

THE
HELLENISTIC
SETTLEMENTS
IN
SYRIA,
THE
RED SEA BASIN,
AND
NORTH AFRICA



GETZEL M. COHEN

© 2006 UC Regents
Buy this book

Published with the support of the Classics Fund of the
University of Cincinnati, established by Louise Taft
Semple in memory of her father, Charles Phelps Taft.

University of California Press, one of the most distinguished
university presses in the United States, enriches lives around the
world by advancing scholarship in the humanities, social sciences,
and natural sciences. Its activities are supported by the UC Press
Foundation and by philanthropic contributions from individuals
and institutions. For more information, visit www.ucpress.edu.

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd.
London, England

© 2006 by The Regents of the University of California

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cohen, Getzel M.

The Hellenistic settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North
Africa / Getzel M. Cohen.

p. cm. — (Hellenistic culture and society ; 46)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-520-24148-0 (cloth : alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-520-24148-7 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Cities and towns, Ancient—Syria. 2. Cities and towns,
Ancient—Red Sea Region. 3. Cities and towns, Ancient—Africa,
North. 4. Syria—History—333 B.C.–634 A.D. 5. Africa,
North—History—To 647. 6. Red Sea Region—History.
7. Greece—Colonies—History. I. Title. II. Series.

DS96.ZC62 2006

930'.0971238—dc22

2005015751

Manufactured in the United States of America

15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08 07 06

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is printed on New Leaf EcoBook 60, containing 60%
post-consumer waste, processed chlorine free, 30% de-inked
recycled fiber, elemental chlorine free, and 10% FSC certified
virgin fiber, totally chlorine free. EcoBook 60 is acid free, and
meets the minimum requirements of ANSI/ASTM D5634-01
(*Permanence of Paper*).

I

NORTHERN SYRIA

ACHAIA

Among the towns in Syria that Appian (*Syr.* 57) mentions as a foundation of Seleukos I Nikator is Achaia. The name, of course, recalls the region in Greece.¹ There are no other firm attestations for this town. We do not know exactly where Achaia was located.

* * * *

In general see W. Thomaschek, *RE* s.v. "Achaia 9"; Tcherikover, *HS*, 63; Frézouls in *La toponymie*, 239; Brodersen, *Komment.*, 153; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, 675.

1. Honigmann ("Hist. Topog.," no. 6) speculated that Achaia might be identical with Achaiachala on the Euphrates mentioned by Ammianus (24.2.2). Bevan (*Seleucus*, 222 n. 6) thought this might refer to HERAKLEIA in Media. Despite Appian's statement (*Syr.* 57) that Achaia was among the Syrian colonies named for Greek and Macedonian towns, Wilcken (*RE* s.v. "Achaioi 3") suggested the city was named for Achaioi, the brother of Antiochos I.

ALEXANDREIA BY ISSOS

The earliest evidence—literary and numismatic—for Alexandreia is datable to the second century B.C. Ps.-Scymnus (923 = *GGM*, 1: 235 = Diller, *MGG*, 174) referred to it as a foundation of the Macedonian king; in addition, there is extant coinage dating to the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes.¹ Herodian adds (3.4.3) that at Alexandreia there was a monument to commemorate the battle of Issos, which was fought nearby, and a bronze statue of Alexander. On coinage of the second century B.C.–first century A.D. the ethnic is generally *AAEEANΔPEΩN*; on coins of the second and third centuries A.D. it is *AAEEANΔPEΩN KAT ΙΣΣΟΝ*.² On some coins of the second/first century B.C. there is a (Macedonian ?) helmet used as a countermark on the reverse.³

The identification of the founder remains a problem. Ps.-Scymnus is the only extant ancient literary source who says Alexander was the founder. Herodian does not actually say that Alexander established the settlement. Strabo (14.5.19) refers to the city but does not mention that it was built by Alexander. Neither Arrian nor Curtius Rufus refer to it at all.⁴ The latter, however, does say (3.12.27) that after the battle Alexander erected three altars, which Cicero later saw (*Ad Familiares* 15.4.9). The evidence from the *Alexander Romance* is unclear. The *A* recension does not include it among Alexander's settlements. On the other hand, the settlement is recorded among his foundations in the Armenian translation as well as the *B* recension and its derivatives. Furthermore, the *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (34b) mentions an "Alexandria qui cabiosum" among Alexander's foundations.⁵ Finally, among a group of seals found just outside Iskenderun one had a portrait of Alexander.⁶

H. Seyrig has suggested that Antigonos chose Alexandria to be the port city for ANTIGONEIA.⁷ Iskenderun on the like-named gulf in eastern Turkey is the modern Alexandria by Issos. However, the exact site of the settlement has not yet been identified.⁸

* * * *

In general see Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 663; Benzinger, *RE*s.v. "Alexandria 15"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 155; Tcherikover, *HS*, 58–59; Tarn, *Alexander*, 2: 237–38; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 36–37, 108–9; id., *Seleukid Prosopography*, 679; Billows, *Antigonos*, 298; Fraser, *Cities*, 20–23; Sartre, *Alexandre*, 116, 155 n. 7; N. G. L. Hammond, *GRBS* 39 (1998) 261–62.

1. For the **coinage** of Alexandria see E. T. Newell, *AJN* 53.2 (1919 [1920]) 1–42; E. Levante, *NC*, 1971, 93–102. For coinage with a head of Antiochos IV within a Macedonian shield on the obverse see, for example, Levante, *NC*, 1971, 96, nos. 1–7; *SNG Switzerland I* 1831–32; *SNG France* 2 2405. For other coinage see *SNG* (von A) 5464–68; Levante, *NC*, 1971, 93ff., nos. 8–97; *SNG Switzerland I* 1833–52; *SNG France* 2 2406–19.

2. For the **ethnic** ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ see, for example, Levante, *NC*, 1971, 96–99, nos. 1–70; *SNG* (von A) 5464; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 380–82 (first cent. B.C.); *Switzerland I* 1831–39, 1841–42; *SNG France* 2 2405–14.

For the ethnic ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΚΑΤ' ΙΣΣΟΝ see, for example, Levante, *NC*, 1971, 99–101, nos. 71–97; *SNG* (von A) 5465–68; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 383; *SNG Switzerland I* 1840, 1843–52 and *Supplement* 432–33; *SNG France* 2 2417–19.

For the **toponym** see, for example, Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ κατὰ Ἴσσοῦν (Ptolemy 5.14.2); Ἀλεξάνδρεια κατ' Ἴσσοῦν (the *Stadiasmus* 152 = *GGM*, 1: 476); "Alexandria acata Ison" (Geog. Rav. 5.8, ed. Schnetz); "Alexandria Catisson" (*Tab. Peut.* IX.4).

For additional references to the city see, for example, Pliny *NH* 5.91, 6.207 ("Alexandria"); Hierokles 705.6 (Ἀλεξάνδρεια); Stephanos, "Alexandria 8"; the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*SEG* 20: 324.15, Ἀλεξάνδρεια); *Itin. Ant.* 146.3 (ed. Cuntz, "Alexandria"); Malalas 12.297 (*CSHB* XXVIII, Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ μικρά).

3. For the **Macedonian helmet** on certain coins of Alexandria see, for example, *SNG Switzerland I* 1835. For a similar helmet on coins of AIGEA see, for example, *SNG Switzerland I* 1639.

E. T. Newell (a) attributed a group of Persian staters and obols to a mint at Myriandros, (b) suggested that Alexander continued minting coins at Myriandros, and (c) claimed that Alexander renamed Myriandros Alexandria by Issos (*AJN* 53 [1919] 16–31 and below, n. 4). For the identification of Alexandria by Issos with Myriandros see also, for example, Le Rider in *Meydancikkale*, p. 90; Price, *Alexander and Philip*, 401. Note, however, that Strabo (14.5.19) indicates Myriandros and Alexandria were separate and distinct towns; see Sartre, *Alexandre*, 116 n. 12. On the other hand, J. D. Bing has suggested that the coinage that Newell attributed to Myriandros was minted at Issos (*AJN* 2 [1989] 1–31). Price (*Alexander and Philip*, 401 and n. 1) was skeptical of both these suggestions.

4. Sartre noted the silence in the Alexander historians regarding Alexandria by Issos; as a result he suggested that the settlement might have been founded under

another name and that the inhabitants might have subsequently taken to calling it *Alexandria* (*Alexandre*, 116).

Three possible **founders** have been proposed: Alexander the Great, Antigonos Monophthalmos, or Seleukos I Nikator. E. T. Newell assumed that *Alexandria* by Issos was founded by the Macedonian king (*AJN* 53 [1919] 25–26). H. Seyrig (*Syria* 47 [1970] 309 n. 1) appealed to the authority of Ps.-Scymnus in favor of Alexander; see also Hammond, *GRBS* 39 (1998) 261–62. Droysen (*Hist.*, 2: 663) dismissed the likelihood that Alexander founded the settlement when he was at the site, but suggested that the king might have ordered its construction later on when he was in the East (followed by Tarn, *Alexander*, 2: 237–38); on the other hand, Fraser (*Cities*, 21) dismissed the possibility that Alexander would have founded it at a later date, and remarked that Strabo’s silence as to the founder was a strong argument against any connection with Alexander. Tcherikover (*HS*, 59) speculated it was founded by Antigonos Monophthalmos or Seleukos I; Jones (*CERP*², 197) opted for Seleukos I and suggested that *Alexandria* resulted from a synoecism of Myriandros and Issos; Billows (*Antigonos*, 298; see also Beloch, *GG*², 4.1: 253) believed it was founded by Antigonos and was intended to serve both as the terminal for the trade route from inner Asia (see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. “*Alexandria* 15”) and as the port for upper Syria (see also Wehrli, *Antig.*, 79; Wehrli suggested it was intended to serve as the port of ANTIGONEIA on the Orontes). Billows called attention to Strabo’s observation (13.1.26) that Alexander’s successors considered it an act of piety to name a city after him. Billows noted that (a) Strabo mentions that Lysimachos renamed ANTIGONEIA Troas after Alexander, (b) Ptolemy “put his energy into building up” ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, and (c) Appian (*Syr.* 57) says that Seleukos named settlements in honor of Alexander and mentions ALEXANDRESCHATA in Scythia and ALEXANDROPOLIS in India. Billows assumed that Antigonos followed the practice of naming a settlement for Alexander, and suggested that *Alexandria* by Issos was an “obvious place to have been founded by him.” Two remarks: (a) Ptolemy, of course, did not found *Alexandria* near Egypt (though he did play a significant role in building it up); (b) since Appian specifies two settlements named by Seleukos for Alexander, it is quite possible he founded others. Hence we may rely on Appian to support the claim of Seleukos as founder of *Alexandria* by Issos. But this is all quite speculative.

5. For the **corrupted form of the toponym** see, in addition to the *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν Καβίωσαν (*Chronicon Paschale* 321.11 [CSHB IV]); Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ Καμβύσου (Malalas 16.397, CSHB XXVIII); Ἀλεξάνδρεια Κάβισσος (George of Cyprus 824–25); “Mansio Alexandria Scabiosa” (*Itin. Burdig.* 580.8, ed. Cuntz). Presumably *Alexandria Scabiosa* represents a further corruption of the toponym (i.e., *Alexandria* kat’ Issos → *Alexandria Kabissos/Kabiosa* → *Alexandria Scabiosa*). There the matter might rest, if it were not the case that LAODIKEIA near Libanos was also called *Skabiosa* (by Ptolemy [5.14.16] and the *Tab. Peut.* [IX.4]).

Fraser (*Cities*, 23) remarked that the word “‘rough’, or, of animals, ‘mangy’, is itself uncommon, and is not elsewhere applied to a city, let alone two, one an *Alexandria* and the other an early Seleucid foundation. We may feel justified in concluding that, the addition of the initial consonant notwithstanding, the two names are the same, and that one of the two items is falsely so named, and in view of the more substantial evidence for *Alexandria ad Issum* being so called, it seems more likely that at some point the Roman nomenclature was added by error in the gazetteers

available to Ptolemy, who, in any case, occasionally uses Latin terms ‘masquerading in Greek dress.’” Fraser said that he did not consider this an example of “the deliberate appropriation of a Seleucid city as an Alexandria” but simply an error in transmission. Although “scabiosa” is not found in other extant sources, “tracheia”—which would be a Greek equivalent—is attested for other regions and cities. Thus, for example, Pliny (*NH* 5.115) mentions “Smyrna cognomine Trachia” and Herodotus (4.99) refers to the “Rough Peninsula” in the Crimea. Cilicia, of course, was divided essentially into two parts, Pedias and Tracheia, i.e., Smooth and Rough Cilicia. Furthermore, Ptolemy (5.7.5) mentions Seleukeia Tracheia in Cilicia, and Pliny (*NH* 5.93) refers to it as “Tracheotis”; see further SELEUKEIA on the Kalykadnos. In short, Fraser is correct in pointing out that (a) “scabiosa” is an unusual term for a region or city and (b) the application of the term to Alexandria undoubtedly resulted from further corruption in the tradition. However, Fraser’s doubts about Laodikeia near Libanos/Skabiosa appear to be overstated; in any event, we should not exclude the possibility that “scabiosa” was there being used as a Latin equivalent of “tracheia.”

6. For the **seal** with the head of Alexander see H. Seyrig, *MUSJ* 23.2 (1940) 97.

7. For the suggestion that **Alexandreia by Issos was the port for Antigoneia** see Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 308–9. See also Wehrli, *Antig.*, 79; Wehrli posited that Antigonos was at Alexandreia when he received news of the victory at the battle of Salamis (Plut. *Demet.* 17.2–5; see also ANTIGONEIA on the Orontes and SELEUKEIA in Pieria).

8. As regards **location**, Levante noted (*NC*, 1971, 94) that three imperial coins of Alexandreia have been found in the village of Saqit, 8 km south of Iskenderun. See map in J. D. Bing, *AJN* 1 (1989) 16.

ANTIGONEIA ON THE ORONTES

In 306 B.C. Antigonos Monophthalmos founded Antigoneia on the Orontes River. According to Diodorus (20.47.5), the site was “well adapted for watching over Babylon and the upper satrapies, and again for keeping an eye upon lower Syria and the satrapies near Egypt” (trans. R. Geer).¹ The city was quite large; it had a perimeter of over 70 stades. We do not definitely know whether Antigonos established a mint at Antigoneia.² In 302 Antigonos made plans to hold major games and a festival at Antigoneia (Diod. 20.108.1). Military threats posed by Lysimachos prevented him from carrying out these plans. After the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. Seleukos destroyed the town and transported the population—which included Athenians and Macedonians, according to Malalas (8.201 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) and Libanius (*Or.* 11.92)—to the newly founded ANTIOCH near Daphne. It is also possible that some of the Antigoneians were also moved to SELEUKEIA in Pieria.³ Despite Diodorus’s claim regarding the destruction of Antigoneia we learn from Cassius Dio (40.29.1–2) that the town was still standing in 53 B.C.⁴ The site is not definitely known. Libanius (*Or.* 11.85) placed it 40 stades from Antioch; Malalas (8.199) said it was between the Orontes and the river (the Arxeuthas, the modern Kara Su) that flowed out of the Amik Gölü. Most likely it was

located northeast of Antioch in the triangle of land where the Kara Su joins the Orontes.⁵ It is likely that Antigonos was at Antigoneia when the news of the victory of the battle of Salamis was brought to him.⁶

* * * *

In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Antigoneia 1"; Tcherikover, *HS*, 61; Beloch, *GG*², 4.1: 135–36; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Syria," 1610; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 426; Downey, *HAS*, 60–61; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 307–9; Wehrli, *Antig.*, 79–80; Briant, *Antigone*, 305–10; and Billows, *Antigonos*, 242, 297.

1. On the **strategic importance of Antigoneia** see Billows, *Antigonos*, 297. For **other literary references to Antigoneia** see, for example, Stephanos s.v. "Antigoneia 5, near Antioch"; Synkellos (ed. Mosshammer) 519, 520 (Antigonos founded Antigoneia on the Orontes River, Seleukos refounded it and called it ANTIOCH); essentially the same information in the *Syriac Chronicle to the Year 724* (E. W. Brooks, ed., and J.-B. Chabot, trans., in *CSCO Scriptores Syri Versio Series III, Tomus IV, Chronica Minora* [Leipzig, 1903] p. 83).

2. E. T. Newell (*WSM*, 84–86) suggested that under Antigonos there was a **mint at Antigoneia** that produced Alexander-type tetradrachms (nos. 1–5); see also Waage, *Antioch* IV.2, 788; L. Lacroix, *BCH* 73 (1949) 164; G. Le Rider in *Meydancikkale*, pp. 90f., nos. 1934–47; id., *RBN* 145 (1999) 123–26, pl. XII, 9–11. However, serious doubts have arisen about the definite attribution of any coinage to a mint at Antigoneia: N. Breitenstein (*Acta Arch.* 13 [1942] 252–56) attributed the tetradrachms to Babylon. Price (*Alexander and Philip*, pp. 397–98, nos. 3191–95, and pp. 456, 480) suggested placing this coinage under Seleukos either at SELEUKEIA in Pieria or SELEUKEIA on the Tigris. Le Rider (*RBN* 145 [1999] 123–28; *Antioche*, 18–21) likewise raised doubts about the existence of a mint at Antigoneia under Antigonos but—in support of Newell—was willing to consider the possibility ("only a speculation") that Seleukos briefly struck coins there: this would have happened in the c. eight-month period in 300 B.C. between the founding of SELEUKEIA in Pieria and the abandonment of Antigoneia.

3. Strabo (16.2.4), Libanius (*Or.* 11.92), and Malalas (8.255–56 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) indicate that **Seleukos destroyed or depopulated Antigoneia in order to populate Antioch**. It is Diodorus (20.47.6) who says that Seleukos destroyed Antigoneia and moved it to Seleukeia. A number of scholars have suggested that Diodorus was simply confused, or have tried to emend the text (see below). However, the importance of Seleukeia at the beginning of the third century B.C. makes it quite possible that, along with Antioch, it received some of the former Antigoneians (see Downey, *HAS*, 59; Le Rider, *RBN* 145 [1999] 137). As for the transfer of the population of Antigoneia to Antioch (rather than to Seleukeia), Marinoni has cited four pieces of supporting evidence (*Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 106 [1972] 590–93): (a) Malalas (8.201) mentions that Seleukos I placed a statue of the Tyche of Antigoneia in Antioch; (b) Malalas also says that Seleukos erected a bronze statue of Athena at Antioch (Marinoni suggests this could have been done in order to please Athenians who were part of the population of Antigoneia); (c) it was these persons, according to Libanius (*Or.* 11.92), who honored Seleukos with a statue at Antioch; (d) the bronze coinage of Antioch

has on the obverse a head of Apollo and on the reverse a draped figure of Athena (WSM 911–15). This would reflect the union of the inhabitants of Antigoneia and the subjects of Seleukos (see Downey, *HAS*, 77). Cf., however, Le Rider (*RBN* 145 [1999] 118–20), who noted, among other things, that Apollo is found on the coins of numerous mints, as is Athena. Furthermore, given that Athena was honored at Pella in Macedonia and that Alexander minted gold staters with her portrait head, it is not surprising that Seleukos cultivated her worship.

The claim of Kedrenos (1.166C–D [*CSHB* XIII]) that Antioch was actually built on the site of Antigoneia is unlikely.

4. Three possibilities emerge to explain **the existence of Antigoneia in 53 B.C.** after its destruction by Seleukos: (a) it was actually destroyed and at some later time rebuilt; (b) the destruction involved only a partial depopulation; (c) Antigoneia was relegated to the status of *kome* of the new city of Antioch (so Tcherikover, *HS*, 61, followed by Downey, *HAS*, 60 n. 28, and Billows, *Antigonos*, 297). In this connection, we should bear in mind that the “destruction” of a town could take a number of forms, not all of which involved physical destruction; see further KOLOPHON in Ionia.

5. For the **location** of Antigoneia see Downey, *HAS*, 60; Seyrig, *Syria* (1970) 308 and map 2 (p. 295); Billows, *Antigonos*, 297.

6. According to Plutarch, after the battle of Salamis Aristodemos brought word of the victory to Antigonos while the latter was at a βασιλείον (*Demet.* 17; on Hellenistic royal residences see especially Hoepfner and Brands, *Basileia*). The existence of **an Antigonid royal residence on (or near) the coast of Syria** and Antigonos’s earlier ship-building activity at Tyre, Byblos, and Sidon (Diod. 19.58.1–4) suggest that Antigonos probably established a port on the Syrian littoral. We do not know the name of this port (if he did build one) nor where it might have been located. In short, therefore, we do not know where Antigonos was when the news of the victory at Salamis was brought to him.

An important piece of evidence for this discussion is Diodorus, who says that the city of Antigoneia was short-lived because Seleukos destroyed it and transferred it ἐπὶ τὴν κτισθεῖσαν μὲν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἀπ’ ἐκείνου δὲ κληθεῖσαν Σελεύκειαν (20.47.6). There are two problems connected with this passage: (a) Diodorus says that the destruction of Antigoneia was followed by the founding of Seleukeia, rather than Antioch (on this problem see above, n. 2, and SELEUKEIA in Pieria); (b) it is not clear to what or whom ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἀπ’ ἐκείνου refers. Various solutions to the latter have been proposed:

- i. Both ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ and ἀπ’ ἐκείνου refer to the same person, i.e., Seleukos; so translated by Geer in the Loeb edition (“... Seleucus dismantled it and transported it to the city which he founded and called Seleucea after himself”). However, this is grammatically awkward, as Le Rider noted (*RBN* 145 [1999] 138).
- ii. ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ refers to Antigonos and ἀπ’ ἐκείνου to Seleukos (Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia [Pieria],” 1185). Thus Honigmann suggested that Seleukos built Seleukeia on the site of an earlier foundation of Antigonos. In this he was followed by Downey (*HAS*, 59: “. . . Seleucus destroyed it and transferred the inhabitants to the city built by him [i.e., Antigonos] which he named Seleucia for himself”). Contra: H. Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 309 n. 2; McNicoll, *Fortifications*, 82. Le Rider (*RBN* 145 [1999] 138–39), who also objected to the suggestion that Antigonos founded a settlement at the site of the future Seleukeia (“Il faut faire violence à

la grammaire pour comprendre ainsi la phrase de Diodore”), noted that (a) according to Plutarch, Aristodemus, who brought the news of the victory, went up to Antigonos (πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἀνέβαινε; the verb suggests Antigonos was somewhere in the interior, i.e., at Antigoneia, rather than on the coast); (b) at the time of the battle, Antigonos was in the interior of upper Syria, founding the city of Antigoneia (Diod. 20.47.5); and, less convincingly, (c) Antigonos sent numerous servants and friends to meet Aristodemus in order to learn as quickly as possible about the outcome of the battle. This is difficult to understand, given that Antigonos was on the coast and Aristodemus had also disembarked on the coast. Note, however, that Plutarch’s narrative does not necessarily indicate Aristodemus disembarked at the place where Antigonos was waiting. It is possible, after all, that Antigonos was also on the coast, but at some distance from the spot where Aristodemus landed (see also Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 38).

- iii. Marinoni suggested (*Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 106 [1972] 589, noted approvingly by Le Rider, *RBN* 145 [1999] 139) that ἀπ’ ἐκείνου should be understood in a temporal sense: i.e., “the city of Antigoneia only existed for a short time, Seleukos having destroyed it and transferred it to the city founded by him (which) since then has been called, Seleukeia.”
- iv. The text should be emended. Thus Wessling (1793) and Dindorf (1842) suggested ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκείνου δὲ κληθεῖσαν Σελεύκεια; Fischer (1906): ἀπ’ ἐκείνου δὲ κληθεῖσαν Σελεύκειαν; see also Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 729; Benzinger, *RE*s.v. “Antiocheia 1,” 2443.

Finally, we may return to the question, Where was Antigonos when the news of the victory at Salamis was brought to him? Possible answers include (a) a coastal town that was the site of the later Seleukeia (Honigmann, *RE*s.v. “Seleukeia [Pieria],” 1185; Downey, *HAS*, 58); (b) ALEXANDREIA by Issos, which was serving as the port of Antigoneia (Wehrli, *Antig.*, 79); (c) Antigoneia (Billows, *Antigonos*, 157; Le Rider, *RBN* 145 [1999] 138–39). The latter seems the most likely.

ANTIOCH IN PIERIA

Stephanos (s.v. “Antioch 7”), who is not always the most reliable source, records an Antioch in Pieria ἣν Ἀραδὸν οἱ Σύροι καλοῦσιν. This is our only evidence for the existence of this town.

Tcherikover cautions that this has nothing to do with the Phoenician city of Arados. He points out that Rhosos on the south coast of the Gulf of Issos was also known as Arosos (modern Arsuz, now also called Ulçinar) and was often confused with Arados (e.g., Pomp. Mela 1.69).¹ Tcherikover then suggests that we are dealing here with the city of Rhosos and that Stephanos may have written “Arados” instead of “Rhosos” (“Arosos”).² We do not know the founder. Tcherikover’s suggestion—Antiochos IV Epiphanes—is a reasonable speculation.

In general see Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 47; Tcherikover, *HS*, 59; Mørholm, *Antiochus IV*, 116; MacAdam, *Topoi* 3 (1993) 343; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, 692.

1. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 17.2: 1812; see also J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires*, 63–65. According to Plutarch (*Demet.* 32) and Malalas (8.198 [*CSHB* XXVIII]), Seleukos first encountered Stratonike at Rhosos.

MacAdam (*Topoi* 3 [1993] 343 and n. 90) followed Stephanos and suggested that (a) following the Third Syrian War Antiochos II renamed Arados, and (b) Pieria “refers to the old Macedonian town”; Grainger (*Seleukid Prosopography*, 692) equated Arados with Antioch in Pieria and suggested the founder was either Antiochos IV or VII. Now, Pieria referred to two coastal *regions* in Macedonia: on the Thermaic Gulf and on the Gulf of Kavala (according to Thucydides 2.99.3, the latter, at the foot of Mount Pangaios, was inhabited by settlers who had been expelled from the former); see, for example, Papazoglou, *Villes*, 103–24, 385–413. There was also a city named Pieris in Pieria on the Thermaic Gulf (Papazoglou, *Villes*, 111–12; Papazoglou also suggested that in *IG* VII.2486 [second cent. B.C.] the reference to Pieria was probably to a place rather than a region, i.e., to the former Pieris). However, it has generally been assumed that Pieria in Syria was named for the Macedonian region. And this seems reasonable.

The equation of Antioch in Pieria with Arados remains questionable.

2. For the **location** see Dussaud, *Topographie*, 442f. and map XI (opposite p. 440).

ANTIOCH NEAR DAPHNE

Legends preserved by Libanius and Malalas mention the presence of three settlements—Iopolis, Kasiotis, Herakleia—in the area of the future Antioch near Daphne.¹ Scanty archaeological remains provide some support for these traditions.²

Libanius also preserved a tradition that Alexander the Great planned to found a city on the site of what was later to become Antioch (*Or.* 11.72–76). Prevented by the need to continue his campaigning, Alexander, nevertheless, according to Libanius, established a shrine of Zeus Battaïos (76), named for the region in Macedonia whence he came. Libanius also says Alexander established an *akra* called Emathia after his homeland. What, if anything, Alexander actually did at or near the site of the future Antioch is unclear. The tradition may simply be, as Downey has suggested, an aetiological legend designed to glorify the origins of Antioch.³

After his victory over Antigonos at Ipsos in 301 B.C. Seleukos Nikator first founded Seleukeia in Pieria on 23 Xanthikos 300 B.C., and a month later, on 22 Artemisios, Antioch, most probably naming it for his father.⁴ Both Libanius (*Or.* 11.85–88) and Malalas (8.199–200 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) tell how Seleukos came to ANTIGONEIA and sacrificed to Zeus. An eagle thereupon descended, snatched up part of the sacrifice, and flew off to the future site of Antioch.⁵ Libanius (*Or.* 11.90), in a narrative that recalls the description in the *Alexander Romance* (1.31–33) of the founding of ALEXANDREIA near

Egypt, tells how Seleukos placed elephants where the towers would later be and marked out the streets with wheat.⁶ According to Malalas (8.200), Seleukos founded the city on the site of the village of Bottia and then began building a temple to Zeus Bottiaios. Malalas says that Xenarios was the architect in charge of building the walls. There were also three “supervisors of the buildings”—Attaios, Perittas, and Anaxikrates—who probably assisted Xenarios (Tzetzes *Hist.* 7.118 [ed. Leone, 1968]). The founding population apparently included persons drawn from a number of sources: retired soldiers of Seleukos (Libanius *Or.* 11.91), former inhabitants of Antigoneia (Libanius *Or.* 11.92; Malalas 8.201), as well as Cretans, Argives, Cypriots, and Heraklids who had previously been settled on Mount Silpios, and the descendants of Triptolemos (Libanius *Or.* 11.91; Malalas 8.201; Strabo 16.2.5). Strabo adds that the inhabitants of Antioch worshipped Triptolemos on nearby Mount Kasios.⁷

The size of the original population is not precisely known. Both Strabo (16.2.4) and Malalas (8.201) specify that the founding population included settlers brought from nearby ANTIGONEIA. Malalas gives the figure of 5,300 Athenians and Macedonians from Antigoneia who were settled at the new foundation. If this figure is correct and if it refers to adult male citizens rather than the total free population it would suggest a total founding population—exclusive of the descendants of the “sons of Triptolemos”—of between 18,000 and 25,000.⁸ Julian (*Misop.* 362C) refers to the 10,000 *kleroi* in Antioch in his day. Whether these *kleroi* were vestiges of the early settlement is not clear.

According to Strabo (16.2.4) Antioch consisted of four quarters: the first was founded by Seleukos I Nikator, the second was a *πλήθους τῶν οἰκητόρων . . . κτίσμα*, the third was founded by Seleukos II, and the fourth by Antiochos IV Epiphanes.⁹ Seleukos Nikator set up statues of, among others, Zeus Keranios,¹⁰ Athena, Tyche,¹¹ and the Tyche of Antigoneia.¹² Kalliope, along with Apollo and Zeus, was considered to be a guardian deity of Antioch.¹³ After a particularly terrible earthquake hit Antioch in 115 A.D. (Cassius Dio 68.24) Trajan set up a bronze statue of Kalliope on four columns—“in the manner of the Tyche of the city” (Malalas 11.276)—being crowned by Seleukos and Antiochos. The presence of the kings in the statuary group indicates that a founder cult still existed at the time.

In his encomium for Antioch Libanius remarks (*Or.* 11.104) that Seleukos I “established his sceptre here and, so to speak, gave this city of ours a like right to rule over the others . . . and found no other more worthy of the royal residence” (*ἀλλ' αὐτός τε ἐνταῦθα τὸ σκῆπτρον ἰδρύσατο καὶ ταύτη κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἴσον ἔδωκεν, ὥσπερ θεραπαίνας αὐτῇ τὰς ἄλλας οἰκοδομούμενος καὶ βασιλείους πρεπωδεστέραν ἑτέραν οὐχ ὄρων*, trans. G. Downey). Despite Libanius's claim, some scholars have suggested that originally Seleukos intended SELEUKEIA in Pieria to be his capital and that only under Antiochos I Soter was the capital moved to Antioch.¹⁴

I have mentioned that Strabo recorded Seleukos II as one of the founders of Antioch. In his account Libanius does not mention Seleukos. However, he does say (*Or.* 11.119) that Antiochos III settled the island in the Orontes and built a wall around it. He also added persons of “Hellenic stock, Aeolians and Cretans and Euboeans” to the population. There is no necessary contradiction between the accounts of Strabo and Libanius. It is possible that Antiochos simply concluded work that was begun by Seleukos. In any event, it is quite probable that some of the new inhabitants brought in by Antiochos were from Greece and Asia Minor.¹⁵ In addition, Antiochos appointed Euphorion of Chalcis head of the library in Antioch (*Suda* s.v. “Euphorion”). Later, Antiochos III proclaimed Laodike his queen at Antioch (Polyb. 5.43.1).

Strabo mentions (16.2.6) that the Antiochenes and the neighboring population were accustomed to hold a festival (*πανηγυρίζειν*) at Daphne.¹⁶ It is possible that this is the festival attested in 197 and 195 B.C. In an inscription dated to 197/6 B.C. a group of *theoroi* and the *architheoros* recorded their gratitude to the agonothete, Theophilos, for the reception they received at a festival that took place in 197 B.C.¹⁷ Furthermore, Livy (33.49.6) says that in 195 B.C. the future Antiochos IV was holding ritual games at Daphne when Hannibal arrived. It is quite probable that the inscription and Livy record two celebrations of the same games. If so, this would indicate that (a) the earlier games were also held at Daphne and (b) the games were possibly held on a trieteric cycle.

In addition to building a fourth quarter, “Epiphania” (Strabo 16.2.4; Malalas 8.205), Antiochos IV built, among other things, a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus (Livy 41.20.9) and a bouleuterion (Malalas 8.205).¹⁸ The precise location of the bouleuterion is not known. However, Downey has suggested that it may have been in a Hellenistic agora that was probably in Epiphania.¹⁹ Antiochos probably also built an aqueduct. Various monuments built by Antiochos are also known, among them a rock-cut bust, the “Charonion.” In c. 167 B.C. the king celebrated elaborate games at Daphne.²⁰ In addition, Libanius (*Or.* 11.125) mentions the presence of temples of Minos, Demeter, and Herakles, a theater, paved roads, and a water system.

During the reign of Alexander Balas (150–145 B.C.) a series of bronze coins appear with the legend *ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ*, “of the brother peoples,” replacing the civic ethnic. These were probably coins of Antioch and SELEUKEIA in Pieria. Their appearance marked the establishment of a short-lived league between the two cities.²¹

Except for c. 246–244 B.C., when Antioch was briefly under Ptolemaic rule, the royal mint there produced coins continuously from Seleukos I until Tigranes II assumed control of the city in the early first century B.C.²² The last attested Seleucid coins were minted during the first reign of Antiochos XIII (69/8–68/7 B.C.). In addition to the royal mint, there is possible evidence for civic bronzes bearing the ethnic *ANTIOXEΩΝ* under Seleukos I

and perhaps under Antiochos I. Under Antiochos IV Epiphanes Antioch produced quasi-municipal coins with the portrait of the king on the obverse and the legend *ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΠΠΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ* on the reverse. Under the same king the coinage underwent a small weight reduction around 173/2 B.C.²³ This ethnic is also attested—with minor variations—on inscriptions from the late third century B.C. onward as well as in the literary sources down to the second century A.D.²⁴ In addition to coins, weights from Antioch have survived; the weights—both royal and civic—date to the second and first centuries B.C.²⁵

We may attempt to sketch what is known about the organization and administration of Antioch. Strabo tells us (16.2.5) that the city was the royal residence (*τὸ βασιλεῖον*); in the riots of 147 B.C. Demetrios II Nikator took refuge in the palace. Strabo also says that Antioch was the metropolis of Syria. The title *ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ* is frequently found on Antiochene coinage and in other sources beginning in the first century B.C. The Gurob Papyrus (*FGrH* 160) provides fragmentary information about Antioch following the death of Antiochos II in 246 B.C., when Ptolemy III briefly took control of the city. According to the papyrus (III.20–22) the Ptolemaic party approaching Antioch was met by the satraps, generals, priests, and magistrates as well as the “young men of the gymnasium.” Polybius’s account of Antiochos’s great procession in c. 167 B.C. refers to the dispatch of ambassadors (*presbeis*) and sacred envoys (*theoroi*) to announce the games, as well as the presence of “around eight hundred” *epheboi*; he also mentions the agora as well as the offices of *agoranomos* and *demarchos*. The inscription of 198/7 B.C. mentions the presence of an agonothete. In Libanius’s time (fourth century A.D.) there were eighteen tribes; we do not know how many there were in the Hellenistic period. The Antiochenes used Macedonian month names (Malalas 8.202). The fact that Epiphanes built a bouleuterion obviously means that in the second century B.C. there was a council. In c. 203 B.C. Teos granted *politeia* to the *demos* of Antioch (as well as *LAODIKEIA* by the Sea and *SELEUKEIA* in Pieria). An inscription from Rhosos of 31 B.C. records the existence of a *boule* and *demos* (*IGLS* 718.7). In the course of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods at least four eras are attested at Antioch: the Seleucid, Pompeian, Caesarean, and Aktian.²⁶

For the Seleucids northern Syria was essential for access to the western part of their empire and for control of their eastern possessions. And the dominant city in northern Syria was Antioch. Diodorus’s description of nearby Antigoneia (20.47.5)—“well adapted for watching over Babylon and the upper satrapies, and again for keeping an eye on lower Syria and the satrapies near Egypt” (trans. R. Geer)—may apply equally well to Antioch. Furthermore, according to Libanius (*Or.* 11.100), it was important as a “starting point for [travel to] other cities.”

Antioch was located in the plain north of Mount Silpios, on the Orontes

River. The precise size of the city is difficult to fix. It is estimated that the wall of Seleukos enclosed an area of 90 hectares and that this grew to c. 500 hectares by the time of Justinian. Previously it was thought that the inhabited part extended only from Mount Silpios north to the Orontes. However, epigraphic evidence has now demonstrated the existence of a fullers' quarter on the right (i.e., north) bank of the Orontes in 73–74 A.D. We do not know how large this area was or whether it was inhabited in the Hellenistic period. Like other Hellenistic cities Antioch was laid out on a gridiron plan. The main street was on a northeast-southwest axis. The streets off it were spaced at intervals of approximately 112 meters and were 58 meters apart (compared with 112×57 meters at LAODIKEIA by the Sea and 107×54 meters at APAMEIA on the Axios). From the epigraphic evidence of 73–74 A.D. we learn that names—usually of persons, occasionally of associations, a divinity, or a monument—were attached to the *plinthēia*, that is, the city blocks.²⁷

Antioch was located at the site of the modern Turkish city of Antakya.

* * * *

In general see Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenae*; R. Förster, *JDAI* 12 (1897) 103–49, 16 (1901) 39–55; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. “Antiocheia 1”; J. Weulersse, *BEO* 4 (1934) 27–79; Tcherikover, *HS*, 60–61; E. T. Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch* (New York, 1918); Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 45; G. Haddad, *Aspects of Social Life in Antioch in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (Chicago, 1949); Downey, *HAS*, 46–142 and passim (his *Ancient Antioch* is a condensed version), and *PAPS* 103.5 (1959) 652–86 (translation of Libanius’s *Oration* 11 [*Antiochikos*] with introduction and brief commentary); R. Martin in *Antioche païenne et chrétienne*, ed. J. Festugière (Paris, 1959) 38–61 (archaeological commentary on the *Antiochikos*); J. Lassus, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 54–102; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 122–29 and passim, and *Seleukid Prosopography*, 683–85; F. W. Norris, *ABD* s.v. “Antioch of Syria”; Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 4: 231–52; Rigsby, *Asyria*, 497–99; Ern. Will, *Syria* 74 (1997) 99–113 and in *Mégapoles*, 482–91; M. Sartre in *Mégapoles*, 492–505.

For the results of the excavation at Antioch see G. W. Elderkin, R. Stillwell, et. al., eds., *Antioch I–V*; J. Lassus, *PECS* s.v. “Antioch on the Orontes.”

1. The major **literary sources for Hellenistic Antioch** are Libanius *Or.* 11 and Malalas. In addition, Diodorus, Strabo, and Julian (*Misopogon*), among others, provide useful information about the founding and early history of the city. For **Libanius and Antioch** see A. F. Norman, *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius* (Liverpool, 2000). For **Malalas** see E. Jeffreys, B. Coke, and R. Scott, eds., *Studies in John Malalas* (Sydney, 1990), and the introduction to the English translation of the *Chronicle* (Melbourne, 1986) by E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott; B. Baldwin, *ODB* s.v. “Malalas, John”; P. Chuvin in *GHPO*, 99–110. **An anonymous Arabic description of the city** also provides interesting information; see below, n. 4. For a selection of the writings of the Arabic geographers on Antioch see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 367–77. In general see Downey, *HAS*, 35–45. For a discussion of the archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence see Downey, pp. 24–35.

For **Herakleia** see below, n. 16.

2. On **pre-Macedonian Greek settlement** around Antioch and the various founding legends relating to them see Downey, *HAS*, 46–53.

3. On **Alexander and Antioch** see Downey, *HAS*, 54–55. On the **Bottiaioi** and **Emathia** see Papazoglou, *Villes*, 124–58. According to Libanius (*Or.* 11.76) it was Alexander who founded the **temple of Zeus Bottiaios**. See further Downey, *HAS*, 68 and n. 62; Musti, *SCO* 15 (1966) 94.

4. The **ancient sources disagreed about whether Seleukos named Antioch for his father or for his son, Antiochos I**. Some claimed the former (see, for example, Strabo 16.2.4; Appian *Syr.* 57; Pausanias of Damascus quoted by Malalas 8.204; Justin 154.8; George Kedrenos 166D [*CSHB* XIII]; Eustathius, *Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918 [= *GGM*, 2: 379]); others (Malalas 2.29, 8.200, 204; Julian *Misop.* 347A; Sozomenos *Hist. Eccl.* 5.19, ed. Bidez and Hansen [= *PG* 67: 1273]; John of Nikiu 61, trans. R. H. Charles [London, 1916]) suggested the latter. In Libanius *Or.* 11.93 the MSS vary; some relate the naming to the father; others, to the son. However, the superior manuscripts refer to the father.

There are a number of reasons for believing Seleukos named the settlement for his father rather than for his son: (a) the tradition favoring the father includes two important ancient (as opposed to Byzantine) sources, Strabo and Appian, while the tradition favoring the son is rooted in the later, Byzantine tradition; (b) as Downey has suggested, the most likely reason for supposing that Seleukos named it for his father is “the way in which the other cities of the tetrapolis were named”; Downey explains: “If Seleucia Pieria was named for Seleucus, Apamea for his wife, and Laodicea for his mother, it seems logical to suppose that Antioch was named for Seleucus’ father rather than for his son” (*HAS*, 581–82). In general see Downey, *HAS*, 581–82; and Brodersen, *Komment.*, 147.

I would also call attention to the **anonymous Arabic account of the founding of Antioch**, which was probably composed between 969 and 1268 A.D. (Arabic Codex 286 of the Vatican Library; see I. Guidi, *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei* [1897] 137–61 [text and Italian translation]; W. F. Stinespring, “The Description of Antioch in Codex Vaticanus Arabicus 286” [PhD diss., Yale University, 1932] [English translation and commentary]). According to the account, King Antiochos (*sic*) founded the city. Among other things, he built an aqueduct (note, however, Downey, *HAS*, 72 and n. 83: [a] the account is late, and [b] “the statement might simply represent an inference based on the supposition that a city such as Antioch must have possessed aqueducts from the beginning”) and two grain elevators. In addition, the account says the king removed people from surrounding towns and villages in order to populate the new settlement, granted them immunity from taxes for three years, and gave them dwellings, shops, gardens, and productive lands.

The reference to **Antiochos as the founder of Antioch** is also found in Agapius (*Univ. Hist.* I.2, p. 237 [*PO* XI, p. 109, ed. A. Vasiliev]) and in other Arabic as well as some rabbinic sources; see, for example, Yakut, *Mujam al-Buldan*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–1873) 1: 382; and Le Strange, *Palestine* 375–76 (on the confusion in Yakut see Haddad, *Antioch*, 3 n. 1); Masudi, *Muruj al-Dhahab (Les prairies d’or)*, ed. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1863–1917) 3: 409; *Midrash Tehillim* 9.8; *Yalkut Shimoni Tehillim* 9.8; *Bereshith Rabbah* 23. See also S. Krauss, *REJ* 45 (1902) 27–49, esp. 27–33; Haddad, *Antioch*, 3 and nn. 1–2.

5. Regarding **the eagle with the sacrificial meat in its claws**, Malalas (8.200) says

it flew to Mount Silpios, and Libanius (*Or.* 11.88) says it flew to the altar of Zeus Botiaios that Alexander had established. Coins of the Imperial period with an eagle standing on the leg and thigh of an animal may recall this incident; see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 187ff., nos. 304, 43, 51, 58–59, 61–65, 80–82, 93; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities* 205, 229.

6. **Seleukos's founding of Antioch is depicted on a sculptured capital** that is dated to the fourth century A.D. The capital was found at Bourg es-Sleyb, which is approximately 20 km north of Latakiya and is presumably the site of HERAKLEIA by the Sea (*REA* 42 [1940] 340–44; see also Leschhorn, “*Gründer*,” 239). For the **founding of ALEXANDREIA near Egypt** see that entry.

7. For the worship of **Zeus Kasios** see, for example, *Amm. Marc.* 22.14.4–5; *Julian Misop.* 361D; *Libanius Or.* 11.116f., 18.172; *Malalas* 8.327; see also SELEUKIA in Pieria. According to Synkellos (ed. Mosshammer) 237, Kasos and Belos, sons of Inachos, founded Antioch (cf. *Malalas* 2.28).

8. On the **founding population of Antioch** see Downey, *HAS*, 79. On the **population of Antioch** see Tcherikover, *HS*, 199–200; Downey, *TAPA* 89 (1958) 84–91 and *HAS*, 582–83. With *Malalas's* figure we may compare Polybius (5.61.1), who says that in 219 B.C. there were 6,000 *eleutheroi* in SELEUKIA in Pieria; presumably this refers to “free citizens or men of military age” (Walbank, *Comment. on Polyb.* 5.61.1).

In the early first century A.D. we have some basis of comparison for estimating the probable population of Antioch. Strabo, who lived in the latter half of the first century B.C./early first century A.D., described Antioch as not much smaller than ALEXANDREIA near Egypt or SELEUKIA on the Tigris (16.2.5). Now, for the former, Diodorus, who flourished in the third quarter of the first century B.C., gives a figure of 300,000 *eleutheroi* (17.52.6). And Pliny (*NH* 6.122), who lived in the first century A.D., says that the population of the latter was 600,000. This probably represents both slave and free population (see Downey, *HAS*, 86). With these two cities we may also compare the census figure of 117,000 *homines cives* for Apameia on the Axios in 6/7 A.D. (*CIL* III 6687; see further APAMEIA, n. 13 and references cited there).

Josephus's claim (*C. Ap.* 2.39, *AJ* 12.119, *BJ* 7.43–44) that **Seleukos I granted the Jews citizenship rights in Antioch** has been correctly received with much skepticism by modern scholars; see, for example, Haddad, *Antioch*, 50–51; R. Marcus, ed., *Josephus*, Loeb Classical Library, 7: 742; Downey, *HAS*, 80.

9. We do not know precisely what Strabo meant when he described the second quarter as a *κτίσμα . . . τοῦ πλήθους τῶν οἰκητόρων* (16.2.4). Two questions—neither of which allows a definitive answer—immediately come to mind: (a) What population group is meant by *τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκητόρων*, and (b) who was the founder of this quarter? As to the first question: most likely these were native Syrians as opposed to Greek or Macedonian colonists. As to the second question: we do not know the founder. Downey has suggested (*TAPA* 72 [1941] 89) that since Strabo did not mention a royal founder, it was probably established at the same time as the first quarter; I have suggested that the *oiketores* were brought in after the initial settling of the colonists; how long after is impossible to say (*Seleucid Colonies*, 39). See especially Downey's discussion in *TAPA* (1941) 89–95 and *HAS*, 79–82; and Jones, *CERP*², 242–43.

10. Presumably these were the same **statues of Zeus Keraunios and of Athena** that

were sent from Antioch to Rome when M. Calpurnius Bibulus was governor of Syria (51–50 B.C.; Malalas 8.212 and Downey, *HAS*, 151 n. 41). One of the *plintheia* (i.e., apartment blocks) of Antioch was named for an association of Kerauniastes (D. Feissel, *Syria* 62 [1985] p. 83, B27–28, and p. 102). On Zeus Keraunios see SELEUKEIA in Pieria.

In general, for the Greek cults at Antioch see B. Cabouret, *Topoi* 7 (1997) 1005–22.

11. With regard to the **Tyche of Antioch**, Pausanias (6.2.7) says that Eutyichides, a pupil of Lysippos, made a statue of Tyche for the “Syrians on the Orontes.” Pliny (*NH* 34.51) places Eutyichides in the 121st Olympiad, i.e., 296–292 B.C. Finally, Malalas (8.201) adds two important details: (a) it was Seleukos who ordered the statue of the Tyche, and (b) the river (i.e., the Orontes) was at the feet of the figure. This last detail has allowed the identification of the work on statuettes, as well as on coins, gems, and lamps. See especially the important article of J.-C. Balty, *LIMC* s.v. “Antiocheia,” 840–51 (extensive references and bibliography); see also, for example, T. Dohrn, *Die Tyche von Antiochia* (Berlin, 1960); J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934) 131–33; Downey, *HAS*, 73–75, 216–17; B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 1: 233–35. For the Tyche within a portable shrine see Price and Trell, *Coins*, 35 and fig. 42.

Curiously, there are no extant examples of the Tyche of Antioch on the coins of the Seleucid monarchs. On issues of Antioch the earliest extant coin with a Tyche dates from 88/7 B.C. (e.g., *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 152, nos. 19–20; and *Antioch* IV.2 252). From the first century B.C. onward coins from Antioch with the Tyche are increasingly common; thus, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 156ff., nos. 37–39, 52, 69–70, 74–79, 85, 95–98, 101–2, 105–7, 116–18, 123–24, etc.; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities* 86, 94, 99–103, 112, 115–18, 122–23, 126, etc.; *Antioch* IV.2 256, 259, 261, 291–93, 400–401, 421, 429, 442–45, etc.; in general see the list of citations in Balty, *LIMC* s.v. “Antiocheia,” 845–47.

Tigranes II issued coins with the Tyche during his rule in Antioch (83–69 B.C.; on the dates see below, n. 22); see, for example, *BMC Seleucid Kings*, 103ff., nos. 1–18; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Seleucid Kings* 435; *CSE* 397–98; and P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia* (London, 1978) 13, 47–61, nos. 7–11, 17–87; L. Lacroix, *BCH* 73 (1949) 175; and Balty, *LIMC* s.v. “Antiocheia,” 845.

The Tyche on the reverse of coins of Demetrios I (for example, Newell, *Seleucid Mint*, 79–94, 102–8; *CSE* 143–44; and *Antioch* IV.2 129–30) is not the Tyche of Antioch; see Downey, *HAS* 74–75 and nn. 88, 93.

12. According to Malalas (8.201), when Seleukos destroyed ANTIGONEIA he erected a statue of **Tyche of Antigoneia** in Antioch; it is not clear, incidentally, whether the king made a new statue or—as seems more likely—brought the statue from Antigoneia; see Müller, *Antiquitates*, 40; and Downey, *HAS* 74–76 and notes. Malalas adds that he placed the statue in a *tetrakionion* (a tetrastyle shrine). On coins from Antioch of the second and third centuries A.D. there are numerous examples of Tyche within a *tetrakionion*; thus *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 222ff., nos. 600–601, 623–24, 628–29, 653–57, etc.; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities* 284, 292–96; Bellinger, *Dura: The Coins* 1737, 39–42; *Antioch* IV.2 632, 702–3, 706–8, 711–13, etc. We do not know if the Tyche represented on the coins is the one of Antigoneia rather than that of Antioch. See further Balty, *LIMC* s.v. “Antiocheia,” 846, and examples cited there.

13. On **Apollo** who was especially honored by the sanctuary at Daphne see, for

example, Strabo 16.2.6; Libanius *Or.* 11.56, 94–99, 233–36; Sozomenos *Hist. Eccl.* 5.19 (ed. Bidez and Hansen) (= *PG* 67: 1273); as well as L. Lacroix, *BCH* 73 (1949) 173; and Downey, *HAS*, 68 and n. 6. On **Kalliope** see, for example, Libanius *Or.* 1.102, 15.79, 20.51, 60.13; *Epist.* 811, 1182 (ed. Förster); and Julian *Misop.* 357C. The **statue of Kalliope in the fashion of the Tyche of the city being crowned by Seleukos and Antiochos** (Malalas 11.276) reappears—with significant modifications—on coins struck by Severus Alexander and on gems. On the reverse of the coins we see the Tyche of Antioch in the center; on the left a standing Tyche, holding a rudder and cornucopia; on the right a figure in cuirass, crowning the Tyche of Antioch. The latter figure is probably a Roman emperor, undoubtedly Severus Alexander himself, rather than Seleukos; see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 208f., nos. 474–83; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 256; Bellinger, *Dura, The Coins* 1706–10; Waage, *Antioch IV*.2 645–46; and other citations in Balty, *LIMC* s.v. “Antiocheia,” 846. For the same on gems see, for example, Richter, *Metrop. Museum Gems*, p. 376, no. 380; Dohrn, *Die Tyche von Antiochia*, 29; and additional references in Balty, *LIMC* s.v. “Antiocheia,” 848. See also, for example, Rostovtzeff in *Mélanges syriens*, 288–89; Downey, *HAS*, 75 n. 93, 216–17; Leschhorn, “*Gründer*,” 239; Balty, *LIMC* s.v. “Antiocheia,” 841; B. S. Ridgway in *Festschrift Himmelmann*, 269–70.

For Severus Alexander as an incarnation of Alexander the Great see Rostovtzeff in *Mélanges syriens*, 28; in general for the “Alexandrolatry” of the Severan age see OTROUS and THESSALONIKE.

14. For the view that **Seleukos originally intended SELEUKEIA in Pieria** to be his capital see that entry.

15. **For the alleged contradiction between Strabo and Libanius regarding the settlement activity of Seleukos II and Antiochos III** see Downey, *TAPA* 72 (1941) 86–91, following Müller, *Antiquitates*, 51, and R. Förster, *JDAI* 12 (1897) 120. I am not convinced by Droysen’s rejection of Libanius’s account in favor of Strabo (*Hist.*, 3: 449 n. 4). In general on the various founders and the quarters they founded see Downey, *TAPA* 72 (1941) 85–95.

For the likelihood that some of the later settlers of Hellenistic Antioch came from Greece and Asia Minor see Briant, *Paysans*, 276–78. In support of his contention Briant correctly notes that social unrest in Greece in the latter part of the third/beginning of the second century B.C. would have encouraged emigration. Furthermore, the treaty of Apameia did not prohibit emigrants from leaving Asia Minor.

16. On **festivals at Daphne** see also *I. Perg.* 1: 160B (= *OGIS* 428), which records a decree, apparently of Athens, that honors King Eumenes and his family for helping Antiochos IV gain his throne. (The original editor, Fränkel, thought it was a decree of Antioch. However, M. Holleaux argued persuasively that it was, in fact, an Athenian decree [*Ét.*, 2: 127–47; see also Downey, *HAS*, 95 n. 42]). The decree refers (l. 50) to festivals “King Antiochos will celebrate at Daphne.” For a letter of Antiochos III dated to 189 B.C. appointing a chief-priest at Daphne see *RC* 44 (= *IGLS* 992).

On **Daphne** see, for example, D. N. Wilber in *Antioch*, 2: 49–94; J. Lassus, *PECS* s.v. “Antioch on the Orontes”; A. H. M. Jones and A. J. S. Spawforth, *OCD*³ s.v. “Daphne.”

A number of late sources refer to “Herakleia/Herakleis” and either identify it with Daphne or place it nearby. Thus Malalas (204.8–16) identified Herakleia with Daphne. According to him, Herakles founded the settlement and called it Hera-

kleis; subsequently it was renamed Daphne. See also Eustathius, *Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 917 (= *GGM* 2:379). In this connection we may note Palladius (*Dial. De Vita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi* 16.104, ed. Malingrey and Leclercq), who mentions games held in honor of Herakles at Daphne in his time that were called Olympics; Libanius (*Or.* 11.56, 94–99, 233–36) attributed the founding to the Herakleidae. He referred to the place as both Herakleia and Herakleis and apparently distinguished it from Daphne. Finally, among the towns named Herakleia, Stephanos mentioned no. 13, “in Syria”; no. 14, “in Phoenicia”; no. 15, “in Pieria.” Honigmann (“Hist. Topog.,” no. 208) has suggested identifying the latter with the suburb of Antioch; see further HERAKLEIA by the Sea. On Herakleia see Downey, *Antioch*, 82–83; Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 208; Haddad, *Antioch*, 40–41.

17. For the **inscription recording the thanks of the theoroi** see C. H. Kraeling, *AJA* 68 (1964) 178–79 (= *SEG* 31: 1280); J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1965) 436. On Livy 33.46.9 see Briscoe, *Comment. XXXI–XXXIII*, 335. Briscoe argues that the games were probably trieteric, for the following reasons: (a) since such games were rarely annual, this would exclude 196 as the year of Hannibal’s meeting the younger Antiochos, and (b) since Hannibal’s year as *sufete* probably belongs to 196, his flight from Carthage and arrival at Antioch probably dates to 195 B.C. On Hannibal’s flight and visit to Antioch see Holleaux, *Ét.*, 5: 181–83.

18. In two places (8.205, 10.233) **Malalas specifically says that Epiphanes did not wall in the quarter he built**; rather, this was done by Tiberius. On the other hand, Strabo, who lived through the early part of Tiberius’s reign, says that “Antiocheia is likewise a tetrapolis, since it consists of four parts; and each of the four settlements is fortified both by a common wall and by a wall of its own” (16.2.4, trans., Jones); i.e., it had a common wall before Tiberius. Müller (*Antiquitates*, 54) relied on the superior authority of Strabo and concluded that Malalas was wrong (see also W. Weber in *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann* [Tübingen, 1927] 28 n. 1; A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* [Stuttgart, 1931] 455–56.). On the other hand, Downey has demonstrated that (a) “what Strabo writes about Antioch is an equally rhetorical complement to his rhetorical statements about the tetrapolis of Seleucis and its four satrapies,” and hence its value as historical evidence is not unimpeachable (*TAPA* 72 [1941] 88), and thus that (b) Epiphanes did not necessarily build a wall around his quarter of Antioch (91–93).

On the **walls of Antioch** see Downey, *HAS*, 612–15.

19. For the—circumstantial—evidence regarding a **Hellenistic agora in Epiphania** see Downey, *HAS*, 621–31. The evidence for Epiphanes building an **aqueduct** is the appearance of the name Cossutius on the channel wall of an aqueduct that was dated by the excavators to the second century B.C. (Downey in *Antioch*, 2: 160–61, no. 90 = *IGLS* 825; see also W. A. Campbell, *AJA* 42 [1938] 205–6). Cossutius was the Roman architect who was in charge of Antiochos’s work on the temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens (Vitruvius 7.160–61). If he is the same person whose name was inscribed on the channel wall then we would have strong evidence for Epiphanes as builder of the aqueduct. On the **Charonion** see G. W. Elderkin in *Antioch* 1: 83–84; and Downey, *HAS*, 103 and n. 82. For Epiphanes’ building activity see also Downey, *HAS*, 102–7.

20. For the **games celebrated by Antiochos IV at Daphne** see Polyb. 30.25–27 (cf. Athen. 5.194–95 and 10.439b) and Diod. 31, frag. 16.2; see also Downey, *HAS*, 97

and n. 52; and Walbank, *Comment.*, 3: 448–54. For coins of Antiochos that Newell suggests were struck in commemoration of the games see *Seleucid Mint*, pp. 28f., nos. 62–66.

It is not clear whether the **palace and the gymnasium** mentioned by Polybius in connection with Epiphanes' games (30.27.3, 26.1) were at Daphne or—as is more probable—at Antioch (Athen. 10.439b).

21. For **bronze coins with the legend ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ**, see, for example, A. Dieudonné, *RN*, 1927, 5–6; *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 151–52, nos. 1–11; *Antioch IV.2* 720–21; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities* 394–97; *SNG GB* 4: 5922–24. For the claim that the coins revealed a short-lived league between Antioch and Seleukeia see, for example, Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 60 and n. 6, 62 n. 17; Downey, *HAS*, 121 and n. 11; contra: K. J. Rigsby, *TAPA* 110 (1980) 242–48. See also SELEUKEIA in Pieria.

22. For the **royal mint at Antioch** see, for example, Newell, *Seleucid Mint* and *WSM*, 907–1127; *CSE* 1–400; Waage, *Antioch IV.2*, pp. 3ff.; Mørkholm, *ANS MN* 11 (1964) 64–66 and *Studies*, 8–34; V. K. Golenko, *Mesopotamia* 28 (1993) 128–29; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins* 12–26, 335–54, 570–75, 687–716, 920–25, 1037–64. See also Le Rider, *RBN* 145 (1999) 115–39; in *Recueil Denyse Bérend*, 95–108; and *Antioche* (important discussion and reevaluation of various attributions made by Newell in *WSM*).

The precise date of Tigranes' arrival in Antioch is not clear. Briefly, Appian (*Syr.* 48) says that Tigranes ruled Syria for fourteen years. Since the king undoubtedly evacuated the country in 69, when Lucullus invaded Armenia (*App. Syr.* 49), this would mean his rule in Syria began in 83 B.C. However, Justin twice states (40.1.4, 2.3) that Tigranes ruled seventeen (or eighteen) years (actually the MSS have four different readings: *X et VII*, *X et VIII*, *X et IIII*, and *decem et septem*; the *X et IIII* was probably an attempt by a copyist to reconcile the text of Justin with that of Appian, as T. Liebmann-Frankfort [*Frontière*, 192 n. 4] has suggested), meaning that his rule of Syria began in 87 (or 86) B.C. Liebmann-Frankfort (*Frontière*, 192–94; review of earlier opinions, 192 n. 5) has plausibly suggested that Tigranes crossed the Tauros into Syria in 87/6 but did not take the throne until 84/3 B.C.; see also Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 80f., 95–97; Downey, *HAS*, 136–38; Brodersen, *Komment.*, 76–77; Koehler, *Nachfolge*, 10ff.

23. For the **civic coinage** see *WSM* 910 (Seleukos I, two examples) and *SNG Spaer* 1: 218 (Antiochos I). As regards *WSM* 910, Newell noted the similarity (laureate head of Zeus/thunderbolt) to coins at SELEUKEIA in Pieria. He also observed that the site of Antioch was chosen by a sign from Zeus. For the tentative attribution of *SNG Spaer* 1: 218 to Antioch under Antiochos I see Houghton's comment ad loc. Note, however, that Le Rider (*RBN* 145 [1999] 129, 131–32) reserved judgment on both attributions; among other things, he remarked that the provenience of the *WSM* 910 coins is unknown.

For quasi-municipal coins with the portrait of Antiochos IV Epiphanes on the obverse and the legend *ANTIOXEΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΙΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ* on the reverse see, for example, *RdS* 624–44; *Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 50f., nos. 58–62, see also nos. 63–72; *Antioch IV.2* 116–18; *SNG (Cop) Seleucid Kings* 210–14; *CSE* 129–33. See also Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV*, 125–30; and *INC Rome* 2: 63–67. There is evidence for these municipal coins under Antiochos IV at eighteen other mints: SELEUKEIA in Pieria, APAMEIA on the Axios, LAODIKEIA by the Sea, HIERAPOLIS Bambyke, ALEXANDREIA by

Issos, AIGEAI, SELEUKEIA on the Pyramos (Mopsos), HIERAPOLIS Castabala, ANTIOCH on the Saros (Adana), Tripolis, Byblos, LAODIKEIA Berytos, Sidon, Tyre, ANTIOCH Ptolemais (Ake), Askalon, ANTIOCH on the Kalirrhoe (EDESSA), and ANTIOCH in Mygdonia (Nisibis) (Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV*, 126). At APAMEIA on the Axios, LAODIKEIA by the Sea, and KYRRHOS we find similar coins under Alexander Balas; at SELEUKEIA in Pieria under Balas and Antiochos VII Sidetes.

For the **weight reduction** in the coinage see Mørkholm, *Syria*, 7–43.

24. The **ethnic** *ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΠΠΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗ* is found on the municipal coinage of the second century B.C. (see above, n. 23) and on numerous inscriptions beginning at the end of the third century B.C. and extending to the Imperial period; for example, see P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9 (1965) p. 40, Block D, ll. 102–3 (Teos, c. 204/3 B.C.): *Ἀντιοχέων τῶν [πρὸς] Δάφνης*; the Panathenaic victor lists at Athens: *IGII²* 2314.31 (182/1; on the date see S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 60 [1991] 218–21): *Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Δάφης*; S. V. Tracy and C. Habicht, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 188, I.4 (170/69 B.C.) and II.23 (166/5 B.C.): *Ἀντιοχεὺς τῶν πρὸς Δάφνης*. See also *IGVII.518.5* (Tanagra, end of the third cent. B.C.): *Ἀντιοχίας τῶν ποδὸς Δάφνης*; *I. Iasos* 172.22–24 (185/4 B.C. or later; on the date see C. Crowther, *BICS* 37 [1990] 146) and 184.8 (171/0 or later; on the date see Crowther, *BICS* 37 [1990] 150): *Ἀντιοχεὺς Ἀντιοχίας τῆς πρὸς Δάφνης*; *FD* 3:4 429.2–3 (Delphi, 182/1 B.C.; see G. Daux, *Delphes au I^{er} et au I^{er} siècle* [Paris, 1936] 29): [*Ἀντιοχεῖ*] *τῶν ποτὶ Δάφνας*; Heberdey-Wilhelm, *DAWW* 44.6 (1896) p. 10, no. 26 (Mallos, second cent. B.C.?): *IGVII.3196.9, 11, 26, 28, 38* (Orchomenos, beginning of the first cent. B.C.); L. Bizard, *BCH* 44 (1920) 251, no. 10.18 (Ptoion, beginning of the first cent. B.C.): *Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Δάφνης*; *FD* 3:1 551.25 (Delphi, 138–161 A.D.): *Ἀντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς Δάφνης*; *FD* 3:6 143.5 (138–161 A.D.): *Ἀντιοχέα τῆς πρὸς Δάφνης*; and *IGLS* 1072: *Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐπὶ Δάφνης*. See also C. Habicht (*ZPE* 93 [1992] 50–51), who has argued effectively against the claim of W. D. Lebek (*ZPE* 90 [1992] 77–83) that the title “near Daphne” was not applied to Antioch until the first century A.D.

For *Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνης* see, for example, Strabo 15.1.73, 16.2.4; and Jos. *AJ* 17.24. See also *FD* 3:1 547.15–16 (138–161 A.D.): *Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δάφνης*; and *OGIS* 456.14 (Mytilene, late first cent. B.C.): *Ἀντιοχία τῆ πρὸς τῇ Δάφνης*. Plutarch (*Lucull.* 21) refers to it as *Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνης*. Regarding the name, Pliny (*NH* 5.79) explicitly says: “Antiochia libera, Epi Daphnes cognominata.” Theophanes (*Chronog.* 218 [ed. de Boor]) refers to it as *Ἀντιόχεια Συρίας μεγάλη*; Malalas (8.201; cf. 204) calls it *Ἀντιόχεια ἡ μεγάλη*; and Stephanos s.v. *Ἀντιόχεια. πρώτη Σύρων*.

By the first century B.C. the ethnic found on coins is simply *ANTIOXEΩN* with the title *THΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ* (see, for example, Waage, *Antioch* IV.2 250–69, etc.; on the title see Rigsby, *Asyria*, 497–99). Cf. Josephus *BJ* 3.29: *Ἀντιόχεια ἡ μητρόπολις ἐστὶ τῆς Συρίας*; and *AJ* 12.119. After Julius Caesar granted autonomy to the city in 47 B.C. the coins of the latter half of the first century B.C. bore the additional *IEPΑΣ KAI ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ* and shorter variations thereof (see, for example, *Antioch* IV.2 270–74, etc., and *RPC* 1: 4218–41; Waage noted [p. 24] that coins dated by the Seleucid and Pompeian eras have the title “Metropolis” and that “Autonomos” is found on most of the coins with Caesarean and Aktian dates).

As far as I know, the name “Antioch on the Orontes” is not found in the extant numismatic or epigraphic corpus and is not attested in the literary evidence until the Imperial period. Thus Ptolemy, who lived in the second century A.D., writes *Ἀν-*

τύχεια ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὀρόντου ποταμοῦ (5.14.12), and Pausanias (6.2.7), referring to Eutychides, says he made the famous statue of Tyche for the Σύροις τοῖς ἐπὶ Ὀρόντη. Cf. the scholiast to Strabo, printed with the fragments of book 26 of Diodorus by Dindorf in his edition (Paris, 1878), 2: 466 n. 19: Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ὀρόντη; and Synkellos 237 (ed. Mosshammer): Κάσος καὶ Βῆλος Ἰνάχου παῖδες πρὸς τῷ Ὀρόντη ποταμῷ καὶ τὴν νῦν Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Συρίας πόλιν ἔκτισαν.

Another possible occurrence of the toponym “Antioch on the Orontes” is Pausanias 8.33.3: ἢ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἢ Σελεύκου παρὰ τῷ Ὀρόντη. Downey suggested (*HAS*, 582) that Pausanias was speaking about Antioch rather than about Seleukeia in Pieria, and he is undoubtedly correct. Nevertheless, there is a slight problem with this suggestion: the preposition Pausanias uses is *παρὰ*. Normally, when a town was situated on or near a river or mountain the preposition found in the toponym or ethnic (in the epigraphic or numismatic evidence) is *ἀπὸ*, *πρὸς*, or *ἐπὶ* (and *ὑπὸ* for a mountain), not *παρὰ* (on *ἐπὶ* with place-names or ethnics [rare and generally confined to the Imperial period] see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 1 [1940] 38 n. 1). Of course the use of *παρὰ* by Pausanias may simply reflect his own usage; cf. 1 *Maccabees* 11.8: Σελευκείας τῆς παραθαλασσίας.

In his enumeration of the cities founded by Seleukos Nikator, Appian (*Syr.* 57) mentions Ἀντιόχεια ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει along with SELEUKEIA in Pieria, SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, LAODIKEIA in Phoenicia, and APAMEIA in Syria as the most famous. It is most likely that Appian was referring to Antioch near Daphne and had mislabeled it (see, for example, Brodersen, *Komment.*, 150). See further ANTIOCH under Libanos.

25. For the **weights** see, for example, H. Seyrig, *BMB* 8 (1946–1948) 39–77, nos. 1–11 and *IGLS* 1071a–k; *Fleischman Collection*, 98; see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW*, 453–54, 143¹–32.

On the civic weights, as late as the mid-first century B.C., one finds the legends Ἀντιοχεία μνά or Ἀντιόχειον δῖμονον, ἡμίμναϊον, τέταρτον, etc. Note, however, *BMB* 8 (1946–1948) no. 11 (42/1 B.C.), which bears the legend *ANTIOXEΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ* κτλ.

26. On the **palace** see Josephus *AJ* 13.136, 138; 1 *Macc.* 11.46; and above, n. 20. For Antioch as *ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ* see the numismatic evidence above, n. 24. The title is also found in literary and epigraphic sources; see, for example, *IGLS* 1071i; D. Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985) p. 79, A.15–16 (73–74 A.D.); and Josephus *AJ* 12.119. There is **no specific evidence that Antioch was the capital of a satrapy**. Of the four cities of the Tetrapolis only APAMEIA is definitely known to have been the capital of a satrapy. Nevertheless, the importance of Antioch and the presence of satraps (*FGrH* 160 III.20, the Gurob Papyrus) supports the notion that it was. For the **agoranomos** see Polyb. 26.1.5 and *IGLS* 1071 i and h; for the **demarchos** see Polyb. 26.1.5. For the **tribes** see Libanius *Or.* 11.245, 19.62, 23.11, 24.26, 33.35–37.

For the grant of **politeia** by Teos see P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9 (1965) p. 40, Block D, ll. 102–3 = Ma, *Antiochos III*, no. 18; Gawantka, *Isopolitie*, 44–46, 119–27, 214; P. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs* (Paris, 1985) 169–75. On the date of the Teos documents (c. 203 or 197/6 B.C.) see Ma, *Antiochos III*, 260–65 (favoring the high dating).

On the **eras** in use in Hellenistic and early Roman Antioch see E. T. Newell, *NC*, 1919, 75–77; and H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 5–15; see also Kubitschek, *RE* and *RE*

Suppl. III s.v. "Aera"; A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, 245–48; and Burnett, et al., *RPC* 1: pp. 608–9. In general see Downey, *HAS*, 112–15.

27. On the **city plan of Antioch** see, for example, Lauffray in *ACM*, 4: 8–11; J. Lassus, *PECS* s.v. "Antioch on the Orontes"; id., *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 55–65; E. Will in *Akten XIII Kong.*, 259–64; Downey, *HAS*, 70–71, 604–49, and maps, plans, and photographs at end; F. E. Peters, *DM* 1 (1983) 272; J. Leblanc and G. Poccardi, *Syria* 76 (1999) 91–126. For corrections of D. N. Wilber's plan of Antioch (published in C. R. Morey, *PAPS* 76 [1936] 638) see G. Poccardi, *MEFRA* 106 (1994) 993–1023. On the **size of Antioch** see R. Martin in *Antioche païenne et chrétienne*, ed. J. Festugière (Paris, 1959) 38–39; Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985) 92; Ern. Will, *Syria* 74 (1997) 99–113. Förster (*JDAI* 12 [1897] 142–43) estimated the circuit wall of the late Roman/early Byzantine city was 17 km and the area enclosed was 1,924 hectares. Cf. F. Stählin, E. Mayer, and A. Heidner (*Pagasai und Demetrias* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1934] 191 and n. 1), who remarked that the figures were quite uncertain. J. C. Russel (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 48.3 [1958] 82) estimated the walls extended approximately 10 km and enclosed an area of 1,750–2,100 hectares; followed by J. H. W. G. Liebeschütz, *Antioch* (Oxford, 1972) 92 n. 4. Cf., however, Will, *Syria* (1997) 108 n. 23: "On ne sait trop sur quoi peuvent reposer les évaluations de . . . Russel." In any event, the Hellenistic city presumably would have been smaller.

On the **fullers' quarter** see D. Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985) p. 77, A17–19, p. 79, B16–17 and p. 89 (two inscriptions with the same document, followed by different lists of *plintheia*; the inscriptions are concerned with the digging of a canal, called the fullers', on the right bank of the Orontes in 73–74 A.D.); and id., *REG* 98 (1985) xvii–xviii. On the **main street** see J. Lassus, *Antioch*, 5: 13–126. There are differing views on the **size of the city blocks**. Sauvaget (*BEO* 4 [1934] 94, followed by Downey, *HAS*, 70, and Martin, *Urbanisme*², 123) gave the figure of 112 × 58 m. Weulersse (*BEO* 4 [1934] 47, followed by Feissel, *Syria* 62 [1985] 91) said it was 126 × 56 m.; Lassus accepted this figure in *Antioch*, 5: 5 but gave the size as c. 120 × 35 m. in *PECS* s.v. "Antioch on the Orontes." In any event, the disparity in the figures undermines Downey's suggestion (*HAS*, 70) that the similarity in the size of the city blocks at Antioch and LAODIKEIA by the Sea, which was also founded by Seleukos Nikator, indicates the same architect may have planned both cities. Incidentally, the city blocks of central and northern Manhattan (which was laid out on a grid plan in the early nineteenth century) measure 200–300 × 70 m. On the **names that were attached to the *plintheia*** see Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985) 95–103.

On the **region of Antioch** see Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires*, 17–65; and Dusaud, *Topographie*, 425–39; J. Leblanc and G. Poccardi, *Syria* 76 (1999) 91–126; Ern. Will in *Mégapoles*, 482–91.

ANTIOCH UNDER LIBANOS

Among the cities founded by Seleukos Nikator, Appian (*Syr.* 57) mentions Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει along with SELUKEIA in Pieria, SELUKEIA on the Tigris, LAODIKEIA in Phoenicia, and APAMEIA in Syria as the most famous. Appian's reference is the only source of information regarding Antioch under Libanos.¹ The context makes it reasonably clear that at *Syriake*

57 Appian was referring to the great Antioch, namely, ANTIOCH near Daphne.² Furthermore, since Mount Lebanon did not extend that far north we must conclude that he erroneously called it “under Libanos.”³

* * * *

1. With the toponym **Antioch under Libanos** cf. CHALKIS under Libanos (*Χαλκὶς ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ*, Jos., *AJ* 14.126 and *BJ* 1.185); see also PROUSA in Bithynia (where the accusative rather than the dative is used: *Προῦσα . . . ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν Ἀσιανὸν Ὀλυμπον*, Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F28.6; *Prusa sub Olymbo*, Pliny *NH* 5.148).

2. Jones commented (*CERP*², 244): “Perhaps it (i.e., Antioch under Libanos) was Arca which was later known as Caesarea under Libanos and used the Seleucid era. Arca was apparently also called Heracleia in Pieria”; see also Frézouls in *La toponymie*, 236. In fact, Jones raised two separate questions: (a) Was there an Antioch under Libanos quite distinct from Antioch near Daphne, and (b) was Arca also known as Antioch, Heracleia, and, later, as Caesarea? As to the first question, the context of Appian’s narrative makes it quite clear, as I have said, that he was thinking of the great cities of Seleukis. The question, therefore, is whether there was also an Antioch under Libanos distinct from Antioch near Daphne. We do not know. Regarding the second point, we may note that there is evidence proving Arca was also called HERAKLEIA in Phoenicia, *not* HERAKLEIA in Pieria; see E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies*, 123–24. Furthermore, Aurelius Victor (*De Caesaribus* 24) says that Arca was also called Caesarea. As far as I know, however, there is no evidence proving that Antioch under Libanos was also called Heracleia or Caesarea. In general see the discussion in HERAKLEIA in Phoenicia.

3. On **Appian’s error** see Brodersen, *Komment.*, 150. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that in naming Seleukos’s major foundations Appian apparently erred twice, first in describing Antioch near Daphne as “under Libanos” and then in calling LAODIKEIA by the Sea “in Phoenicia.” In both cases the error resulted from Appian—or his source—associating these cities farther south with Phoenicia rather than Seleukis in Syria.

APAMEIA ON THE AXIOS

We can trace at least four names for the city that we ultimately know as Apameia: Pharnake, Pella, Chersonese, and Apameia. According to Malalas (8.203 [*CShB* XXVIII]) and Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918 [= *GGM*, 2: 379]) Seleukos I Nikator founded Apameia on the site of a village called Pharnake.¹ This was obviously a Persian settlement. Strabo (16.2.10) tells us that the site was also “called Pella at one time, by the first Macedonians, because the majority of the Macedonians who made the expedition took up their abode there, and because Pella, the native city of Philip and Alexander, had become, as it were, the metropolis of the Macedonians” (trans. H. L. Jones).² Strabo does not say who settled these Macedonians; however, it is a reasonable assumption that it was either Alexander or, more prob-

ably, Antigonos I Monophthalmos.³ After the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. Seleukos came into possession of Syria. Strabo says (16.2.4) that Seleukos named Apameia for his wife, Apama. Inasmuch as Seleukos probably married Stratonike in 299 B.C., it is reasonable to expect that he was discreet enough to found and name Apameia before this! In other words, we may expect that Apameia was founded in the period 301–299 B.C.⁴ This, of course, is the same period when Seleukos founded ANTIOCH near Daphne and SELEUKEIA in Pieria. Because, according to Strabo, the city was located on a hill that was a peninsula between the Orontes and a lake (Aelian *De Nat. An.* 12.29), it was also called Chersonese.⁵

Strabo (16.2.4) describes Apameia as one of the four cities of the Tetrapolis of Seleukis (along with ANTIOCH near Daphne, SELEUKEIA in Pieria, and LAODIKEIA by the Sea) founded by Seleukos Nikator.⁶ He emphasizes the strategic importance of the site and the fertility of the surrounding region. Apameia was the military headquarters of the Seleucid empire. Strabo says (16.2.10) that Seleukos and his successors kept most of the army there as well as the elephants and horses; it was the site of the war office and the royal stud. Strabo also adds (16.2.19) that it was situated close to the Ptolemaic fortress. In other words, until 200 B.C. Apameia protected the southern flank of Seleucid Syria. The Hellenistic city wall enclosed an area of approximately 255 hectares.⁷

Demetrios Poliorketes was brought as a captive to Apameia in 285 B.C. and died there two years later while being kept under guard by Seleukos (Plut. *Demet.* 50, 52; Diod. 21.20). In 221 B.C. Antiochos III assembled his forces at Apameia before moving to Laodikeia (Polyb. 5.45.7).

Strabo says (16.2.4) that Seleukis was divided into four satrapies; Apameia was the seat of the Apamene satrapy (*RC* 70.7) and had a number of towns and fortresses in its territory. Among these were LARISA, KASIANA, MEGARA, and APOLLONIA (Strabo 16.2.10). Strabo says these, as well as other towns, were dependencies of Apameia and paid tribute to it. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that Strabo describes Diodotos Tryphon as a native of Kasiana; Athenaeus (8.333c) simply says he was from Apameia. When Tryphon rebelled these towns supported him. Ultimately Tryphon was besieged, captured, and put to death at Apameia (Jos. *AJ* 13.224). Later Antiochos IX Kyzikenos built a citadel at Apameia, which Pompey subsequently destroyed (Jos. *AJ* 14.38).

In the past it had been assumed that there was an active royal mint at Apameia in the third century B.C. This should now be considered doubtful; a number of scholars have questioned the attributions of early Seleucid coinage to Apameia that had been made by Newell in *Western Seleucid Mints*.⁸ Under Antiochos IV Epiphanes and Alexander Balas Apameia produced quasi-municipal coins with the portrait of the king on the obverse. The municipal coinage of the first century B.C. bears the legend ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ or ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ.⁹ Under the

empire Zeus Belos was worshipped at Apameia (Cassius Dio 79.8.5–6).¹⁰ In the first century B.C. the Seleucid era was temporarily (from 68/7 to 41/0 B.C.) replaced by a Pompeian era.¹¹ The Macedonian calendar is attested for the Roman period (e.g., *IGLS* 1363 [134 A.D.], 1318 [469 A.D.], etc.).

It is common to refer to this city as Apameia on the Orontes. Nevertheless, as far as I know, the city is never called that in the ancient sources. Apian (*Syr.* 57) and Cassius Dio (79.8.5) refer to it as Apameia of Syria. Most other writers call it simply Apameia. On the coinage we find the legend *ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ* and, under Antiochos IV Epiphanes, *ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΙΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΑΞΙΩΙ*; the latter name is also found in Sozomenos (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.15.12, *Ἀπαμείας τῆς πρὸς τῶι Ἀξίωι ποταμῶι*, ed. Bidez and Hansen [= *PG* 67: 1457]). Finally, we also find *Ἀπαμειὺς τῆς Συρίας* on a sarcophagus found at NIKOMEDEIA.¹²

Like Laodikeia by the Sea, the main street of Apameia was on a north-south axis. The east-west streets off the main street were spaced at intervals of approximately 107 meters and were 54 meters apart (compared to 112 × 57 meters at Laodikeia and 112 × 58 at Antioch near Daphne).¹³ According to the census of 6/7 A.D. the population of *homines cives* was 117,000. If by this term we understand adult, male citizens, then the total population of Apameia could have approached 400,000.¹⁴

There was a local tradition that the mausoleum of Alexander was located 2 kilometers north-northwest of the city. In addition, the *Suda* s.v. “Euphorion” (ed. Adler) records one tradition that Euphorion of Chalkis, the librarian at Antioch, was buried at Apameia, and another that he was buried at Antioch.¹⁵ When Antiochos VI ascended the Seleucid throne he first minted coins at Apameia.¹⁶

Apameia, on a plateau overlooking the Orontes Valley, was located 130 kilometers southwest of Aleppo at the modern Qal’at el-Mudik.¹⁷

* * * *

In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. “Apameia 1”; Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 51; Tcherikover, *HS*, 61; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 198ff.; Jones, *CERP*², 243; el-Zein, “Apameia,” 1–109, 138–98; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 103–15; J.-C. Balty, *Guide d’Apamée* (Brussels, 1981); Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 48–50 and passim; id., *Seleukid Prosopography*, 688; Rigsby, *Asyria*, 502–4.

For the results of excavation at Apameia see, for example, J. Balty and J.-C. Balty, eds., *Fouilles d’Apamée de Syrie: Miscellanea*, Fasc. 6, 7, 13 *Apamée de Syrie: Bilan des recherches archéologiques*, 1965–1968, 1969–1971, 1973–1979 (Brussels, 1969, 1972, 1984), and various authors in individual volumes of *Fouilles d’Apamée de Syrie: Miscellanea*; J.-C. Balty, *CRAI*, 1994, 77–101; id., *CRAI*, 2000, 459–81; and id. in *Syrie*, 223–35; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. “Apamea”; J.-C. Balty, *OEANE* s.v. “Apamea.”

1. On the occupation of the site before the fifth century B.C. and on **Pharnake** see el-Zein, “Apameia,” 5–8; Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 109–10. The Balty

speculate on the possibility of a connection with Pharnakes, the father of Pharnabazes. They ask whether the latter was the maternal grandfather of Apama, the first wife of Seleukos I. In this context, the Baltys point out that it would have been most appropriate for Seleukos to have chosen the name Apameia for this settlement.

[Oppian] *Cynegetica* 2.114 mentions a certain Archippos, a companion of Herakles, who called upon him to come to the aid of the city. The poem refers to Archippos as the “chief of the divine Pella.” This has prompted the suggestion that Archippos was considered the (mythical) founder of Pella. On the other hand, the name “Archippos,” i.e., “master of the cavalry,” may be related to the importance of Apameia as the headquarters of the royal stud or to the office of *hipparchos* in the Seleucid army. On the **mythical past of Apameia** see [Oppian] *Cynegetica* 2.100–155 (ed. Boudreaux); and A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 153–66, esp. 158–60; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 353–82.

2. On **Pella** see also Diod. 21.20; Malalas 8.203; Stephanos s.v. “Apameia”; Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918 = *GGM*, 2: 379). See also Tcherikover, *HS*, 158–59; Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 110; el-Zein, “Apameia,” 9–15; Billows, *Antigonos*, 299; Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 361; J. Balty in *Syrie*, 211–15. On the problem of identifying the Pella recorded in Appian *Syr.* 57 see PELLA in northern Syria.

On the similarities in the topography as well as in the mythologies regarding the founding of Pella in Macedonia and Pella in northern Syria and regarding the Macedonian and Syrian Axios rivers see A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 153–66; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 364–82.

3. On **Alexander as the possible founder of Pella** see, for example, Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 110. On **Antigonos** as the possible founder see, for example, Billows, *Antigonos*, 299; J. Balty in *Syrie*, 212–14.

4. On the **founding of Apameia** see, in addition to Strabo, Appian *Syr.* 57; Stephanos (s.v. “Apameia”), who mistakenly says Seleukos named the settlement for his mother; Malalas (8.203), who, also mistakenly, says the king named the city for his daughter; Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918); Agapius of Manbij (*Univ. Hist.* I.2, p. 237 (*POXI*, p. 109, ed. Vasiliev); see also Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 112 and n. 52; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 48–49.

The foundation date is not definitely known. Strabo (16.2.4) says that Seleukos founded four cities: ANTIOCH near Daphne, SELEUKEIA in Pieria, Apameia, and LAODIKEIA by the Sea. The founding date for the first two can be fixed to 300 B.C. As for the latter two, most scholars have assumed—reasonably—since Strabo mentions them together, they were all founded in 300 B.C. For Apameia see, for example, Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 112; el-Zein, “Apameia,” 18; Grainger, *Seleukos*, 124; id., *Seleukid Syria*, 39, 50; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 361; A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 153.

On the other hand, Honigmann (*RE* s.v. “Pella 5”) has suggested that **Pella was renamed Apameia possibly by Antiochos I sometime after c. 284 B.C.** He notes the following: Diodorus (21.20) refers to the city as Pella in describing the place where, in c. 286/5 B.C., Demetrios Poliorketes was held under house arrest. This suggests, according to Honigmann, that the name change had occurred as of this date. This suggestion is apparently based on the assumption that the toponyms “Apameia” and “Pella” were mutually exclusive. However, this was not necessarily the case. I have mentioned that, according to Strabo, because Apameia was located on a hill that was a

peninsula between the Orontes and a lake, it was called Chersonese; in other words, although the official name was Apameia, people apparently also referred to the city as Chersonese. A demonstration of this can be seen in Plutarch (*Demet.* 50, 52), who twice refers to the place of Demetrios Poliorketes' house arrest as "the Syrian Chersonese." On the other hand, as I have mentioned, Diodorus refers to it as "Pella." Diodorus's use of this toponym in reference to an event datable to c. 286/5 B.C. does not necessarily mean that at this time the city had not yet been renamed Apameia. After all, it is quite possible that even after the renaming the toponym "Pella" continued in use, now to designate a quarter or suburb of the city. In this connection, we may recall that at ALEXANDREIA Spasinou Charax the suburb where the Macedonians lived was called Pella. Furthermore, in describing Apameia, Strabo (16.2.10) mentioned various towns—among them, Kasiana—that were dependencies of it. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that whereas Strabo describes Diodotos Tryphon as a native of Kasiana, Athenaeus (8.333c) only says he was from Apameia.

Finally, let us consider a modern parallel. Manhattan is the name of an island on the east coast of the United States that is also one of the five boroughs of New York City. In common usage one hears it referred to as "New York," "New York City," and "the City," as well as "Manhattan." All these designations are widely used, even if not officially sanctioned. It will not be surprising, therefore, if we find the names Apameia, Pella, and Chersonese/Syrian Chersonese being used to designate the same urban center or part of it.

On **Seleukos's marriage to Stratonike** see J. Seibert, *Verbindungen*, 48–50.

For **other literary references to Apameia** see, for example, Cicero *Ad Fam.* 12.12; *Itin. Ant.* 187.5 (ed. Cuntz); Ptolemy 5.14.14; Symeon Metaphrastes *Martyrium Mauricii Sancti* 2 (PG 115: 357).

5. On the **Lake of Apameia** see also Strabo 16.2.10; Pliny *NH* 2.224; and Symeon Metaphrastes *Martyrium Mauricii Sancti* 12 (PG 115: 368); the Arabic geographers (e.g., Abu al-Fida 40; Yakubi 111; Yakut 1.322: *Marasid* 1.97; see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 70–71, 384–85). See also Dussaud, *Topographie*, 197–98; and Honigsmann, *RE* s.v. "Orontes," 1162. On **Chersonese** see also [Oppian] *Cynegetica* 2.100, 127; and J. Balty in *Syrie*, 215–17.

6. On the **Tetrapolis of Seleukis** see Downey (*TAPA* 72 [1941] 85–95), who noted that in his account of the Tetrapolis Strabo was apparently "anxious to fit his account into the literary scheme which he had hit upon in describing the Seleucis" (88); see also Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 48–49.

Strabo (16.2.4) says that **Seleukis was divided into four satrapies**. The fact that Apameia was the capital of the Apamene satrapy does not, however, mean that the other cities of the Tetrapolis (Antioch, Seleukeia, and Laodikeia) were necessarily the capitals of the other satrapies. See especially the introduction, pp. 28–29; the important discussions of E. Frézouls (*MUSJ* 37 [1961] 223–34) and Jones (*CERP*², 241–43); see also Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 112–13 n. 54.

7. For the **Hellenistic city wall and the size of the Hellenistic city** see J. Balty and J.-C. Balty in *Apamée de Syrie (Bilan des recherches archéologiques, 1965–1968)*, 33; J.-C. Balty, *CRAI*, 2000, 459 and n. 1; id. in *Syrie*, 225–29; Leriche in *Hellenismos*, 378–79; id. in *Sociétés*, 77; and id. in *Archéologie*, 269. See earlier F. Mayence, *Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques* (1939) 333; Downey, *HAS*, 79 and n. 114.

8. On the **coinage** see, for example, Newell, *WSM*, pp. 155–80, nos. 1128–1201; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 15–20; Waage, *Antioch* IV.2, pp. 7–10, nos. 60–92; Houghton, *CSE*, pp. 29–30, nos. 415–39; Mørkholm, *EHC*, 113–14; el-Zein, “Apameia” 138–90; *RPC* 1: pp. 631–33; Rigsby, *Asyria*, 503; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins*, 1: 35, 1065–66; J.-C. Balty in *Syrie*, 229–31.

In general for reattributions from Apameia to ANTIOCH near Daphne see Waage, *Antioch* IV.2, pp. 6–10; Mørkholm’s introduction to the 1977 republication of *WSM*, p. vi, and *EHC* 113–14; Houghton, *CSE*, p. 29, and *ANS MN* 25 (1980) 38–41; Le Rider, *Antioche*, 27, 33–34, 39, 80–109, and in *Recueil Denyse Bérend* 95–108. Note that Le Rider also reassigned *WSM* 1198–1201 to Susa (*Suse*, 25, nos. 37–38).

In 1966 D. H. Cox published two gold octodrachms found in a hoard at Gordion—one with the inscription ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ and a portrait of Antiochos I, the other with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ and a portrait of Seleukos III. She claimed that the obverse dies were the work of the same die-cutter, though she did not attribute the coins to the same mint. The first she assigned to Apameia, the second to ANTIOCH (*ANS MN* 12 [1966] p. 52, nos. 5–4 [= Le Rider, *Antioche*, pp. 74, no. 9, and 97, no. 4]). Cf., however, the reservations of Mørkholm (*EHC*, 113 n. 2) and Le Rider (*Antioche*, 81–82).

On the other hand, Mørkholm has argued (*NC*, 1983, 57–60) that *SNG GB* 4: 5681, previously (and tentatively) attributed to Side, and *CSE* 564 (“Uncertain North”), both specimens of a posthumous issue of Antiochos Epiphanes put out by Alexander Balas in 151/0 (on which see Mørkholm, *NC*, 1983, 60–63), should be assigned to Apameia. Mørkholm also tentatively reassigned *WSM* 1028 from Antioch to Apameia (*EHC*, 114).

9. For **quasi-municipal bronzes** with the portrait of Antiochos IV on the obverse and the **ethnic** ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΙΠΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΑΞΙΩΙ on the reverse see, for example, Babelon, *RdS*, 84–85, nos. 665–70; *BMC Seleucid Kings*, 41, no. 81; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Kings* 215; *CSE* 440. For coins with the portrait of Alexander Balas and the legend ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ see, for example, *RdS*, 117–18, nos. 912–21; *CSE* 441; see also Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV*, 125–30; and *INC Rome*, 2: 63–67; el-Zein, “Apameia,” 156–75; J.-C. Balty in *Syrie*, 230–31.

For **municipal coinage of the first century B.C. with the legend ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ** see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 19off., nos. 1–7, 12–27; *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 233ff., nos. 3–6, 9–15; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities* 299–302. For **coins with the inscription ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ** see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 19off., nos. 9–11; *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 233f., nos. 7–8; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities* 297–98. See also Rigsby, *Asyria*, 502–4.

For coins of the first century A.D. see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 193–94, nos. 28–34. See also el-Zein, “Apameia,” 175–81.

10. For the **worship of Zeus Belos at Apameia** see J. Balty, *Ant. Cl.* 50 (1981) 5–14 and *Topoi* 7 (1997) 791–98; on the *peribolos* of a temple of Zeus Belos in the center of the city see J.-C. Balty, *Ant. Cl.* 50 (1981) 13–14 and *OENEA* s.v. “Apamea.”

11. At the end of the century there is also evidence for the brief use of the Aktian era. For the **eras** in use at Apameia in the first century B.C. see Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 15–20.

12. For modern references to the settlement as Apameia on the Axios see, for example, Tcherikover, *HS*, 60; and Billows, *Antigonos*, 294. On the **Orontes/Axios**

River see, for example, Honigmann and Schmidt, *RE* s.v. "Orontes"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 85; Downey, *HAS*, 184; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *MUSJ* 40 (1964) 309; el-Zein, "Apameia," 1–2; Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 158; Chuvin, *Mythologie*, 170–73; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 362. The name Arantu for the river is attested as early as the ninth century B.C. in Assyrian documents (Chuvin, *Mythologie*, 171). The earliest extant attestations in the Greek sources for "Orontes" are Polyb. 5.59.10; Diod. 26.19; Strabo 6.2.9, 16.2.7. Apparently the Greco-Macedonian settlers at Apameia gave the Macedonian name Axios to the Orontes River—or at least to the part of the river that flowed past Apameia—and this was the official designation on the coinage. Nevertheless, the Oriental name reasserted itself and was the name more commonly used by the ancient authors. But "Axios" was not forgotten. It is found on quasi-municipal coins of the city (see above, n. 9). A line in a fragmentary inscription found in a mosaic of the mortuary church at GERASA (sixth cent. A.D.) reads:—]ΩΡΟΝΤΗΣΗΔΑΣΙΟΣΠΙΟΤΑ[—(*Gerasa*, 486, no. 334). Welles suggested Ὠρόντης (Ὀρόντης) <Σύριος ποταμός. R. Mouterde suggested improving this, Ὠρόντης ἢ <Ἀξ>ιος ποταμός (*MUSJ* 22 [1939] 137, followed by J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1940] 190). Sozomenos (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.15.12, ed. Bidez and Hansen [= *PG* 67: 1457]) still used the term "Axios." Interestingly, it is this rather than "Orontes" that underlies the Arabic name for the river, al-Asi, which is found in the medieval Arabic geographers (e.g., Yakut 1.233; *Marasid* 1.51, 2.226; Dimashki 107, 207, 259; Abu al-Fida 49; see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 59–61, 354–60) and is still used today.

Finally, the Orontes River was also known as **Belos**; see further SELEUKEIA near Belos and CHALKIS on Belos.

For Ἀπαμεῖς τῆς Συρίας on the sarcophagus found at NIKOMEDEIA see *TAM*, 4:1 258.1.

13. For a **description of the site** see J.-C. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée*; id., *Ktéma* 2 (1977) 3–7 (maps, plans, and photographs in both); id. in *Hellenismos* 217, 223; see also J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. "Apamea"; J. Lauffray in *ACM* 3: 11–12; el-Zein, "Apameia," 1–5; Will in *Akten XIII Kong.* 263–65; F. E. Winter in *CAH*² 7.1: 371–72; J. B. Ward-Perkins (*Cities of Ancient Greece and Italy: Planning in Classical Antiquity* [New York, 1974] 20) remarked: "Enough is known of Antioch . . . Damascus . . . Laodiceia . . . Apamea and Beroea . . . to show that they conformed to a very simple standard type, consisting essentially of a network of uniform city blocks, each roughly twice as broad as long and set at right angles to the main axis of an orthogonal grid of streets. Open spaces were reserved for the agora and certain public buildings . . . and the whole was loosely enclosed within a circuit of walls, the siting of which was normally quite independent of the street plan. One or more of the longitudinal (and on occasion of the transverse) streets were usually wider than the rest"; see also, R. A. Stucky in *La Ville*, 147–49; F. E. Peters, *DM* 1 (1983) 272.

14. For **the census of 6/7 A.D.** see *CIL* III 6687; cf. Luke 2.1 and Jos. *AJ* 18.1. See also Tcherikover, *HS*, 199–200; F. Cumont, *JRS* 24 (1934) 187–90; M. Rostovtzeff, *RH* 175 (1935) 17 and n. 1; F. M. Heichelheim, "Roman Syria," in *ESAR*, 4: 158–61; Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1970) 117; J.-C. Balty in *Syrie*, 234.

15. For the purported **mausoleum of Alexander** at Apameia see Yakut s.v. "Shahshabu," 3.264; *Marasid* 2.97 (in Le Strange, *Palestine*, 533); see also K. Chéhadé, *AAS* 14 (1964) 183–94 (Arabic); Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 114 and n. 62; J.-C. Balty, *Ktéma* 2 (1977) 6–7.

For **Euphorion** see Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 164; B. A. van Groningen, *Euphorion* (Amsterdam, 1977) esp. 249–50.

16. For the **accession of Antiochos VI at Apameia** see A. Houghton, *RSN* 70 (1991) 119–41.

17. On the strategic importance of the **location** of Apameia see, for example, el-Zein, “Apameia,” 4; Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 361.

APOLLONIA

According to Stephanos (“Apollonia 20”) Apollonia was a Syrian city near Apameia. Strabo mentions (16.2.10) Apollonia—along with LARISA, KASIANA, and MEGARA—as a *περιουκίς* of APAMEIA on the Axios. He adds that these towns were tributary to Apameia.¹ We do not know the precise location of Apollonia or its founder.²

* * * *

In general see Tcherikover, *HS*, 63; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. “Apollonia 23”; Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 55; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 199; and Frézouls in *La toponymie*, 232.

1. Appian (*Syr.* 57) includes an Apollonia in his enumeration of the foundations of Seleukos I Nikator *ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν ἄνω βαρβάροις*. It is not clear which Apollonia is under consideration. Benzinger (“Apollonia 25”) thought this referred to APOLLONIA in Palestine. This region, however, was never really under the control of Seleukos I (see also Brodersen, *Komment.*, 153, 157). It was Antigonid before 301 B.C. and Ptolemaic after. Fraenkel (*RE* s.v. “Apollonia 27”) thought Appian meant Apollonia in Assyria (followed by Walbank, *Comment.*, 1: 574). Brodersen (*Komment.*, 157) objected to this because, according to him, all the other places mentioned in this section are in northern Syria. This is not correct. A number of the places recorded in *Syr.* 57 are known only from Appian’s mention of them (e.g., ASTAKOS and TEGEA). Furthermore, while their location in Syria is highly likely, it is not definitely proven. N.b. that when Appian discusses Seleukos’s colonizing activity he focuses on both Syria and the Upper Satrapies.

2. R. Mouterde tentatively suggested that Apollonia might have been located 10 km as the crow flies west of Qal’ at el-Mudik (APAMEIA on the Axios), at the site of the village of Blouné (*MUSJ* 28 [1949–50] 16–21).

ARETHOUSA

According to Stephanos (s.v. “Arethousa”), Arethousa was a city of Syria.¹ Appian (*Syr.* 57) mentions Arethousa as being one of the settlements founded by Seleukos I Nikator and named for cities in Greece and Macedonia. It is probable, therefore, that Arethousa was named for the city north of the Chalcidice, between the Axios and Strymon rivers.² During the revolt of Q. Caecilius Bassus (46–44 B.C.) Arethousa was controlled by Sampsikramos, a phylarch of the tribe of the Emesenoi, and his son, Iamblichos

(Strabo 16.2.10, 11).³ Arethousa was located 22 kilometers north of Homs at the modern Rastan.⁴

* * * *

In general see E. James, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. “Arethusa 1”; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. “Arethousa 10”; Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 65; Tcherikover, *HS*, 63; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 36 (1959) 186–87; E. Merkel in *Die Araber*, 1: 139–63; Frézouls in *La toponymie*, 242; Brodersen, *Komment.*, 156; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, 693.

1. For **other literary references to Arethousa** see, for example, Josephus *AJ* 14.75, *BJ* 1.156; Plutarch *Ant.* 37; Pliny *NH* 5.82; *Itin. Anton.* 188.2, 194.5 (ed. Cuntz); Hierokles 712.4; George of Cyprus 865; *Tab. Peut.* IX.4; Geog. Rav. 2.15 (ed. Schnetz); Zosimus 1.52.3 (ed. Paschoud); Gregory of Nazianzos *Or.* 4.88 (ed. Bernardi [= *PG* 35: 617]); Sozomenos *Hist. Eccl.* 5.10 (ed. Bidez and Hansen [= *PG* 67: 244]).

2. Frézouls (in *La toponymie*, 242 and n. 78) suggests that the Syrian foundation was named for Arethousa in Macedonia. Avi-Yonah claimed (*EJ* s.v. “Arethusa”) it was named for Arethousa in Sicily. Jones (*CERP*², 244), on the other hand, suggested that Arethousa was “probably not a colony but a native town with a superficially hellenized name.” In this connection he noted the appearance of the name Arastan in the Syriac list of the Council of Nikaia (H. Gelzer et al., *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina* [Leipzig, 1898] p. 103, no. 65). Thus two possibilities emerge to explain the appearance of Arastan in the Syriac list: (a) Arethousa took its name from the Macedonian town (an example of the gradual Orientalizing of the Greco-Macedonian name); (b) Arastan was the original town name (an example of the continuation in the use of the native name alongside the new name).

3. For **the revolt of Q. Caecilius Bassus** see LYSIAS and references cited there. On **Sampsikramos** and the dynasty of Emesa see, for example, R. D. Sullivan, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 199–295.

In the middle of his description of Arabia, Pliny (*NH* 6.159) says: “fuerunt et Graeca oppida Arethusa, Larisa, Chalcis, deleta variis bellis.” It appears that Pliny mistakenly inserted a comment about the Syrian cities in his discussion of Arabia. We do not know precisely which wars Pliny is referring to, and, hence, when this destruction took place. See further LARISA Sizara, n. 3.

4. The *Itin. Anton.* (188.2, 184.5) places Arethousa halfway between EPIPHANEIA and Emesa. For the **location** at Rastan (which recalls the ancient name) see Dussaud, *Topographie*, 110 and map XIV B.3, opposite p. 472. Ibn Jubair (258), Abu al-Fida (231), Yakut (2.778), and the *Marasid* (1.470) mention the site (quoted in Le Strange, *Palestine*, 519–20).

ARSINOE

Stephanos is our only source of information about an Arsinoe in Syria and one in Coele Syria. Under “Arsinoe 3” he mentions a πόλις Συρίας ἐν Αὐλῶνι ἢ περιμέτρος ἀπ’τῆς στάδια ἡ. Under “Arsinoe 4” he says only τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας. We do not definitely know (a) whether these are one and the same or two dif-

ferent towns or (b) the location(s). Stephanos is not always a reliable source of information; occasionally he is confused or wrong. Hence we cannot make any definite claims about these Arsinoes based solely on his evidence.

Tcherikover noted Stephanos's reference to the town being ἐν Αὐλώωνι and pointed to Strabo (16.2.20), who says that above Massyas was the Royal Valley (*Aulon Basilikos*) and the Damascene country. He also noted that, according to Stephanos, ἡ περίμετρος αὐτῆς (i.e., of Arsinoe) was 8,000 stadia. This is, as Tcherikover commented, quite large. Since, according to Tcherikover, we do not know of any other large city in the vicinity of Damascus, he suggested that Damascus itself was refounded by Philadelphos and named for his wife, Arsinoe.¹

There are at least two problems with this hypothesis. First, Stephanos quite specifically says Arsinoe no. 3 was in Syria and no. 4 was in Coele Syria. If we follow Tcherikover's suggestion we would also be placing Arsinoe no. 3 in Coele Syria. This is not an insurmountable difficulty. Strabo, who was a major source for Stephanos, notes that Coele Syria was part of Syria (16.2.2 and 21).² The second, and greater, problem is that we do not know the precise location of the *Aulon Basilikos*. Now, Massyas is undoubtedly the modern Plain of Beqa located in the rift between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* 9.7.1; cf. 9.6.1; 2.6.5) described this plain as "wide and beautiful" and said it was called "the Valley" (ὁ αὐλών). The Massyas extended as far south as Chalkis, which Strabo described as its acropolis (16.2.18).³ Honigmann thought the *Aulon Basilikos* was northeast of Damascus in the region of Djeroud, whereas Dussaud suggested—with greater likelihood—that it was northwest of Damascus in the area of Zebedani.⁴ If this identification is correct it would mean the *Aulon Basilikos* was a part of (or, perhaps, another name for?) "the Valley." Of course it would also nullify Tcherikover's attempt to identify Arsinoe no. 3 with Damascus. If, on the other hand, Arsinoe no. 3 was identical with the *Aulon Basilikos* it would suggest that Arsinoe no. 3 and no. 4 were one and the same; after all, it is unlikely that there were two Arsinoes in Coele Syria.⁵

On the other hand, Gideon Fuks has tentatively suggested the identification of Arsinoe no. 4 with Tel Anafa.⁶

* * * *

In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 74; Tcherikover, *HS*, 66–67; id., *HCJ*, 106, 442; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 396–99; Abel, *Géographie*, 2: 131; G. Fuks, *SCI* 5 (1979/80) 182–85; H. I. MacAdam, *Topoi* 3 (1993) 341–42.

1. For the suggested refounding of **Damascus** as Arsinoe see Tcherikover, *HS*, 66–67; id., *HCJ*, 106, 442; followed by Jones, *CERP*², 240. In support of this suggestion Tcherikover called attention to a Zenon papyrus dated to 257 B.C. (*P. Cair. Zen.* I 59079.1–2) that mentions a town called Arsinoe of Dion. Tcherikover suggested

that this Dion may be the general of Ptolemy who was expelled from Damascus by Antiochos, son of Seleukos (Polyaenus 4.15). Contra: Syme (*Anatolica*, 342) objected that Damascus does not lie in an "aulon." As for "Arsinoe of Dion," Edgar (introduction to *P. Mich. Zen.* 18) demonstrated that it was in the Egyptian Delta, near ALEXANDREIA; see also Pestman et al., *P. L. Bat.* XXI B, p. 479 and references cited there.

2. On **Coele Syria** see pp. 37-41.

3. For the **identification of Massyas with the Plain of Beqa** see, for example, Walbank, *Comment.*, 1: 577-78; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *MUSJ* 40 (1964) 289-312.

For the likely identification of CHALKIS under Libanos with Gerrha see the discussion there.

4. Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 74; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 288. In a private communication H. I. MacAdam has expressed agreement with the identification of the Zebedani Valley as the only credible candidate for the *Aulon Basilikos*. The latter was more or less coterminous with the tetrarchy of Abilene; see map in Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty*, 341.

5. A. H. M. Jones (*CERP*², 240, 450) tentatively followed Tcherikover's identification of Arsinoe no. 3 with Damascus and speculated further that Arsinoe no. 3 and no. 4 were probably one and the same.

6. In support of his tentative identification of **Tel Anafa as Arsinoe** in Coele Syria Fuks noted that the archaeological evidence from Tel Anafa indicates it was a flourishing Hellenistic center in the third and second centuries B.C. (*SCI* 5 [1979/80] 178-84). Note, however, that to date no specific evidence has been found that could support this identification.

MacAdam speculated in passing that Arsinoe was the renamed **Gerrha** (*Topoi* 3 [1993] 342).

ASTAKOS

Appian (*Syr.* 57), who is our sole source of information about Astakos, includes it in the group of settlements in Syria he says Seleukos I Nikator founded. We do not know if the founding population included settlers from Astakos in Acarnania. Nor do we know the location of the Syrian Astakos.

* * * *

In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 80; Tcherikover, *HS*, 63; Brodersen, *Komment.*, 156; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, 696.

CHARADROS

Pliny includes Charadros in his enumeration of cities of Syria (*NH* 5.79: "Laodicea libera, Dipolis, Heraclea, Charadrus, Posidium. dein promunturium Syriae Antiochiae"). The *Stadiasmus* (144 = *GGM*, 1: 474) records a Charadropolis, which is probably Charadros, near Poseidon. Charadros was

on the Syrian coast, precisely where we do not know.¹ Charadros/Charadra is frequently found in Greece as a name for towns and streams.² It is possible that the founding population of Charadros included colonists from one of these towns. Note, on the other hand, that the Greek noun means “mountain stream, torrent, gully, ravine” (LSJ⁹ s.v. “Charadra”). Hence it is quite possible that the toponym was chosen to reflect the topographic setting of the town. We do not know who was the founder.

* * * *

In general see Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 139; Tcherikover, *HS*, 62.

1. For **maps indicating the possible location of Charadros** see, for example, H. Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) map 3, p. 299; and Tchalenko, *Villages*, pl. 3.

2. For **towns and streams in Greece called Charadros or Charadra** see *RE* s.v. and *Dict. Geog.* s.v.

DEMETRIAS

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IX.3) records a Demetrias that was located in the region of the medieval Krak des Chevaliers. A bronze coin of Tiberius with a Tyche on the reverse contains the fragmentary legend ΔΗ[]ΕΩΝ. The most likely restoration is ΔΗ[ΜΗΤΡΙ]ΕΩΝ.¹ The attribution of the coin to this Demetrias is not secure. At least two other possibilities present themselves: DEMETRIAS Damascus and DEMETRIAS by the Sea. Seyrig noted that (a) under Tiberius, Damascus was no longer called DEMETRIAS, and (b) the presence of ΕΤΟΥΣ (rather than Λ) to indicate the year eliminates Demetrias by the Sea, which was in southern Phoenicia, as a possible location.² Hence by a process of elimination we may tentatively ascribe the coin to the Demetrias recorded in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

Dussaud has suggested that Demetrias might have been located southwest of Hama at Tell Kalakh.³

* * * *

In general see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Syria,” 1674; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 93; and H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 50–56.

1. For the **coin of Tiberius with the inscription ΔΗ[]ΕΩΝ** see *RPC* 1: 4500 and Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 56, no. B. Note the comment of the editors of *RPC* (1: p. 644): “The head is normally identified as that of Tiberius, but resembles that of Caligula at Laodicea (4444).”

Seyrig followed Mionnet (*Description*, 5: 359, no. 147) and Sestini and read the legend as ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΩΝ, i.e., without the need for restoration. The editors of *RPC* could only read ΔΗ[]ΕΩΝ.

2. For the **tentative ascription of the coin of Tiberius to the northern Demetrias**

see Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 56. On coins and other documents Λ is normally the sign for “year” in documents drawn up in regions that were or had been under Ptolemaic control; in this case southern Phoenicia and Syria. The use of $\text{ETOY}\Sigma$, Seyrig suggests, points to a provenience in the region beyond that which had been controlled by the Ptolemies, i.e., northern Phoenicia or Syria (n.b. that the editors of *RPC* 1: 4500 read only $\text{ETO}[\]$). This argument, is of course, from silence; note that there is at least one case of the appearance of $\text{ETOY}\Sigma$ in the south: coins of Cleopatra from CHALKIS under Libanos (*RPC* 1: 4771–73).

3. For the **possible location** see Dussaud, *Topographie*, 93 and map XIV B3 (opposite p. 472).

DIPOLIS

Pliny is our sole source of information about Dipolis (Diospolis). He includes it in his enumeration of cities of Syria (*NH* 5.79: “Laodicea libera, Dipolis, Heraclea, Charadrus, Posidium. dein promunturium Syriae Antiochiae”).¹ This suggests that Dipolis was on the coast of Syria. However, we do not know precisely where it was located or who was the founder.

* * * *

In general see Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 163; Tcherikover, *HS*, 62; and Benzinger, *RE* s.v. “Diospolis 2.”

1. Müller, in a note to the *Stadiasmus* 138 (= *GGM*, 1: 474), has suggested that Dipolis was named for Zeus Kasios. For Zeus Kasios see SELEUKEIA in Pieria and literature cited there.

For the suggested identification of Dipolis with the settlement at RAS IBN HANI see the latter entry.

EPIPHANEIA

According to Josephus (*AJ* 1.138) the ancient city of Hamath was renamed Epiphaneia by one of the *epigonoi* of Alexander, a probable allusion to Antiochos IV Epiphanes.¹ The Danish excavation dated the Hellenistic occupation of the citadel at Hamath “at earliest, about the middle of the second century.” However, J. Lund called attention to the discovery of pottery—both imported and locally produced—and two third-century B.C. coins that indicate economic activity at the citadel of Hamath in the early Hellenistic period.²

There are no extant coins that can definitely be attributed to a mint at Epiphaneia in Syria.³ The native name continued in use along with the new, Greek name.⁴ Epiphaneia was located on the west bank of the Orontes River (Pliny *NH* 5.82 gives the ethnic as “Epiphanenses ad Orontem”) at the site of the modern Hama.⁵

* * * *

In general see G. Williams in *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Epiphaneia"; Tcherikover, *HS*, 63; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Epiphaneia 3"; Jones, *CERP*², 228, 231; R. Janin, *Dictionnaire ecclésiastique* s.v. "Epiphanie"; M.-L. Buhl, *ABD* s.v. "Hamath"; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, 717; J. Lund in *Syrie*, 253–64.

For the results of excavation at the site see *Hama: Fouilles et Recherches*, 4 vols. in 10 pts. (Copenhagen, 1938–1997); and especially G. Ploug, *Hama*, 3.1: 39–46.

1. For **the renaming of Hamath as Epiphaneia** see also Eusebius *Onomasticon* 90 and Hieronymus *Onomasticon* 23, 91 (ed. Kornemann); Theodoret *Quaestio* 22 to 2 *Kings* (*PG* 80: 620), *In Jeremiae Prophetiam* 4.15 (*PG* 81: 529) and 49.23 (*PG* 81: 733). Despite the information from the literary sources it is well to note Ploug's hesitation (*Hama*, 3.1: 45–46) about the renaming of Hamath as Epiphaneia. In particular she pointed out that in the course of the excavation at Hamath no epigraphic or numismatic evidence (see below, n. 3) appeared that could confirm the identification of the site as "Epiphaneia." In this connection one should also bear in mind H. Sader's suggestion that the Iron Age name of Hama was Qarqar, not Hamath (*Berytus* 34 [1986] 129–33); cf., however, Lund, who observed that the traditional identification remained the most likely (in *Syrie*, 262).

Tcherikover (*HS*, 63) assumed that the toponym Epiphaneia indicated a foundation of Antiochos IV. However, O. Mørkholm (*Antiochos IV*, 117) has noted that Antiochos VIII also used the epithet Epiphanes (of course, so did Antiochos VI, XI, and XII).

For **other literary references to Epiphaneia** see, for example, Ptolemy 5.14.12; Stephanos s.v. "Epiphaneia"; the *Itin. Anton.* 188.3, 194.4 (ed. Cuntz); Evagrius *Hist. Eccl.* 1.19, 3.34, 5.24 (ed. Bidez and Parmentier); Hierokles 712.3.

2. For **the dating of the Hellenistic occupation** of the citadel to the middle second century B.C. see H. Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie* (Copenhagen, 1940) 123; Ploug, *Hama*, 3.1: 45; J. Lund, *Trans-euphratene* 6 (1993) 39; for other references see Lund in *Syrie*, 253 n. 3. For the pottery indicating **economic activity in the early Hellenistic period** see Lund in *Syrie*, 253–64; for the two third-cent. B.C. coins see below, n. 3. Lund therefore suggested that there was already a small settlement on the tell in the third cent. B.C. and that the "Graeco-Roman town" was founded c. 150 B.C. But, as he correctly pointed out, questions regarding the date of the settlement on the tell can only be decided by new excavations.

3. There are **coins** with the legend *ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ* that have been ascribed to Epiphaneia in Syria; see, for example, MacDonald, *Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 198, nos. 1–2; *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 242, nos. 1–2; Mionnet, *Description*, 5: 232, no. 618 (*ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΩΝ*). Note, however, that Seyrig (*Syria* 20 [1939] 39 and n. 1; 27 [1950] 25–26) claimed that Epiphaneia in Syria probably never minted coins and that the coinage attributed to it should, in fact, be attributed to *ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΑ* in Cilicia.

For the coins discovered in the course of the excavation at Hamath see R. Thomsen in *Hama: Fouilles et Recherches*, 1931–1938, vol. 3.3, *The Graeco-Roman Objects of Clay, the Coins, and the Necropolis*, ed. A. Papanicolaou Christensen, R. Thomsen, and G. Ploug (Copenhagen, 1986) 59–69. The earliest coins are single bronzes of An-

tiochos II and Seleukos III (p. 59). Most of the Hellenistic coins date from the latter half of the second century B.C. Of the total of 545 coins discovered, not one was a municipal bronze of Epiphaneia. See also H. Ingholt (above, n. 2), 123; Ploug, *Hama*, 3.1: 45.

4. For **the continued use of the native name** see, for example, Eusebius; Hieronymus *Onomasticon* 90, 91 (ed. Klostermann). Cf., for example, APAMEIA Kelainai and ANTIGONEIA Mantinea.

5. On the **location and site** of Hamath see I. Thuesen, *Hama: Fouilles et Recherches 1931-1938*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1988) 10-17 (maps, plans, and photographs); Ploug, *Hama*, 3.1: plan II, pp. 18-19; M.-L. Buhl, *ABD* s.v. "Hamath" and literature cited there.

HERAIA

Appian, who is our only source of information about Heraia, includes it in the group of settlements he ascribes to Seleukos I Nikator (*Syr.* 57). We do not know if the founding population included settlers from Heraia in the Peloponnese; nor do we know the location of the Syrian Heraia.

* * * *

In general see Bevan, *Seleucus*, 222 n. 6; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 207; Tchirikover, *HS*, 63; Brodersen, *Komment.*, 157; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, 725.

HERAKLEIA BY THE SEA

A weight found by an inhabitant of the coastal village of Bourg es-Sleyb, which is approximately 20 kilometers north of Latakiya (LAODIKEIA by the Sea) bore the inscription *ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΙΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ* (*IGLS* 1252, dated to 108/7 B.C.).¹ If the weight was found in situ it would provide strong evidence for the location of Herakleia by the Sea. Can we identify Herakleia by the Sea with any Herakleia recorded in the literary sources?

In his enumeration of the cities of Syria Pliny mentions the "promunturium in quo Laodicea libera, Dipolis, Heraclea, Charadrus, Posidium. dein promunturium Syriae Antiochiae" (*NH* 5.79). Strabo (16.2.8) records—in order—Kasion, Poseidion, Herakleia, and Laodikeia (cf. 16.2.12: Posideion, Herakleion, and Gabala); Ptolemy (5.14.2-3) has Alexandreia, Myriandros, Rhosos, Seleukeia in Pieria, Poseidion, Herakleia, and Laodikeia. The *Stadiasmus* (138, 142 [= *GGM*, 1: 474]) records Herakleia between Laodikeia and Poseidion.² It is possible that all of these notices to Herakleia refer to the same town. If this is so, then we learn (a) the relative location of Herakleia and (b) that it was a coastal city. In addition, it is likely this Herakleia and Herakleia by the Sea were identical.³

We should also note that Stephanos (s.v. "Herakleia 13 and 15") records

a Herakleia “in Syria” and “in Pieria.” However, it is not clear to which Herakleias these notices refer.⁴

* * * *

In general see Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 726; Babelon, *RdS*, CLXXX; Tcherikover, *HS*, 62; Beer, *RE*s.v. “Herakleia 20”; L. H. Vincent, *RB* 29 (1920) 178 n. 2; Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 209; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 415–16; MacAdam, *Topoi* 3 (1993) 342; Grainger, *Seleukid Prospography*, 725.

1. *IGLS* 1252 = H. Seyrig, *BMB* 8 (1946–1948) 69–70. Jalabert and Mouterde (note to *IGLS* 1252) mention that in 1952 an *ὄρυθρον* of Herakleia was brought to the antiquities market at Beirut by a merchant from Tartous. It also had the inscription *ΗΡΑΚΛΑΕΩΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ <Π>ΡΟΣ Θ[Α]Α[ΣΣ]Η*.

On **Bourg es-Sleyb** see Seyrig, *REA* 42 (1940) 340; and Dussaud, *Topographie*, 417.

2. According to the *Stadiasmus* the first city after Laodikeia was Herakleia. In his commentary (*GGM*, 1: 474), Müller objected that the figure of 20 stades as the distance from Laodikeia to Herakleia is too short; he suggested correcting the text to read 120 stades; Dussaud (*Topographie* 415–16) agreed in principle with Müller but preferred a slightly lower figure, i.e., 100 stades.

3. For this identification see also Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 209; Seyrig, note to *IGLS* 1252.

4. **Stephanos actually distinguishes three towns named Herakleia** (s.v.) in the region: no. 13, “in Syria”; no. 14, “in Phoenicia”; no. 15, “in Pieria.” Let us attempt to identify them. It is clear that (a) Herakleia “in Phoenicia” and Herakleia “in Syria” were separate towns and that (b) Herakleia “in Phoenicia” may be identified with *HERAKLEIA Arka*. On the other hand, it is less clear (a) whether or not Herakleia “in Syria” and Herakleia “in Pieria” were distinct or one and the same, and (b) to which city Herakleia “in Syria” refers.

The following identifications have been proposed:

- i. Herakleia “in Phoenicia” = Herakleia Arka (Tcherikover, “Palestine,” 80 n. 50: “perhaps the ‘Phoenician’ Herakleia of Stephanos”; Honigmann, *Patristic Studies*, 123–24; see also MacAdam, *Topoi* 3 [1993] 342–43). This identification may be accepted.
- ii. Herakleia “in Pieria” =
 - a. Herakleia Arka (Frézouls in *La toponymie*, 232 n. 53); this identification has been superseded by Honigmann’s demonstration that Herakleia “in Phoenicia” = Herakleia Arka (see above);
 - b. Herakleia, the suburb of ANTIOCH near Daphne (Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 208);
 - c. Herakleia by the Sea (Seyrig ad *IGLS* 1252); although the precise delimitation of Pieria is open to question, it is generally agreed that it did not extend south of the Orontes. If that is the case, then Herakleia “in Pieria” cannot be equated with Herakleia by the Sea.
- iii. Herakleia “in Syria” =
 - a. Herakleia in Cyrrestice (Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 210; Tcherikover, *HS*, 56);

- b. Herakleia located between Seleukeia and Laodikeia mentioned by Strabo and Pliny (Tcherikover, *HS*, 62). Furthermore, I have suggested (above) that we may identify this latter city with Herakleia by the Sea. If that is the case, we can tentatively suggest that Herakleia in Syria (in Stephanos) = Herakleia (in Strabo and Pliny) = Herakleia by the Sea (on the weight); but this is speculation.

HERAKLEIA IN PIERIA

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Herakleia 15") there was a Herakleia "in Pieria."¹ Stephanos is our sole source of information for this town. We do not know where it was located or who founded it.²

* * * *

In general see Tcherikover, *HS*, 62; Beer, *RE* s.v. "Herakleia 20."

1. There have been a number of **suggested identifications for Herakleia in Pieria**: (a) Frézouls (in *La toponymie*, 232 n. 53) equated it with Arka (see also Jones, *CERP*², 244); note, however, that Honigmann (*Patristic Studies*, 123–24) convincingly demonstrated that Herakleia Arka is identical with HERAKLEIA in Phoenicia; (b) Honigmann ("Hist. Topog.," no. 208) tentatively identified Herakleia in Pieria with Herakleia, the suburb of ANTIOCH near Daphne; (c) Seyrig (ad *IGLS* 1252) identified Herakleia in Pieria with HERAKLEIA by the Sea. See further the discussion in HERAKLEIA by the Sea.

2. The precise extent of **Pieria** is difficult to define. Generally, it referred both to a district in northwest Syria and to the mountain in the district. Thus, according to Strabo (16.2.8), the mountain was coterminous with Mount Amanos and Rhosos, between Issos and Seleukeia; Ptolemy (5.15.8) and Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 921 [= *GGM*, 2: 381]) appear to refer to the same general region. This suggests that Pieria was generally located north of the Orontes. On the location of Pieria see *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Pieria 2"; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Pieria 2" and "Seleukis 1"; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 434.

Honigmann (*RE* s.v. "Seleukis 1") wondered whether Stephanos had simply confused this Herakleia and ANTIOCH in Pieria with other places. With Stephanos confusion is always possible. Of course it is also possible that these two cities *did* exist and that their precise location in northwest Syria is yet to be determined.

KALLIPOLIS

Among the towns that Appian (*Syr.* 57) lists in his enumeration of Seleukos I Nikator's settlements in Syria is a Kallipolis. There are no other firm attestations for this foundation.¹

* * * *

In general see Beer, *RE* s.v. "Kallipolis 10"; Tcherikover, *HS*, 63; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 231; Frézouls in *La toponymie*, 229; Brodersen, *Komment.*, 153; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, 733.

1. Honigmann has suggested that this was the later Callicome in the *Itin. Ant.* 195.4 (ed. Cuntz). He noted, incidentally, that the Kallipolis in Theophanes 5.48 (*CSHB* XXXIII = *PG* 109: 296) and in George Kedrenos 574B (*CSHB* XIII) was beyond Syria, but speculated—unconvincingly—that it might be identical with the Kallipolis mentioned by Appian.

KASIANA

Strabo (16.2.10), who is our sole source of information for Kasiana, describes it as the birthplace of Diodotos Tryphon and a fortress (*phrourion*) in the territory of APAMEIA on the Axios. He also says that Kasiana, along with LARISA, MEGARA, APOLLONIA, and other towns, was a *perioikis* of APAMEIA on the Axios. He adds that these towns, which provided supplies to Tryphon, were tributary to Apameia. We do not know the exact location of Kasiana.

* * * *

In general see Beer, *RE* s.v. "Kasiana"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 247; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 199–200; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, 735. Jones (*CERP*², 243) suggested that Kasiana was a native name.

LAODIKEIA BY THE SEA

Both Stephanos and Malalas record earlier names for the later Laodikeia by the Sea. Stephanos (s.v. "Laodikeia") says it was previously called Leuke Akte and before this, Ramitha. Leuke Akte probably refers to the coast at what was to become Laodikeia, or the harbor. Malalas (8.203–4 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) mentions an earlier village, Mazabda. The likelihood is, as Tcherikover has noted, that there was an earlier Phoenician settlement at the site of Laodikeia.¹ According to Malalas, the choice of the site of the Hellenistic settlement was determined in a manner that recalls what had happened at ANTIOCH near Daphne and SELEUKEIA in Pieria: Seleukos Nikator sacrificed to Zeus and asked where he should found a city. An eagle thereupon snatched up the sacrifice; while pursuing the eagle Seleukos met a wild boar, which he killed. He then marked out the outline of the city's walls with the blood of the boar.

Laodikeia was—along with Antioch near Daphne, Seleukeia in Pieria, and APAMEIA on the Axios—one of the four cities of the Tetrapolis of Seleukis.² It was founded by Seleukos I Nikator and named for his mother.³ Strabo (16.2.9) says the city was particularly well built, had a good harbor, and was

especially known for its wines. In fact, according to Strabo, Laodikeia provided most of the wine for ALEXANDREIA near Egypt. Furthermore, there is evidence dating from the Roman period for the export of Laodikeian wine to Red Sea ports and beyond.⁴ Pausanias (3.16.8) says Seleukos brought to Laodikeia a statue of Artemis Brauronia that had previously been taken to Susa. It was still in Laodikeia during Pausanias's lifetime (mid-second century A.D.). Artemis is found on coins of Laodikeia. In addition, inscriptions from 115/6 A.D. and 116/7 A.D. record the name of two priestesses of Artemis: Sosipatra, daughter of Theogenes, and Julia Berenike, daughter of Titus. Interestingly, Julia Berenike claimed to be a descendant of Seleukos Nikator.⁵ The grandfather of Sosipatra, the priestess of Artemis, was an *archizakoros* of the Great Sarapis (*IGLS* 1263). Furthermore, we also know of the existence of a *temenos* of Sarapis and Isis in a quarter (*amphodon*) of Laodikeia, and a priesthood dedicated to the gods.⁶ We learn about this from a Laodikeian inscription dated to the (Macedonian) month of Audnaios, 174 B.C. (*IGLS* 1261). The priests of Sarapis and Isis mentioned in the inscription were Horos, Apollodoros, and Antiochos. The *temenos* belonged to them and to Apollodoros's sons as private property. The inscription records the *γνώμη* of the *epistates*, Asklepiades, and the *archontes* dealing with the erection of statues in the *temenos*.⁷ The actual decree (Il. 21ff.) was moved by the *peliganes*. This body, incidentally, was a Macedonian institution.⁸ In c. 203 B.C. Teos granted *politeia* to the *demos* of Laodikeia (as well as ANTIOCH near Daphne and SELEUKEIA in Pieria). In 162 B.C. a certain Leptines murdered Cn. Octavius (who was heading an embassy to Syria at the time) in the gymnasium at Laodikeia; this was undoubtedly Laodikeia by the Sea.⁹ A fragment of Diodorus (34/5.22) mentions a rebellion, in 128 (or perhaps 125) B.C., that was led by three officers of Alexander II Zabinas (Antipater, Klionios, and Aeropos) at Laodikeia; again we do not know which Laodikeia.¹⁰ Most probably it was this city rather than LAODIKEIA in Phoenicia (Berytos) or LAODIKEIA near Libanos. In any event, Zabinas captured the city and pardoned the rebels.

The arrival of Tigranes of Armenia as the Syrian king in 83 B.C. apparently resulted in the adoption of a new era by the Laodikeians. Prior to that they had used the Seleucid era. In 81 B.C. the Laodikeians were apparently granted autonomy by Tigranes and as a result adopted a new era. This "era of liberty" remained in use until the city began using a Caesarean era in 47 B.C.¹¹

There was a royal mint at Laodikeia that issued drachms and tetradrachms from Seleukos I through Antiochos III.¹² Later, the city also issued quasi-municipal coins with the portraits of Antiochos IV and Alexander Balas. In addition to coins, weights from Hellenistic and Roman Laodikeia have been discovered.¹³ From the weights, incidentally, we learn of the existence of the office of *agoranomos*.

We find a number of variants for the city name and ethnic. On the coins

we find *ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ* and *ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ*; Appian (*Syr.* 57) calls it *Λαοδίκεια ἡ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ*; in Strabo (16.2.9) we find *Λαοδίκεια ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ*. After 47 B.C. the ethnic appears as *ΙΟΥΔΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ*.¹⁴

Like APAMEIA on the Axios the main street of Laodikeia by the Sea was on a north-south axis. The east-west streets off the main street were spaced at intervals of approximately 112 meters and were 57 meters apart (compared with 112 × 58 meters at ANTIOCH near Daphne and 107 × 54 meters at Apameia). Like SELEUKEIA in Pieria and Sidon, Laodikeia was built around its port. The city area, including the port, covered an area of approximately 250 hectares (as compared with Hellenistic Apameia, which was approximately 255 hectares). We do not know the population of Laodikeia. One point of comparison is Apameia—a larger city—where in 6/7 A.D. the population of *homines cives* was 117,000.¹⁵

Laodikeia was located at the site of the present Latakiya.

* * * *

In general see Tcherikover, *HS*, 62; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Laodikeia 1”; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 413–15 and map opposite p. 424; J. Sauvaget, *BEO* 4 (1934) 81–116; id., 6 (1936) 51–52; id., (1952) 54; Brodersen, *Komment.*, 150; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. “Laodicea ad Mare”; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 48–49 and passim; id., *Seleukid Prosopography*, 744–45; Rigsby, *Asyria*, 500–502.

For archaeological exploration at the site see, for example, J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. “Laodicea ad Mare”; G. Saadé, *AAAS* 26 (1976) 9–36.

1. On the **possible settlements at the site of the later Laodikeia** see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Laodikeia 1,” 713; and Tcherikover, *HS*, 62.

2. On the **Tetrapolis and Seleukis** see APAMEIA on the Axios, n. 6.

3. On the **founding of Laodikeia** see, for example, Strabo 16.2.4; App. *Syr.* 57; Stephanos s.v. “Laodikeia.” Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918 = *GGM*, 2: 378) refers both to Strabo and to Stephanos s.v. “Antiocheia”; the latter mistakenly claimed that Laodike was Seleukos’s sister; Malalas (8.202–3 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) says Seleukos named the settlement for his daughter.

4. The extant evidence for the export of **Laodikeian wine** to Red Sea ports: the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (6, 49) mentions that a small quantity of Laodikeian wine was one of the products shipped from Red Sea ports to Adoulis, Ethiopia, and Barygaza on the northwest coast of India. A number of ostraca found at Koptos in Upper Egypt and BERENIKE Trogodytika record the shipment of Laodikeian (normally written *ladikena*) wine up the Nile and thence overland to MYOS HORMOS (e.g., *O. Petr.* I 241.6, 289.5, 290.4, first cent. A.D.; see also *O. Strassb.* 788, second cent. A.D. [?]) and Berenike (*O. Ber.* I 8.2, 17.2, 20.2, 42.3, 49.3, 79.3, 81.2, 82.2, 83.2, 87.4, 94.4, 116, frag. 2, first cent. A.D. [found at Berenike]; cf. the evidence for other wines shipped to Berenike: *O. Petr.* I 224, 240, first cent. A.D.; see also R. S. Bagnall et al. in *Berenike 1997*, 201–2.). Furthermore, R. Tomber has tentatively identified as *ladikenon* a type of “Dressel 2–4” *keramion* that was made from

clay originating along the Syrian coast. Tomber has found this jar at, among other places, Mons Claudianus, Mons Porphyrites, Quseir al-Qadim (i.e., Myos Hormos), and Berenike Trogodytika (cited by R. S. Bagnall et al. in *O. Ber.* I, pp. 17–18; see also Tomber, *Opus* 2 [1983] 214). Fraser has reasonably suggested that the export of Laodikeian wine to Alexandria extended back to the late Hellenistic period (*Alexandria*, 1: 167).

In general see Fraser, *Alexandria*, 1: 165–68; Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa*, 50–51; Casson, *Periplus*, 113; D. Rathbone, *Opus* 2 (1983) 81–98; R. Tomber in *Fringe*, 213–19; R. S. Bagnall et al. in *O. Ber.* I, pp. 16–21.

5. For the **numismatic evidence for Artemis Brauronia** see, for example, *BMC Galatia*, etc., 263, nos. 113–14. For the **epigraphic evidence for the worship of Artemis** in the second century A.D. see, for example, *IGLS* 1263, 1264 (= *OGIS* 263 = *IGR* 3: 1011).

6. For **Sarapis on coins** of Laodikeia see, for example, *BMC Galatia*, etc., 250, no. 25. On the term *amphodon* see D. Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985) 95–96. For *amphoda* at other cities see, for example, STRATONIKEIA in Caria, SKYTHOPOLIS, and D. Hennig, *Chiron* 30 (2000) 585–615.

7. On the *epistates* see AMYZON in Caria, n. 2 and literature cited there. On the *archontes* see SELEUKEIA in Pieria, n. 9; and Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 215.

8. On the *peliganes* see Hesychios, s.v. Πελιγᾶνες οἱ ἔνδοξοι, παρὰ δὲ Σύροις οἱ βουλευταί; and Strabo 7, frag. 2, ὅτι κατὰ Θεσπρωτοὺς καὶ Μολοττοὺς τὰς γραίας πελίας καὶ τοὺς γέροντας πελούς, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Μακεδόσι· πελιγῶνας γοῦν καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν τιμαῖς. In addition, P. Roussel demonstrated that at 5.54.10 Polybios's reference to τοὺς καλουμένους Ἀδενγᾶνας at SELEUKEIA on the Tigris should be corrected to πελιγῶνας (*Syria* 23 [1942–1943] 21–32, esp. 31–32). Both SELEUKEIA on the Tigris and Laodikeia were founded by Seleukos I Nikator, who presumably will have used Macedonians to populate the new settlements. It is thus natural to find Macedonian institutions in these cities. What is not clear is whether the *peliganes* acted as the *boule* or whether they were a group separate from the council; see further Jalabert and Mouterde's commentary on *IGLS* 1261.

9. For the grant of *politeia* by Teos see ANTIOCH near Daphne, n. 26. For the **murder of Cn. Octavius at Laodikeia** see Cicero *Philippic* 9.2.4; App. *Syr.* 46; Polyb. 31.12.4; Pliny *NH* 34.24; Julius Obsequens 15 (ed. Rossbach); and Zonaras 9.25 (ed. Dindorf). See also Brodersen, *Komment.*, 69; Walbank, *Comment.*, 3: 478; G. Marasco, *Prometheus* 12 (1986) 226–38.

10. For the **rebellion of Antipater, Klonios, and Aeropos at Laodikeia** see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Sél.*, 1: 393; Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 62 and n. 17; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 166–67.

There are two separate questions that come up in regard to Diodorus 34/5.22: (a) Which Laodikeia is meant, and (b) to what conflict is Diodorus referring? As to the first question, Grainger is probably correct in identifying this Laodikeia as Laodikeia by the Sea rather than Laodikeia near Libanos or in Phoenicia (*Seleukid Syria*, 166 n. 141; see also Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Laodikeia 1," 713; and Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Sél.*, 1: 393). On the other hand, Bevan's suggestion (*Seleucus*, 2: 251) that the city in question might be Laodikeia in Phoenicia is less likely (see also Niese, *GMS*, 3: 305 n. 6: Laodikeia by the Sea or Laodikeia near Libanos). As to the second question, Bouché-Leclercq connected this incident with the war in 128 B.C. between

Demetrios II and Zabinas (followed by Grainger). Bevan connected it with the war between Zabinas and Antiochos VIII Grypos in 125 B.C. (see also A. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Seleukiden* [Altkirch, 1891] 47). In fact, the evidence is too scrappy to give unequivocal support for either date or either city; see Bellinger, “End of the Seleucids,” 62 n.17.

11. For the **eras in use at Laodikeia** see H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 26–32. For **Tigranes in Syria** see Bellinger, “End of the Seleucids,” 80–82; and Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 175. For coins of Laodikeia with the inscription **ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ** see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 247f., nos. 4–7, 10–12; *Hunter. Coll.*, 3; 202f., nos. 1–3; Rigsby, *Asyria*, 501.

12. On the **royal coinage** see, for example, *WSM* 1202–39; *CSE* 444–45; and Houghton in *Travaux Le Rider*, 169–84; Le Rider, *Antioche*, 33, 39, 56–57; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins*, 1: 36–37, 357–58, 926, 1069–76. The early issues of the mint were all Alexander coins bearing the name of King Seleukos. Newell believed the period of issue lasted from the reign of Seleukos I to Seleukos III, i.e., c. 300–c. 223 B.C. As the result of the study of new hoard evidence Houghton argued that the Alexander coinage lasted only until the end of the reign of Antiochos II (246 B.C.). Houghton suggested the end of the coinage reflected the invasion of northern Syrian by Ptolemy III during the Third Syrian War and also reflected his seizure of Laodikeia during the conflict. This is certainly a possibility. As a result, according to Houghton, a considerable period of time will have passed between the last Laodikeian Alexanders and the first issues of Antiochos III bearing his name and portrait (*WSM* 1227–39).

For a tetradrachm of Demetrios II, dated to 142/1 B.C., which Mørkholm suggested might have been struck at either Laodikeia by the Sea or SELEUKEIA in Pieria see *INJ* 3 (1965/66) 11–12. For the **municipal coinage with the royal portrait on the obverse and the legend ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ** on the reverse see, for example, *BMC Seleucid Kings*, 41, no. 82; *SNG (Cop) Seleucid Kings* 218–19; *CSE* 446 (Antiochos IV); *BMC Seleucid Kings*, 57, nos. 66–67; *CSE* 447 (Alexander Balas); *RdS*, 118, nos. 922–24 (Alexander Balas); see also Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV*, 125–30; and *INC Rome*, 2: 63–67.

13. For the **weights** see, for example, *IGLS* 1271a (*ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ*), 145/4 B.C.; 1271b (*ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ*), 106/5 B.C.; 1271c (*ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ*), 53/2 B.C., etc. For **agoranomoi** see, for example, *IGLS* 1271b, d, f, h. See also H. Seyrig, *BMB* 8 (1946–1948) 52–58.

14. For the **ethnic ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ** on municipal coins see n. 12; for the same ethnic in a Panathenaic victor list of the mid-second century B.C. see *IG II²* 2317.41. For the **ethnic ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ** see n. 11. For the **ethnic ΙΟΥΔΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ** on coins and inscriptions see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 203f., nos. 4ff.; *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 249ff., nos. 13ff.; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities* 324–29 etc.; E. Bounni et al., *Syria* 55 (1978) 298. See also *I. Knidos* 58.1–2 (ὁ Ἰουδέων τῶν καὶ Λαοδικέ[ων] τῶν πρὸς θαλάσση), 94.1; *I. Ephesos* 614.10–2; *OGIS* 603.3–4.

15. On the **site** see Sauvaget, *BEO* 4 (1934) 81–114; id., *BEO* 6 (1936) 51–52; Lauffray in *ACM* 4: 12–13 (plan on p. 13); Downey, *HAS*, 54, 70–71; Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. “Laodicea ad Mare”; F. E. Peters, *DM* 1 (1983) 271–72. On the **city blocks** see ANTIOCH near Daphne. On the **harbor** see A. Poidebard and J. Lauffray, *Sidon*

(Beirut, 1951) 32. For photographs see H. Seyrig, *Syria* 29 (1952) pl. III, opposite p. 56. See also APAMEIA on the Axios and ANTIOCH near Daphne.

LAODIKEIA NEAR LIBANOS

We first see a reference to Laodikeia near Libanos in connection with Antiochos III's campaign in 221 B.C. (Polyb. 5.45.7). It was undoubtedly a Seleucid settlement; however, we do not know who founded it. Appian (*Syr.* 57) says that Seleukos built five Laodikeias, naming them for his mother. It is possible that Laodikeia near Libanos was one of these. Laodikeia gave its name to the surrounding district (Laodikene), in which, according to Ptolemy (5.14.16), there were two other towns, Paradeisos and Iabrouda.¹

The only extant coins—with the abbreviated ethnic ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΙΡΟΣ ΑΙΒΑΝΩΙ—date from the early third century A.D.² The god Men appears on some of the reverses. The city later also had the name Skabiosa (Ptol. 5.14.16 [*Σκαβίωσα Λαοδίκεια*]; *Tab. Peut.* IX.4 [*“Laudicia Scabiosa”*]).³

It is generally accepted that Laodikeia was located at Tell Nebi Mend, the site of the ancient Kadesh.⁴ The site lies between the Orontes and a stream called Muqadiyyah; this is represented on some coins (Imperial period) of Laodikeia by two water urns on either side of the Tyche of the city.⁵

* * * *

In general see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Laodikeia 2, Λαοδίκεια σκαβίωσα”; Tcherikover, *HS*, 64; Walbank, *Comment.*, 1: 576–77; Jones, *CERP*², 244; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 139, 161.

1. With the **Laodikene district** compare, for example, the Chalkidene region of CHALKIS on Belos (“Chalcidem cognominatam Ad Belum, unde regio Chalcidena,” Pliny *NH* 5.81).

2. For **coins** of Laodikeia see, for example, Mionnet, *Description*, 5: 306–7, nos. 144–50; id., *Supplément*, 8: 213, nos. 86–88; Head, *HN*² 785; and *SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities* 445; *SNG Braunschweig* 1400; and Wroth, *BMC Galatia, etc.*, lxxviii. For the **ethnic** see also Pliny *NH* 5.82: “Laodicenos, qui ad Libanum cognominantur.” For the toponym see, for example, Strabo 16.2.18: Λαοδίκεια ἢ πρὸς Λιβάνῳ.

3. For **other references to Laodikeia** see, for example, Hierokles 717.3; George of Cyprus 986; Geog. Rav. 2.15 (ed. Schnetz): “Laoditia”; *Itin. Ant.* 198.2, 199.9 (ed. Cuntz): “Laudicia”; *PSI* IV 311.26–27: Λαοδίκεια τῆς κοιλῆς Συρία[ς] (fourth cent. A.D. [?]). For **Skabiosa** see also ALEXANDREIA by Issos.

4. For the **location** of Laodikeia see, for example, Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Laodikeia 2, Λαοδίκεια σκαβίωσα”; Dussaud, *RA* (1897) 355; id., *Topographie*, 108, 114; and Frézouls in *La toponymie*, 235 n. 60 (“L’identité de Kadesh connue par des textes égyptiens et probablement mentionnée par Hérodote, II, 159, avec Laodicée du Liban paraît ressortir de la convergence entre les indications topographiques des textes et les données archéologiques relatives au site de Tell Nebi Mend, encore que d’autres localisations aient été proposées pour Laodicée du Liban”).

On **Kadesh** see H. Avalos, *ABD* s.v. “Kadesh-on-the-Orontes.” Note that at *AJ* 13.154 Josephus says that in the course of his conflict with Jonathan the Hasmonean, Demetrios II advanced on Kadesh. Presumably Josephus was simply using the native name for the town, rather than implicitly distinguishing between Laodikeia near Libanos and Kadesh. For the continued use of the native name alongside the new Hellenistic toponym see, for example, ANTIGONEIA Mantinea and APAMEIA Kelainai.

For excavations at Kadesh see especially M. Pezard, *Qadesh* (Paris, 1931) 4–11; and references in Grainger, *Seleucid Syria*, 139 n. 13.

5. For **coins of Laodikeia with water urns on either side of the Tyche of the city** see, for example, Mionnet, *Supplément*, 8: 213, no. 87; *SNG Schweiz* II 2171; *SNG Deutschland München* 28.Heft 1046.

LARISA SIZARA

Stephanos says (s.v. “Larisai Poleis 6”) that the Syrians called Larisa, Sizara. In fact, Sizara was the original name of the town and survives today in the modern Qal’at Shaizar.¹ According to Diodorus (33.4a) Larisa on the Orontes River was settled by colonists from the like-named city in Thessaly.² They were given the land as a reward for their bravery. The Thessalian city was known for horse breeding, and so was the Syrian town. Diodorus adds that the Larisans provided the horsemen for the first *agema* of the Seleucid cavalry. During the ascendancy of Diodotos Tryphon, Larisa, along with KASIANA, MEGARA, and APOLLONIA, was a *περιοικίς* of APAMEIA on the Axios and was tributary to it (Strabo 16.2.10). At some point, however, there was a war between Larisa and Apameia.³ Precise details about the war, including the date, are lacking; most likely, however, it took place during the struggle between Demetrios II and Tryphon, that is, c. 142 B.C. Although we know very little about the war, the fact that it took place suggests, as Grainger has noted, that at the time Larisa was a town of some means. Larisa minted autonomous bronze coins.⁴ Appian (*Syr.* 57) includes Larisa among the settlements he ascribes to Seleukos I Nikator. It is not clear, however, whether Seleukos or one of his descendants (Antiochos I?) actually founded the settlement.⁵

Larisa is often mentioned as a station on Roman itineraries. According to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IX.5) it was 13 miles from Apameia and 14 miles from EPIPHANEIA.⁶ Qal’at Shaizar, the site of Larisa, occupies a strategic site on the west bank of the Orontes.⁷

* * * *

In general see Moritz, *RE* s.v. “Larissa 12”; Bevan, *Seleucus*, 215; Tcherikover, *HS*, 63; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Σίζαρα (Λάρισα)”; Launey, *Recherches*, 348; Jones, *CERP*², 243; Frézouls in *La toponymie*, 242; Bar-Kochva, *Seleucid Army*, 28–29; Brodersen, *Komment.*,

157; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 39–40, 42; id., *Seleukid Prosopography*, 745; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 383 n. 67; Rigsby, *Asyria*, 499–500.

1. For **Σιὺζαπα** (*sic*) see, for example, *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*SEG* 20: 324.16).

2. For **other literary references to Larisa** see, for example, Strabo 9.5.19; Pliny *NH* 5.82 (it is not clear, however, whether Pliny is referring to this Larisa or to another like-named town in southern Syria, q.v.); Zosimus 1.52.3 (ed. Paschoud); and Ptolemy (5.14.12), who places it in Kasiotis.

A head of a young king with a dedication to Artemis that is dated palaeographically to the second century B.C. (or later) apparently came from Shaizar (H. Seyrig, *Syria* 42 [1965] 28–31).

3. For **the war between Apameia and Larisa** (Posidonius in Athen. 4.176b–c = *FGH* 87 F2 = L. Edelstein and I. G. Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. 1, *The Fragments*² [Cambridge, 1989] p. 78, frag. 54) see G. F. Unger, *Philologus* 55 (1896) 92f.; M. el-Zein, “Apameia,” 93ff.; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 130–31, 160–61; and Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. 2, *The Commentary* (Cambridge, 1988) 285. Jones’s suggestion (*CERP*², 254) that the war took place in the 80s is not convincing.

In the middle of his description of Arabia Pliny (*NH* 6.159) says: “fuerunt et Graeca oppida Arethusa, Larisa, Chalcis, deleta variis bellis.” It appears that Pliny mistakenly inserted a comment about the Syrian cities in his discussion of Arabia (H. Kiepert quoted by Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 770; cf. *NH* 5.108, where Pliny mistakenly inserted a list of Phrygian localities into his enumeration of Carian cities; see L. Robert, *VAM*², 151–60; and EUMENEIA in Caria). We do not know precisely which wars Pliny is referring to and, hence, when this destruction took place.

4. For **civic coinage of Larisa** with the legend *ΛΑΠΙΣΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ* dated to the first century B.C. see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 264, no. 1; *SNG Braunschweig* 1386; Rigsby, *Asyria*, 500. The possibility that there had been a royal mint at Larisa was dismissed long ago by Imhoof-Blumer, *NZ* 27 (1895) 1–22; see also, W. Wroth, *BMC Galatia, etc.*, lxxviii–lxxix.

5. On the **founder** see Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 39–40; Grainger dismisses both Antigonos Monophthalmos and Seleukos Nikator as possible founders and suggests Alexander founded Larisa. He correctly notes that Antigonos’s enemy, Kassandros, controlled Thessaly during his reign. Grainger’s arguments against Seleukos I as the founder—after 301 Thessaly was controlled by “one or other of his enemies”—are less convincing. As Grainger himself admits, the possibility of Seleukos recruiting in Thessaly does exist (40 n. 48). As for Alexander, Grainger correctly notes that Thessalians played a prominent role in a number of his battles (Arr. *Anab.* 2.9.1, 3.11.10; Plut. *Alex.* 24). But there is no extant evidence indicating Alexander actually settled any of them in Syria. In any event, Grainger does concede that Antigonos or even Seleukos could have inherited them (40 n. 51). But this is moving into the realm of speculation. We know (a) there was a colony of Thessalians who settled at Larisa, and (b) Appian—who admittedly is not always reliable in his attributions—said Seleukos founded it. Probability, therefore, suggests Seleukos was the founder. More than that we cannot say.

6. See also *Itin. Ant.* 187.6, 195.8 (ed. Cuntz); Geog. Rav 2.15 (ed. Schnetz); and *CIG* 4477.

7. On the **location** of Larisa see Bevan, *Seleucus*, 215; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 199–200 and map VIII B.1, opposite p. 232.

LYSIAS

According to Strabo (16.2.10) Lysias was one of a number of strongholds (εὐερκεῖ χωρῖα) in the region near APAMEIA on the Axios.¹ In 63 B.C. Pompey the Great destroyed it and killed Silas, who was *tyrannos* of the city (Jos. *AJ* 14.40). During the revolt of Q. Caecilius Bassus (46–44 B.C.) Lysias was controlled by a phylarch.² Lysias was located on the north side of the Lake of Apameia (Strabo 16.2.10) at the site of the modern Bourzey.³

* * * *

In general see Tcherikover, *HS*, 63; Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 278; id., *RE* s.v. “Lysias 5”; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 141, 152; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 180, 192; id., *Seleukid Prosopography*, 747.

1. Ptolemy (5.15.16) calls the place Lydia. E. Meyer (*Ursprung*, 2: 273 and n. 1) confused this Lysias with LYSIAS in southern Syria (Strabo 16.2.40—which Meyer cites along with Josephus—refers to Lysias in southern Syria; see Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 278).

2. For **the revolt of Q. Caecilius Bassus** see, for example, M. el-Zein, “Apameia,” 117–23; Schürer, *History*², 1: 248; R. D. Sullivan, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 202, 208. For other strongholds controlled by phylarchs during the revolt see ARETHOUSA, HELIOPOLIS, and CHALCIS.

3. For the **location** of Lysias at Bourzey see Dussaud, *Topographie*, 152 (“Aboulféda et Dimashqi rapportent que Bourzey était séparée d’Apamée par un lac, constitué au moyen d’une digue. Les gens de l’endroit se livraient à la pêche. . . . La description que ces auteurs arabes donnent du site de Bourzey s’accorde en tous points avec celle de Strabon concernant la forteresse de Lysias”) and map XIV A/B.2. For the comments of Yakut (1.565), the *Marasid* (1.143), Abu al-Fida (261), and Dimashki (251) on Bourzey see the translated passages in Le Strange, *Palestine*, 421.

MEGARA

Strabo (16.2.10) says that, along with KASIANA, LARISA, APOLLONIA, and other, unnamed towns, Megara was a dependency of APAMEIA on the Axios and was tributary to it.¹ He also says that it provided supplies to Diodotos Tryphon during his rebellion. The toponym, of course, recalls Megara in Greece, and it is possible that the name was chosen because the founding population included colonists from there. The name may perhaps have survived in the village of Magarataricha near Apameia, that is attested in an inscription of the Imperial period found at Rome.² Alternatively Megara may represent the Grecizing of the local name Ma’ara, which is commonly found in northern Syria.³ We do not know precisely where Syrian Megara was located or who founded it.

* * * *

In general see Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 305; Tcherikover, *HS*, 63.

1. See also *FHG V* (“Lexici Geographici Fragmenta”) p. lxxvii, l. 28 (= F. Lenormant, *Philologus* 25 [1867] 147–51): *Μέγαρα, Συρίας Ἀπαμηνῆς*.

2. For **Magarataricha near Apameia** see *ΚΩΜΗΣ ΜΑΓΑΡΑΤΑΡΙΧΩΝ ΩΡΩΝ ΑΠΟΜΕΩΝ* (*CIL V* 8732), which Dussaud read as *κώμης Μαγαραταρίχων (ὀ)ρων Ἀπαμείων* (*Topographie*, 204 n. 5).

3. For **Megara and Ma'ara** see, for example, Dussaud, *Topographie*, 200, 203–5 and the index, p. 604; followed by Jones, *CERP*², 243; and Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 42; see also Frézouls in *La toponymie*, 226. Dussaud (*Topographie*, 204–5 and map X, B.3) noted that the toponym Magarataricha consisted of two parts, Magara and Tricha. He suggested that the first represented Ma'arat and the second corresponded to Riha, a town southwest of Aleppo, or to the village of Rouweiha, southeast of Riha. Dussaud commented: “On peut songer à retrouver cette localité dans la Megara que Strabon mentionne aux alentours d'Apamée, si ce n'est pas simplement Ma'arrat en-No'man.”

NIKOPOLIS

Stephanos (s.v. “Issos”) says Nikopolis was a πόλις . . . ἐν ἣ Ἀλέξανδρος Δαρεῖον ἐνίκησεν, ἣ ἐκλήθη διὰ τοῦτο Νικόπολις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. The equating of Issos and Nikopolis is not correct. Both Strabo (14.5.19) and Ptolemy (5.7.4.7) mention Issos and Nikopolis.¹ Bronze coins of the third century A.D. with the legend *ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΔΟΣ* are probably from this city.² Two—weak—pieces of evidence raise the remote possibility that Alexander may have been the founder: Stephanos's statement and a statue base found at Islâhiye and dated palaeographically to the Imperial period (“second century?”) of “Alexander son of Philip.”³ Nikopolis was located in northern Syria near the Cilician frontier at the modern Islâhiye.⁴

* * * *

In general see W. Wroth, *BMC Galatia, etc.*, lxix; R. Kiepert, *FOA*, map VIII, p. 19b; Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 329; id., *RE* s.v. “Nikopolis 7”; Tcherikover, *HS*, 59; Jones, *CERP*², 244, 452; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 35–36; Rigsby, *Asyria*, 514–15.

1. Although Strabo and Ptolemy—as well as Malalas (12.297 [*CSHB XXVIII*])—locate Nikopolis in Cilicia, an inscription from c. 21 A.D. (*CIL III Suppl.* 1, 6703) indicates that at the time it was in the province of Syria. For other references to Nikopolis see, for example, Hierokles (713.7) and George of Cyprus (880) both of whom group the city under Euphratesia. See also the *Stadiasmus* (154: [*Νικό*]πολις; = *GGM*, 1: 477); *Tab. Peut.* IX.5; *Itin. Ant.* 190.6 (ed. Cuntz); *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* 16 (*SEG* 20: 324).

2. For **coins** with the legend *ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΔΟΣ* see, for example, Head, *HN*² 782; *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 265, nos. 1–3; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities* 384 (*ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤ*[. . .]; “attribution uncertain”); Mionnet *Supplément*, 8: 182–83, no. 271; Rigsby, *Asyria*, 515. Honigmann (*RE* s.v. “Nikopolis 7,” 535) dismissed Tcherikover's hesitation about the attribution.

For two seals with the legend *NEIKOΠOΛEITΩN* (one full, one abbreviated; one dated to 25/4 B.C.) see H. Seyrig, *MUSJ* 23 (1940) 94–95.

3. For the statue honoring **Alexander son of Philip** see *IGLS* 163. Grainger remarked that the statue base is “not evidence for anything except the existence of a statue of a man called Alexander” (*Seleukid Syria*, 36 n. 30). Jones claimed that the statue base could not “refer to Alexander the Great; he would at least be given the title of king” (*CERP*², 452). He claimed that Seleukos I Nikator founded Nikopolis and suggested this city was the Nikopolis ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ ἀγχοστάτῳ μάλιστα Καππαδοκίας mentioned by Appian as a foundation of Seleukos I (*Syr.* 57). However, Appian was apparently incorrect in attributing this Nikopolis to Seleukos. Tcherikover (*HS*, 84; see also Sturm, *RE* s.v. “Nikopolis 8”; and Brodersen, *Komment.*, 162) noted that this city was almost certainly the Nikopolis founded by Pompey. See further NIKOPOLIS in Armenia.

In any event, one should not dismiss the evidence of *IGLS* 163 out of hand. The fact that the statue base referred to “Alexander son of Philip” recalls the famous dedication that accompanied the spoils sent back to Athens after the victory at the Granikos River: “Alexander son of Philip and the Greeks, except the Lakedaimonians, from the Barbarians living in Asia” (*Arr. Anab.* 1.16.7; *Plut. Alex.* 16). The date of the statue, c. second cent. A.D., should also be noted: under the empire there were widespread claims by cities throughout the Middle East of having been founded by Alexander; see, for example, the discussion in OTROUS, n. 3, and GERASA. The statue base, therefore, is certainly evidence that in the Imperial period Nikopolis may have *claimed* to be a foundation of Alexander. Whether in fact it really was we do not know. However, in the absence of any other evidence we should reject the possibility of Alexander having founded Nikopolis. N.b. that neither Tarn (*Alexander the Great*), Berve (*Alexanderreich*), nor Fraser (*Cities*) mentions Nikopolis among Alexander’s foundations.

4. For the **location** see Mouterde and Poidebard, *Chalcis*, 19 and map 1; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Syria,” 1608, 1675; see also Dussaud, *Topographie*, map XII (opposite p. 452); and Chapot, *Frontière*, 345. Note, incidentally, that Strabo (14.5.19) records the following cities as being on the Bay of Issos: Rhosos, Myriandros, ALEXANDREIA, Nikopolis, Mopsuestia, and Pylai. At first glance, one might expect that Strabo was indicating that Nikopolis was on the coast. Note, however, that Mopsuestia (SELEUKEIA on the Pyramos) was, in fact, located inland.

PELLA

There are two traditions regarding the founder of Pella in northern Syria. In his discussion of APAMEIA on the Axios, Strabo (16.2.10) says it was founded by Seleukos. He adds that it was called Chersonese because of the peninsula where the city stood, which was formed by the Orontes and by a large, nearby lake. He says it was also called “Pella at one time by the first Macedonians, because the majority of the Macedonians who made the expedition took up their abode there, and because Pella, the native city of Philip and Alexander, had become, as it were, the metropolis of the Macedonians” (trans. H. L. Jones). The question is, to whom does “the first Macedonians”

refer? Some scholars have suggested Antigonos Monophthalmos; others believe the reference is to Alexander.¹ The fact that Pella was an earlier name for Apameia is confirmed by a number of late sources. Thus [Oppian] (*Cynegetica* 2.100 and 127, ed. Boudreaux) refers to it both as Pella and as Chersonese. And Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918 [= *GGM*, 2: 379]) says that Apameia was once called Pharnake.² He says it was also called Chersonese and that the Macedonians called it Pella because of Pella, the fatherland of Philip. Stephanos (s.v. “Apameia”) says that Apameia was named for Apama, the mother of Seleukos. He adds that it was also called both Chersonese and Pella. On the other hand, there is no extant source that explicitly says Antigonos or Alexander founded Pella.

In contrast, Appian (*Syr.* 57) records both Pella and Apameia among the settlements Seleukos I Nikator established in Syria and the “barbarous areas above it.” The attribution of both these foundations to Seleukos is also seen in a number of later chronographic lists.³ There are two questions regarding the Pella mentioned by Appian: (a) Is it the same settlement that was later refounded as Apameia, and if it is, (b) was it founded by Seleukos?

The fact that both settlements are listed may simply be, as Schürer has suggested, the result of a mistake.⁴ On the other hand, their separate appearance in these lists certainly raises the possibility that there was another Pella—otherwise unknown—in Asia. In addition to Pella in northern Syria we know of at least two other quarters or settlements of that name in Asia.

- i. According to Pliny (*NH* 6.138–39) Alexander the Great founded an ALEXANDREIA (the later Spasinou Charax) at the confluence of the Tigris and Eulaios rivers. He also ordered that a quarter (*pagus*), called Pella after his birthplace, be assigned to the Macedonians. Clearly this Pella was not the one Appian had in mind, because (a) Pliny specifically says that Alexander (rather than Seleukos) founded it, and (b) this settlement was in Mesopotamia (rather than Syria).
- ii. Stephanos (s.v. “Dion”) mentions that Dion was a πόλις . . . Κοίλης Συρίας, κτίσμα Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ Πέλλα. The words καὶ Πέλλα are probably a gloss indicating that both Pella and Dion were founded by the Macedonian king (see further PELLA/Berenike in Transjordan). Assuming the information is correct, this Pella would still not be the one referred to by Appian for two reasons: (a) Stephanos identifies Alexander as the founder, and (b) Seleukos I Nikator never actually controlled southern Syria.

In short, unless there is a still unknown Pella, yet to be found somewhere “in Syria” or the “barbarous areas above it,” it would appear that the Pella mentioned by Appian should be identified with Apameia. As for the founder, we must balance the general observation of Strabo—which has been used in support of an attribution to Alexander or Antigonos—against the specific

attribution to Seleukos made by Appian, Eusebius, Hieronymus, Synkellos, the Syriac *Chronicle to the Year 724*, and Malalas.⁵ That Seleukos might have been considered the founder of *both* Pella and Apameia is not without parallel in the Hellenistic world. I have already mentioned Alexandria and its suburb, Pella, in southern Mesopotamia; essentially Alexander would have been considered the founder of both the settlement of Alexandria and the quarter called Pella within it. In a similar fashion, it is conceivable that Seleukos would have been considered to be the founder of both the settlement of Apameia and the quarter called Pella.

Finally, according to Plutarch (*Demet.* 50, 2) Demetrios Poliorketes spent the last years of his life under Seleucid “house arrest” in the “Syrian Chersonese”; Diodorus (21.20) simply says “Pella.”

* * * *

In general see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Pella 5”; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.*, 19; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 110 n. 45; Schürer, *History*², 2: 146 and n. 324; el-Zein, “Apameia,” 9–14; Brodersen, *Komment.*, 153; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, 762–63; and APAMEIA on the Axios.

1. For **Antigonos Monophthalmos as the founder of Pella (Apameia)** see, for example, Beloch, *GG*², 4.1: 253; Tcherikover, *HS*, 158–59; el-Zein, “Apameia,” 10; Billows, *Antigonos*, 295, 299. For **Alexander** see Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 667; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 110–11 (founded after the battle of Issos).

2. On [**Oppian**] see, for example, A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 155–66; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 354–82.

3. For **Apameia in Syria and Pella in lists of settlements attributed to Seleukos I** see, for example, App. *Syr.* 57; Eusebius *Chron.* p. 199 (ed. Karst); Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 127 (ed. Helm²); Synkellos 520 (ed. Mosshammer); the Syriac *Chronicle to the Year 724* (E. W. Brooks, ed., and J.-B. Chabot, trans., in *CSCO Scriptorum Syri Versio Series III, Tomus IV, Chronica Minora* [Leipzig, 1903] p. 83); Malalas 8.203 (*CSHB* XXVIII; see below, n. 5).

4. Schürer, *History*², 2: 146 n. 324: “The lists in Appian and Eusebius mention Pella along with Apamea as though they were different cities, but this mistake came about because the change of name was regarded as a second foundation and treated accordingly in the lists of city-foundations.”

5. Malalas (8.203) says that Seleukos refounded the village of Pharnake and named it Apameia for his daughter and that he (then) changed its name to Pella because the Tyche of Apameia had this name, since Seleukos was from Pella. N.b., however, that Malalas, who was writing in the sixth century A.D., is not always reliable in the information he gives about the Diadochoi. It is important to note the following: (a) according to Malalas, the sequence of the renaming was the opposite of what Strabo reported: i.e., the settlement was first called Apameia and then Pella; (b) Apama was the name of Seleukos’s first wife; a daughter of that name is otherwise unknown (though a granddaughter—the wife of Magas of Cyrene—is known); (c) the birthplace of Seleukos is problematic: it is not clear whether it was Pella or, more

probably, Europos (see Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator*, 1: 1–2). In short, other than the association of Pella and Apameia, we should treat the information provided by Malalas with great caution. Nevertheless, it is worth noticing that Malalas specifically says Seleukos founded Pella.

PERINTHOS

Appian, who is our only source of information about Perinthos, includes it in his enumeration of settlements founded by Seleukos I Nikator (*Syr.* 57). It is possible that the founding population included settlers from Perinthos on the Propontis. We do not know the location of Syrian Perinthos.

* * * *

In general see Bevan, *Seleucus*, 222 n. 6; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 364; Tchirikover, *HS*, 63; Oberhummer, *RE* s.v. "Perinthos 2"; Brodersen, *Komment.*, 152; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, 764.

RAS IBN HANI

Ras Ibn Hani, on the Syrian coast 8 kilometers north of Latakia, was occupied almost continuously from the late Bronze Age until Byzantine times. In the course of excavating the site archaeologists discovered the remains of a Hellenistic settlement. The name of the settlement and the founding date are not known; furthermore, the settlement is not mentioned in any extant literary source.¹ On the other hand, the site has yielded at least 512 Hellenistic coins. Among these were approximately 170 Ptolemaic coins datable to the reigns of Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Ptolemy III and Berenike; the latter were probably issued at the time of Ptolemy III's expedition to Syria.² In addition, an inscription found at the site and dated palaeographically to the second half of the third century B.C. records a list of Ptolemaic mercenaries.³ Stamped Rhodian amphora handles (third/second century B.C.) discovered at the site provide evidence for trade with the Aegean basin.⁴ Finally, the architecture of the remains shows definite Egyptian influence.⁵

The composite evidence has reasonably prompted the suggestion that a settlement at Ras Ibn Hani was established by the Ptolemies in the middle of the third century B.C. in the wake of the Third Syrian War. It will be recalled that as a result of that war the Egyptians came into possession of SELEUKEIA in Pieria. It was presumably to guard Seleukeia from LAODIKEIA by the Sea (which remained under Seleucid control) that Ptolemy III founded a settlement at Ras Ibn Hani. The settlement, however, was apparently short-lived; archaeological evidence indicates it went into decline af-

ter the second half of the third century, undoubtedly as a result of the departure of the Ptolemies from the region.⁶ The site was briefly reinhabited in the late Hellenistic period.⁷

* * * *

In general see P. Leriche in *Recueil Saidah*, 271–79, *Hellenismos*, 374–78, *Sociétés*, 65–70, and *Akten XIII Kong.*, 355–57; J. Lagarce and E. Lagarce, *Ras Ibn Hani: Archéologie et histoire* (Damascus, 1987); J. Gaucher in *Fortification*, 372–76; Burns, *Monuments*, 202; A. Bounni and J. Lagarce, *OEANE* s.v. “Ras ibn Hani”; *CFAS*, 91–97.

For the results of the excavation see A. Bounni, *Syria* 53 (1976) 233–79; *CRAI*, 1979, 277–94; *AAAS* (1976) and following [Arabic]; J. Lagarce and E. Lagarce, *CRAI*, 1978, 45–65; id., *CRAI*, 1980, 10–34; Lagarce and Bounni, *CFAS*, 95–97 (with bibliography to date on p. 97).

1. For the **location** see, for example, Bounni et al., *Syria* 53 (1976) 265 (map).

P. Leriche has suggested (in *Akten XIII Kong.*, 358) that the settlement at Ras Ibn Hani might have been the DIPOLIS that is mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 5.79) among the coastal towns of Syria. In support of Leriche’s suggestion is the fact that the name form—a theophoric toponym ending in *-polis*—recalls the Ptolemaic practice found in Egypt; see further pp. 52–58.

2. For the **coins** found at Ras Ibn Hani see A. Bounni et al., *Syria* 53 (1976) 254–55; id., *Syria* 55 (1978) 298–99; C. Augé, *RN*, 2000, 59–69.

For a hoard of fifty-eight Ptolemaic “pentadrachms” and one Seleucid bronze found at Hüseyinli (between Antakya and the Mediterranean) that was probably buried between 264/3 and 258/7 B.C. see A. Davesne and V. Yenisoganci, *RN*, 1992, 23–36.

3. For the **inscription recording the names of mercenaries** see J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *AAAS* 26 (1976) 51–60; id., *Syria* 55 (1978) 313–25 (= *SEG* 27: 973bis); J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1979) 611. The list, which contains personal names and ethnics, indicates the mercenaries were from Thrace, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Cyrene. In one case, however, a demotic rather than an ethnic was apparently used: $\Phi\iota\lambda\omega\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (l. 5). This would have been derived from the name of the sister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. The demotic, Philotereios, is attested at PTOLEMAIS (*OGIS* 48) and the *chora* of the Thebaid (*SB* I 4637.15 [= *P. Grenfell* I 12]; *P. Amherst* 36.4). Rey-Coquais observed that the demotic—rather than the ethnic—was normally used in Egypt and in overseas Ptolemaic possessions (whereas the ethnic was used in foreign territories); thus the presence of the demotic Philotereios in the list at Ras Ibn Hani would indicate this was a Ptolemaic possession at the time. Nevertheless, one should recall that there were at least three Ptolemaic settlements named for Ptolemy’s sister: PHILOTERA in Lycia, PHILOTERA on the Red Sea, and PHILOTERIA on the Sea of Galilee. M. Wörrle (*Chiron* 9 [1979] 103 n. 127) has suggested that this particular mercenary may have come from the settlement in southern Syria. Note, however, that Philotera in Lycia is attested only in a fragmentary and partly restored inscription that was published by Wörrle (p. 83: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \Phi\iota\lambda\omega\tau\acute{\epsilon}[\rho\alpha\upsilon\text{---}]$). I believe it is also possible that the name of the town here recorded was Philoteria rather than Philotera. If so, it raises the possibility that the mercenary was from the Lycian city. This finds some support in that

there was a strong representation of mercenaries from Asia Minor—six or seven out of twenty-seven—among the persons attested in the surviving portion of the list.

4. For the **Rhodian amphora handles** see Bounni et al., *Syria* 53 (1976) 253–54.

5. For the **Egyptian influence on the architecture** see, for example, Leriche in *Hellemismos*, 273.

6. Two possible dates present themselves for the occasion of **the decline of Ras Ibn Hani**: 219 B.C., when Antiochos III recovered SELEUKEIA in Pieria, or 200 B.C., when, as a result of his victory at Panion, Antiochos took control of Phoenicia and southern Syria. The numismatic evidence bearing on this question reflects the Ptolemaic departure and the Seleucid return but does not allow us to provide a more precise date: no coins of Ptolemy IV or V have been discovered at Ras Ibn Hani. Of the approximately 260 Seleucid coins found at the site, there are 6 of Seleukos III and 140 of Antiochos III; see further Augé, *RN*, 2002, 64–67.

7. For the **fortifications and remains of the city wall** see, for example, Leriche in *Fortification*, 44–45, and in *Archéologie*, 273–74.

SELEUKEIA IN PIERIA

According to Malalas (8.199 [*CSHB* XXVIII]), after defeating Antigonos Monophthalmos at Ipsos Seleukos Nikator wanted to build cities. Malalas says that on 23 Xanthikos 300 B.C. Seleukos sacrificed to Zeus Kasios on Mount Kasios (which, Strabo says [16.2.5], was near the site of Seleukeia) and asked where he should found a city. An eagle carried off some of the sacrificial meat and, dropping it by the sea at Palaiopolis, showed Seleukos where to found Seleukeia. Strabo remarks (16.2.8) that Seleukeia was previously called Hydatos Potamoi and described it as a “noteworthy bulwark” that was too strong to be taken by force; he also mentions (16.2.4) that it was one of the four cities of the Tetrapolis of Seleukis.¹ According to Appian, when Seleukos was about to build Seleukeia “a portent of thunder preceded the foundation . . . for which reason he consecrated thunder as a divinity of the place and accordingly the inhabitants worship thunder and sing its praises to this day” (*Syr.* 58, trans. White).

Diodorus said (20.47.6) that the founding population of Seleukeia included former Antigoneians. This assertion is contradicted by Strabo (16.2.4), Libanius (11.92), and Malalas (8.198–99), who indicate that the Antigoneians went to ANTIOCH near Daphne. This has led some scholars to believe Diodorus was wrong and that the text at 20.47.6 should be emended. Nevertheless, it is possible that the founding population of Seleukeia included people from ANTIGONEIA on the Orontes.² There has been much discussion as to whether Seleukos originally intended Seleukeia or ANTIOCH near Daphne to be the “capital” of his empire. The composite evidence points to the greater importance of Seleukeia in Pieria at the very beginning of the third century B.C. but does not allow a definitive answer as to its precise status vis-à-vis Antioch or when the latter overtook it.³

Under the Seleucids we have evidence for a *boule* and *demos*, an *epistates*, priests, *archontes*, a *grammateus*, commanders, soldiers, and a garrison. There were demes in the city, and the population was organized into tribes.⁴

In 246, during the Third Syrian (Laodikeian) War, Seleukeia fell to the Ptolemies; it remained under Egyptian rule until 219 B.C., when Antiochos III besieged and captured it. The Ptolemies maintained a garrison there (Polyb. 5.58.10) and appointed *epistatai* who were in charge of the city (Polyb. 5.60.1). The Egyptian occupation of Seleukeia is attested by the discovery of coins of the first three Ptolemies in two hoards.⁵ After Antiochos brought Seleukeia under his control he brought back Seleukeian exiles and restored their citizenship and property. He also placed garrisons in the port and in the *akra* (Polyb. 5.61.1–2).⁶ In 219, according to Polybius (5.61.1), the free population of Seleukeia was 6,000.⁷ In c. 203 B.C. Teos granted *politeia* to the *demos* of Seleukeia (as well as LAODIKEIA by the Sea and ANTIOCH near Daphne). In 186 B.C. Seleukos IV wrote to τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ πόλει at Seleukeia (RC 45.2). In 109 B.C. Antiochos VIII (IX?) wrote to [τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλή] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ (RC 72.2). Holleaux has noted that the use of the formula τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ πόλει—rather than the more common τῇ βουλή καὶ τῷ δήμῳ indicates that the magistrates played a major role in the city government.⁸ From the numismatic evidence we learn that the city had the title *IEPA* by c. 145 B.C. and the additional title *ΑΣΥΛΟΣ* by 138 B.C. In 109 B.C. Antiochos VIII (IX?) described Seleukeia as *ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος* (RC 71.4, 72.1–2) and declared it free (RC 71.13). After 109 B.C. *asylos* is not found on the tetradrachms and bronzes. Thereafter, the legend on the coinage was normally *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ* or *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ*.⁹

The coinage of Seleukeia has an interesting history.¹⁰ Newell claimed that Seleukos “appears to have moved the mint of Antigonea (together with its appliances and personnel) *directly to Seleucia*” (italics his). The same mint issued both silver coins (i.e., royal issues with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ*) and bronze coins (i.e., municipal coinage with the ethnic *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ*). Apparently coins continued to be issued until early in the reign of Antiochos I Soter.¹¹ The mint apparently closed soon after that. In any event, we have no evidence for mint activity at Seleukeia from that time until the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes. The latter may have minted some tetradrachms at Seleukeia. During his reign and again under Alexander I Balas and Antiochos VII Sidetes, Seleukeia was one of a number of cities that minted quasi-municipal bronzes with the portrait of the king on the obverse. After Alexander Balas, coinage from Seleukeia is sporadic. At present it is attested under Demetrios II, Antiochos VII Sidetes, Alexander II Zabinas, and possibly Antiochos VIII and Demetrios III.¹² The discovery of bronze coins of Seleukeia at DOURA EUROPOS, SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, and Susa undoubtedly reflects the presence of Seleukeian merchants at these towns.¹³ In addition to coins, weights from Seleukeia have survived.¹⁴

A fragmentary inscription, dated to the reign of Seleukos IV, records annual priesthoods at Seleukeia.¹⁵ Among others, there were priests of Zeus Olympios and Zeus Koryphaios, of Apollo of Daphne, of Apollo, and of the deceased Seleucid kings, as well as a priest of Seleukos IV. For the latter there was also a “scepter bearer” and “thunder bearers.” The worship of Zeus Kerunios and Zeus Kasios was particularly important at Seleukeia.¹⁶

At 5.59.3–11 Polybius describes the topography of Seleukeia. Among other things he notes that the city was fortified by very expensive walls and that it was adorned with splendidly constructed buildings.¹⁷ He also notes that the business quarter and a strongly fortified suburb were in the lower city toward the sea. Seleukeia had an important harbor (*FGrH* 160, the Gurob Papyrus) and was, of course, the port city for ANTIOCH near Daphne. Seleukeia was located on the coast, north of the Orontes River.¹⁸

* * * *

In general see V. Chapot, “Séleucie”; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia (Pieria),” 1184–1200; Tcherikover, *HS*, 59–60; Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 199–253; Downey, *HAS*, 56–61; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 290–307; E. Marinoni, *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 106 (1972) 579–616; A. Jähne, *Klio* 56 (1974) 501–19; P. Chuvin in *GHPO*, 100–103; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, passim; id., *Seleukid Prosopography*, 775–76; McNicoll, *Fortifications*, 81–85; Rigsby, *Asyria*, 485–88.

For the results of excavation at Seleukeia see R. Stillwell in *Antioch*, 3: 2–5, 7–8; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. “Seleucia Pieria.”

1. In connection with events of 313/2 B.C. Diodorus (19.79.6) mentions a town in upper Syria named Potamoi Karon. Billows (*Antigonos*, 299) has suggested it was (a) possibly a settlement of Carian veterans founded by Antigonos Monophthalmos and was (b) identical with **Hydatos Potamoi**.

On the **Tetrapolis** see, for example, Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 298–301.

2. For the possibility that **some Antigoneians may have gone to Seleukeia** see the discussion in ANTIGONEIA on the Orontes. In addition, Wooley has suggested (*JHS* 58 [1938] 26–28) that Seleukos removed the population of al-Mina to the newly founded Seleukeia (see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 137).

3. Downey, following Honigmann, called attention to a number of factors that (he claimed) indicate **Seleukos intended Seleukeia—rather than Antioch—to be the “capital” of his empire** and that it remained so until his death: (a) like other Diadochoi—for example, Lysimachos and Kassandros, who named their capitals for themselves—Seleukos named the city for himself; (b) Malalas specifies (8.199) that this was Seleukos’s first foundation after the victory at Ipsos, and one may reasonably expect the honor was reserved for his new capital; (c) the evidence of the coins shows that Seleukos moved the mint from Antigoneia to Seleukeia, not to Antioch; (d) the mint at Seleukeia issued more coins and more varieties of coins than the mint at Antioch during the reign of Seleukos; (e) when Seleukos died he was buried in the Nikatoreion in Seleukeia (App. *Syr.* 63; on the Nikatoreion see Brodersen, *Ap-pian*, 185; Habicht, *Gott.*², 14of. and n. 12; and cf., for example, the Lysimacheion

at LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, the PYRRHEION in Illyria and other examples cited there); (f) Polybius (5.58.4) quotes Apollonphanes, a native of Seleukeia, who described the city in 219 B.C. as ἀρχηγέτιν οὐσαν καὶ σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐστὶαν ὑπάρχουσαν τῆς αὐτῶν δυναστείας; and (g) Diodorus's claim (20.47.6) that Seleukos transferred the population of ANTIGONEIA to Seleukeia. As for the location of Antioch, Seyrig pointed out that it provided easy access to Cilicia, a consideration that became important for the Seleucids only after the acquisition of Cilicia from Demetrios Poliorketes in c. 294 B.C. (Downey, *HAS*, 56–59; and Honigsmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia [Pieria]," 1185–87; see also H. Seyrig, *Syria* 47 [1970] 290–311; K. Rigsby, *TAPA* 110 [1980] 233–38; E. Will in *Akten XIII Kong.*, 259; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 122; ANTIOCH near Daphne and ANTIGONEIA on the Orontes).

E. Marinoni questioned many of these various assertions and argued that **Seleukos always intended Antioch to be his capital** (*Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 106 [1972] 579–616; for an extended discussion of Marinoni's claim see G. Le Rider, *RBN* 145 [1999] 115–39, esp. 117–21; see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 478; Will, *Histoire politique*², 264). Among other things Marinoni (a) noted the claim of Strabo, Libanius, and Malalas regarding the founding population of Antioch, (b) observed that Apollonphanes' description of Seleukeia as the *archegetis* and *hestia* of the Seleucid dynasty was presented in a religious rather than a political context, and (c) argued that the Nikatoreion was simply the *heroon* of the city founder and does not indicate any special political status for the city. As for the coinage (d), Marinoni noted that (1) the mint at Antioch produced more bronzes than the Seleukeia mint; furthermore, the Antiochene bronzes were practically all in the name of the king, whereas those of Seleukeia were in the name of the Seleukeians; (2) the mint at Antioch produced gold coins, as one might expect of a mint in the capital city; (3) coin types found at Antioch (e.g., winged head of Medusa/bull, butting; see, for example, *WSM* 924–28) are also found at other mints throughout the Seleucid empire (reflecting the attempt of the Seleucid authorities to create a uniform coinage throughout the empire); (4) the anchor in front of Athena on Antiochene bronzes (*WSM* 911) may be compared to the anchor near Athena on tetradrachms of SELEUKEIA on the Tigris (*ESM* 29ff.). Marinoni suggested that artisans from the latter city—which was the old Seleucid capital—were transferred to Antioch, the new capital. In short, Marinoni proposed that Seleukos had decided to build two cities, Seleukeia and Antioch. He also suggested that the king gave priority to the construction of the former because of the need for its harbor. Thus Seleukeia was in a position to host a mint before Antioch could. In this connection, incidentally, one thinks of the situation in Ptolemaic Egypt, where the Ptolemies apparently first established a mint at Memphis before moving it to ALEXANDREIA.

Le Rider offered an extensive assessment of the numismatic evidence bearing on the question (*RBN* 145 [1999] 115–39, esp. 131–32; and *Antioche*, 27–30). Le Rider suggested that Seleukos I may originally have considered giving primacy to Seleukeia but that in the course of his reign Antioch emerged as the more important city. Among other things, he suggested that Seleukos may have transferred the mint of ANTIGONEIA to Seleukeia. He also claimed that Seleukeia was the site of the first mint in Syria but that Antioch soon overtook it. In a comparison of the early monetary history of Seleukeia and Antioch Le Rider noted that (a) most of the bronzes minted at Seleukeia were municipal rather than royal (in contrast, at Antioch there

is very little evidence for the minting of civic coinage, and even that is doubtful); (b) the bronze coin types at Seleukeia remained the same to the end of the reign of Seleukos I, while coin types found at Antioch (e.g., winged head of Medusa/bull butting; see, for example, *WSM* 924–28) are also found at other mints throughout the Seleucid empire; (c) the output of precious metal coinage under Seleukos was greater at Antioch than at Seleukeia, perhaps reflecting the greater importance of the Antiochene mint (note, though, that the latter mint also produced more bronzes). Nevertheless, he did note that by comparison with the mint at SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, the output of the mint at Antioch under Seleukos I was relatively small.

It is interesting to note, incidentally, that in s.v. “Seleuceia [2] in Pieria” in the second edition of the *OCD* the authors (A. H. M. Jones and H. Seyrig) state that Seleukeia “was founded . . . by Seleucus I to be his capital, a function that was, however, soon transferred to Antioch.” This claim does not appear in the third edition (the entry was revised by S. Sherwin-White). On the “capital city” in the Seleucid kingdom see V. Ehrenberg, *The Greek State* (Oxford, 1960) 145; C. B. Welles, *Historia* 11 (1962) 273 and n. 8; Marinoni, *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 106 (1972) 579ff.; and Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 122 and n. 10.

4. For an *epistates*, *archontes*, a *grammateus*, a deme (Olympios), and a tribe (Laodikis) see Welles, *RC* 45 (= *IGLS* 1183); in general see Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 199–253 (text and commentary). For the priests, *archontes*, commanders, soldiers, and garrison see the Gurob Papyrus (*FGrH* 160; and Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 281–315). For the *demoi* see *IG II²* 814; for the *boule* and *demoi* as well as *archontes* see *RC* 72.2.

5. For the **Ptolemaic occupation of Seleukeia** see, for example, the Gurob Papyrus (*FGrH* 160) and Jähne, *Klio* 56 (1974) 501–19. For **coins of Ptolemy I, II, and III discovered in hoards at or near Seleukeia** see, for example, *Antioch* IV.2 961–80 and *IGCH* 1526, 1571; see also Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 182–83; and H. Seyrig, *RN*, 1958, 179. Niese’s claim (*GMS*, 2: 166–68) that Seleukeia temporarily returned to Seleucid control in c. 234 B.C. is unconvincing (contra: Beloch, *GG²*, 4.2: 330 n. 1; see also Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Sél.*, 1: 110). Niese based his argument on Agatharchides (in Josephus *CAp* 1.207), who says that when Seleukos II came to Antioch Stratonike fled to Seleukeia. In fact, this does not prove the city had reverted to Seleucid control. It is quite conceivable that Ptolemy, who did not like “les brouillons” (so Bouché-Leclercq), ordered that Stratonike be sent back to Seleukos. Furthermore Polybius (5.58.10) says that Seleukeia was occupied by the Egyptians from the time Ptolemy III Euergetes captured the city until Antiochos III recaptured it.

6. For **Antiochos’s siege of Seleukeia** see McNicoll, *Fortifications*, 85. With **Antiochos’s restoration of the Seleukeian exiles** compare his repopulating of AMYZON in 203–201 B.C., his refounding of LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, his rehabilitation of SARDIS, and his treatment of Jerusalem in 200 B.C., when he repopulated the city after it had been devastated by war (Jos. *AJ* 12.138–44; and E. Bickerman, *REJ* 100 [1935] 4–35).

7. The **figure of 6,000 for the free population of Seleukeia** is low and has prompted some scholars to suggest the figure may represent only “free citizens or men of military age” (Walbank, *Comment.*, on Polyb. 5.61.1) or “erwachsene Männer” (Beloch, *GG²*, 4.1: 255 n. 2; Beloch then suggests the total population was approximately 30,000). If 6,000 is understood to represent adult males, then 17,500 (6,000 × 2.9) would be a reasonable figure.

8. For the grant of **politeia** by **Teos** see ANTIOCH near Daphne, n. 26. On the formula *τοῖς ἀρχοῦσι καὶ τῇ πόλει* see Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 213–20. To the examples he collects on pp. 213–15 add C. P. Jones and C. Habicht, *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 319–20 (= *SEG* 39: 1426.1).

9. For the appearance of the titles **IEPA** and **ΑΣΥΛΟΣ** on the coinage of Seleukeia see Welles's commentary on *RC* 71 (p. 292 and n. 3), quoting a letter from E. T. Newell, who referred to (a) a coin in his collection with the legend *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΜ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ*, which he dated either to the first reign of Demetrios II (146–144 B.C.) or to the last year of Alexander I (146 B.C.) (for other examples see *Antioch* IV.2 726; H. Seyrig, *RN*, 1968, 8, no. 265; H. C. Lindgren and F. L. Kovacs, *Ancient Bronze Coins* [San Mateo, 1985] no. 2121; G. Le Rider, *BCH* 110 [1986] 406–7, nos. 78–79) and (b) a coin with the inscription *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΜ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ* and dated to ΔΟΡ, i.e., 139/8 B.C. (G. MacDonald, *ZfN* 29 [1912] p. 99, no. 27). Newell suggested that the coinage with *ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ* was issued in 146–144 B.C., when Seleukeia was declared “sacred,” and that the city was not declared “inviolable” as well until 139/8 B.C.; in positing this sequence he was followed by H. Seyrig (*Syrian Coins* 13 n. 21 and 21 n. 49) and Waage (*Antioch* IV.2, pp. 69–70). Le Rider recognized the possibility that there could have been a hiatus between the time it received the title “sacred” and the title “inviolable,” but he also raised the possibility that the title *asylus* could sometimes have been omitted from the coins. Rigsby also suggested that the omission of *asylus* reflected a lack of space on the coins and that the city was declared “sacred and inviolable” in the period between 147/6 and 139/8 B.C. (*Asyria*, 485–88).

For the legend *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ* on the coinage see, for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 398; and *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 27off., nos. 15–23, 25–28; *Antioch* IV.2 729–40 (first cent. B.C.); *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 401; and *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 27off., nos. 31–32 (Imperial times); for *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ* see, for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 399; and *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 271, no. 24 (first cent. B.C.).

In general see Rigsby, *Asyria*, 485–88.

10. For the coinage of Seleukeia see especially Newell, *WSM* 890–906; Houghton, *CSE* 401–14; V. K. Golenko, *Mesopotamia* 28 (1993) 137–38; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins*, 1: nos. 29–34, 355–56; G. Le Rider, *RBN* 145 (1999) 121–23; and id., *Antioche*, 27–30. For Zeus on coins of Seleukeia (*WSM* 890–93) see, for example, L. Lacroix, *BCH* 73 (1949) 165.

11. For coins of Seleukos I and Antiochos I from Seleukeia see, for example, Newell, *WSM* 890–906 (note, however, that Le Rider [*Antioche*, 39; and *RBN* 145 (1999) 122 n. 18] has suggested that nos. 905–6 might be assigned to ANTIOCH); *Meydancikkale*, 132–33, nos. 2740–44 (Seleukos I); *CSE* 401–3 (Seleukos I); *SNG Spaer* 33–35 (Seleukos I), 219–20 (Antiochos I); Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins*, 1: nos. 29–34 (Seleukos I), 355–56 (Antiochos I = *WSM* 905–6). For coins of later Seleucid kings see, for example, *CSE* 403–6 (Antiochos IV), 407–14 (Alexander Balas, Demetrius II, Alexander Zabinas, Demetrius III); *BMC Seleucid Kings*, 42, nos. 83–85 (Antiochos IV).

Under Seleukos I the ethnic is found as *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ* (e.g., *WSM* 894, 896–99, 901–2; *Antioch* IV.2 13–17; see also Radley, *JHS* 9 (1974) 59 and n. 52). In the second and first centuries B.C. the ethnic is found as *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ* (e.g., *BMC Gala-*

tia, etc., 269, nos. 1–6; SNG [Cop] Syria: Cities 388–91), ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΜ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΙ (e.g., *Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 51, no. 75; *RdS* 647–50; *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 269f., nos. 7–14; SNG [Cop] Syria: Cities 392–93; SNG [Cop] Syria: Seleucid Kings 216–17; *Antioch IV.2* 119–23, 722–25; SNG *Braunschweig* 1388; *RC* 45.1–2 and 71.4), and ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ with the title ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ (see above, n. 9). ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΑ ΑΠΟ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ (Heberdey and Wilhelm, *DAWW* 44.6 [1896] p. 8, no. 16; and Kraeling, *AJA* 68 [1964] 178) is also attested.

Under the empire we usually find ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ/ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΥΣ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ (e.g., *Antioch IV.2* 746–49; SNG [Cop] Syria: Cities 404–5; *IG XIV.934*; also spelled ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ: SNG [Cop] Syria: Cities 403; *Antioch IV.2* 750–51; cf. ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑΣ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ (*CIG* 3497.18), ΣΕ[ΛΕΥΚ]ΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΙΕ[ΡΙΑΣ] (*CIG* 4423) and variants thereof; also ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ with the title ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ (above, n. 9).

In the early first century B.C. Σελεύκεια [ἡ πρὸς τῶι Ἰσοικῶ[ι κ]όλπῳ (*I. Strat.* 508.75–76) was included among the cities that recognized the inviolability of the temple of Hekate at STRATONIKEIA in Caria. On the question of whether this city should be identified with Seleukeia in Pieria see SELEUKEIA on the Bay of Issos.

In 1 Maccabees 11.8 we find Σελευκείας τῆς παραθαλασσίας; Appian (*Syr.* 57) identified it as “Seleukeia by the Sea” (Σελεύκεια ἢ ἐπὶ τῆι Θαλάσση). In Strabo we encounter both Σελεύκεια ἢ ἐν Πιερία (14.5.20; 16.2.4) and Σελεύκεια ἢ Πιερία (7.5.8), in Cicero (*Ad Att.* 11.20.1) and Pliny (*NH* 5.67, 79; 6.206), “Seleucia Pieria” (also P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* [Berlin, 1920] p. 126, no. 37.17 [166 A.D.]). On the various forms of the ethnic and toponym for Seleukeia see Chapot, “Séleucie,” 157 n. 2; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia (Pieria),” 1187; Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 212–13.

12. For the quasi-municipal bronzes with the portrait of Antiochos IV and, later, of Alexander I Balas and Antiochos VII Sidetes on the obverse and the ethnic of Seleukeia on the reverse see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 51, no. 75; *RdS* 647–50; *BMC Seleucid Kings*, 57, nos. 68–69; *Antioch IV.2* 119–23; SNG (Cop) Syria: Seleucid Kings 216–17; Houghton, *CSE* 405–6, 408[?]; and MacDonald, *ZfN* 29 (1912) 99, no. 27 (Antiochos VII); see also Babelon, *RdS*, p. CV; Bickerman, *IS*, 231ff.; Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV*, 124–30; and *INC Rome*, 2: 63–67. Mørkholm notes that “it has been commonly held that the introduction of the new municipal coins by Antiochus IV was the first sign of a disintegration and weakening of royal authority which offered the cities an opportunity to become more and more independent. But things only seem so to us because we know of the following development, the continuous fights between the various claimants to the throne, which brought about the ruin of the Seleucid kingdom.” Rather than a sign of weakness, Mørkholm suggests the new municipal coinage reflects Antiochos’s desire to “make the cities active partners in the work for the inner regeneration of his kingdom” (67). K. J. Rigsby agreed with Mørkholm that the appearance of this coinage reflected “royal policy, not collapse” (*TAPA* 110 [1980] 243).

During the reign of Alexander Balas a series of bronze coins appear with the legend ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ, “of the brother peoples,” replacing the civic ethnic (see, for example, A. Dieudonné, *RN*, 1927, 5–6; *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 151–52, nos. 1–11; *Antioch IV.2* 720–21; SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities 394–97; SNG GB 4: 5922–24; SNG *Braunschweig* 1387). Strabo (16.2.4) mentions that the four cities of the Tetrapolis—Seleukeia, ANTIOCH near Daphne, APAMEIA on the Axios, and LAODIKEIA by the

Sea—were called sisters on account of their concord. This prompted Babelon (*Rds*, CVII) and Wroth (*BMC Galatia, etc.*, 151) to conclude that the coins were minted by these four cities (see also A. Dieudonné, *RN*, 1927, 5–6; Bickerman, *IS*, 234). However, in 1949 Bellinger (“End of the Seleucids,” 60 and n. 6) called attention to Seyrig’s remark that the coins were common at ANTIOCH near Daphne and at Seleukeia but were never found at APAMEIA on the Axios or LAODIKEIA by the Sea. It followed, therefore, that the coins could not have been struck at all four cities and, hence, that these were coins of Seleukeia and ANTIOCH near Daphne. Furthermore, it was suggested that their appearance marked the establishment of a short-lived league between the two cities that indicated a significant weakening of the central Seleucid authority; see, for example, Bellinger, “End of the Seleucids,” 60 and n. 6, 62 n. 17; Downey, *HAS*, 121.

Rigsby (*TAPA* 110 [1980] 242–48) has challenged this interpretation. Rigsby points out that all the issues (except one that is undated) are dated to three successive years—149/48, 148/47, 147/46 B.C. He also notes that in 151/50, 150/49, and 149/48 B.C. ANTIOCH near Daphne, Seleukeia in Pieria, APAMEIA, LAODIKEIA, and KYRRHOS in northern Syria all issued quasi-municipal bronze coins bearing on the obverse the king’s portrait and on the reverse a local type and the city name replacing that of the monarch (see above). Then from 147/46 B.C. Rigsby notes that we have one municipal issue—from Seleukeia—with the same reverses as on the 149–147 coins but with Zeus rather than the king portrayed on the obverse. Rigsby suggests that “the brother peoples coins fall rigorously between these two groups of municipal issues under Alexander: the municipal issues cease when the brother coins begin, and these stop in the year the municipal coins of Seleuceia begin again. I suggest that these usages were mutually exclusive: the brother peoples coins succeeded the earlier municipal bronze in 149/8, to be then succeeded by the sole mint at Seleuceia in 147/6” (244). Rigsby notes that the bronze coinages as a whole are coterminous with the reign of Alexander Balas and concludes that “the brother peoples cannot represent a new and independent status extorted by two powerful peoples allied now against a feeble king. To the contrary, they would appear to show one stage in the king’s restricting of a particular privilege, that of municipal coinage” (244). The issue Mørkholm and Rigsby raise is whether the appearance of the quasi-municipal coinage and the “brother peoples” coinage reflects weakness or strength on the part of the central Seleucid administration. They both opt for the latter view. Note, however, that even Rigsby is forced to admit that “from the 120’s B.C. a growing number of cities won such autonomy that allowed them their own coinages in silver and bronze” (243). If this is so, then surely the same may have been true in the 160s and the 140s.

For a **tetradrachm, possibly of Antiochos IV**, see Houghton, *CSE* 404. According to Mørkholm, a **tetradrachm of Demetrios II**, dated to 142/1 B.C., might have been struck at either Seleukeia or LAODIKEIA by the Sea (*INJ* 3 [1965/66] 11–12).

For **silver and bronze coinage of the independent Seleukeia** (i.e., post-109 B.C.) see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 270–71, nos. 16–28.

13. For the presence of **Seleukeian bronzes at DOURA EUROPOS, SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, and Susa** see Le Rider, *RBN* 145 (1999) 122–23.

14. For **weights from Seleukeia** see, for example, H. Seyrig, *BMB* 8 (1946–1948) 45–52; *IGLS* 1213; *Fleischman Collection*, nos. 94–97; see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW*, 453–54, 1431–32.

15. For the **priesthoods at Seleukeia** see *OGIS* 245 (= *IGLS* 1184); and Bickerman, *JS*, 245.

16. On the worship of **Zeus Keraunios** see, for example, Chapot, "Séleucie," 222–23; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia (Pieria)," 1195–96; Drexler, *Lex. Myth.* s.v. "Keraunios"; Adler, *RE* s.v. "Keraunios"; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 2: 806–9, esp. 809 and notes. Cook noted (809) that (a) the thunderbolt that preceded the foundation was considered to be a "Zeus-sign" (*Diosemia*), (b) Seleukos ordered the thunderbolt be treated as a god, and (c) the Seleukeians venerated it with worship and hymns (App. *Syr.* 58). The object of veneration was probably, as Cook suggested, a bolt of lightning made out of gold, probably similar to those carried in the great procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (Athen. 5.202e; and Rice, *Procession*, 120). In support of this hypothesis Cook noted that the lists of priests at Seleukeia included "thunderbolt-bearers" (*OGIS* 245.47). Furthermore, silver and bronze coinage after 108 B.C. often have as their reverse type, a thunderbolt with a fillet on a cushioned stool; for coins of Seleukeia see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 213ff., nos. 16–19, 21–26, 29, 31–32, 44–45; Anson, *Num. Gr.* IV pp. 55f., nos. 568–76, 578; *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 270ff., nos. 16–27, 31–32, etc.; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities* 398–401, 407–9; for coins of Demetrios III with the same reverse type struck at Seleukeia see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 114, nos. 2–4; *RdS* 1571–73; Anson, *Num. Gr.* IV 55, no. 567; *BMC Seleucid Kings*, 101, no. 7; *SNG GB* 4: 5822; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Seleucid Kings* 419; *CSE* 414. That this was the thunderbolt of Zeus Keraunios is confirmed by Hesychios (s.v. "Keraunios") and by bronze coins of Seleukeia with the same reverse type and the legend ΖΕΥΣ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΙΟΣ (e.g., *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 275, no. 46; *SNG GB* 4: 5967; *Antioch IV.2* 754). Anson, *Num. Gr.* IV 56, no. 587, follows Wroth's description of *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 276, no. 56: "large thunderbolt of Zeus Keraunios resting on roof of shrine [within which, sacred stone of Zeus Kasios?]." See also V. Chapot, *BCH* 26 (1902) 168–69, no. 8, a decree of the early empire honoring a νεωκόρον τοῦ Νεικηφόρου Κεραυν[ω]υ. Cf. the worship of Zeus Keraunios at ANTIOCH near Daphne.

For **Zeus Kasios** see, in addition to Chapot, "Séleucie," and Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia (Pieria)": Drexler, *Lex. Myth.* s.v. "Kasios"; Adler, *RE* s.v. "Kasios"; A. Salac, *BCH* 46 (1922) 176–80; Cook, *Zeus*, 2: 981–83; Downey, *HAS*, 67 n. 57. The inhabitants of ANTIOCH near Daphne worshipped Triptolemos on Mount Kasios (Strabo 16.2.5). In 113 A.D. Trajan dedicated some of the spoils of his Dacian campaign to Zeus Kasios (the *Suda* s.v. "Kasion Oros"; and *Anth. Pal.* 6.332). Under the empire the bronze coinage often has as a reverse type a shrine with a pyramidal roof resting on four pillars and enclosing a sacred stone. On the roof is an eagle and beneath the shrine, on coins minted under Trajan and Antoninus Pius, is the legend ΖΕΥΣ ΚΑΣΙΟΣ; see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 216f., nos. 33–41; Anson, *Num. Gr.* V 53, no. 354; *Antioch IV.2* 749; *SNG GB* 4: 5966; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities* 403–5; *BMC Galatia, etc.*, 274f., nos. 36–45, 47, and p. 272, no. 29 (without name of emperor). Under Commodus and the Severi we usually find the same coin type without the legend; thus, for example, Anson, *Num. Gr.* V 53, nos. 355–57; *Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 217, no. 43; *Antioch IV.2* 757–59; *SNG (Cop) Syria: Cities* 410–12; but cf. *Antioch IV.2* 766.

17. On the **fortifications** at Seleukeia see McNicoll, *Fortifications*, 85–89.

18. On the **harbor at Seleukeia** see, for example, Appian (*Syr.* 4), who records how in 196/5 B.C., after his fleet had been damaged by a storm, Antiochos III put in at Seleukeia (see also Livy 33.41); see also *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* 28 (ed.

Rougé); and Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 303–6; A. Poidebard and J. Lauffray, *Sidon* (Beirut, 1951) 32.

Regarding the location and site, Strabo says (16.2.7) that Seleukeia was on the coast, 40 stades north of the mouth of the Orontes; Pliny (*NH* 5.79) says it was on the cape of Antiocheian Syria. See further Dussaud, *Topographie*, 419–22, 429–31, and map IX (opposite p. 424); Chapot, “Séleucie,” 149–50 and passim; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia (Pieria),” 1197–1200; R. Stillwell in *Antioch*, 3: 1–6 (and photographs); Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 302–6 and map 4 (p. 304); Jähne, *Klio* 56 (1974) 508–10; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 69–71 and map 6(D) on p. 243.

SELEUKEIA NEAR BELOS

Among the cities in the interior of Syria Pliny (*NH* 5.82) mentions Seleukeia near Belos (“Seleucia . . . ad Belum”).¹ Unfortunately he provides no further information. Thus we do not know when it was founded or by whom. The toponym suggests Seleukos I Nikator or his son Antiochos I may have been the founder; but this is speculation. Although the precise site is also not known, the most likely suggestion points to the region of APAMEIA.²

* * * *

In general see Tcherikover, *HS*, 57; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia 3”; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 155f.; Tchalenko, *Villages*, VII–IX; Canivet, *Monachisme*, 192 and n. 156; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty in *Géographie administrative*, 68–71; J.-C. Balty in *Recueil Saidah*, 287–98; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 138 and n. 6; id., *Seleukid Prosopography*, 774; R. M. Bradfield, *Seleuco-belos* (Burford, 2002).

1. For **other literary references** see, for example, Ptolemy 5.14.12 (Σελεύκεια πρὸς Βήλω). Subsequent authors refer to the city as Σελευκόβηλος. Thus Stephanos s.v. Σελευκόβηλος, πόλις Συρίας, πλησίον . . . λέγεται καὶ Σελευκεὺς πρὸς τῷ Βήλω (on this passage see Dussaud, *Topographie*, 156 and nn. 1, 2); George of Cyprus 86g; Hierokles 712.g; Socrates *Hist. Eccl.* 3.25 (208) (= PG 67: 453); Theodore (Philotheos *Hist.* 3.20, ed. Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen [= PG 82: 1337]) called it a *polis* of Syria; Theophanes (*Chron.* 348.20, ed. De Boor) referred to it as a village in the Ἀπαμείων χώρα. For two other probable references to Seleukeia near Belos see the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* 15 (*SEG* 20: 324, ἄλλη Σελεύκεια, on which see E. Honigmann and A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* [Brussels, 1953] 158) and the *Suda* (ed. Adler) s.v. “Metrioi” (Σελεύκεια τῆς Συρίας).

2. The topographic feature(s) designated by the term **Belos** is(are) a problem. Both Seleukeia and CHALKIS in Chalkidike were located near Belos. The term, however, could refer to a mountain or to various rivers in northern and southern Syria. In CHALKIS on Belos, n. 4, I have given a brief review of the major opinions on this question.

Regarding the **location** of Seleukeia near Belos, Ptolemy (5.14.12) placed it 1/2 degree west of Apameia; Theophanes (*Chron.* 348.20, ed. de Boor) said it was in the territory of Apameia. The text of Stephanos s.v. “Seleukobelos” is corrupt. Modern

scholars have suggested Seleukeia was located at, for example, (a) Djisir esh-Shogur (e.g., Dussaud, *Topographie*, 155–57; M. Dunand, *De l'Amanus au Sinai* [Beirut, 1953] 108–9 [photograph]) or (b) Kafr al Bara (e.g., J. Richard, *Syria* 25 [1946–1948] 104 n. 2), both north of Apameia; (c) Ma'az (Bradfield, *Seleuco-bêlos*, 26–29), northeast of Apameia; (d) Suqelbiye (e.g., Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia 3,” 1202f.; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty in *Géographie administrative*, 69) or (e) Seluqiye (e.g., Jones, *CERP*², 452 n. 24; later accepted by Honigmann and Maricq, *Mem. Acad. roy. Belg.* 47.4 (1953) 158; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria*, 138), both south of Apameia. See also maps VIII and X in Dussaud, *Topographie*.

For most of these scholars the term “Belos” had referred to a mountain range in Syria (see, for example, Benzinger, *RE* s.v. “Belos 2”; Tchalenko, *Villages*, VIII–IX). In this connection, Benzinger cited Pliny *NH* 5.81–82; Ptol. 5.14.12; Stephanos s.v. “Seleukobelos.” The ancient authors do refer to the towns—i.e., Seleukeia and Chalkis—that were “near Belos.” Note, however, that none of them specifically describes Belos as a mountain.

In fact, the question whether Belos referred to a mountain or a river is an old one. Müller noted both possibilities in 1901 in his commentary to Ptolemy 5.14.12 (“Seleukeia near Belos”); in 1921 Honigmann (*RE* s.v. “Seleukeia 3”) raised the same question. In 1927 Dussaud made the suggestion that Belos in the toponym Seleukeia near Belos referred to the Orontes. In 1979 and again in 1982 J. Balty and J.-C. Balty pointed to a scholion of Tzetzes to an epigram: *Μέμνων ἀποκομισθεῖς οἴκαδε ἑτάφη παρὰ Βήλων ποταμὸν Συρίας καὶ ἐπυγράπται αὐτῷ τάδε: Μέμνων Τιθωνοῦ τε καὶ Ἡοῦς ἐνθάδε κείμει ἐν Συρίῃ Βήλων παρ ποταμοῦ προχοαῖς* (T. Bergk, *Poetae lyrici graeci* [Leipzig, 1915] 2: 55, p. 353; on this see also P.J. Riis, *Sukas I* [Copenhagen, 1970] 141). The information from the epigram and the gloss demonstrates that the Orontes was also known as Belos. Thus the Baltys correctly claimed that in the toponym Seleukeia near Belos, Belos refers to the Orontes River (Balty and Balty, in *Géographie administrative*, 68–72; id., *Recueil Saidaï*, 288–89; see also APAMEIA and CHALKIS on Belos).

Jones suggested (*CERP*², 245) that because the Greek name has survived, Seleukobelos was probably a new foundation (rather than the refounding of an older, native village). This may be, but the reasoning is circular: in fact, we do not definitely know its modern name because we have not yet firmly identified the modern location.

SELEUKEIA ON THE BAY OF ISSOS

Two bronze coins with the ethnic *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΙΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΙΣΣΙΚΩ ΚΟΛΠΩΙ* provide evidence for Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos. The coins have been dated to the second century B.C.¹ Franke, who published the coins, claimed there is no other reference to this settlement. Ziegler suggested that Seleukos I Nikator refounded Rhosos as Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos.² Among other things, Ziegler noted that (a) Rhosos was the only port for ANTIOCH before the completion of the port of SELEUKEIA in Pieria; (b) it was the place where Nikator met Stratonike (Plut. *Demet.* 32; Malalas 8.198 [*CSHB XXVIII*]), before proceeding to Antioch; (c) up to now, there has been no known coinage of Rhosos dating to the second century B.C.; the

Seleukeia coins would thus fill a gap; (d) the eagle countermark found on the coin of Seleukeia is also found on a later coin of Rhosos (reign of Claudius). Rhosos was located at the site of the modern Arsuz—Uluçınar.³

In fact, there is also an epigraphic attestation dating to the first century B.C. for Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos: a fragment of an inscription recording the names of some of the cities recognizing the inviolability of the temple of Hekate at STRATONIKEIA in Caria mentions Σελεύκεια [ἡ π]ρὸς τῶν Ἰσσοῦκῶ[ι κ]όλπωι (*I. Strat.* 508.75–76 = *OGIS* 441 = Rigsby, *Asyria*, 210C). The list of cities recognizing the inviolability of the temple actually survives on three fragments; Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos is recorded on the third fragment. This fragment lists eleven cities: in the left column we find one Phrygian city (APAMEIA on the Maeander) followed by six Lycian cities (Patara, Xanthos, Pinara, Tlos, Limyra, Myra). In the right column we find Alabanda in Caria, a Demetrias, Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos, and Kelenderis in Cilicia. The identification of both Demetrias and Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos mentioned in the inscription is problematic.⁴

* * * *

1. For the two **coins** see P. R. Franke in *Die epigraphische und alttumskundliche Erforschung Kleinasiens*, ed. G. Dobesch and G. Rehrenböck (Vienna, 1993) 183, 367, no. 5; E. Levante in *Internationales Kolloquium zur kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung Kleinasiens*, ed. J. Nollé et al. (Milan, 1997) 44; R. Ziegler, *EA* 33 (2001) 95–103.

2. For **Rhosos** see, for example, Rigsby, *Asyria*, 472–73. For the identification of **Rhosos as the renamed Seleukeia** see Levante in *Internationales Kolloquium*, 44; and Ziegler, *EA* 33 (2001) 100–101. For the **founder** see Ziegler, 101–2.

Note that earlier Tcherikover had suggested that ANTIOCH in Pieria was the re-founded Rhosos.

3. For **Rhosos and its coinage** see E. Levante, *NC* 145 (1985) 237–43.

4. On **DEMETRIAS** see Foucart, who originally published the third fragment of the list of *I. Strat.* 508 in 1890 and assumed that the Demetrias listed between Alabanda and Seleukeia was the Thessalian city (*BCH* 14 [1890] 363–64). Presumably it was (in part) for this reason that Foucart did not believe there was any geographic order to this list.

Earlier (in 1811) Mionnet ascribed to “Demetrias in Phoenicia” (not otherwise identified) coins with the legend ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ that he had previously attributed to Demetrias in Thessaly (*Description*, 2: 11, nos. 81–84; 5: 359). He also noted that Sestini had suggested that they belonged to Coele Syria, because of their similarity to coins of Aretas that were struck at Damascus (*Supplément*, 8: 207 n. a; see also J. Eckhel, *Doctrina*, 2: 136–38). The claim that Damascus had (briefly) been renamed Demetrias was followed by, among others, W. Wroth (*BMC Galatia, etc.*, lxxvi), G. MacDonald (*Hunter. Coll.*, 3: 115), B. V. Head (*HN*², 784–85), and A. H. M. Jones (*CERP*², 254); see also DEMETRIAS Damascus. In his commentary to *I. Strat.* 508.74, Sahin therefore suggested that the Demetrias mentioned there referred to Damascus. However, since Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos and Kelenderis were

coastal cities, we should consider the possibility that the Demetrias mentioned in the inscription was also a coastal city. The logical candidate for this suggestion would be DEMETRIAS by the Sea in Phoenicia; see further that entry. If Demetrias by the Sea is identical with the Demetrias recorded in the list appended to the Stratonikeia inscription, it would suggest there was a geographic progression for the cities in the surviving part of the third fragment of the list of *I. Strat.* 508: from the interior of Asia Minor to the coast of Phoenicia and Syria and then back again to the Cilician coast; in general for geographical grouping in the various surviving lists of cities see L. Robert, *BCH* 108 (1984) 526 and n. 159.

SELEUKEIA ON THE BAY OF ISSOS. Prior to the publication of the coins with the ethnic ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΙΠΟΣ ΤΩ ΙΣΣΙΚΩ ΚΟΛΠΩΙ it had generally been assumed that the Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos recorded in the Stratonikeia inscription was identical with Seleukeia in Pieria (for this identification see, for example, Dittenberger's comment on *OGIS* 441.216–17; Sahin on *I. Strat.* 508.75–76). Presumably this was because it was more likely that Seleukeia in Pieria rather than a small town—such as (the refounded) Rhosos—would have been included among the cities recognizing the inviolability of the temple of Hekate at Stratonikeia. Note, however, that the fragmentary *I. Strat.* 508 provides evidence only for the *existence* of Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos, not for its identification. There are arguments both for and against the identification of Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos with Seleukeia in Pieria.

For. At first glance it might appear that Seleukeia in Pieria was located too far south to be considered on the Bay of Issos. Note, however, that “Bay of Issos” could be used in both a narrow and a wider sense by ancient geographers. In fact, Strabo appears to use it both ways. For example, at 14.5.19 he says that the cities of Rhosos, Myriandros, ALEXANDREIA, NIKOPOLIS, and Pylai were located on the Bay of Issos. On the other hand, at 2.5.24 he gives it a much wider breadth and says that the island of Cyprus was located in the Issican and the Pamphylian bays. And Pomponius Mela (1.68–70) says that “Asia forms a tremendous gulf with the unbent extension of its littoral. . . . On the gulf is the remainder of Syria, to which the name of Antiochia applies and on its shores are the cities of Seleucia, Hypatos, Berytos, Laodicea and Rhosos, as well as the rivers that go between these cities, the Lycos, the Hypatos, and the Orontes; then comes Mt. Amanus and, right after it, Myriandros and the Cilicians. In the gulf's deepest recess, however, is the site of a great historical turning point long ago” (trans. Romer). Clearly in these two instances “Bay of Issos” designated a much larger area than “the gulf's deepest recess” (“in recessu intimo”) where Rhosos, Myriandros, etc., were located; see also Romer (*Pomponius Mela's Description*, 54 n. 54), who called attention to the present-day distinction between the larger Gulf of Iskenderun and the smaller Bay of Iskenderun. This, therefore, would allow for the possibility that Seleukeia in Pieria was also known as Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos.

Against. Strabo twice (16.2.7) observed that Seleukeia in Pieria was located near the sea. Dittenberger understood this to be a reference to the Bay of Issos. Note that 1 Maccabees 11.8 referred to it as Σελευκείας τῆς παραθαλασσίας and that Appian (*Syr.* 57) also identified it as “Seleukeia by the Sea.” These references, however, are found in literary sources; i.e., they are not necessarily the *official* name of the city. In fact, I am not aware of “Seleukeia on/by the Sea” in any extant official context (i.e., on coins or in inscribed decrees or letters of the city).

One could cite examples of the official use of shorter or longer versions of a city name by that particular city (e.g., Seleukeia, Seleukeia in Pieria, Seleukeia Pieria). Often the longer version provided some geographic indication to help identify the city and differentiate it from other like-named cities. Thus, for example, Antioch near Daphne, Antioch on the Kydnos, Antioch on the Pyramos, Antioch on the Saros, etc.; see further Le Rider, *Suse*, 410–11. On the other hand, it is difficult to find evidence for a city striking coins with geographic indications that changed. This would be the case if we accepted the proposition that the Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos coinage was from Seleukeia in Pieria.

On balance, therefore, it would not appear likely that Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos was the renamed Seleukeia in Pieria.

TEGEA

Among the cities in Syria that Appian (*Syr.* 57) says Seleukos I Nikator founded was Tegea. Appian, who is our sole source of information for this Tegea, includes it among the settlements he says were named for cities in Greece. It is possible, therefore, that the population included settlers from Tegea in the Peloponnese or that the location reminded the settlers of that city. We do not know where Syrian Tegea was located.

* * * *

In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 447; Tcherikover, *HS*, 63; Frézouls in *La toponymie*, 239; Brodersen, *Komment.*, 156 and n. 4; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, 787.