

The silver coinage of Seleucia on the Tigris : Seleucus II and Seleucus III, 246-222 BC

Autor(en): **Miller, Richard P. / Hoover, Olivier D.**

Objektyp: **Article**

Zeitschrift: **Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau = Revue suisse de numismatique = Rivista svizzera di numismatica**

Band (Jahr): **87 (2008)**

PDF erstellt am: **18.09.2024**

Persistenter Link: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-179257>

Nutzungsbedingungen

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Inhalten der Zeitschriften. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern.

Die auf der Plattform e-periodica veröffentlichten Dokumente stehen für nicht-kommerzielle Zwecke in Lehre und Forschung sowie für die private Nutzung frei zur Verfügung. Einzelne Dateien oder Ausdrucke aus diesem Angebot können zusammen mit diesen Nutzungsbedingungen und den korrekten Herkunftsbezeichnungen weitergegeben werden.

Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. Die systematische Speicherung von Teilen des elektronischen Angebots auf anderen Servern bedarf ebenfalls des schriftlichen Einverständnisses der Rechteinhaber.

Haftungsausschluss

Alle Angaben erfolgen ohne Gewähr für Vollständigkeit oder Richtigkeit. Es wird keine Haftung übernommen für Schäden durch die Verwendung von Informationen aus diesem Online-Angebot oder durch das Fehlen von Informationen. Dies gilt auch für Inhalte Dritter, die über dieses Angebot zugänglich sind.

RICHARD P. MILLER

THE SILVER COINAGE OF SELEUCIA ON THE TIGRIS:
SELEUCUS II AND SELEUCUS III, 246–222 BC

A die study with commentary by Oliver D. Hoover

PLATES 5–7

Despite the foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris as the original Seleucid «city of kingship» and its role as a major capital of the Seleucid Empire until its final loss to the Parthians,¹ the dies used to produce the city's royal coinage have never been studied in detail. E.T. Newell enumerated the dies of Seleucus I known to him in 1938,² but since that time no attempt has been made to address the dies of Seleucia, although those of Antioch on the Orontes and many of the lesser Seleucid mints have been tackled.³ The vastness of the coinages struck for Antiochus I, Antiochus II, and Antiochus III make a die study of the Seleucian mint across reigns a daunting task indeed. However, in the belief that comparison of production between the two major mints of Seleucia and Antioch might further elucidate our understanding of the Seleucid monetary system, we here begin the process of publishing the dies of Seleucia with the issues of Seleucus II (246–225/4 BC) and his son Seleucus III (225/4–222 BC).⁴ While it is no accident that we begin *in medias res* with kings whose coinages were very compact in comparison to those of their predecessors and immediate

¹ S. SHERWIN-WHITE, *Babylonian Chronicle Fragments as a Source for Seleucid History*, JNES 42.4, 1983, pp. 266–270.

² ESM, pp. 11–36.



³ G. LE RIDER, *Antioche de Syrie sous les Séleucides* (Paris 1999); A. HOUGHTON, *The Seleucid Mint at Lampsacus*, ANSMN 23, 1979, pp. 58–68; A. HOUGHTON, *The Seleucid Mint of Mallus and the Cult Figure of Athena Magarsia*, in: A. HOUGHTON *et al.* (eds.), *Festschrift für/Studies in Honor of Leo Mildenberg* (Wetteren 1984), pp. 91–110; A. HOUGHTON, *The Royal Seleucid Mint of Seleucia on the Calycadnus*, in: G. LE RIDER *et al.* (eds.), *KME: Numismatic Studies in Memory of C.M. Kraay and O. Mørholm* (Louvain, 1989), pp. 77–98; A. HOUGHTON, *The Royal Seleucid Mint of Soli, NC* (1989), pp. 15–32.; A. HOUGHTON, *The Seleucid Mint of Aegeae in Aeolia RN* 1992, pp. 229–232.; A. HOUGHTON, *The Early Seleucid Mint of Laodicea ad Mare* (c. 300–246 BC), in: M. AMANDRY/S. HURTER (eds.), *Travaux de numismatique grecque offerts à Georges Le Rider* (London, 1999), pp. 169–184; B. KRITT, *The Early Seleucid Mint of Susa* (Lancaster 1997).

⁴ For the revised dating of the reigns of Seleucus II and Seleucus III on the basis of cuneiform evidence, see O. HOOVER, *A Second Look at the Aradian Bronze Coinage Attributed to Seleucus I* (SC 72–73), AJN 18, 2006, p. 46.

successor, the material is of some special interest as it has been greatly expanded by the appearance of five recent hoards in commerce.⁵

DIE STUDY


SELEUCUS II
AV Stater, Apollo with tripod type

SC 762. Controls: inner left, ; outer right, 
(Right control as SC 763.2b, diadem ends as SC 764.1)

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Weight	Location/Reference	Hoard/Comment
*1	A1	P1	n/a	Le Rider/Olçay, Anatolia Antiqua 1987, 820	Kirazlı 1939 (IGCH 1369) Pl. 5, 1


AR Tetradrachms, Apollo with tripod type

SERIES I: Head right, diadem ends falling straight behind

Group 1: SC 763.2a. Controls: inner left, ; outer right, none



1	A1	P1	16.90	Leipziger Münzhandlung 34, 2003, 100.	
*2	A1	P2	16.94	New York, 1944.100.71860; WSM 201A.	Pl. 5, 2
3	A2	P3	16.47	Peus 368, 2001, 276.	
4	A2	P4	17.15	Lanz 28, 1984, 309.	
*5	A2	P5	16.92	European market	Pl. 5, 3
*6	A3	P6	16.14	Canton, Mich., R. Miller collection; Spink Coinex Sale, 6 Oct. 2004, 134; Spink NCirc., Apr. 2004, 1229.	Obv. die link to nos. 9–15 below. Pl. 5, 4
7	A3	P7	16.56	Freeman & Sear 7, 22 Feb. 2002, 146.	Obv. die link to nos. 9–15 below.
8	A3	P8	16.27	Classical Cash, Ebay, 9 May 2002, 1349685598.	Obv. die link to nos. 9–15 below.

⁵ The contents of the East Anatolia Drachm 2002 hoard, the «Seleucus III» 2003 hoard, the East Anatolia 2003 hoard, and the «Antiochus III» 2005 hoard are listed in A. HOUGHTON/C. LORBER/O. HOOVER, *Seleucid Coins, Part 2: Seleucus IV through Antiochus XIII* (forthcoming). The East Arachosia (Quetta) 2001 hoard is outlined in SC I, vol. 2, pp. 123–124 and fully published in R. MILLER, «The 2001 East Arachosia (Quetta) Hoard», CH X (forthcoming).



Group 2: SC 763.2b. Controls: inner left ; outer right 

9	A3	P9	17.01	Myers 12, 4 Dec. 1975, 236.	<i>Obv.</i> die link to nos. 6–8 above.
*10	A3	P10	16.82	Commerce 2003.	«Seleucus III» 2003. <i>Pl.</i> 5, 5
11	A3	P11	16.88	Trésors 1.119.	Asia Minor or Northern Syria 1970 (CH I, 74); <i>Obv.</i> die link to nos. 6–8 above.
12	A3	P12	17.05	BMC p. 16, 3.	<i>Obv.</i> die link to nos. 6–8 above.
13	A3	P12	17.08	Peus 284, 1984, 484.	<i>Obv.</i> die link to nos. 6–8 above.
14	A3	P13	n/a	Christie's, 8 Oct. 1991, 119.	<i>Obv.</i> die link to nos. 6–8 above.
15	A3	P13	16.82	CSE 966.	<i>Obv.</i> die link to nos. 6–8 above.
16	A4	P13	17.06	NFA, 12 Oct. 1998, 410.	
*17	A4	P14	n/a	Trésors 1.120.	Asia Minor or Northern Syria 1970 (CH I, 74). <i>Pl.</i> 5, 6
18	A4	P15	16.43	New York, 1944.100.71859.	
19	A4	P16	16.82	Commerce 2003.	East Anatolia 2003.
20	A4	P17	16.42	Commerce 2003.	East Anatolia 2003.

SERIES II: Head right, diadem ends flying behind in S-curly



Group 3: SC 763.1. Controls: outer left, ; outer right, 

*21	A5	P18	16.88	Fresno, California, W.K. Raymond collection	<i>Obv.</i> die link to no. 22 below. <i>Pl.</i> 5, 7
-----	----	-----	-------	--	--

Group 4: SC 764.1. Controls: inner left, ; outer right, 

22	A5	P11	n/a	Freeman & Sear stock Jan. 2004.	<i>Obv.</i> die link to no. 21 above.
23	A6	P12	n/a	Commerce 2003	
24	A6	P13	n/a	Commerce 2003	
25	A6	P14	16.30	Commerce 2003	East Anatolia 2003
26	A6	P15	15.70	Commerce 2001	East Arachosia (Quetta) 2001, 85
*27	A6	P16	16.99	Cederlind Sale 134, 2005, 107; GM 134, 2004, 1525; Peus 376, 2003, 514; Peus 372, 2002, 540; GM 97, 1999, 487	<i>Pl.</i> 5, 8
28	A7	P17	n/a	Freeman & Sear stock Jan. 2004	
29	A7	P18	n/a	Commerce 2003	
30	A7	P19	n/a	Commerce 2003	
*31	A7	P20	16.17	Triton VIII, 11 Jan. 2005, 1903.	<i>Pl.</i> 5, 9
32	A7	P21	n/a	Commerce 2003.	
33	A8	P22	16.64	Eukratides stock 10 Jun. 2006	
*34	A8	P23	16.90	Commerce 2003	East Anatolia 2003. <i>Pl.</i> 5, 10
35	A8	P24	n/a	Commerce 2003	
*36	A9	P25	17.02	Trésors 1.121	Asia Minor or Northern Syria 1970. <i>Pl.</i> 6, 1
37	A9	P26	16.55	ANSMN 12, 1966, p.46, 83	Gordion V 1961
38	A9	P27	17.08	SNG Cop. 103	
39	A10	P28	n/a	Commerce 2003	East Anatolia Drachm 2003, 37
40	A10	P29	16.72	Pars Coins stock 10 Jun. 2006.	
41	A10	P30	16.66	New York, 1944.100.71864	

*42	A11	P31	16.90	Paris. DeClercq 54	<i>Pl. 6, 2</i>
43	A11	P32	16.52	Commerce 2003	East Anatolia Drachm 2003.
44	A11	P33	16.08	Commerce 2001	East Arachosia (Quetta) 2001, 84
*45	A12	P34	17.06	Kuenker 89, 2004, 1479	<i>Pl. 6, 3</i>
46	A12	P35	17.11	Commerce 2003	East Anatolia 2003
47	A13	P36	n/a	Commerce 2003	
48	A14	P37	16.10	ANSMN 12, 1966, p. 46, 82	Gordion V 1961

Group 5: SC 764.2. Controls: outer left, ; outer right, 

*49	A15	P38	17.19	Freeman & Sear stock 23 Sep 2004	<i>Pl. 6, 4</i>
50	A15	P39	16.88	SC 764.2 plate coin; Sotheby's, Zurich (Athena Fund) Oct. 1993, 836; NFA 23, Dec. 1989, 643; Auctiones 12, 1981, 182	
51	A15	P40	n/a	Commerce 2003	«Seleucus III» 2003.

AR Drachms

Series I: Athena/Nike type

SC 765. Controls: Outer left, ; outer right 

*1	A1	P1	3.99	New York 1959.220.1; Jameson coll. 1679	<i>Pl. 6, 5</i>
*2	A1	P2	n/a	Beirut	<i>Pl. 6, 6</i>
*3	A1	P3	4.12	Argenor, 3 May 2006, 161	<i>Pl. 6, 7</i>
*4	A1	P4		2002 E. Anatolia Hoard, 29	<i>Pl. 6, 8</i>

Series II: Apollo with tripod type

SC 766. Controls: Outer left, ; outer right 

*5	A2	P5		SC Ad184	«Seleucus III» 2003. <i>Pl. 6, 9</i>
----	----	----	--	----------	--------------------------------------

SELEUCUS III





AR Tetrachms

Group 1: SC 939.1 Outer left,  outer right 

*1	A1	P1	16.89	Paris 1971-920; Trésors 1.122	Asia Minor or Northern Syria 1970 (CH I, 74). <i>Pl. 6, 10</i>
2	A1	P2	17.04	Sotheby, May 1908 (O'Hagan), 651	
3	A2	P3	17.00	Ankara. Anatolie, 126	Oylum Höyüğü 1989 (CH IX, 501)

THE SILVER COINAGE OF SELEUCIA ON THE TIGRIS:
SELEUCUS II AND SELEUCUS III, 246–222 BC

4	A2	P4	17.10	Peus 369, 2001, 236	
5	A2	P5	n/a	CNG 54, 2000, 803	
6	A3	P6	n/a	Kricheldorf 24, 1980, 171; Kress 169, 1977, 505.	
7	A4	P7	17.02	Lanz, 14, 1978, 127	<i>Pl. 6, 11</i>
8	A4	P7	16.71	Paris, Suse 264	
9	A4	P8	16.84	Coin Galleries, 24 May 1963, 711; Cahn 71, 1931, 1524; Cahn 65, 1929, 254 (weight given as 16.03 gm)	
10	A4	P9	16.98	Glendining, 7 Apr. 1976, 33; Sotheby, 22 Apr. 1970, 230; Glendining, 20 March 1931, 1146; Helbing, 8 Nov. 1928, 4062	
11	A5	P10	16.91	CNG Web Auction 98, 2004, 52	<i>Obv. die link to no. 12 below</i>

Group 2: SC 939.2 Outer left ; outer right 
 Note: A7 = A7 SC 939.3 below (Outer left ; outer right )
 Note: A8 = A8 SC 939.3 below

12	A5	P11	n/a	Glendining, 5 Mar. 1970, 104; Kreisberg, 18 Nov. 1968, 43	<i>Obv. die link to no. 11 above</i>
*13	A5	P12	16.97	SC 939.2 (this coin)	<i>Pl. 7, 1</i>
*14	A6	P13	16.20	Triton VIII, Jan. 2005, 1952	<i>Pl. 7, 2</i>
15	A6	P14	16.20	Commerce 2005	«Antiochus III» 2005
*16	A7	P15	16.99	CNG 67, 2004, 85.	<i>Pl. 7, 3</i>
17	A7	P16	16.54	Cambridge. McClean III, 9261	
18	A8	P17	16.22	Canton, Mich., R. Miller collection	

Group 3: SC 939.3 Outer left ; outer right 

19	A7	P18	16.18	Künker 97, 7 Mar. 2005, 905	
20	A7	P18	15.03	New York 1957.156.3	
*21	A8	P19	15.96	Berlin. ESM 215 δ	<i>Pl. 7, 4</i>
22	A8	P19	16.41	Triton VIII, 2005, 1951	
23	A8	P19	16.41	Triton VIII, 2005, 1904	
24	A9	P20	15.98	New York 1944.100.71878	Susa, 1934-1939 excavations (IGCH 1808)
*25	A9	P20	16.32	New York 1944.100.71877	<i>Pl. 7, 5</i>
26	A10	P20	16.05	Triton VIII, 2005, 1911	
*27	A10	P22	n/a	Hirsch, Jun. 1960, 138	<i>Pl. 7, 6</i>
*28	?	?	n/a	ESM 217b	<i>Non vidimus. Recorded by Newell in Baghdad. Pl. 7, 7</i>

Group 4: SC 939.4 Outer left ; outer right : un exergue 

*29	A11	P23	16.17	Ankara; Cox 1953, p. 13, 102	Gordion 1951 (IGCH 1406). <i>Pl. 7, 8</i>
-----	-----	-----	-------	------------------------------	--

*30	A12	P24	17.17	CNG 61, 2002, 818; Hirsch 37, 1963, 293	<i>Pl. 7, 9</i>
31	A12	P25	17.0	Ancient Delights stock, Dec. 2004	
32	A12	P26	16.11	Canton, Mich., R. Miller collection.	
33	A12	P26	14.32	G. Wood stock, Dec. 2004	
34	A13	P27	16.89	London	Mesopotamia («Dunne's») 1914-1918 (<i>IGCH</i> 1769)
*35	A13	P28	16.75	MünzZentrum 73, 1992, 342	<i>Pl. 7, 10</i>
36	A13	P28	16.06	SNG Spaer 532	

Estimated Tetradrachm Obverse Die Usage at Seleucia on the Tigris

<i>Reign</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i> ₁	<i>Cest</i>	<i>Dest</i>	<i>Low Confidence</i>	<i>High Confidence</i>	<i>Annual Average</i>
Seleucus II (246-225/4)	51	14	2	0.96	15.6	12.5	19.5	c 1
Seleucus III (225/4-222)	36	13	1	0.97	13.9	10.4	18.6	c. 4-6

Estimated Tetradrachm Die Usage at Antioch on the Orontes*

Seleucus II (246-225/4)**	202	22	0	1	22	15.89	28.2	c. 1-1.4
Seleucus III (225/4-222)	133	6	0	1	6	5.7	6.3	c. 2

*Antioch data from G. Le Rider, *Antioche de Syrie* (Paris 1999), pp. 62-66 and 97-102.

**Totals include the regular issues of Antioch, as well as the tetradrachms of the so-called DEL mint (SC 641 and 704), which was probably located in Antioch, and the possible Antioch issue SC 702.

HOARDS

SELEUCUS II

Corinth 1938	IGCH 187	c. 215 BC
Gordium V 1961	IGCH 1405 (3)	c. 205 BC
Asia Minor or N. Syria 1970	CH I, 74 (3)	c. 200 BC
East Arachosia (Quetta) 2001	CH X, Forthcoming (2)	c. 206 or 200 BC

SELEUCUS III

Corinth 1938	IGCH 187	c. 215 BC
Northern Syria 1960	IGCH 1533	c. 210 BC
Dyarbekir (Armenia) 1955	IGCH 1735	c. 205 BC
Gordium 1951	IGCH 1406	c. 205-200 BC
Asia Minor or North Syria 1970	CH I, 74	c. 200 BC
East Arachosia 2001	CH X, Forthcoming	c. 206 or 200 BC

Oylum Hoyugu 1989	CH IX, 501	c. 200-195 BC
Mesopotamia 1914-1918	IGCH 1769	c. 195-190 BC
Asia Minor 1963	IGCH 1411 (4)	c. 190 BC
Zivnik (Mesopotamia) 1962	IGCH 1771	c. 175 BC
Susa 1934-1939	IGCH 1808	c. 150-100 BC
Basra 1955	IGCH 1786	c. 45 BSC
East Anatolia Drachm 2002	Commerce	
East Anatolia 2003	Commerce	
«Seleucus III» 2003	Commerce	
«Antiochus III» 2005	Commerce	

METROLOGY: Tetradrachms*

SELEUCUS II		SELEUCUS III	
<i>38 recorded weights:</i>		<i>30 recorded weights:</i>	
<i>Average 16.72 gm</i>		<i>Average 16.37 gm</i>	
> 17.10 gm	3	> 17.10 gm	0
> 17.00 gm	7	> 17.00 gm	6
> 16.90 gm	6	> 16.90 gm	4
> 16.80 gm	6	> 16.80 gm	3
> 16.70 gm	1	> 16.70 gm	2
> 16.60 gm	2	> 16.60 gm	0
> 16.50 gm	3	> 16.50 gm	1
> 16.40 gm	3	> 16.40 gm	2
> 16.30 gm	0	> 16.30 gm	1
> 16.20 gm	2	> 16.20 gm	3
> 16.10 gm	2	> 16.10 gm	2
< 16.00 gm	1	< 16.00 gm	6

* Harsh cleaning accounts for many of the lower weights.

A review of estimated tetradrachm die usage for the two kings at Seleucia on the Tigris and Antioch on the Orontes is instructive.⁶ The die estimates at Seleucia are almost the same for both rulers, but at Antioch, Seleucus II appears to have used some 22–28 dies and Seleucus III about six. The large number of dies for Seleucus II is not entirely unexpected considering his embattled position of Seleucus II throughout his reign. He needed money to finance the recovery of Syria, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia from the forces of Ptolemy III during the Third Syrian War (246–241).⁷ Antioch itself had been sacked in 246 and probably did not return to Seleucid control until c. 244.⁸ Almost as soon as this

⁶ Estimates are calculated according to the formula given in W. ESTY, *How to Estimate the Original Number of Dies and the Coverage of a Sample*, NC 166, 2006, pp. 359–364.

⁷ Just. 27.1.6-10; Polyæn. 8.50; App. *Syr.* 65; *OGIS* 54; *FGrHist* F 160.

⁸ Polyb. 2.71.4.

conflict had concluded, his rebellious brother Antiochus Hierax forced him to fight the War of the Brothers (c. 239–237 or 235) in Asia Minor, which also required funding from the royal coffers.⁹

However, the die estimates for Seleucia seem rather small for Seleucus II when we consider that the king had campaigned against the Parthians in c. 228 and restored order to Babylonia during the same *anabasis*.¹⁰ Seleucia was the obvious source for money to pay the western army during this eastern campaign. Indeed, this fact is underscored by the largely western hoard findspots of Seleucus II's Seleucian tetradrachms, although it is hard to know whether the majority of these traveled west with Seleucus' troops, or later with the armies of Antiochus III (see below). And yet strangely, the presence of the army does not seem to have had much effect on die usage at Seleucia.

This peculiarity makes one wonder whether the die sample has been skewed, perhaps by melting and restriking during the reign of Antiochus III (222–187 BC). Under this king, Seleucia's production exploded to involve an estimated 177 tetradrachm dies in large part to pay for his several eastern campaigns.¹¹ The use of similar and relatively small numbers of dies at Seleucia for the coinages of both Seleucus II and Seleucus III, despite the fact that the latter reigned for only three years and is not known to have ever campaigned in the east, also raises doubts about the integrity of the sample for Seleucus II. We would tend to expect a larger number of dies for the latter, although perhaps the financial needs of Seleucus II's eastern campaign were offset by the heightened production of Antioch.¹²

The hoard evidence suggests that many of the Seleucian issues of Seleucus III were probably drawn from the treasury or less likely, from local circulation in Babylonia and moved west with the triumphant army of Antiochus III returning from the east following the war against the rebel satrap Molon (221–220 BC) and especially at the conclusion of the king's great *anabasis* (212–204). This is supported by the fact that none of the western hoards have closure dates later than c. 190 BC, whereas the Mesopotamian, Babylonian, and Susian hoards are generally late and may reflect the survival of the coins in local circulation. The issues of Seleucus II and Seleucus III in the East Arachosia (Quetta) hoard 2001 are notable as they represent a rare case of the movement of these coins to the

⁹ Just. 27.2, 41.4.7–10; Trogus, *Prol.* 27; Eus. *Chron* (SCHOENE ed.), 1.251. For the various chronologies of the war, see E. BICKERMAN, *Notes on Seleucid and Parthian Chronology. 2. Antiochus Hierax and Attalus I*, *Berytus* 8, 1943–1944, pp. 76–78; and R.E. ALLEN, *The Attalid Kingdom: A Constitutional History* (Oxford 1983), pp. 195–199.

¹⁰ Just. 27.3.6; Porphyry, *FGrHist* 260 F 32.8; S. SHERWIN-WHITE/A. KUHRT, *From Samarkhand to Sardis* (Berkeley 1993), pp. 138–139; F. HOLT, *Thundering Zeus: The Making of Hellenistic Bactria* (Berkeley 1999), p. 64; J. LERNER, *The Impact of Seleucid Decline on the Eastern Iranian Plateau* (Stuttgart 1999), pp. 33–43.

¹¹ A. HOUGHTON, *Seleucid Coinage and Monetary Policy of the 2nd Century BC*, *Topoi Suppl* 6 (2004), pp. 53–54 and Table II.

¹² But against this possibility, see HOUGHTON 2004, p. 53 and Table II, where it is clear that the mint of Antioch shut down while Antiochus III was campaigning in the east.

very borders of the empire.¹³ These were almost certainly carried by Seleucid troops along with Antiochene and Seleucian coins of Antiochus III during his Indian expedition (c. 206 BC). The extremely narrow die ranges for these coins and those of Antiochus II in the hoard show that they must have been drawn in bulk from the royal treasury and brought east and that they do not represent money pulled from circulation in Babylonia, Arachosia, or parts in between.

The modest die usage for Seleucus III at Antioch in comparison to Seleucia is also a little surprising in light of his repeated failed attempts to wrest Asia Minor from the hands of Attalus I.¹⁴ This may possibly indicate that the Antioch die data have been compromised for Seleucus III by the melting down and restriking of his coins in order to produce the extensive coinage of Antiochus III. The six dies of Seleucus III at Antioch seem suspiciously small when juxtaposed with the 10 and 17 Antiochene dies used by Antiochus III during his campaigns to restore Asia Minor to Seleucid control (216–213, 204–202, and 197–196 BC), even if we consider that some of these dies were also used to strike coinage destined to pay for the Fifth Syrian War (202–195 BC).¹⁵

Admittedly, this brief review of coinage production at Seleucia on the Tigris and circulation of Seleucian issues under Seleucus II and Seleucus III does not greatly advance our understanding of the Seleucid monetary system. However, the apparent skewing of the die data through probable melting and reissue under Antiochus III at both Seleucia and Antioch raises somewhat disturbing questions about the validity of die statistics.¹⁶ The die study and commentary presented here represents only a first small peek at the mint of Seleucia on the Tigris under the early Seleucids. While Newell already identified the dies for this mint under Seleucus I, the full publication of the dies for Antiochus III, and die studies of the considerable Seleucian coinages of Antiochus I and Antiochus II are necessary before we will be able to fully understand the issues of Seleucus II and Seleucus III in context.

¹³ For a detailed account of this hoard see R. MILLER, *The East Arachosia (Quetta) Hoard*, 2001, CH X (forthcoming).

¹⁴ Polyb. 4.48.7–8; App. Syr. 66; Eus. *Chron.* (SCHOENE ed.), 1.20; Trogus. *Prol.* 27; Jerome, *In Dan.* 11.10; *OGIS* 273–279.

¹⁵ HOUGHTON (*supra*, n.11), Table II. For the campaigns in Asia Minor and their dating, see J. MA, *Antiochus III and the Cities of Asia Minor* (Oxford 1999), pp. 53–102.

¹⁶ For similar concerns, see also T.V. BUTTREY, *Calculating Ancient Coin Production: Facts and Fantasies*, NC 153, 1993, pp. 335–351; *Id.*, *Calculating Ancient Coin Production II: Why it Cannot be Done*, NC 154, 1994, pp. 289–351.

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Aufsatz präsentiert eine Stempelstudie der Prägungen der seleukidischen Könige Seleukos II. und Seleukos III. der Münzstätte Seleukeia am Tigris und vergleicht sie mit publizierten Data dieser beiden Könige in Antiochia am Orontes. Die verhältnismässig kleine Anzahl von erhaltenen Stempeln von Seleukeia für Seleukos II., trotz dessen grossem Geldbedarf für Feldzüge im Osten des Reichs, weist darauf hin, dass die Prägungen von Seleukos II. wohl unter Antiochos III. eingeschmolzen und neu ausgeprägt wurden. Ein ähnliches Bild bietet sich für Seleukos III., dessen geringe Anzahl von erhaltenen Stempeln auf eine ähnlich Konstellation hinweist.

Diese Ungereimtheiten stellen die Zuverlässigkeit von Statistiken über den ursprünglichen Umfang der Münzproduktion ernsthaft in Frage. Es braucht Stempelstudien für die Könige Antiochos I., II. und III. für Seleukeia am Tigris, um den Aspekt dieser frühen Münzstätte in der Hauptstadt Babylonien zu vervollständigen.

Richard P. Miller
1897 Wentworth Drive
Canton, Mich. 48188
USA

Oliver D. Hoover
The American Numismatic Society
1, Hudson Square
New York, N.Y. 10013
USA

Seleucus II



R.P. Miller/O.D. Hoover
Seleucus II and Seleucus III at Seleucia on the Tigris (1)



1

2

3

4



5



6



7



8



9



Seleucus III



10



11





R.P. Miller/O.D. Hoover
Seleucus II and Seleucus III at Seleucia on the Tigris (3)

