice II Démèter”, *BCH* 111 (1987), p. 343-352.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 347.

Isis, who offered a lock of her hair at the sanctuary of Coptos.⁴⁶ But G. Nachtergaele argued for a strict distinction between the queen's offering in connection with a vow, in conformity with Greek tradition, and the goddess' sacrifice, a gesture of mourning common to many ancient cultures.⁴⁷

It is clear that a prayer/vow led in many cases to a votive offering.⁴⁸ Personal relation to the god was not the unique privilege of the kings; dangers were the common ground for all mortals, from kings to simple people. The dedication by Queen Berenice finds many exact counterparts in the large group of inscriptions referring to seafarers who ran into danger at sea.⁴⁹ When they had survived a shipwreck or the threat of a shipwreck, they dedicated their clothes or their *hair* to the gods of the sea.⁵⁰ The process is thus well established in both royal and private transaction with the gods: the suppliant – royal or private individual – offers apparel or a not too indispensable part of his body in exchange for physical safety.⁵¹ The hair is obviously a *not too indispensable* part of the body and answers in both the royal and private fields, sacrificed by Berenice for the safety of Ptolemy III and by seafarers who survived a shipwreck.⁵²

The problem of the temporary beard is somewhat different and can be illuminated by several examples from the Greek and Roman world. In his description of the events opposing the Pedaseans to Harpagus, Herodotus refers to an interesting case of the priestess of Athena: “There were Pedaseans dwelling inland above Halicarnassus; when any misfortune was approaching them or their neighbors, the priestess of Athena grew a long beard. This had happened to them thrice. These were the only men near Caria who held out for long against Harpagus, and they gave him the most trouble; they fortified a hill called Lide.”⁵³ What we can observe here is: the miraculous character of such a growing (a priestess wearing a beard); the temporary character of the event (deduced from the fact that this happened three times); the association of the beard growing with a divinity (Athena); and the timing of this growing (at moments of approaching misfortunes). Such a schema is quite interesting and corresponds to the model of prayers seen in previous paragraphs.

A second example comes from a Biblical source: Mephibosheth, son of Saul, when he went to meet the king, had neither dressed his feet, nor trimmed his beard... from the day the king departed until the day he came home in peace.⁵⁴ The case is not

⁴⁶ G. NACHTERGAEL, “La chevelure d’Isis”, *AC* 50 (1981), p. 585, n. 3; PANTOS, *l.c.* (n. 44), p. 350-352.

⁴⁷ NACHTERGAEL, *l.c.* (n. 42); ID., *l.c.* (n. 46), p. 584-606.

⁴⁸ This was also duly acknowledged by PLATO, *Leg.*, 909-910.

⁴⁹ In the typology created by VAN STRATEN, *l.c.* (n. 38), p. 96-97, these inscriptions belong to the category of *disaster* and *dangers*.

⁵⁰ *Anth. Pal.* VI, 164, 245.

⁵¹ VAN STRATEN, *l.c.* (n. 38), p. 97.

⁵² There is also a late inscription from Heliopolis-Baalbek dating to 370/1 A.D. which refers to the offering of beards (πώγων[ας]) to the goddess Aphrodite (*JGLSyr* VI, 2733).

⁵³ HERODOTUS, I, 175.

⁵⁴ 2 *Samuel* 19.24.

conclusive: there is no precision if Mephibosheth took a vow for a safe return of the king, but the context of a military expedition and of a safe return (*reversionis eius in pace*) indicate that such could be the case.

The rest of the examples come from the Roman world. Julius Caesar didn't shave his beard after hearing of the defeat of his troops commanded by Titurius. He shaved this temporary beard and cut his hair off only after avenging their deaths.⁵⁵ After Caesar's murder, Mark Antony and Octavian both grew beards (fig. 2). They were depicted bearded on the coinage they struck up until the battle of Philippi, when they exacted their revenge on Caesar's assassins.⁵⁶ After that their coins again showed them clean shaven. Plutarch somewhat confused the motive by reporting that Antony grew a beard in order to liken himself to Heracles and present a commanding appearance.⁵⁷ Elsewhere, Plutarch represented Antony as allowing his beard to grow very long after the severe defeat at Mutina.⁵⁸ However, the earliest of the coins showing Antony's bearded portrait depict the late Julius Caesar on the reverse, a clue that Antony's beard is to be associated with the memory of the slain dictator.⁵⁹

The most significant connection between the growing of a temporary beard and a vow to the gods associated with a military operation took place under the reign of Augustus: the destruction of Varus' three legions in Germania threatened the security of the Roman state; Augustus took different measures in order to prevent any public disturbance and "he made a vow to celebrate the great games in honor of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, if he would be pleased to restore the state to more prosperous circumstances."⁶⁰ Later in the same text, we are informed that the emperor was in such consternation that "he let the hair of his head and beard grow for several months." The sequence of the events is as follows: disaster → vow to Jupiter → growing of the beard → restoration of the previous state.⁶¹

While we have no literary testimony to aid our interpretation of Seleucid beards, we believe that the pattern of their occurrence is best explained by the hypothesis that they were the outward signs of vows undertaken to ensure the success of particular military campaigns. Because the vows were voluntary, we do not find bearded portraits associated with every Seleucid military campaign. But the practice seems to have been something of a Seleucid tradition – we find no clear evidence for it on the

⁵⁵ Suetonius, *Jul.*, 67.

⁵⁶ D.R. Seear, *The History and Coinage of the Roman Emperors 49-27 B.C.*, London, 1998, no. 118, 123-125, 127-128, 131-137. The corresponding numbers in the catalogue of Crawford, *o.c.* (n. 8) are: no. 488/1-2, 490/1-4, 492/1-2, 493/1, 496/1-2, 497/1-2d.

⁵⁷ Plutarch, *Antonius*, 4, 1-2. For Plutarch, this was a trademark of his family, whose origins are to be traced back to Anteon, son of Heracles.

⁵⁸ Plutarch, *Antonius*, 18.

⁵⁹ Seear, *o.c.* (n. 56), no. 118, 123.

⁶⁰ Suetonius, *Aug.*, 23.

⁶¹ Some other sources referring to the growing of a temporary beard during the lapse of time between the "disaster" and the "vengeance" can be mentioned: Cicero, *in Verr.*, 25, 62; Livy, XXVII, 34.

coinage of any other Hellenistic kingdom – and it became more and more frequent as the once-great dynasty stumbled to its end.

The first bearded portraits to appear on Seleucid coinage belong to the reign of Seleucus II (246-225 B.C.), who was called *Pogon* by Polybius, and who led an initially successful expedition against the Parthians in the latter part of his reign, until troubles in his rear forced him to abandon his campaign.⁶² Most of these coin types were recorded by E.T. Newell in his two great catalogues of early Seleucid coinage.⁶³ Apparently the earliest were tetradrachms, drachms, and bronzes struck at Nisibis, showing the king with a short, curly beard (fig. 3).⁶⁴ Newell suggested that Nisibis might have served during Seleucus' Parthian campaign as a depot to support his advance position at Ecbatana.⁶⁵ The next developments can be observed at Susa. Seleucus is first depicted with a short, curly beard on tetradrachms (fig. 4) and control-linked bronzes, and ultimately with a somewhat longer, pointed beard on later bronze emissions (fig. 5).⁶⁶ This is the most extensive coinage of Seleucus' Parthian campaign, possibly indicating a somewhat prolonged stay in Susa. A still later stage of the campaign is reflected on bronzes of Ecbatana showing the king with a full, pointed beard (fig. 6).⁶⁷ Newell observed that the reverse type of these Ecbatana bronzes – a bow in bowcase and a quiver – depicted the characteristic weapons of the Parthians, and he proposed that the coins represented a victory issue that portrayed the king as he appeared during his successful campaign.⁶⁸ A seal impression from Seleucia on the Tigris (Se. 10:S6-10023) (fig. 7) features a draped portrait of Seleucus II with a pointed beard comparable to that seen on the bronzes of Ecbatana.⁶⁹ It appears to fill a gap in the numismatic evidence and to establish that Seleucus visited his eastern capital in the course of the campaign, either after his stay in Susa on his way to Ecbatana, or after his visit to Ecbatana. The invasion of Seleucus' brother, Antiochus Hierax, obliged the king to cut short his Parthian cam-

⁶² POLYBIUS, II, 71, 4; JUSTIN, 41, 4, 9 – 5.1, 28.1.2-3; STRABO, XI, 8, 8; POLYAENUS, 4, 17; EUSEBIUS, *Chron.* I, 40, 5; JOSEPHUS, *CA* I, 206.

⁶³ E.T. NEWELL, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*, Numismatic Studies 1, New York, 1938 [hereafter *ESM*], and ID., *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*, Numismatic Studies 4, New York, 1941 [hereafter *WSM*].

⁶⁴ *SC* Part I, no. 749-750; *WSM*, no. 818-823. *SC* Part I, no. 759; *WSM*, no. 825 for the bronze. The drachms have come to light only since the publication of *SC* Part I, see *SC* Part II, Addenda to Part I, Ad181.

⁶⁵ *WSM*, no. 64.

⁶⁶ Short, curly beard: *SC* Part I, no. 788, 795-796, *ESM*, no. 370, 372. Pointed beard: *SC* Part I, no. 797-798, Suse no. 20-21. *SC* Part I, no. 799 depicts the king with a beard or long sideburn. Because of the poor state of preservation of this coin, the case is not considered in the framework of this study.

⁶⁷ *SC* Part I, no. 822-824; *ESM*, no. 563-565.

⁶⁸ *ESM*, p. 202.

⁶⁹ A. INVERNIZZI (dir.), *Seleucia al Tigri. Le impronte di sigillo dagli Archivi. I. Sigilli ufficiali, ritratti*, Alexandria, 2004, p. 40, pl. 16. The seal impression is associated with a stamp of 99 S.E. (= 214/213 B.C.).

paign and return to the west. There he was depicted as on the Seleucia seal, draped and with a long, pointed beard, on bronzes of the ΔΕΛ Mint (fig. 8), which Newell identified as Apamea but which G. Le Rider has characterized as a mint associated with Antioch, and on tetradrachms and drachms of a mint ostensibly located in Cilicia (fig. 9).⁷⁰

This somewhat puzzling picture has been clarified by the appearance of a new tetradrachm from the supposedly Cilician mint, showing Seleucus II with a short, stubby beard, clearly in the earliest stages of its growth (fig. 10).⁷¹ It is illogical to assume that Seleucus used Cilicia as the base in which to muster the army for his eastern campaign. The new tetradrachm came to light in a large hoard from the Upper Euphrates region that closed early in the reign of Seleucus III. These two considerations argue that the mint in question was located in eastern Syria or in Mesopotamia somewhere west of Nisibis. And it was to this same mint city that Seleucus returned with his full beard to confront Antiochus Hierax. The new discovery corrects our interpretation of the numismatic record so that it now conforms with the account of Polyaeus, who informs us that Hierax invaded Mesopotamia and Babylonia.⁷² As for the mint subsidiary to Antioch, the heavy representation of its silver issues in the Upper Euphrates hoard inspires the suspicion that its coinage was specifically military in purpose and perhaps even produced by a mobile mint.

Antiochus Hierax (c. 242-227 B.C.) also appears bearded on a very few of his coins. Interestingly, they do not seem to arise from the context of the War of the Brothers, but begin in the course of his expulsion from Asia Minor by Attalus I.⁷³ He is portrayed first (fig. 11) with a very long, curly sideburn, then with a curly fringe of beard under his jaw (fig. 12) on tetradrachms that O. Mørholm assigned to Sardes, but which are given to a Phrygian mint in *SC*.⁷⁴ Hierax struck his final tetradrachms at the east Syrian or west Mesopotamian mint where Seleucus launched his eastern campaign, some time after Seleucus had departed and the mint had become inactive. On these coins Hierax wears a short, curly beard representing the next stage in its growth (fig. 13).⁷⁵ The visual evidence suggests that Hierax's beard is to be connected with his attempt to establish himself in the heartland of the Seleucid kingdom. After Hierax was expelled from his east Syrian or west Mesopotamian mint city, the same mint coined once again for Seleucus II, now showing him with his fully grown beard.

A close-cropped beard has been detected on a few tetradrachms of Demetrius I (162-150 B.C.) from Tarsus and Antioch.⁷⁶ These are early issues, showing Demetrius

⁷⁰ Bronzes: *SC* Part I, no. 711-712; *WSM* no. 1167-1168. Silver: *SC* Part I, no. 685-686; *WSM*, no. 1321-1322.

⁷¹ *SC* Part II, Addenda to Part 1, Ad161.

⁷² POLYAENUS, 4, 17.

⁷³ *OGIS* 269, 271, 275, 278, 279, 280.

⁷⁴ O. MØRKHOLM, "Some Seleucid coins from the mint of Sardes", *MNA* (1969), p. 8, figs. 1-2 and 4, 9, figs. 7-9; *SC* Part I, 902-903.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 6, figs. 10-12; *SC* Part I, no. 914.

⁷⁶ *SC* Part II, no. 1614, 1636-1637.



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



with lean, youthful features. They are, in fact, the first Demetrian tetradrachms of Tarsus (fig. 14), though at Antioch (fig. 15) they were preceded by a short sequence in which the reverse type evolved, first showing Tyche seated on a cippus, next on a throne with lion's leg support, and finally on the familiar throne with Tritoness support. During the brief episode of the bearded portrait at Antioch, the depiction of Tyche also changed from seminude to fully clothed. Interestingly, one early portrait die was altered by the addition of the beard, and a bit later the beard was erased from several other dies so that they could remain in use after the bearded portrait was countermanded. The authors of *SC* hypothesize that this short-lived portrait type reflects a beard grown by Demetrius for his campaign to suppress the revolt of Timarchus in Media.⁷⁷

The Parthians, under Mithradates I, overran Media around 148 and occupied Babylonia and Susiana in 141.⁷⁸ Demetrius II (145-138 B.C.) grew a beard in the course of his campaign to recover these territories.⁷⁹ The development of his beard can be traced on the bronze coinage of Nisibis, which according to W. Moore probably served as his campaign headquarters.⁸⁰ The earliest issue shows the king clean shaven (fig. 16).⁸¹ Subsequent issues show him with the beginnings of a beard, (fig. 17) then with a short beard (fig. 18).⁸² With these bronzes Moore associated tetradrachms with the Apollo on omphalos reverse type, which also bear a portrait of Demetrius II wearing a short beard (fig. 19).⁸³ However P. Strauss, cataloguing five examples in the Susiana hoard of 1965 (*IGCH* 1806), proposed Seleucia on the Tigris as their mint.⁸⁴ The affinities of style and epigraphy cited by Strauss are persuasive, despite discrepancies in the king's titulature. (The tetradrachms with the bearded

⁷⁷ APPIAN, *Syriaca*, 45, 47; DIODORUS, XXXI, 27a.

⁷⁸ T.G. PINCHES and J.N. STRASSMEIER, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts*, Providence, 1955, p. 418; J. OELSNER, "Randbemerkungen zur arsakidischen Geschichte anhand von babylonischen Keiltextinschriften", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 3 (1975), p. 27-30; R.J. VAN DER SPEK, "New evidence from the Babylonian Astronomical Diaries concerning Seleucid and Arsacid history", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 44-45 (1997-1998), p. 171.

⁷⁹ I *Macc.* 41.1-3; JOSEPHUS, *Antiquitates Judaicae* XIII, 184-186; APPIAN, *Syriaca*, 67; DIODORUS, XXXIII, 28; EUSEBIUS, *Chron.* I, 255 (= PORPHYRY *FGrHist* II 260 F 32, 16); JUSTIN, 36, 1, 4-5.

⁸⁰ W. MOORE, "The divine couple of Demetrius II, Nicator, and his coinage at Nisibis", *ANSMN* 31 (1986), p. 124-141.

⁸¹ *SC* Part II, no. 1978; MOORE, *l.c.* (n. 80), p. 127, 1-2; E. BABELON, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Les rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène*, Paris, 1890, p. 940 [hereafter BABELON].

⁸² Beginnings of beard: *SC* Part II, no. 1979; MOORE, *l.c.* (n. 80), p. 127, 3-7; A. HOUGHTON, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton*, New York, 1989 (*ACNAC*, 4), no. 1019 [hereafter *CSE*]; BABELON, p. 939, 941. Short beard: *SC* Part II, no. 1980; MOORE, *l.c.* (n. 80), p. 127-128, 8-29; *CSE*, no. 1016-1018; A. HOUGHTON and A. SPAER, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Israel*, vol. 1. *The Arnold Spaer Collection of Seleucid Coins*, Jerusalem, 1998, no. 1750-1751 [hereafter *SNG Spaer*].

⁸³ MOORE, *l.c.* (n. 80), p. 141; *CSE*, no. 1014-1015; BABELON, p. 949.

⁸⁴ P. STRAUSS, "Un trésor de monnaies hellénistiques trouvé près de Suse", *RN* s. 6, 13 (1971), p. 119.

portrait name Demetrius as Theos Nicator, whereas Seleucian silver coins produced before the Arsacid conquest give his epithets as Philadelphus Nicator⁸⁵). The bearded tetradrachms must have been struck after Demetrius recovered his eastern capital, falling between issues of coinage for Mithradates I dated S.E. 173 and 174 (140/39 and 139/8).⁸⁶ Although the coinage suggests only a brief reoccupation of Seleucia, the excavations at that city have yielded three seal types in 17 impressions that portray Demetrius draped, sometimes wearing the kausia, with the full beard normally associated with his second reign (fig. 20).⁸⁷ Since he did not control Seleucia after his release from his Parthian captivity, the seals must reflect further growth of the beard after his recovery of the city. In addition to suggesting a longer sojourn at Seleucia, the seal impressions also tell us that the recovery of Seleucia was not enough to fulfil Demetrius' vow. Probably he had vowed to expel the Parthians entirely from Seleucid territory.

Antiochus IX Cyzicenus (114/3-95 B.C.) challenged his half-brother, Antiochus VIII Grypus, for control of the Seleucid kingdom.⁸⁸ In his initial campaign Cyzicenus swept through Cilicia from west to east on his way to Antioch. His earliest issue of tetradrachms, struck at Seleucia on the Calycadnus, presents him as a beardless youth (fig. 21).⁸⁹ The next two emissions, attributed to uncertain mints in western Cilicia (fig. 22), show a long, curly sideburn approximating a light beard.⁹⁰ At Tarsus the invader initially struck tetradrachms (fig. 23) with a youthful, idealized portrait and a short, curly beard, later depicted on drachms and bronzes of the same mint.⁹¹ These gave way to a more mature portrait, still with a short, curly beard. This remained the regular portrait type of Antiochus Cyzicenus throughout the years of his civil war with Antiochus Grypus, though the Phoenician mints generally tended to substitute long sideburns for the beard, and Cyzicenus was depicted beardless on the eagle tetradrachms of Ptolemais (Ake) and Ascalon. A dated tetradrachm issue of Tripolis confirms that Cyzicenus still wore his beard in 105/4 B.C. (fig. 24).⁹² Only at the end of his reign, after the assassination of Antiochus Grypus, did Cyzicenus take permanent possession of Antioch, and only then did he allow himself to be portrayed beardless, with bloated features that betray the passage of years. The pattern suggests that his beard is to be associated with his struggle to displace his half-brother.

⁸⁵ SC Part II, no. 1983-1991.

⁸⁶ SC Part II, no. 1992.

⁸⁷ INVERNIZZI (dir.), *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 44-45, no. Se 47-49, 18.

⁸⁸ JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* XIII, 270-272; APPIAN, *Syriaca*, 69.

⁸⁹ SC Part II, no. 2345; A. HOUGHTON, "The Royal Seleucid Mint of Seleucia on the Calycadnus", in G. LE RIDER *et al.* (eds.), *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays: Numismatic Studies in Memory of C.M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1989, p. 27.

⁹⁰ SC Part II, no. 2346-2347; A. HOUGHTON, "The reigns of Antiochus VIII and Antiochus IX at Antioch and Tarsus", *SNR* 72 (1993), p. 101, Series II, Group I, A1-P1, pl. 2, 19, and Series VI, pl. 3, 29.

⁹¹ SC Part II, no. 2348-2350; CSE, no. 493-495 (tetradrachms); SC Part II, no. 2351; SNG, *Spaer* no. 2724 (drachms); SC Part II, no. 2352-2354; CSE, no. 498-499 and 501-502 (bronzes).

⁹² SC Part II, no. 2383; CSE, no. 693.



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22





Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



The sons of Antiochus VIII sought to avenge their father. The eldest, Seleucus VI (c. 96-c. 94 B.C.), started from a base at Seleucia on the Calycadnus and then moved swiftly through Cilicia toward Syria to dethrone his uncle Antiochus IX.⁹³ His Seleucian tetradrachms consistently show him clean shaven. But he is portrayed with a short, curly beard on bronzes presumably struck after his arrival in Syria (fig. 25).⁹⁴ His coinage at Antioch involves three portrait types – one with a short curly beard; (fig. 26)⁹⁵ one beardless, with a hornlike lock of hair above the ear; and one beardless, with a short, stubby horn above the temple, almost hidden among a riot of curls. There is no objective evidence to establish the order in which these portrait types were employed. Relying on the hypothesis of campaign beards, the authors of *SC* assumed that the bearded portrait came first, and that subsequent beardless portraits reflected a ceremonious removal of the beard symbolizing Seleucus' secure possession of Antioch and the Seleucid kingdom that he counted as his birthright. This arrangement is supported by a unique tetradrachm from a Cilician mint, dated S.E. 218, that is, 95/4 B.C. (fig. 27).⁹⁶ This is the only dated coin of Seleucus VI. Apparently it was struck when he took refuge in Cilicia after being expelled from Antioch by his cousin Antiochus X.⁹⁷ It shows Seleucus clean shaven, implying that he did not grow his beard in the context of his conflict with Antiochus X.

The only son of Antiochus IX, Antiochus X proclaimed himself king at Aradus, seeking to avenge the death of his father and to assert his own rights as heir to the Seleucid kingdom.⁹⁸ Despite a reign that was probably longer than postulated by Newell and Bellinger,⁹⁹ we can identify only a few coin issues of Antiochus X. Arguably the earliest is a bronze issue of an uncertain mint in northern Syria, showing the king with a fringe of curly beard and the caps of the Dioscuri on the reverse (fig. 28).¹⁰⁰ Similar bronzes, of different style, as well as bronzes with an advancing Nike on the reverse, were struck at Antioch after Antiochus took possession of the Syrian capital (fig. 29).¹⁰¹ Oddly, the control-linked tetradrachms bear a royal portrait with long sideburns instead of a beard. As in the case of Seleucus VI, there are other

⁹³ JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* XIII, 366; EUSEBIUS, *Chron.* I, 259 (= PORPHYRY, 260 F 32, 26).

⁹⁴ *SC* Part II, no. 2409-2412.

⁹⁵ *SC* Part II, no. 2413; *CSE*, no. 373-374 (tetradrachms). *SC* Part II, no. 2416-2417; *CSE*, no. 375 and *SNG Spaer*, no. 2776 (drachm); *SC* Part II, no. 2419-2420; *CSE*, no. 376 and *SNG Spaer*, no. 2777 (hemidrachms); *SC* Part II, no. 2422; *CSE*, no. 377 (silver diobols); *SC* Part II, no. 2424; *CSE*, no. 378 (bronze).

⁹⁶ *SC* Part II, no. 2408.

⁹⁷ JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* XIII, 367-368; EUSEBIUS, *Chron.* I, 259 (= PORPHYRY, 260 F 32, 26).

⁹⁸ JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* XIII, 367.

⁹⁹ E.T. NEWELL, "The Seleucid mint of Antioch," *AJN* 51 (1917-1918), p. 113; A.R. BELLINGER, "The end of the Seleucids," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 38 (June, 1949), p. 75; O. HOOVER, "A revised chronology for the late Seleucids at Antioch," *Historia* 55 (2007), p. 280-301.

¹⁰⁰ *SC* Part II, no. 2427; *CSE*, no. 386.

¹⁰¹ *SC* Part II, no. 2432; *CSE*, no. 385 (Dioscuri). *SC* Part II, no. 2433; *CSE* 2, no. 794-795 (Nike).

tetradrachms and silver fractions with clean shaven portraits that are assumed to represent the later coinage of Antiochus X in the serene possession of his kingdom.

After Seleucus VI was lynched by a mob at Mopsus, two of his brothers appeared in Cilicia to proclaim themselves joint kings and to exact vengeance.¹⁰² Their Cilician tetradrachms, probably struck mainly at Tarsus, feature double portraits that document the growth of campaign beards. Antiochus XI first wears a long sideburn (fig. 30), then sports a fringe of curly beard (fig. 31), while Philip remains beardless.¹⁰³ Finally both brothers have the same fringe of curly beard (fig. 32).¹⁰⁴

Although Porphyry states that both Antiochus XI and Philip made an assault on their cousin at Antioch, the numismatic evidence supports the account of Josephus, who mentions only Antiochus XI.¹⁰⁵ Apart from the joint issues in Cilicia, the only coinage of Antiochus XI was struck during a brief sojourn at Antioch, not attested in the literary record. As in the case of his predecessor, the tetradrachms show Antiochus XI with a long sideburn whereas the corresponding bronzes show him bearded (fig. 33).¹⁰⁶ There are also tetradrachms and bronzes with a beardless portrait, which are assumed to represent a later phase after he shaved the campaign beard.¹⁰⁷ His brother Philip, who stayed behind in Cilicia, must have shared at least symbolically in the victory, for the Cilician coinage struck in his sole name bears a beardless portrait.¹⁰⁸

Antiochus XI was soon ejected from Antioch, but Antiochus X eventually faced a challenge from another of his cousins. Demetrius III, one of the five sons of Antiochus VIII, had been installed at Damascus by Ptolemy IX in 96 B.C., immediately after the death of his father.¹⁰⁹ On his Damascene coinage he was always depicted bearded, at first (fig. 34) with just a fringe of curly beard along his jawline, but beginning in 94/3 B.C. with a thick, curly beard (fig. 35).¹¹⁰ Although we might suspect that this beard reflects a fashion or cultural value at Damascus, the coin portraits of his youngest brother and successor, Antiochus XII, do not support this assumption. Arguably, then, Demetrius' beard expressed his solidarity with the efforts of his brothers to dethrone Antiochus X. After Antiochus X perished in battle against the Parthians, Demetrius occupied Antioch and Cilicia (probably in 88/7 B.C.).¹¹¹ His

¹⁰² JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* XIII, 368; APPIAN, *Syriaca*, 69; EUSEBIUS, *Chron.* I, 259-261 (= PORPHYRY, 260 F 32, 26).

¹⁰³ *SC* Part II, no. 2435-2436; A. HOUGHTON, "The double portrait coins of Antiochus XI and Philip I. A Seleucid Mint at Beroea?," *SNR* 66 (1987), pl. 12, 1-3.

¹⁰⁴ *SC* Part II, no. 2437; HOUGHTON, *l.c.* (n. 103), pl. 12, 4-5.

¹⁰⁵ EUSEBIUS, *Chron.* I, 261 (= PORPHYRY, 260 F 32, 26-27); JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* XIII, 369.

¹⁰⁶ *SC* Part II, no. 2440 and 2442.

¹⁰⁷ *SC* Part II, no. 2441 and 2443.

¹⁰⁸ *SC* Part II, no. 2459-2460.

¹⁰⁹ JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* XIII, 370.

¹¹⁰ *SC* Part II, no. 2450, 2452-2455 (fringe of curly beard); *SC* Part II, no. 2451, 2456-2457 (short, curly beard).

¹¹¹ JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* XIII, 370-371, and see HOOVER, *l.c.* (n. 99). The occupation of Antioch and Cilicia by Demetrius III is not attested by literary sources, but only by his coinage.

Antiochene tetradrachms provide strong support for the hypothesis of campaign beards, for the first issue shows him with a short, curly beard, while the second issue, struck from the same obverse die, shows the beard partially erased (fig. 36).¹¹² Demetrius' Cilician tetradrachms, probably struck at Tarsus, bear his beardless portrait.¹¹³ Bronze coins of Seleucia Pieria have the same short curly beard that appears on Demetrius' Damascene and first Antiochene coinages, implying that these issues should be dated before the beard erasure at Antioch and before the issue of coinage for Demetrius in Cilicia (fig. 37).¹¹⁴

After his joint coinage with his brother Antiochus XI, Philip I was consistently portrayed clean shaven. But Antiochus XII, who replaced Demetrius III at Damascus in 87/6,¹¹⁵ was shown beardless for the first two years of his reign, then furnished with a short, curly beard in 85/4 and 84/3 (fig. 38). The tonsorial change may perhaps correlate with the brief occupation of Damascus by Philip I while Antiochus was absent on campaign against the Nabataean Arabs and the Hasmonaean kingdom.¹¹⁶ But this hypothesis does not work well, because Antiochus XII did not turn his army against his treacherous brother. Instead he continued his campaigns in the south until he was killed in battle against the Nabataeans.¹¹⁷ If the beard of Antiochus XII was indeed a campaign beard, and if he undertook vows in connection with warfare against the Jews and Nabataeans, it represents a unique throwback to the earlier practice of asking divine help in protecting the Seleucid kingdom from foreign enemies.

Our survey of Seleucid campaign beards reveals that for nearly two centuries such beards, and the vows they are assumed to reflect, were usually associated with attempts to recover territory that had been lost to foreign enemies or to a non-Seleucid usurper. The one exception was Antiochus Hierax, who apparently made vows in connection with an effort to seize the kingdom from a legitimate Seleucid and his own brother. Antiochus IX revived that theme. In the next generation the element of revenge was added, as the sons of Antiochus VIII and IX not only sought to claim the kingdom for themselves but also to exact vengeance for the death of a kinsman.

There are two further examples of bearded Seleucid kings that may perhaps be understood in light of the hypothesis of campaign beards. The usurper Achaëus (fig. 39) – a member of the royal house – is portrayed on his coins with a short, curly beard and a military cloak around his neck. In the absence of beardless portraits of Achaëus, we cannot determine whether the beard was a temporary affectation or a permanent attribute, as it apparently was for the Macedonian kings Philip V and Perseus. We can observe, however, that Achaëus was a military man and that he spent most of his reign campaigning. Since his precious metal coinage is attributable to

¹¹² *SC Part II*, no. 2445-2446.

¹¹³ *SC Part II*, no. 2444.

¹¹⁴ *SC Part II*, no. 2447; *CSE*, no. 414. The bronzes *SC Part II* no. 2448-2449 are probably from the same mint.

¹¹⁵ JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* XIII, 387. The date is established by the coinage of Damascus, which bears dates according to the Seleucid era.

¹¹⁶ JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* XIII, 387-389.

¹¹⁷ JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* XIII, 390-391.

Sardes, it may all belong to the final years of his reign and specifically to the context of defending his realm against the attack of Antiochus III.

The most famous Seleucid beard is of course that of Demetrius II in his second reign. As early as the eighteenth century it was interpreted as a reminiscence of his Parthian captivity, an adaptation to the style of the Parthian court.¹¹⁸ E. Babelon reasoned that Demetrius' appearance, while Parthian, could hardly have been intended to recall his humiliating captivity and must instead have implied his assimilation to some divinity.¹¹⁹ It might be countered that Demetrius' captivity was honorable rather than humiliating, since he was given a daughter of the Parthian king in marriage. P. Fr. Mittag has argued that Demetrius did not imitate a Parthian hairstyle at all, but rather that of a senior Greek god, presumably Zeus.¹²⁰ The complete survey in *SC*, however, shows that the earlier coins of Demetrius' second reign show him with a distinctly oriental coiffure that later assumed a Hellenic appearance.¹²¹ As we have already demonstrated, Demetrius had grown a full beard before he fell into Parthian hands. There is thus a chance that the beard of his second reign is his campaign beard, never shaved because he had not fulfilled his vow. In this case, the beard would have been a damaging symbol of failure – yet the alternative of impiety was perhaps even more unacceptable.

In this context it is interesting to note a dramatic change in Demetrius' coin types. During his first reign he issued tetradrachms and drachms with the Apollo on omphalos (fig. 40) reverse type, but in his second reign he abandoned this venerable dynastic emblem in favor of a different type, the enthroned Zeus Nicephorus, which had also been employed by several of his predecessors (fig. 41). Demetrius II was, in fact, the last Seleucid to depict the Seleucid Apollo on omphalos on his coinage.¹²² After his first reign this image never again appeared on a Seleucid coin of any metal. Could this be a clue that Demetrius and his successors turned away from this particular aspect of Apollo because the god had denied his prayers?

¹¹⁸ J. ECKHEL, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, Vienna 1792-1798, vol. 3, 230-231.

¹¹⁹ BABELON, p. CXLVI.

¹²⁰ P. FR. MITTAG, "Beim Barte des Demetrios: Überlegungen zur parthischen Gefangenschaft Demetrios' II.," *Klio* 84.2 (2002), p. 373-399, especially p. 389-398.

¹²¹ The case is especially clear at Damascus, where tetradrachms dated S.E. 183 (130/29 B.C.) show Demetrius with his hair combed smooth on the crown of his head and coiffed in tight, artificial curls around his face (*SC* Part II, 2179). Tetradrachms of S.E. 184 (129/8 B.C.) and all succeeding years show him with tousled locks on the crown of his head and around his face, in the Greek manner (*SC* Part II, no. 2180.1-10).

¹²² P.P. IOSSIF, "Quantifying Seleucid Religion through coins: is it possible to quantify *iconography* and *religion*?", in FR. DE CALLATAÏ and E. LO CASCIO (eds.), *Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman Times. International Numismatic Conference. Proceedings of the Third Academia Belgica-Franqui Foundation Conference, Roma 29th-30th September 2008*, Rome, 2009 (forthcoming).



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43



Fig. 44



It is important to stipulate that Apollo continued to be honored on Seleucid bronze coinage almost to the end of the dynasty.¹²³ His head adorned the obverse of bronze coins of Antiochus VII, Alexander II, and Antiochus IX.¹²⁴ He was depicted standing, holding an arrow and resting his hand on his grounded bow, on bronze coins of Demetrius II himself during his second reign, and on coins of Antiochus VII and Antiochus VIII.¹²⁵ Alexander II showed the god in his aspect as Citharoedus.¹²⁶ Antiochus XII used a variant of the personal type of Seleucus II, Apollo resting on a tripod, only holding a laurel branch instead of an arrow.¹²⁷ Still another type, Apollo resting on a column, was employed by Antiochus IX, Seleucus VI, and Antiochus XII.¹²⁸ Cleopatra Selene and her son Antiochus XIII may have developed a different representation in which Apollo holds a palm branch (the attribute is not clear). The god's oracular symbol, the tripod, was also very popular, appearing on the bronze coins of Antiochus VII, Demetrius II in his second reign, Alexander II, Antiochus VIII, Antiochus IX, Seleucus VI, Demetrius III, Antiochus XII, and Cleopatra Selene and Antiochus XIII.¹²⁹

In light of these patterns we venture to suggest that the iconographic type of Apollo seated on his omphalos, holding an arrow and resting his hand on his grounded bow, referred to a specific cult. Obviously it was a cult of special importance to the Seleucid dynasty. And apparently it was a cult deeply rooted in the Seleucid east, for the eastern mints, with the sometime exception of Seleucia, retained the Apollo on omphalos reverse type for their silver coins even under kings who chose personal types for their western tetradrachms.¹³⁰ Apparently Demetrius II offered his prayers to this particular aspect of Apollo, which was strongly associated with the eastern provinces. Thus it was only this form of Apollo who was blamed for the catastrophe of 138 and rejected by Demetrius and his successors. Nevertheless Apollo in all his forms seems to have suffered a sort of demotion. He was banished from the tetradrachms, replaced by Zeus Nicephorus or occasionally other divinities – Tyche

¹²³ Seleucid bronze types varied from mint to mint. This fact, and the existence of some specifically local types, argues for a degree of local influence in the choice of bronze coin types. We do not know if the types were selected by members of the royal administration or by local officials, although the former possibility seems more likely. In any case the decisions were surely constrained, either by formal guidelines or by a desire to conform to the preferences of the king. Thus we consider that the types of bronze coins reflect royal as well as local policy.

¹²⁴ SC Part II, no. 2020, 2241, 2247, 2379.

¹²⁵ SC Part II, no. 2098, 2183, 2301.

¹²⁶ SC Part II, no. 2240.

¹²⁷ SC Part II, no. 2477.

¹²⁸ SC Part II, no. 2374, 2424-2425, 2474.

¹²⁹ SC Part II, no. 2131, 2184, 2238, 2241, 2247, 2318-2319, 2354, 2409-2410, 2412, 2426, 2457, 2475, 2486.

¹³⁰ P.P. IOSSIF, "Apollo Toxotes on Seleucid Coins: A Numismatic Interpretation", in P.P. IOSSIF and A. CHANKOWSKI (eds.), *Royal Cult and Emperor Worship. Proceedings of the International Conference organised by the Belgian School at Athens, 1-2 November 2007*, *Studia Hellenistica*, Leuven (forthcoming).

under the young Antiochus Epiphanes, Zeus Uranius under Antiochus VIII, Athena Nicephorus under Antiochus IX, Atargatis under Demetrius III, Hadad under Antiochus XII. After the Parthian captivity of Demetrius II there is only one allusion to Apollo on Seleucid silver coinage, the tripod reverse of drachms of Antiochus VIII struck during his second and third reigns at Antioch.

It may be possible to identify the gods to whom other Seleucid kings offered their vows. The lack of literary evidence on this topic compels us to employ other methodologies. The first step in such an approach should ideally be an exhaustive catalogue of divinities mentioned in votive offerings related to Seleucid kings. This task goes far beyond the aims and limits of this study. The monumental work of Kl. Bringmann and H. von Steuben on the royal donations in Greek cities and sanctuaries,¹³¹ as well as the work of Haritini Kotsidu on the honors offered to the kings, present the almost exhaustive catalogues which could serve as bases for establishing a list of the deities to whom the Seleucid kings offered their vows. Another possible starting point for such an inquiry can be the recently published *ThesCRA*.¹³² Such a preliminary catalogue will provide us with a relatively extensive list of the gods and goddesses most frequently represented in the tripartite relationship: dedicator – king – god. It is indispensable to note that the focus of the above mentioned studies is not the same as the goal of this study and a list of deities-recipients of the offering is not established.

The next step in our methodological approach is a logical deduction: the Seleucids should have normally addressed their vows to their dynastic gods. Other clues may be found in the deities and divine attributes depicted on Seleucid coins in association with bearded portraits. Table 1 catalogues 94 different types of bearded Seleucid portraits from ten different reigns. Because the choice of coin types seems to have been subject to different influences, a simple quantitative approach may be misleading. We must bear in mind that a standard reverse type for tetradrachms and a related type for drachms were usually chosen at the outset of a reign and retained throughout. However, from the reign of Alexander I Balas until that of Antiochus VIII the cities of Cilicia employed drachm and tetradrachm reverse types reflecting local cults, while the cities of Phoenicia and Coele Syria produced most of their silver coinage on the Ptolemaic model, with an eagle reverse. The Phoenician and Coele Syrian cities also had local reverse types for their bronze coinage. In order to give these factors their proper weight, we shall examine three cases individually.

The tetradrachms of Seleucus II honour the dynastic god Apollo, but the introduction of a new iconographic type, showing the standing god examining an arrow and resting his elbow on a tripod, seems to claim him in this form as Seleucus' personal patron. Because the tetradrachm type was introduced at the outset of his reign, it has no special connection to the bearded portraits. However, a variant of the type was

¹³¹ Kl. BRINGMANN and H. VON STEUBEN (dir.), *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer*, Berlin, 1995; H. KOTSIDU, *Τιμή και δόξα. Ehrungen für hellenistische Herrscher im griechischen Mutterland und in Kleinasien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der archäologischen Denkmäler*, Berlin, 2000.

¹³² *ThesCRA* I, s.v. "Greek dedications", p. 269-318.

employed at Nisibis in connection with the bearded portrait (fig. 42). In this variant, Apollo rests his left hand on his grounded bow, and the tripod stands behind him. Only a portion of the tetradrachms with bearded portrait use this reverse variant, but it appears nowhere else.¹³³ The addition of a bow to the reverse composition emphasizes the warlike aspect of Apollo. In any case, we can probably assume that Seleucus' patron deity would have been included in his prayers for a successful campaign.

Bronzes, with their frequent changes of type, offer more scope for topicality. The only Nisibis bronze issue with Seleucus' bearded portrait shows Nike standing, holding a wreath and palm (*SC* 759). Susa produced three bronze varieties with a bearded portrait (*SC* 795-797). One has the standard Nike depiction used at Nisibis; another portrays Artemis preparing to shoot her bow; and the third shows Nike in a biga. Ecbatana placed Seleucus' bearded portrait on a series of three bronze denominations with a bow and bowcase-quiver reverse that apparently alludes to either Apollo or Artemis (*SC* 822-824). Finally, there are the western bronzes of the ΔΕΛ Mint, possibly a mobile military mint.¹³⁴ This set of two associated bronze denominations pairs Seleucus' bearded portrait with an image of Pegasus in his only appearance on Seleucid coinage (*SC* 711-712). Except for the Pegasus, whose significance is obscure, these bronzes make a strong and consistent statement. Of the six bronze emissions, three have Nike reverse types. The Susian depiction of Artemis clearly represents the mobilization of the city's great goddess, Nanaia, to the defence of the kingdom. Ecbatana's reverse type is ambiguous, but it too could perhaps evoke the warlike aspect of the Iranian Anāhita through her identification with Artemis.¹³⁵ Alternatively the bow and bowcase-quiver may symbolize the victorious king, as he is depicted on the neighbouring Assyrian reliefs or Achaemenid monuments.

This survey of the reverse types associated with the bearded portrait of Seleucus II suggests that he offered his prayers to Apollo and Nike (the appearance of Artemis on these coins can be explained by local traditions not related to the vows undertaken). This is a result very much to be expected in light of our hypothesis that Seleucid bearded portraits served as tokens of vows, since one deity was the Seleucid dynastic god *par excellence* and the second the personification of victory.

A different pattern is created by the coinage of Antiochus IX. The tetradrachms of this king reflect the late Seleucid abandonment of the Apollo on omphalos type and its replacement by a personal type of the king, in this case Athena Nicephorus enclosed in a wreath (fig. 43). Antiochus' half-brother and competitor for the diadem, Antiochus VIII, had earlier introduced his personal reverse type and personal divinity,

¹³³ For the Nisibis tetradrachms with the variant reverse type, see *SC* Part I, no. 750 (three issues) and *SC* Part II, Addenda Ad179 (one issue). Nisibis is now known to have struck drachms for Seleucus II, see *SC* Part II, Ad180 and Ad181; the latter has a bearded portrait but the standard reverse type of the reign. Seleucus II also struck tetradrachms with bearded portraits at Uncertain Mint 37 in Mesopotamia west of Nisibis (*SC* Part II, Addenda Ad161 and Ad162, correcting the mint location for *SC* Part I, no. 686-686) and at Susa (*SC* Part I, no. 788).

¹³⁴ According to a suggestion offered in *SC* Part II, Addenda, p. 662.

¹³⁵ This identification is supported by Timarchus' replacement of Apollo on omphalos with Artemis as the reverse type of his drachms struck at the Ecbatana mint, see *SC* Part II, no. 1591-1593.

Zeus Uranius, a standing male figure with a crescent moon above his head, holding a star in his hand (fig. 44). Both Antiochi were following a well-established precedent, for starting in the second century many Seleucid kings adopted personal reverse types. This can be interpreted as a change in Seleucid religious policy involving an expression of personal devotion towards a particular deity.

The type of Athena Nicephorus adopted by Antiochus IX for his tetradrachms was not new; it had already been generalized by his father Antiochus VII, who appropriated a type introduced by Alexander Balas on some rare Antiochene tetradrachms and/or a local type of tetradrachms from Seleucia on the Calycadnus.¹³⁶ This type of Antiochus IX, continuing his father's religious policy, served as the king's personal emblem opposing the personal god of his maternal half-brother, Antiochus VIII; it was, above all, a mark of his own legitimacy coming through his royal father, with a significance very similar to that of his chosen epithet Philopator.

The victorious character of this type is obvious. Its association with bearded portraits of Antiochus IX over nearly twenty years points towards a close connection between the beard and *future* or *desired* victory in military campaigns. The developments at Antioch are particularly instructive. The tetradrachm issues of Philopator's first two reigns at Antioch always pair his bearded portrait with the Athena Nicephorus reverse. As we observed earlier, the king is depicted beardless on the issues of his third and final reign at Antioch (96-95 B.C.), dated after the assassination of Antiochus VIII.¹³⁷ This beardless portrait is never associated with the king's personal type of Athena Nicephorus in this third reign. Instead the coinage retains the last types of Antiochus VIII, so that the freshly shaved royal visage is associated with Zeus Nicephorus on tetradrachms;¹³⁸ with Tyche on drachms;¹³⁹ with Nike on hemidrachms;¹⁴⁰ and with a grain ear on silver diobols.¹⁴¹ It can be logically deduced from this observation that the occupation of Antioch and the final victory against Antiochus VIII were the object of a vow to Athena Nicephorus. Once the vow was redeemed, the king could shave his beard and associate himself with different divinities, not only the one to whom the vow was offered.

Silver fractions with bearded portraits, especially drachms, are also interesting for the scope of this study. In all cases, with the sole exception of the Tarsian type of Sandan, which was imposed by local tradition, the bearded portrait is associated with Nike. She was the standard reverse type of drachms as long as Athena Nicephorus appeared on the tetradrachms. The association of Nike with the bearded portrait of Antiochus IX as well as the bearded portraits of Seleucus II clearly demonstrates that the change of royal patrons (from Apollo to Athena) did not affect the relative importance of the winged goddess. Her association with bearded portraits tends to argue in favor of our thesis.

¹³⁶ SC Part II, no. 1783 (Antioch) and 1776 (Seleucia on the Calycadnus – a local type).

¹³⁷ JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* XIII, 4 (365 *sq.*).

¹³⁸ SC Part II, no. 2369.

¹³⁹ SC Part II, no. 2370.

¹⁴⁰ SC Part II, no. 2371.

¹⁴¹ SC Part II, no. 2372.

Bronzes of Antiochus IX are quite diverse. After we eliminate those of Sidon, which feature Dionysus as a regular type, we find four deities associated with the king's bearded portrait. Dionysus recurs at Tarsus, along with Athena Alkis on a smaller denomination and Apollo indirectly represented via the tripod. The winged thunderbolt reverse type of Antiochene bronzes is a symbol of Zeus.

This survey tends to show that the prayers of Antiochus IX were mainly addressed to Athena and Nike. These two types are directly or indirectly associated with *victory*: Nike is the personification of *victory*; Athena is represented as *Nikephoros*, bearer of victory. Bearded portraits and prayers to victory or victory bearers are closely associated.

A very interesting study case for this purpose is the reign of Antiochus X. All the bearded portraits of this king are assumed to come from the outset of his reign (c. 95 B.C.), a period characterized by permanent wars with the goal to reconquer the ancestral territories. In one case, the bearded portrait of the king is associated with Nike (SC Part II 2433), in two other cases with caps of Dioscuri (SC 2427 and 2432). The Dioscuri, only rarely attested in Seleucid coinage,¹⁴² had a temple at Seleucia in Pieria.¹⁴³ It is more likely that they appear here as savior gods of the battlefield. The winged goddess keeps her relative importance being represented in one third of the cases; the rest is represented by savior gods, patrons of the battlefield.

In contrast to the choices of these three kings, Demetrius II, always maladroit, seems to have offered his vows to the minor gods Agathos Daemon and Agathe Tyche as well as to Apollo, since the divine couple are the only other deities associated with his bearded portrait on coinage of his first reign.

With several of our bearded kings – above all Seleucus II, but also Antiochus Hierax, Demetrius II, and Antiochus IX – it is possible to correlate the growth of the royal beard with the progress of a military campaign. In these cases, we can reasonably assume that coins with the bearded portrait were intended for military pay and that the troops who received these coins were expected to understand the significance of the beard. Probably, then, the king undertook his vows publicly, in the presence of the assembled army. We can even pinpoint the locations at which these ceremonies apparently occurred: Seleucus II offered his vows in eastern Syria or western Mesopotamia, Hierax in Asia Minor (probably Phrygia), Demetrius II in Nisibis (if his bronze coinage is correctly attributed to that city), Antiochus IX in western Cilicia. Many or most of the other kings in our survey may also have offered their vows as their campaigns got under way, rather than at an earlier stage in their preparations. Demetrius I is one who did not conform to this pattern; his coinage indicates that he offered his vows at Antioch, perhaps with a duplicative ceremony at Tarsus.

On the whole, the royal vows seem to have been undertaken in the western parts of the Seleucid kingdom. Even Nisibis, the chief exception, was a Diadochic foundation. The geographic pattern of the vow taking is consistent with Nachtergaeel's emphasis on the Greek tradition of vows and *ex votos*. Nothing in our evidence suggests

¹⁴² See under the reign of Antiochus VI: SC Part II, no. 2000, 2008-2010.

¹⁴³ POLYBIUS, V, 60, 4.

that oriental traditions played any role in shaping the presumed Seleucid practice of offering vows at the outset of a military campaign and growing a beard as an outward mark of the vows. The close link between the depiction of the king's bearded portrait and the movements of the army is noteworthy.

Finally, it is interesting to observe that the campaign beards are only associated with certain kinds of campaigns. As noted above, these include campaigns to recover lost territory, campaigns to suppress usurpers, and campaigns to wrest the kingdom from a rival Seleucid. We have no examples of beards grown in connection with conflicts of the Diadochi and Epigoni or in connection with any of the six Syrian Wars between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. In the present state of the evidence, we cannot say whether this is an accident of survival, a result of the personal choices of different Seleucid kings, or a significant pattern.

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Table 1: Bearded portraits of Seleucid kings

Reference SC	Deity or attribute on the reverse	King/reign	Denomination	Mint	Type of beard
I, 749	Apollo standing	Seleucus II	Tetradrachm	Nisibis	Short, curly
I, 750	Apollo standing	Seleucus II	Tetradrachm	Nisibis	Short, curly
I, 759	Nike standing	Seleucus II	Bronze C	Nisibis	Short, curly
II, Ad 181	Apollo standing	Seleucus II	Drachm	Nisibis	Short, curly
I, 788	Apollo standing	Seleucus II	Tetradrachm	Susa	Short, curly
I, 795	Nike advancing	Seleucus II	Bronze A	Susa	Short, curly
I, 796	Artemis standing	Seleucus II	Bronze B	Susa	Short, curly
I, 797	Nike in biga	Seleucus II	Bronze B	Susa	Pointed
I, 798	Nike in biga	Seleucus II	Bronze C	Susa	Pointed
I, 822	Bow in bowcase	Seleucus II	Bronze B	Ecbatana	Pointed
I, 823	Bow in bowcase	Seleucus II	Bronze C	Ecbatana	Pointed
I, 824	Bow in bowcase	Seleucus II	Bronze D	Ecbatana	Pointed
I, 711	Pegasus	Seleucus II	Bronze AA	ΔEA mint	Pointed
I, 712	Pegasus	Seleucus II	Bronze C	ΔEA mint	Pointed
I, 685	Apollo standing	Seleucus II	Tetradrach	Unc. Mint 37	Pointed
I, 686	Apollo standing	Seleucus II	Drachm	Unc. Mint 37	Pointed
II, Ad 161	Apollo standing	Seleucus II	Tetradrachm	Unc. Mint 37	Short, curly
I, 902	Apollo on omphalos	Hierax	Tetradrachm	«Sardes»	Long sideburn or light beard
I, 903	Apollo on omphalos	Hierax	Tetradrachm	«Sardes»	Light
I, 914	Apollo on omphalos	Hierax	Tetradrachm	Unc. Mint 37	Short, curly
II, 1614	Tyche seated	Demetrius I	Tetradrachm	Tarsus	Light
II, 1636	Tyche seated	Demetrius I	Tetradrachm	Antioch	Light
II, 1637	Tyche seated	Demetrius I	Tetradrachm	Antioch	Light
II, 1979	Agathos Daimon/Agathe Tyche	Demetrius II	Bronze A	Nisibis	Light
II, 1980	Agathos Daimon/Agathe Tyche	Demetrius II	Bronze B	Nisibis	Short
II, 1992	Apollo on omphalos	Demetrius II	Tetradrachm	Seleucia on the Tigris	Short
II, 2346	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Unc. Mint 119	Light
II, 2347	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	EP mint	Light
II, 2348	Sandan altar	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Tarsus	Short, curly
II, 2349	Sandan altar	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Tarsus	Short, curly
II, 2350	Sandan altar	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Tarsus	Short, curly
II, 2351	Sandan altar	Antiochus IX	Drachm	Tarsus	Short, curly
II, 2352	Dionysus standing	Antiochus IX	Bronze A	Tarsus	Short, curly
II, 2353	Athena Hoplophoros	Antiochus IX	Bronze B	Tarsus	Short, curly
II, 2354	Tripod	Antiochus IX	Bronze C	Tarsus	Short, curly
II, 2357	Athena Magarsia	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Mallus	Short, curly
II, 2358	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Mopsus?	Short, curly

Reference SC	Deity or attribute on the reverse	King/reign	Denomination	Mint	Type of beard
II, 2359	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Mopsus	Short, curly
II, 2360	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Unc. Mint 112	Short, curly
II, 2361	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Unc. Mint 116	Short, curly
II, 2362	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Unc. Mint 120	Short, curly
II, 2362A	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Unc. Mint 120?	Short, curly
II, 2363	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Antioch	Short, curly
II, 2364	Winged thunderbolt	Antiochus IX	Bronze B	Antioch	Short, curly
II, 2366	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Antioch	Short, curly
II, 2367	Nike standing	Antiochus IX	Drachm	Antioch	Short, curly
II, 2375	Winged thunderbolt	Antiochus IX	Bronze B	Imitation	Short, curly
II, 2381	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Damascus	Short, curly
II, 2382	Nike standing	Antiochus IX	Drachm	Damascus	Short, curly
II, 2383	Tyche standing	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Tripolis	Short, curly
II, 2384	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Sidon	Curly sideburn or thin beard
II, 2385	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Sidon	Short, curly
II, 2386	Eagle	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Sidon	Curly sideburn or thin beard
II, 2387	Dionysus standing	Antiochus IX	Bronze C	Sidon	Curly sideburn or short beard
II, 2389	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Unc. Mint 123	Short, curly
II, 2393	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Hemidrachm	Samaria	Short, curly
II, 2394	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Silver obol	Samaria	Short, curly
II, 2397A	Nike standing	Antiochus IX	Drachm	Unc. Mint 125	Short, curly
II, 2398	Cornucopiae	Antiochus IX	Hemidrachm	Unc. Mint 125	Short, curly
II, 2399	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus IX	Tetradrachm	Unattributed	Short, curly
II, 2400	Nike standing	Antiochus IX	Drachm	Unattributed	Short, curly
II, 2409	Tripod	Seleucus VI	Bronze A	Unc. Mint 126	Short, curly
II, 2410	Tripod	Seleucus VI	Bronze A	Unc. Mint 126	Short, curly
II, 2411	Chelys	Seleucus VI	Bronze C	Unc. Mint 126	Short, curly
II, 2412	Tripod	Seleucus VI	Bronze D	Unattributed	Short, curly
II, 2413	Zeus Nikephorus	Seleucus VI	Tetradrachm	Antioch	Short, curly
II, 2416	Nike walking	Seleucus VI	Drachm	Antioch	Short, curly
II, 2417	Nike walking	Seleucus VI	Drachm	Antioch	Short, curly

Reference SC	Deity or attribute on the reverse	King/reign	Denomination	Mint	Type of beard
II, 2419	Cornucopiae	Seleucus VI	Hemirachm	Antioch	Short, curly
II, 2420	Cornucopiae	Seleucus VI	Hemirachm	Antioch	Short, curly
II, 2422	Grain ear	Seleucus VI	Silver diobol	Antioch	Short, curly
II, 2424	Apollo standing	Seleucus VI	Bronze B	Antioch	Short, curly
II, 2427	Caps of Dioscuri	Antiochus X	Bronze B	Unattributed	Fringe of curly beard
II, 2432	Caps of Dioscuri	Antiochus X	Bronze B	Antioch	Fringe of curly beard
II, 2433	Nike advancing	Antiochus X	Bronze C	Antioch	Fringe of curly beard
II, 2435	Zeus Nikephorus	Antiochus XI/Philip I	Tetradrachm	Tarsus	Fringe of curly beard for Antiochus
II, 2436	Zeus Nikephorus	Antiochus XI/Philip I	Tetradrachm	Tarsus	Fringe of curly beard for Antiochus
II, 2437	Zeus Nikephorus	Antiochus XI/Philip I	Tetradrachm	Tarsus	Fringe of curly beard
II, 2442	Athena Nikephorus	Antiochus XI	Bronze B	Antioch	Short, curly
II, 2445	Zeus Nikephorus	Demetrius III	Tetradrachm	Antioch	Short, curly
II, 2446	Zeus Nikephorus	Demetrius III	Tetradrachm	Antioch	Short, curly (partially erased)
II, 2447	Thunderbolt	Demetrius III	Bronze B	Seleucia Pieria	Short, curly
II, 2448	Tyche standing	Demetrius III	Bronze C	Seleucia Pieria?	Short, curly
II, 2449	Artemis standing	Demetrius III	Bronze D	Seleucia Pieria?	Short, curly
II, 2450	Atargatis	Demetrius III	Tetradrachm	Damascus	Fringe, curly
II, 2451	Atargatis	Demetrius III	Tetradrachm	Damascus	Short, curly
II, 2452	Nike advancing	Demetrius III	Drachm	Damascus	Fringe, curly
II, 2453	Diadem	Demetrius III	Hemidrachm	Damascus	Fringe, curly
II, 2454	Nike advancing	Demetrius III	Bronze B	Damascus	Fringe, curly
II, 2455	Hermes facing	Demetrius III	Bronze C	Damascus	Fringe, curly
II, 2456	Hermes facing	Demetrius III	Bronze C	Damascus	Short, curly
II, 2457	Tripod	Demetrius III	Bronze D	Damascus	Short, curly
II, 2472	Hadad standing	Antiochus XII	Tetradrachm	Damascus	Short, curly
II, 2478	Zeus Nikephorus standing	Antiochus XII	Bronze B	Damascus	Short, curly
II, 2479	Nike advancing	Antiochus XII	Bronze C	Damascus	Short, curly
II, 2482	Nike advancing	Antiochus XII	Bronze C	Damascus	Short, curly
II, 2483	Hermes standing	Antiochus XII	Bronze D	Damascus	Short, curly