

The Children of Antiochos III: A Revised Approach

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Preface

Eight years after my previous redaction of this article I have found it necessary to write a new version in order to take into account papers missed in 2006 (or published after then) and received criticisms.

The modifications have been so numerous that this may be considered a new paper. The number of pages is doubled. Above all, the approach to the matter is now more focused on exploring problems than trying to solve them definitively (the secondary title “A Revised Approach” is not casual). I have tried to build hypotheses that are more open, considering recent historical research and generally eliminating some rigidities that burdened the previous version.

Introduction

“When, however, the news came that a son had been born to Antiochos (III), thinking that possibly in the interior Antiochos might meet with some misfortune at the hands of the barbarians and give him the opportunity of compassing his death, he (Hermeias) gave his consent to the expedition, feeling sure that if he could put Antiochos out of the way he would be himself the child's guardian and master of the kingdom.” (Polybios 5.55. 4-5)
(Translation by W. R. Paton)

This passage, in which Polybios described in darkest tones the wicked behaviour of the “*epi ton pragmaton*” Hermeias of Karia, gives us the only precise information we have on the birthdate of one of Antiochos III's children. This son was probably the future co-regent Antiochos, who died before his father at the beginning of 192 BC, although we cannot be absolutely sure of this identification because, unfortunately, Polybios does not give the boy's name. Anyway, our calculation of his date of birth will show that it is highly probable that he was that Antiochos, unless his parents had twin children, an infrequent event.

We know Antiochos III had a number of other sons (Seleukos, Antiochos – whose previous name was possibly Mithradates – and, maybe, Ardys), and daughters (Laodike, Kleopatra, Antiochis, Nysa?, and maybe another one or two, whose names we do not know). But the exact dates and even the relative chronology of their births remain unknown.

We are sure that Laodike III did not accompany her husband the king during the campaign against Molon (221-220 BC), and, as we are not informed of her presence in any other military expeditions, we can be quite sure she remained well apart from the king for several months. We have several fragments by Polybios on the following campaigns and none mentions Laodike. We know of no examples of a Seleucid king bringing his wife on a military expedition, and there are several counterexamples where the queen is known to have stayed at home in the capital: Laodike (wife of Seleukos II), Kleopatra (wife of Demetrios II Nicator), and the same Kleopatra (as wife of Antiochos VII). Similarly, we know of no Macedonian king from Philip II to Perseus who was accompanied by his queen on a military expedition. In Egypt, Berenike stayed at home while Ptolemy III was campaigning. On the other hand, Egypt does provide two examples where a queen joined her husband on a military campaign: in 273 BC Arsinoe II accompanied her brother-husband Ptolemy II to defend the Egyptian border from a possible menace from Antiochos I Soter (but actually the royal couple did not go beyond Heroopolis-Pythom on the

eastern branch of the Nile), and in 217 Arsinoe III actively participated with her brother-husband Ptolemy IV in the battle of Raphia on the Egyptian border. However, both of these examples (especially the second one) were desperate defensive situations, where the survival of the kingdom was at stake; the presence of the queen might galvanize the soldiers, driving them to fight with greater desperation. The eastern campaigns of Antiochos III, by contrast, were offensive operations.

The only exception is Laodike's probable presence in Asia Minor, after the campaign against Achaios. So, we can approximately deduce when the royal couple might have conceived children. I hypothesize in this paper that there were no twins and there was an average space of 14 months between the children's births. For my analysis of the order and possible birthdate ranges of the children I am roughly following the approach used by Chris J. Bennett ("The Children of Ptolemy III and the Date of the Exedra of Thermos" in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 138 (2002) pp. 141-145; a brief presentation of Bennett's analysis can be found starting with the second paragraph of note 3 in his coverage of Magas, son of Ptolemy III and Berenike II: http://www.tyndalehouse.com/egypt/ptolemies/magas_ii.htm#Magas.3). If the exedra of Thermos is dated to 239 BC (as argued by Bennett), then we know the period of possible conception of the children of this Lagid royal couple, and the exedra gives their birth order. The chronology is tight, and Bennett proposed that plausible estimates of birthdates can be obtained by assuming that the children of Ptolemy III were roughly evenly spaced (specifically, coming at 14-month intervals, assuming no twins). It turns out that the same interval and assumption of no twins seem to work well in this Seleucid context, which also involves a compressed chronology, though in the Seleucid case we don't have the precise period(s) of possible conception and the birth order that we have in the Ptolemaic case. (Bennett makes the same assumptions about roughly even spacing ["a little over a year apart"] and no twins for the children of Antiochos III in his note 4, point iii, in his coverage of Cleopatra I, http://www.tyndalehouse.com/Egypt/ptolemies/cleopatra_i.htm#Cleopatra%20I.4).

Antiochos' Succession to the Throne

Seleukos III probably died in late spring 222 BC. He was still living in the period 8/9 April- 6/7 May 222, but Antiochos III seems to have been already acknowledged by 28/29 May (according to cuneiform dating formulas adduced by G.R.F. Assar, *Nabu*, November 2009). Cf. also BCHP 10 (www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/bchp-dynastic/dynastic_01.html). This agrees with my timeline from Polybios, that Chris Bennett was so kind to include in his website: http://www.tyndalehouse.com/Egypt/ptolemies/cleopatra_i_fr.htm#Cleopatra%20I.4. So we can deduce that the news of his assassination reached Babylon, where his brother Antiochos probably was (Polybios 5. 40. 5), about April-May 222 BC. This notice will have traveled quite rapidly, because Achaios and Epigenes, who commanded the Seleukid army in Phrygia, where Seleukos III was assassinated, probably sent messengers at once to Antioch and to Seleukeia on the Tigris where Antiochos presumably was based at the time.

Edouard Will ["Le première années du règne d'Antiochos III (223-219 av. J. C.)," *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 1962, pp. 72-129] proposes that the same Achaios, after leaving to Epigenes the command of the army, hurried to Antioch and then to Babylonia in order to participate in the acclamation of Antiochos as king. But, in my opinion this hypothesis can no longer be maintained in view of the discovery of the new Babylonian documents that fix Seleukos III's death to April 222 BC.

Rolf Strootman in his interesting article "Hellenistic court society: The Seleukid imperial court under Antiochos the Great, 223-187 BC" (in J. Duindam, M. Kunt, and T. Artan (eds.), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, 2011, 63-89) writes that Antiochos did not hold any official position when he was in the Eastern provinces. Actually Polybios (5. 40. 5) is rather vague: "[...] on the

death of his father and the succession to the throne of his elder brother Seleukos, he at first resided in the interior or in Upper Asia.” This sentence is the translation of the Greek expression, “ἄνω τόποις μεθιστάμενος ἐποιεῖτο τὴν διατριβήν”. More precisely the expression, “ἄνω τόποις” means the upper places, that is the so called Upper Satrapies, but all historians know the reluctance of Polybios to give precise titles of the various officials. Strootman quotes the examples of the Ottoman Empire and of China under the Qing dynasty where the brothers and half-brothers of the emperor were “kept away from the centre of power” (Strootman p.72). I think that these suggestive examples are unrelated to the Seleukid kingdom, which, like the other Hellenistic realms, followed Macedonian and (in the case of the Seleukids) also Persian customs. In both cases the brothers of the king held important offices. See for instance Krateros, brother of Antigonos Gonatas and governor of Corinth, and Antiochos Hierax, governor of Asia Minor, initially in the name of his royal brother but soon as rebel. We can find rebel brothers also in the Persian empire like Cyrus the Younger, but the fact remains that often the brothers of the king were satraps of important provinces, like Artaphernes, brother of Dareios I and satrap of Sardeis, and Achemenes and Masistes, brothers of Xerxes, who were governors, respectively, of Egypt and Baktria. We cannot be sure that Antiochos, as supposed by other historians (Tarn or Will, for example), was “strategos of the Upper Satrapies” (the same Upper Satrapies where Polybios states he resided), but it is undoubtedly possible that he represented his royal brother in Babylonia and in the most eastern provinces.

Strootman believes furthermore that Hermeias himself “had been left as viceroy at Seleukeia on the Tigris when Seleukos III moved into Asia Minor” (Strootman p. 72). This statement is hard to defend. Hermeias had the title of “τοῦ τότε προεστῶτος ὄλων πραγμάτων” (Pol. 5. 41. 2), a generic expression like those that Polybios habitually uses to mean “*epi ton pragmaton*” ([ὁ] ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων=“charged with affairs”) and not “*ho epi ton ano satrapeion*” (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν=“governor of the Upper Satrapies”). This proposal that Hermeias was viceroy is excluded also for the reason that Polybios attests that he had no military experience (5. 42. 4). Moreover the actions of Magas, younger son of Ptolemy III, in Asia Minor attested by the *pHann 6* (Werner Huss, “Eine ptolemaische Expedition nach Kleinasien,” *AncSoc* 8 (1977), pp. 187-193) after the death of a king Seleukos that Chris Bennett believes to be Seleukos III Soter, the brother and predecessor of Antiochos (http://www.tyndalehouse.com/egypt/ptolemies/magas_ii_fr.htm), suggested that there was at that moment a situation of acute tension with the Ptolemies and that there had to be some members of the government in Syria, where the capital, Antioch, could not be left without a high-level representative of the king.

We also deduce from the Polybian report that since at the outset of his reign Antiochos was very young and inexperienced (Pol. 5. 41 1; 42. 6), Hermeias had the authority to make the most important decisions. So it is probable that it was he who decided that Antiochos must marry Laodike, daughter of Mithradates II, king of Pontos, and first cousin of the same Antiochos III, since her mother, also probably named Laodike, was a sister of Seleukos II, father of Antiochos III. Actually it is possible that Laodike was the affianced bride of Seleukos III, for whom no queen is known. If this guess is valid, it is probable that the wedding was postponed because the girl was underage. She might be born around 235. It is also possible that the marriage between Mithradates II and the unnamed sister of Seleukos (Laodike ?) happened after the battle of Ankyra (ca. 238 BC) and the following treaty of peace. (See also below.) Probably it was the same Hermeias who ordered the admiral Diognetos to make his journey to Amisos, the main port of the kingdom of Pontos, to escort the king's fiancée.

Although it doesn't affect the wedding date of Antiochos III, I wish to comment on what I believe is an incorrect conclusion about this journey. Some scholars, e.g., W. W. Tarn, have maintained that Diognetos traveled overland, across the kingdom of the Southern Kappadokia (better known as simply Kappadokia), but the fact that the ambassador charged with the mission was precisely the nauarchos or navarchos (admiral or fleet commander) implies that he traveled by sea. (See also the examples of the

marriage of the Antigonid Stratonike and the Seleukid Laodike, spouses respectively of Seleukos I and of Perseus of Macedonia. Both reached their future husbands accompanied by a fleet.)

It looks like Ariaramnes and his son Ariarathes III of Kappadokia, during their co-regency, had sided with Antiochos Hierax against his brother Seleukos II, father of Antiochos III, but after the defeat of Hierax they changed alignment and at the beginning of Antiochos' reign Ariarathes III (the old Ariaramnes was almost surely dead) probably had good relations with the Seleukids.

On the other hand, we know nothing about Southern Kappadokian relations with Pontos, the kingdom that occupied the northern part of Kappadokia, but even if they were very good, it was undoubtedly more dignified for a future Seleukid queen to travel on the ship of her future husband than to cross a foreign state like a guest. Moreover the sea route was surer than the overland one. In fact, while there were quite good communications between the Seleukid territory and Mazaka, the capital of the Kappadokian kingdom, there was no direct route to the Pontic capital, Amasya. There were two possible routes:

- 1- to the west, near the land of the Trocmoi, a marauding Galatian (Celtic) people;
- 2- to the east, through lands inhabited by independent mountain tribes with the same predatory customs.

Both these ways were uncertain and dangerous.

The presence of the king at Seleukia Zeugma or on 'the Bridge' (NW Mesopotamian frontier with Upper Syria), where the wedding took place, might look like a clue in favour of the overland travel. Actually, it is equally possible that Hermeias and all the court had come to meet Antiochos, who arrived from Babylonia, at the news of Molon's rebellion. From Seleukia Zeugma, where he married Laodike, the king and the court would have gone to Antioch. In this case the route taken by Antiochos would be Babylonia to Seleukia Zeugma to Antioch. In 5.41-42 Polybios relates the reunion of the royal council and its unhappy decisions. Afterward he continues, "while this was going on, Antiochos happened to be at Seleukeia on the Bridge, when the navarchos Diognetos arrived from Kappadokia, on the Euxine, bringing Laodice, the daughter of king Mithridates, an unmarried girl, destined to be the king's wife."

In the Roman era a ship took a minimum of 4 days to get to Rhodes from Alexandria (L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, 1971, pp. 270-293). A similar distance separates Rhodes from the Syrian ports. It is possible it took another 5 days to get to Kalchedon from Rhodes. If from Kalchedon to Pantikapaion a ship took a minimum of 10 days, it is probable that it took 7 to reach Amisos. Thus a 16-day minimum for Diognetos' outward voyage.

But this minimum has to be tripled, considering the uncertainties of ancient navigation. We have thus a normal trip of 48-50 days to get to the kingdom of Pontos from Syria and the same for the return. This figure is to be considered the longest possible, because the Seleukid fleet, in order to arrive in Pontos, had simply always to navigate near the coast and never in open sea. Thus about three months travel time in total. Calculating a month to prepare the naval expedition, and one month of sojourn in Amisos, and then on to the court of Amaseia, the expedition lasted for a maximum of about five months, beginning in June and returning in October. Casson (*op. cit.*, p. 270) reports that Vegetius said "that the sailing season par excellence is from 27 May to 14 September and that the outside limits are 10 March to 10 November.... during late fall and winter, sailing was reduced to the absolute minimum—the carrying of vital dispatches, the ferrying of urgently needed supplies, seaborne military movement that was impossible to delay." During the outward voyage, Diognetos will have had to avoid the Etesian winds that usually blow from the NW in July-August, and for 3 or 4 weeks in the return trip he will have to avoid the Southern winds that usually follow the Etesian, even though all these air currents are extremely irregular (G. De Sanctis *Storia dei Romani* vol. IV, parte I, p. 394). However the figures mentioned above also consider these vagaries.

The Age of Antiochos III

Antiochos III is defined as *neaniskos* in Pol. 5. 42. 6. referring to the events of 222 BC. So, in that year he should have been around 20. His brother Alexander (Seleukos III) was surely older, and they had a sister, Antiochis, who in 212 BC already had an adolescent son, Mithradates (at least 15), and she had to be at least 14 when she bore him. Both Seleukos II's wife and mother were called Laodike, and it is strange that no attested daughter bore this name.

It is perhaps necessary to insert a second sibling that should be the oldest and about whom we know nothing. Maybe she died in infancy. It is also possible that Antiochos III had another brother, the mysterious "Lu" of a Babylonian Chronicle (BM 35421, BCHP 12 forthcoming).

It is difficult to be sure of the order in which Alexander, Antiochis and the other possible siblings were born. They were probably all born in the period 245-243, while Antiochos III was born around 242-241. However, theoretically Antiochis might also be slightly younger than Antiochos III and born in 241. Polybios 20. 8, confirms this argument, saying that Antiochos was above 50 in autumn/winter 191 when he, as a possible widower (see below), married Euboia of Chalkis. (see also Appian *Syriake* 16). In this paper I presuppose all Antiochos' children are legitimate, since we do not know any mistress of this king and no ancient document raises doubts of their legitimacy. An astronomical diary from Babylon dated February-March 187 BC mentions a sacrifice of cows and sheep "for Antiochos' life and for his wife's and his children's lives." It is probably the last reference to Euboia in our extant sources, unless this reference concerns Laodike, if she was still living.

The Age of Laodike III

It is difficult to generalize about the age of a Hellenistic princess at the time of her marriage. Usually the age was early adolescence, but there were many exceptions, due to the fact that in Hellenistic courts the marriage was a political and diplomatic act, and often the right occasions might be lacking. In many cases the princesses had been married before. Phila married the 17/18 year-old Demetrios son of Antigonos when she was 29/30 and after two previous husbands. Furthermore, never-married girls may be married at a later age. For instance Berenike Phernophoros became Antiochos Theos' wife when she was ca 23, while Nereis, daughter of Pyrrhos I of Epeiros married Gelon, son and heir of Hieron II of Syracuse, when she was around 30 or more and bore their son Hieronymos when she was around 40.

In order to determine the date of birth of the children of the royal couple it is important to establish the age of Laodike III. She was the daughter, as already mentioned, of the king Mithradates II and of the Seleukid princess Laodike, daughter of the king Antiochos II and of another Laodike (I). The marriage of Mithradates II and Laodike was probably near the beginning of the reign of her brother Seleukos II (Justin 38. 5. 3), around 245 BC, even though some scholars (Niese, Reinach) believe this match took place after the battle of Ankyra (around 238 BC) in the picture of the general settlement which put an end to the War of the Brothers, and this hypothesis would be strengthened if Laodike was the affianced bride of Seleukos III (see above).

Laodike III was likely born sometime between 244 and 236 on the basis that she was probably somewhere between 14 and 22 when she was married. The last sure mention of her in our sources is in SE 118 (194/3) (*OGIS* 224). Her death would probably have occurred between this date (i.e. 194/3) and that of Antiochos III's marriage to a girl from Chalkis in 191 BC (see above).

I believe Antiochos III had only one wife called Laodike. When she is called "sister of the king" in our

epigraphical material, it does not mean a real sibling. Berenike, wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes is described in *OGIS* 56 as “sister” of Ptolemy. Actually, she was the daughter of the half-brother (Magas) of the father of her husband, so not even a full cousin. *OGIS* 773 and p Louvre 9415, mention Kleopatra I, wife of Ptolemy V, as “the king's sister”, while we know there was no relationship (unless very distant) between them.

OGIS 252 (= *SEG* 7, 2), a very fragmentary inscription from Susa in very bad condition, dated in 177/6 BC, has been supplemented and read by B. Hausollier (in F. Cumont, “Inscriptions grecques de Suse publiées d'après les notes de Bernhard Hausollier” *MMAP* 20, 1928, no.3, pp.81-84) as mentioning the queen Laodike, the still living mother of the king Seleukos (IV). If this reading is right, we would need to think that Antiochos was polygamous in the last years of his life (see above).

Hausollier's reading is confirmed on this point by Robert (L. Robert, “Inscription Séleucides de Phrygie et d'Iran” in *Recueil d'Epigraphie, de Numismatique et d'Antiquités Grecques. Hellenica* 7, 1949, p. 26-29), even though the illustrious French epigrapher disagrees on other important passages and on the general nature of the epigraph. (See the entries for Laodike and Seleukos below for a discussion.)

Mark Passehl gives an alternative reading of this inscription, according to whom Laodike, wife of Seleukos IV, would be mentioned as deceased queen [Mark K. Passehl, *The Susa priestess of Seleukid-queens-cult decree of year 136 (177-76 B.C.) (SEG VII, 2) (2012)* at http://ancientdescents.com/Susa-Seleukid-queens-cult_Passehl.pdf]. The other two Laodikai would be the deceased mother and sister (wife of Antiochos Neos).

On the contrary, Panagiotis Iossif and Catherine Lorber (“Laodikai and the Goddess Nikephoros” *L'Antiquité Classique*, 2007, p.76, accessible on the JSTOR website) believe that Robert's reading is right and that Laodike was still living in 177/6. They identify as her portrait the image on a seal impression from Orchoi/Uruk, and they think she died a few years later.

The Names of Their Children

We do not know how much the Seleukids and the other Hellenistic dynasties followed the traditional Ancient Greek custom in naming their children. This practice was to name the eldest son after the paternal grandfather; the second son often bore the name of the father; the third son might be named after the maternal grandfather.

A similar habit existed for the daughters, naming them after the paternal grandmother, the mother and the maternal grandmother. Generally the Macedonians followed this custom that was universally used in the Greek world.

However there were many exceptions to these onomastic rules. The first born of Philip II was not named Amyntas but Alexander (like his brother and his brother-in-law), and none of Pyrrhos' sons was called Aiakides. Many Seleukids too did not observe this rule (Antiochos II, Seleukos II, Demetrios I, Demetrios II, and Antiochos VII, for instance). So both sons of Ptolemy I were Ptolemy (no Lagos). (I think that the repetition of a name among brothers was possible when there were different mothers.) There were several other exceptions. For example a son may be given the same name as an important guest. So the name of Alkibiades was shared between the noble Athenian house of Salaminioi and the Spartan family of the ephoros Endios. See also the case of Nikomedes I of Bithynia (D. Glew, “Nicomedes' Name,” *EA*, 38, (2005), pp. 131-139). The father-in-law might be felt to be an important sovereign and in this case the eldest son might be given his name. So Kassandros called his first-born Philip, and Pyrrhos, Ptolemy.

As for the names Stratonike and Apama used among the first generations in the Seleukid dynasty, I would stress there are only two Stratonikes and two Apamas among the daughters of the Seleukid kings. The nearer ancestor of Antiochos III named Stratonike was his great-grandmother, while Apama was his great-great-grandmother. These names fell into disuse in the last decades of the third century and from that time onward disappear from the Seleukid onomasticon. The name Stratonike was maybe rejected after the rebellion of the homonym aunt of Seleukos II, but that is only a thought. On Seleukid onomastics see F. Muccioli, "Antioco III e la politica onomastica dei Seleucidi," *Electrum: Studia z historii starozytnej* 18 (2011), pp.81-96.

Periods of Possible Conception of Their Children

(highlighted in blue; all the dates are BC)

Autumn 222-Late Autumn 221: Antiochos at Seleukeia Zeugma where he married Laodike, then in Antioch (Polybios 5. 43. 1-2).

Late Autumn 221-Winter 220/19: Antiochos was in the Orient, fighting the rebel Molon and Artabazanes of Media Atropatene (Pol. 5.51-56).

Winter 220-Spring 219: Antiochos in his capital (5. 57).

Spring 219-Late Autumn 219: Antiochos in Koile Syria (against Ptolemy IV of Egypt) (Pol. 5. 59-66).

Truce of four months: **Nov./Dec. 218-Mar/Apr. 218:** Antiochos at Seleukeia in Pieria (Pol. 5. 66. 2).

Spring 218-Autumn 218: Antiochos in Palestine (Pol. 5. 68-71).

Winter 218/217: Antiochos wintered in Ptolemais (Pol. 5. 71. 12), but it is possible he had even reached Antioch in view of a possible offensive by Achaios (Pol. 5. 72-77).

Beginning of the Summer 217: Battle of Raphia (Pol. 5. 79-86).

Summer 217-Spring 216: Antiochos in Antioch, preparing his expedition against Achaios, in Asia Minor (Pol. 5. 87).

Spring 216-Autumn-Winter 214 (see note 1 below): Expedition against Achaios (Pol. 5. 107. 5; 7. 15-18; 8. 17-23). We do not know whether he wintered in Asia Minor or Antioch. If he went to Antioch, we should insert in this period at least one child. It is, however, probable (see note below) that Laodike III had reached the king in Asia Minor and subsequently they stayed together in Antioch before his Armenian expedition.

Spring-Summer 213-Spring/Summer 212: In Antioch.

Spring/Summer 212-Autumn 212: Antiochos at Arsamosata (Armenia) (Pol. 8. 25).

Autumn 212-Spring/Summer 211: Antiochos presumably in Antioch.

Spring/Summer 211- Spring/Summer 210: Beginning of the Oriental expedition. Antiochos in Ekbatana where his army assembled. He probably left Ekbatana in late spring 210. If Laodike had followed the king to that city, there is room for another child.

Spring/Summer 210 - About Spring 205: Oriental expedition. (Pol. 9. 43; 10. 27-31; 10. 48-49; 11. 34; 13. 9).

April 205: The king in Babylon (Del Monte, *op.cit.* p. 61).

About Summer 205-Summer 204: Expedition in the Persian Gulf. (Pol. 13. 9. 4-5).

About Summer 204-Spring 203: Antiochos presumably in Antioch.

Subsequently we have no information regarding the birth of any more children, although by 202 the Queen was 34 to 42 years old and, therefore, probably still fertile.

NOTE 1: Unfortunately we do not know when precisely the expedition against Achaios ended. Modern scholars disagree on the date of the capture of Sardeis (215 or 214?) and also on the fall of its akropolis where the usurper had taken refuge (214 or 213). On the former problem we know from Polybios (7. 15. 2) that Sardeis was taken in the second year of the siege, thanks to the forethought of a certain Lagoras of Crete, a Seleukid mercenary officer, but some scholars believe the siege began in 216, and others in 215. This episode is narrated by Polybios as subsequent to the failed attempt by Philip V of Macedonia to conquer the citadel of Messene with a disloyal trick, an attempt from which the king was dissuaded by Aratos of Sykion, but we do not know precisely when (end of 215 or beginning of 214).

John Ma (*Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 60-61) proposes as probable dating for the capture and execution of Achaios the autumn or winter of 214/3. If his hypothesis is right, the dispatch of Bolis of Crete from Alexandria to Rhodes and Ephesos happened in the good season 214. As the negotiation between Bolis and Achaios cannot have lasted so long as 3 or 4 months, it is more probable that the usurper was executed in autumn 214.

We have a correspondence between the magistrates of Sardeis and the royal couple, Antiochos III and Laodike III. This dossier of epigraphic documents (*SEG* 39, 1989, 1284) is dated in the months of Panemos and Oloios of the Seleukid year 99, that is, in June-July and July-August 213. It includes a reply by Antiochos III (which, unfortunately, only contains the addressee), a reply by Laodike III dated on the 10 Panemos (20 June) and the decree of the Sardians dated in an unspecified day of the month of Oloios (11 June-10 August). Since the time between the date of Laodike's response and the date of the decree is quite short, we can deduce that Laodike too was in Asia Minor, if not also in Sardeis. By that time the capture and execution of Achaios had already taken place.

Relative Birth Order of Their Children

We are quite sure, for the reason given below, that Antiochos (the future co-regent) was the first son and Laodike the first daughter of Antiochos III, at least among children reaching adulthood. Given the high rate of infant mortality in the Hellenistic Age, it is possible there were other children who died in their infancy.

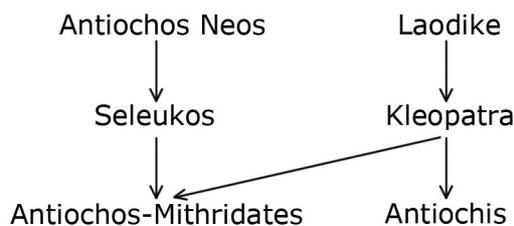
As for the remaining offspring we know that:

- 1- Kleopatra was an elder sister of the future Antiochos IV (Justin 34. 2), who maybe was originally called Mithradates.
- 2- The future Antiochos IV was the third son of Antiochos III, after Antiochos and Seleukos (IV), at least among the surviving children (see the order of succession).

- 3- According to O. Mørkholm (*Antiochos IV of Syria*, 1966, p. 38), Antiochos IV was around 35/40 old when became king in 175 BC. He deduces this from his appearance on his coins (but see Houghton-Lorber-Hoover. *Seleucid Coins: a Comprehensive Catalogue*, Part II: *Seleucus IV through Antiochos XIII*, Lancaster-London, 2008, who are more prudent on this) and from Polybios 16. 18. 6 and 16. 19. 10.
- 4- Eusebios (p. 254) says that Seleukos IV “lived in all for 60 years.” This is not possible because it would fix Seleukos’ birth around 235 BC, when his father was 6 or 7 old. It is possible that 60 is an error for 40. In this case he would have been be born around 215 BC. I have to admit that this hypothesis is quite uncertain and it is not well supported palaeographically (the Greek words for the numbers 60 and 40 are not very similar). So it is better to say that Seleukos was born between 219 and 213 BC. It is not possible he was born later, because he was older than the future Antiochos IV.
- 5- Appian (Syriake 5) says that in 194/3 Antiochos III gave his daughters in marriage to some of the neighbouring kings. Kleopatra, already engaged with Ptolemy V, king of Egypt (Pol. 18.51.10; Livy 33. 40), married him in that year. Antiochis married Ariarathes IV of Kappadokia. The remaining one was offered to Eumenes II, king of Pergamon, but he refused. We may deduce from this account that Kleopatra was the eldest of the three, because she is mentioned first, was already engaged for two years and, last but not least, was destined to marry the most important of the neighbouring kings (C.J. Bennett, *loc. cit.*). The term used by Appian to define the last of Antiochos’ daughters (“*ten eti loipen*” = “the remaining one”) suggests to Adrian S. Hollis (“Laodice mother of Eucratides of Bactria” *ZPE* 110, 1996, p. 162) the idea (correct in my opinion) that, at that moment, Antiochos III had no other nubile daughters.

It is possible, however, that besides Kleopatra other daughters of Antiochos had been promised before. This applies to Antiochis and Nysa as well (see below).

The following diagram summarizes the information about relative ages discussed above. Each person at the plain tail end of an arrow is known to be older than the person to whom the arrow points. (The diagram makes no claim about the relative ages of people not connected by an arrow or a sequence of arrows all pointing in the same direction.)



List of Their Children

Antiochos Neos (Antiochos the Son)

As mentioned above, it is probable he was the son born in 220 BC. More precisely he was probably born about April-May 220. This narrower date range may be deduced from Polybios' account of Antiochos III's expedition against Molon and then against Artabazanes of Media Atropatene (Pol. 5. 51-56, likely following an historian of the Seleukid court). Polybios narrates that Antiochos and his army arrived in Antiocheia of Mygdonia around the winter solstice. Here they wintered for 40 days. Then they marched towards Libba. A Roman army would usually take a day to go ca. 20 km. I think that a Seleukid army might advance at more or less the same speed. So the king should have been at Libba in mid-February. Here the royal council reunited. We may estimate a stop of some days. Afterward Antiochos marched maybe for 12 days to Doura, freeing it from the siege, around the earlier days of March. It is probable that after the battle, he tarried a short time, leaving afterward for Apollonia, where he arrived – Polybios says – after a march of 8 days. The decisive victory against Molon took place near Apollonia. It probably was the middle of March.

In the first days of April, the king possibly was already in Seleukeia on the Tigris, whose inhabitants were subjected to hard reprisals by his minister Hermeias. Here Antiochos proceeded to reorganize the rebel satrapies and appoint new strategoi and to plan an expedition to Media Atropatene (the present Iranian Azerbaijan). In this period the news of the birth of a son and heir reached the king. It was probably the beginning of May. We can arrive at a similar dating if we consider that Azerbaijan is high country and that on the mountain passes the snow usually melts only around May. Calculating that the news came from Antioch and that the messengers moved at full speed, we can speculate that Antiochos the Son was born about April-May.

He was nominated co-regent before the departure of his father for the oriental expedition. (Last mention of the sole reign of Antiochos III in Babylonian documents is dated 9 August 210. The first mention of the co-regency is at the end of 210.) He was of an age sufficient to hold a command at the battle of the Paneion (usually dated to 200 BC) (Pol. 16. 18-19) when he would have been 20.

His birth date may be confirmed by the study of two portraits on clay seal impressions from Seleukeia on the Tigris, made by Panagiotis Iossif and Catherine Lorber in the article mentioned above (pp. 65-67). The first can be surely dated to 215/4 BC. It represents “the draped bust of a young male with a short, upturned nose, wearing a laurel wreath, headband or perhaps a cap; in the background is a larger female head, diademed with a pronounced aquiline nose and sagging flesh beneath her chin” (Iossif-Lorber, *op. cit.* p. 65). The two scholars think (rightly in my opinion) that the child can only be Antiochos, the elder son of Antiochos III and Laodike, who too is portrayed on the impression of the seal. The fact that they believe that Antiochos was born “about 221” (*op. cit.* p.66), while I place his birth one year later, does not invalidate this hypothesis because the portrait can well be that of a child from 5 to 7 years of age.

The second, which is dated to 207/6, portrays a young king that cannot be Antiochos III at that date and a female head (we cannot say if diademed or not). The hypothesis of Iossif and Lorber that this image represents Antiochos the Son with his sister Laodike seems probable. Both would be in their early teens by this date and as the authors note might have been engaged at this time, even though they were not formally married for another decade (see also the entry below on Laodike the Daughter).

We could also speculate that Antiochos the Son was born even in 218 BC (not later because the child that appears in the seal impression of 215/4 is not an infant) and that the child born in 220 bore another name (effectively Polybios does not give any name) and died in his infancy.

Antiochos died from an illness, probably at the beginning of 192, in the earlier days of March (Livy 35. 15; G. Del Monte *Testi dalla Babilonia ellenistica I. Testi cronografici* 1997, p. 236). There is no direct evidence of surviving children of this couple, although some scholars guess that Nysa, wife of Pharnakes I of Pontos, was their daughter (see below under the entry Nysa) and Mark Passehl believes that a daughter (Laodike) was the second wife of her uncle Seleukos IV (see below under the entries Laodike and Seleukos IV).

Laodike (the Daughter)

In my previous version of “The Children of Antiochos III” I had supposed that Laodike was born around 221 or 219. Actually the first date has to be excluded, because if Antiochos the Son was probably born around April-May 220 BC, this means that the pregnancy of his mother Laodike began in July-August 221, with the consequence that there is no room for another maternity between October 222 (the dating of Antiochos and Laodike's wedding) and that date, unless an interrupted pregnancy.

She was similarly the eldest daughter of Antiochos III and Laodike III of Pontos, because she bore a traditional Seleukid name (borne, among others, by her mother, and by her paternal and maternal grandmothers) and because she was chosen by her father to marry the heir to the throne, her brother Antiochos. Therefore she should be born between 219 and 215.

The second of the two portraits from Seleukeia on the Tigris (see above at the entry “Antiochos”) may confirm her birth date (Iossif-Lorber, *op. cit.*, p. 67). It is very different from the previous. It represents a younger woman, lacking the aquiline nose. It is thus probable that she was Laodike the Daughter, who Iossif and Lorber believe was the eldest daughter of the royal couple.

According to the calculation of H. H. Schmitt (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos des Großen und seiner Zeit* 1964, p. 33, n. 16), Laodike would have been 35 to 40 at the death of Seleukos (175) and 37 to 42 when she gave birth Antiochos V (son of Ant. IV). Schmitt's calculations start with the unsubstantiated premise that Laodike married in succession her three brothers, and thus he assumed she was born between 215 and 210 (pp. 23-24), but the Seleukeia seal impression of 207/6 (see above under Antiochos the Son) rules out the later of these dates, as its profile is clearly not that of a child of 3 or 4 years. If born in 215, Laodike “would have been 8 or 9 years old. This is consistent with the image of the seal, though considered strictly on its own it could portray a girl several years older” (*op. cit.* p. 67).

The marriage between Laodike and Antiochos took place in winter 195/6 BC when Laodike had to be between 20 and 24. According to most scholars (F. Stähelin, s.v. “Laodike”, *RE* VI (1925), col.707, n°19; F. Cumont, “Inscriptions grecques trouvées à Suse, II. Inscr. De l'époque des Séleucides,” *CRAI* (1931), p. 284-285; and J. D. Grainger, *A Seleukid Prosopography and Gazetteer* (1997), p. 48, etc.), Laodike subsequently married two more of her brothers, Seleukos IV and Antiochos IV, both of whose wives bore the same name. But other scholars, such as F. W. Walbank, consider this hypothesis “somewhat unlikely” (F. W. Walbank, *Cambridge Ancient History* 2, vol. VII, Part 1, 1992, p. 67 n. 16).

A. Bouché-Leclercq (*Histoire des Séleucides*, 1913, p. 246, n. 1) has a more agnostic attitude. The author notes that the name of the queen Laodike appears in an inscription from Dyme, the famous inscription of Hagemonidas or Hegemonides (*OGIS* 252), the only one from which we can deduce the name of the queen of Epiphanes and mother of the future king. It is datable from 170 to 164, because the co-regent Antiochos is not mentioned and he was murdered in 170.

G. Le Rider, "L'enfant roi Antiochos and la reine Laodice," *BCH* 110 (1986), p. 412-415, shares the hypothesis that Seleukos IV married his widowed sister, but does not agree about Antiochos IV. On the other hand, O. Mørkholm considered it probable that there were two different Laodikai, the first the daughter of Antiochos III, the second the wife of Seleukos IV and Antiochos IV (*Antiochos IV of Syria*, Gyldendal, 1966, p. 49, n. 44). A similar opinion is expressed by Alec McAuley at http://www.seleucid-genealogy.com/Seleucus_IV.html.

In my previous version of "The Children of Antiochos III" I had excluded that Laodike the Daughter might have married her three brothers in succession also for chronological reasons. Being born in 221 or 219 BC, she might only with difficulty be the mother of Antiochos V Eupator, born in 173 (Appian *Syr.* 66). At the present, as I have excluded the year 221 and have reassigned her birth to the period 219-215 BC, Laodike might be between 42 and 46 in 173 and so she might well be his mother.

It is thus theoretically possible that Laodike married her brother Seleukos IV, but if we believe the Babylonian documentation, the Laodike of Seleukos died in 182 (between 14 July and 12 August) (*ADN.* –181 pp. 382-387, tab. 143-144- SEB 130 in G. Del Monte *Testi dalla Babilonia ellenistica*, 1997, p. 70) and so in any case she could not have married the other brother, Antiochos IV, although neither Grainger nor Iossif and Lorber (*op. cit.* p.69-75) give much credit to this Babylonian document (see the entry below for Seleukos IV).

Iossif & Lorber note the inconsistency between Babylonian and Greek sources relating the death of Laodike. In fact they refer to the already mentioned *OGIS* 252 (= *SEG* 7, 2), a lacunose inscription from Susa that the first editor B. Hausollier (*loc. cit.*) thought was a civic act mentioning a priestess of the three Laodikai (the wife, the mother and the daughter of the king Seleukos IV): "This reading was refuted by Louis Robert ["Sur les affranchissements de Suse" *RPh* (1936), pp. 137-152 (= *Hellenica* VII, 1949, pp. 25-29)], who argued that the inscription was a manumission decree concluding, like other Susian decrees of emancipation, with a formula 'for the health' or 'for the safety' of the royal family and that only two Laodikai were involved in this formula: the queen-mother (Laodike III) and the queen-spouse of Seleukos IV (Laodike IV)" (Iossif & Lorber, *op. cit.* p. 75).

Robert's restitution is similar to another manumission act from Susa (dated to 183/2 BC) (*SEG* 7, 17, l. 7-8) in which the "basilisse Laodike" is mentioned. The two authors think that if the queen was dead, the dedicatory formula would have been changed. Furthermore, comparison of the gold oktadrachms dated in autumn 175 BC, during the short reign of Antiochos, the son of Seleukos IV, and the seal impression of 207/6 reveals some remarkable similarities, so that Iossif and Lorber believe that she is the same person: "it seems very unlikely that Seleukos replaced his dead queen with a new one who had the same name, received honours using the same dedicatory formulas and was depicted with the same physical features" (Iossif & Lorber, p. 69).

Another piece of evidence in this sense derives from the work of O. D. Hoover ["Laodice IV on the Bronze Coinage of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV," *AJN* 14 (2002), pp. 81-87]. Hoover believes that Seleukos had only one Laodike as wife, and she would also be Antiochos IV's spouse. Hoover "drew attention to the veiled female bust that appears on bronzes with an elephant head reverse, issued by Seleukos IV and Antiochos IV at Antioch and Ptolemais... this female was of significance to both Seleukos IV and Antiochos IV. On examples of good style, especially the bronzes of Seleukos IV, the facial features are quite similar to those seen on the oktadrachm" (Iossif & Lorber p. 70). Thus, Hoover and Iossif & Lorber identify this female as the sister (and wife) of Seleukos IV and Antiochos IV.

It is interesting to note that these bronzes show control links to other Antiochene bronzes of Seleukos IV. This means that they were minted in the same period. If we suppose that they illustrated

only Seleukos' second wife, we should accept the consequence that this whole coinage should be dated after summer 182 BC and that Antioch minted no bronze coinage during Seleukos first five years of reign (before his remarriage). “On the contrary, the portrait on these bronzes argues powerfully for a single queen throughout the reign of Seleukos IV, as well as for her marriage to Antiochos IV” (Iossif & Lorber p. 71).

However, Don Stone [*“The Wives of the Sons of Antiochos III of Syria, with Special Focus on the Evidence Reviewed by Iossif and Lorber (2007),”* at http://ancientdescents.com/Iossif-Lorber_AnalysisByDonStone.html] notes that Gardner and Poole (*A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, 1878, pp. xxv-xxvi, 43 [25-26, 83 in the PDF]) thought that these bronzes represented the goddess Demeter and wonders if the portrait appearing on these coins is that of the “deceased deified Laodike III” in some measure idealized. He also thinks that the elephant on the reverse could be a reference to the Oriental campaign of Antiochos III.

Catharine Lorber comments on Stone's remarks (email of 1 December 2013), observing that the portrait on the bronze is very different from that of Laodike (upturned nose vs. aquiline one), even though admitting that it may be very idealized and that a definite conclusion is difficult to reach, given the scarcity of comparative material in the field of Seleukid iconography. As for the elephant, Lorber believes it could commemorate Seleukos IV's retention of elephants for military use, notwithstanding their prohibition by the Treaty of Apameia.

In the same email Lorber expresses her revised opinion that perhaps none of the Laodice/elephant head bronzes were from before 182, based partly on recent studies highlighting the intermittent character of ancient coin production. She says, “I'm no longer sure that it's valid to date the Laodice/elephant head bronzes before 182. They have relatively few control combinations compared with the Apollo/Apollo bronzes, meaning that they could have been produced in a shorter time frame. Plus, they seem to duplicate the Artemis/Artemis denomination, leading to the thought that one of these types might have replaced the other at some point. I suppose I was slow to come to this suspicion because the Laodice bronzes have both of the obverse controls of the Apollo/Apollo and other bronze denominations, ME and AYB. But we have no clear evidence that these controls were used in succession; the sharing of many reverse controls could be compatible with the existence of two workshops, each designated by one of these obverse controls. If, as now seems possible, the Laodice/elephant head bronzes did not begin before 182, the types might have been introduced specifically to honor a new queen, the second wife of Seleucus IV” (quoted in [Stone, *op. cit.*](#), section D).

Mark K. Passehl (personal communication, 25 May 2013) gives credence to the Babylonian information. He does not believe that Laodike married in succession Seleukos IV and Antiochos IV. He notes that it was not possible that Seleukos married Laodike in the period 192-190 “without being elevated as co-king at the same time. Therefore the earliest possible date for such a putative marriage is 189 B.C., when he was appointed co-king. But because Laodike the queen of Perseus (and daughter of Seleukos IV) was certainly born before this date (most likely c.193 and marrying Perseus in 178), then no such putative marriage of Seleukos IV and his sister is possible.” Note that this remark is valid for whoever was Seleukos' wife.

Passehl has further developed his ideas in a discussion of the Iossif-Lorber evidence with myself and others (personal communication of 27 Aug 2013 and subsequently), and in order to account for that evidence he currently proposes that the second queen of Seleukos IV and sole queen of Antiochos Epiphanes was the niece of them both, named Laodike, the eldest child of Antiochos Neos and his sister Laodike, born c.193 BC. He thus considers that this niece queen Laodike was mother of both the murdered child kings Antiochos IVA (slain by Epiphanes in 170) and Antiochos V Eupator (killed by Demetrios Soter in 162). In my opinion this hypothesis may be sound, even though Catharine Lorber

(personal communication, 3 April 2014) noted the strong resemblance between the 175 gold oktadrachm portrait of Laodike, widow of Seleukos IV, and a gold mnaieion portraying Kleopatra I (daughter of Antiochos III and widow of Ptolemy V), dated to her regency for Ptolemy VI (about 180-176 BC); this mnaieion is illustrated in R. R. R. Smith's *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (1988), Plate 75.15-16, described on p. xiii. The near contemporaneity and the close resemblance between the images of the two queens causes Lorber to think that they were sisters, even though I believe that the same resemblance may be between an aunt and a double niece.

At the present state of our documentation I agree with Don Stone (*op. cit.*) when he underlines that it is possible to accept the Babylonian testimony on the death of the first wife of Seleukos IV and the existence of his two queens, both called Laodike. Of course the question is not definitively settled, and as Iossif & Lorber conclude: “New documents – Greek or Babylonian – may help us to resolve this *question épineuse*.”

Some time ago I had guessed that the “Antiochos son of the king Ar'abuzana [Ariobarzanes]” who appears in some tablets of the Babylonian astronomical diaries of the years 141-140 (Del Monte, pp. 105-109) was a son of an unattested king Ariobarzanes of Atropatene. More recently Mark Passehl suggested (personal communication, 28 April 2013) that Laodike might have married an Atropatenian king in the context of the diplomatic marriages of the late 190s. (See also Strabo 11, 13.1.) Roger Powell (personal communication, 24 May 2013) consequently hypothesized that this Antiochos, son of Ariobarzanes might have been the result of this union. O. Coloru (“Antiochos IV et le royaume de Médie Atropatène: nouvelles considerations sur un mariage dynastique entre Séleucides et la maison d'Atropatès,” in Chr. Feyel and L. Graslin (éds.), “*Le projet politique d'Antiochos IV*”, Etudes nancéennes d'histoire grec II, Etudes anciennes 56, Nancy, 2014, pp. 395-414) believes that there was a dynastic marriage between a Seleucid princess and one of the king's sons, Ariobarzanes, and that Antiochos was born of this union.

Adrian S. Hollis (“Laodice mother of Eukratides of Bactria” *ZPE* 110, 1996, p.161-164) hypothesizes that Laodike, who remained a widow (and probably childless) of her brother Antiochos the coregent, was remarried by her father to Heliokles, an important commoner (a great official in the kingdom ? a “friend of the king” ?), and that this union produced Eukratides I of Bactria. Essentially this is not too different from Tarn's hypothesis (*The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1951, p.197), even though the late famous historian thought Laodike was an unknown daughter of Seleukos II. Actually, I do not know of any case of a Seleukid princess who married someone not a member of some royal house. Let us suppose that the Heliokles and Laodike who appear on the famous so-called pedigree coins of Eukratides were indeed his parents (which is theory, not fact, seeing that their names are in the genitive case while Eukratides' is in the nominative; see J. Jakobsson, “The Greeks of Afghanistan Revisited,” *Nomismatika Khronika* 26:2007, 51-88, and *Id.*, “The identity of Eukratides and the fall of Ai Khanoum,” forthcoming). Nevertheless, a marriage between Heliokles and Laodike, daughter of Antiochos III, would be a unique case, and I doubt that Antiochos would have conceded this privilege to one of his subjects with its attendant risk of future usurpation.

Kleopatra

This was a new name in the nomenclature of the Seleukids and more generally of the Hellenistic dynasties, but not among Macedonian royalty. A wife of Philip II and one of his daughters, a full sister of Alexander the Great, had this name.

Roger Powell (personal communication, 22 September 2012) made an interesting suggestion that “the name Cleopatra may have come into the Seleucid family ... via Cadmeia, daughter of Alexander, King of Epirus by his wife Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great. Cadmeia was born circa BC 335/332”

and would have married Achaios. “Cleopatra was confined at Sardis on the orders of Antigonos... The city of Sardis in Lydia is situated very close to the family estates of Achaeus and if the marriage did indeed take place it would almost certainly have been in the early years of Cleopatra’s confinement when she and Cadmeia were prime matrimonial material.” Actually we find Kadmeia in Epiros, along with her brother, King Neoptolemos, in 297 (Plut. *Pyrrhos* 5). We would thus need to guess a possible divorce between Kadmeia and Achaios, but it is more probable that she never left her fatherland. Waldemar Heckel (*Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great*, 2008, under Cadmeia) points out that she probably perished with her brother Neoptolemos in 297 BC.

It is possible Kleopatra (as already noted by Bennett, *loc. cit.*) was the second daughter because she married the most important king allied to her father. According to my hypothesis, she would have been born between 218 and 213 BC. She married Ptolemy V Epiphanes, king of Egypt, in 194/3 (Livy 35. 13, Dio Cassius 19. 18), becoming, in an historical perspective, the most important among the daughters of Antiochos III. Three children are known from this marriage: Ptolemy VI, Ptolemy VIII and Kleopatra II. As widow of her husband, Kleopatra was regent for their son Ptolemy VI Philometor, from 180 to her death in 178/7 (according to J. Caimi, “Minima Ptolemaica,” *Aegyptus* 57 (1977), 123, followed by Chris Bennett, *loc. cit.*, whom I find quite convincing even though most scholars put the death of this queen in 176 BC).

Antiochis

We cannot accurately establish her birth date or her position in the order of birth of Antiochos' children. We know only that Antiochos Neos and probably Laodike and Kleopatra too were older than her. Thus we can fix her birthdate between 217 and 210 BC. About 193/2 she married Ariarathes IV Eusebes, king of Kappadokia, son in turn of the Seleukid princess Stratonike, daughter of Antiochos II. Ariarathes had ascended to the throne about 220 BC, when he was underage. He had thus been born around 230, and therefore his marriage to Antiochis was probably not his first marriage. She had at least three sons, Ariarathes, Orophernes and Mithradates, which latter son ascended the throne in 163 with the name of Ariarathes (V) Philopator, plus two daughters (Diodoros of Sicily 31. 19; cf. the comments on this passage by D. Ogden, *Polygamy, Prostitutes and Death* 1999, p. 140).

As a widow, she returned with her unnamed daughter to Antioch. It was a strange decision, to which, maybe, the problems of succession at the court of Mazaka were not extraneous. But, if she had hoped to avoid troubles by leaving for Antioch, she made a mistake, since the regent Lysias judged her presence (we do not know why) dangerous, and ordered both her and her daughter to be assassinated. Maybe he thought that Antiochis, as aunt of the underage Antiochos V, had a better right to the regency than he did. This event strengthens the idea (see below to the entry “Laodike”) that the queen, wife of Antiochos IV and mother of the child king, was dead. Was this queen perhaps a daughter of the same Antiochis and Ariarathes IV? This guess was advanced as a remote possibility by Don Stone (*op. cit.*, last paragraph of section E) in his examination and reconstruction of a passage of Johannes Malalas' Chronicle (207-208), but Stone acknowledges “the text may be too subject to misinformation, confusion or corruption to permit much confidence in any repairs that might be attempted.” Maybe Lysias also suspected that Antiochis had some ties with Philip, his competitor for the regency? As you can see, we are in the field of pure speculation.

Her name was not new in the dynasty. It was the name of a sister of her father and of an Antiochis, daughter of Achaios and mother of Attalos I of Pergamon, who may have been related to the royal family.

Seleukos IV

It is possible he was the second son, born ca. 219-213 BC. He became co-regent with his father in February or March 189 after the battle of Magnesia but had already collaborated with him in conflicts in Asia Minor, at least from 198/7, when he had to have been between about 15 and 21 (M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 18, 1988, 421). Antiochos III planned in 196 to resuscitate the old kingdom of Thrace of Lysimachos for him, with its capital in Lysimacheia (Livy 33. 40).

We could guess that Seleukos IV had married a princess of Antigonid ancestry (Jean M. Helliesen, "Demetrios I Soter: a Seleukid King with an Antigonid Name" in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson*, 1981). Christian Settiani added some details, proposing that Philip V of Macedonia, who probably had a sister and a daughter both called Apama, also had another daughter named Laodike who married Seleukos (*Nos ancêtres de l'Antiquité*, 1991, p. 103). This Antigonid connection is suggested by the name of Seleukos IV's first born, Demetrios (I), who, in turn, had a son called Antigonos. This marriage would surely be anterior to 191, when the Syrian war broke out and Philip V of Macedonia, after some uncertainty, sided with the Romans. This dating corresponds to the period in which Antiochos rebuilt and repopulated Lysimacheia and when Seleukos is thought to have been crowned king in Thrace (Pol. 18. 51 . 8, Livy 33. 40. 6). Certainly it is strange that our sources never mention this wedding, though Polybios is fragmentary and Livy is substantially more interested in Rome. Anyway, this silence makes this hypothesis uncertain.

Don Stone ["Could Laodice, Wife of Seleucus IV and Mother of Demetrius I of Syria, Have Been the Daughter of Philip V of Macedonia?" at <http://ancientdescents.com/WasLaodiceWifeOfSeleucusIVDauOfPhilipV.htm>] reviews the evidence presented by Helliesen. He also points out that the testimony given by Philip V to the Romans in 185 (Livy 39.28) makes it appear unlikely that Philip was the father of Seleukos' wife.

Mark K. Passehl (personal communication, 9 September 2012) hypothesizes that Laodike, mother of Demetrios, was a daughter of Prousius I, king of Bithynia, whose wife (Apama) was almost surely an Antigonid, a sister or half-sister of Philip V. "There is no evidence against the notion that Prusias II had a full sister named Laodike who wed Seleukos IV around 195 B.C. Nor any pressing reason to suppose that such a marriage should have found a place in Livy's narrative. Polybios yes, but we only have fragments after bk. 6." It is a possible hypothesis.

Don Stone (personal communication, 12 February 2014) maintains that "if Seleukos was married around 195, his marriage may well have been part of Antiochos' program of making alliances via marriage that involved several of Seleukos' sisters in this time period (cf. Daniel Ogden, *Polygamy*, 134-5)." A marriage of Seleukos and a Bithynian princess would be politically beneficial for Antiochos, both because Prousius might be an useful ally against Eumenes II of Pergamon and because Bithynia was located right across the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) from Thrace and had a Thracian population which gave its kings some influence on the European Thracians (Pol. 4. 51 8). Indeed, Prousius was a useful ally and had as his reward Phrygia Epiktetos (E Will (1979-1982), *Histoire politique du Monde Hellenistique: 323-30 av. J.-C* (Vol. 2), Nancy, p.180; for a different perspective, see Christian Habicht, *The Hellenistic Monarchies: Selected Papers* (2006), pp.1-21).

Stone (*op. cit.*) continues, "The Antigonid connection suggested by the name Demetrios of Seleukos' son could come through Seleukos' marriage to an otherwise unknown niece or half-niece of Philip V or possibly even a more distant relative of Philip, but unless this wife was the daughter of a ruling king, the marriage would not be especially useful to Antiochos. The sister or half-sister of Philip V who married Prousius I (Apama) is the only *known* Antigonid princess who was married to a ruling king and who could be the mother of an early wife of Seleukos."

We know that Seleukos IV had at least three children:

- 1- Laodike who married Perseus, king of Macedonia, and then, possibly, her own brother Demetrios I (Oliver D. Hoover, "Dedication to Aphrodite Epekoos for Demetrios I Soter and his Family" in *ZPE*, 131, 2000),
- 2- the Demetrios mentioned above, and
- 3- Antiochos, who was briefly king under the regency of his uncle Antiochos IV.

It is possible, as the same Helliesen noticed (*op. cit.*, p. 234), that Demetrios was not the king's firstborn son. In fact "it was always a younger son who was sent" as hostage. There would thus be an elder son who died surely after the departure of Demetrios to Rome (178 BC). He might be called Antiochos or also Seleukos. In the former case the Antiochos mentioned third in the above list would be born after the demise of his namesake brother.

As Laodike married Perseus sometime in 179/177 (Pol. 25. 4. 8-10 and 26. 7, Livy 42. 12. 3-4), she would more likely have been born between 193 and 191. We know Demetrios was born in ca. 187/186 (Granius Licinianus 28. 39; Appian *Syr* 45), while the child king Antiochos was more likely born ca. 182, being about 7 at the moment of his father's death. His portrayal on his coinage indicates a somewhat younger child. If this was the case, he would have been born around 180, but it is also possible the celators did not update his image on the coins and that it always remained one of a very young child. On the contrary, if Helliesen's guess is sound, the portrait on his coinage would be realistic.

As we have already seen, several historians speculate that the Laodike attested as Seleukos' wife was his sister Laodike, widow of their brother Antiochos. This idea is not shared by A. Aymard, "Études d'Histoire Ancienne" and F.W. Walbank *CAH*. Iossif & Lorber (2007) have carefully analyzed a number of pieces of relevant evidence, and Lorber has recently re-evaluated some of this evidence (see at the entry "Laodike"). The "youthful appearance of the queen portrayed on the oktadrachm" might confirm the hypothesis of a second marriage of Seleukos, even though "we cannot discount the possibility that she was rejuvenated and idealized" (Iossif & Lorber, *op. cit.* p. 68).

Mark Passehl (pers. comm., 25 May 2013), on the contrary, hypothesizes that since "the queen Laodike shared by Seleukos IV and Epiphanes was youthful and looked remarkably like their sister Laodike, I now believe that the only possible conclusion is that the second queen of Seleukos IV was a daughter (and presumably the only surviving child) of Antiochos Neos and his sister, so a Laodike whose existence has not been suspected before - born c.194/3 B.C. and marrying her uncle Seleukos c.180/79. And looking very like her own mother."

Antiochos IV (Mithridates ?)

He was probably the third son of Antiochos III and Laodike, born around 216-210 BC. Probably not later, because according to Zenon of Rhodes (cited by Pol. 16.18-19) he took part as (nominal?) commander of the mailed horsemen at the battle of the Paneion (usually dated to 200 BC). Polybios maintains that Zenon was mistaken on this point, but probably this error was enabled by the possibility that this might have happened. On the other hand Polybios does not stress that Antiochos the Younger was a child when this battle was fought but simply tells us that one king's son, called Antiochos, participated in the battle. In June 2014 Catharine Lorber gave a paper arguing that the battle of Paneion occurred in 198; this lower date would give more breathing room for the birthdates of Antiochos Neos and Antiochos IV ("Numismatic evidence and the chronology of the Fifth Syrian War," presented at the international conference *Judea in the Long Third Century BCE: The Transition between the Persian and Hellenistic Periods*, May 31-June 1-3, 2014, Tel Aviv).

An inscription under the Seleukid year 198/7 [M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 18 (1988) 421, but John Ma *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* (1999) prefers to date it in 197/6] mentions a son of Antiochos III called Mithridates. (As discussed below, the Mithridates of Livy 33.19 probably is Antiochos' nephew of that name.) J.D. Grainger proposed in his *A Seleukid Prosopography and Gazetteer*, p. 22, that Mithridates was the original name of the future Antiochos IV, who would have assumed the name by which he is universally known only following the death of his elder brother Antiochos (193). Before this, he would necessarily have had another name, that of his maternal grandfather: Mithridates or Mithradates. (See also the accurate analysis of Christopher J. Bennett in note 4 on his webpage on Cleopatra I, http://www.tyndalehouse.com/Egypt/ptolemies/cleopatra_i.htm#Cleopatra%20I.4.) This Mithridates, son of Antiochos III, does not seem to have been the only contemporary Seleukid to bear this name, because we know another Mithradates or Mithridates, probably son of Antiochis the sister of Antiochos III and so the latter's nephew, but possibly adopted by the latter (D. Ogden *Polygamy, Prostitutes and Death*, 1999, p. 139). The consequence is that we do not know if our sources are referring to Antiochos' nephew or his presumed son. (See below under Ardys for a discussion of the reference in Livy 33.19 to Mithridates and Ardys.)

However as noted by Chris Bennett (*loc. cit.*, last paragraph of note 4) the candidacy of Mithridates for the throne of Armenia (Pol. 8. 25) is a strong clue indicating that the latter was a son of Arsames, king of Armenia, by Antiochis, Antiochos III's sister, and thus was a half-brother of Arsames' successor, Xerxes. The marriage between Arsames and Antiochis perhaps took place after 227 when the Armenian king was an ally of Antiochos Hierax (Polyainos 4.17), the hostile younger brother of Seleukos II, father of Antiochos III and Antiochis, but nothing prohibits that it happened at a date previous to the last clash between the two brothers. Antiochis may also have been older than her two brothers (the future Seleukos III and Antiochos III). Their father, Seleukos II (born around 265 (???) BC and king from Summer 246), might have married before his coronation. So she might be born as soon as 245 and have married Arsames around 232. Their possible son Mithridates would be around twenty in 212, when some courtiers proposed him to his uncle as future Armenian sovereign. As known, Antiochos preferred the previous king, Xerxes (another son of Arsames but presumably by another wife). In this case Polybios, when calling him biological son of Antiochis, only wished to say that "they were both sons of king Arsames by different wives, one of whom was Antiochus III's sister, and could therefore be expected to be more loyal to him"

(C.J. Bennett http://www.tyndalehouse.com/Egypt/ptolemies/cleopatra_i.htm#Cleopatra%20I.4).

In conclusion, in my view Grainger's hypothesis remains quite valid. The epigraph that mentions Mithridates with his brother Seleukos (IV) (*op. cit.*) is decisive. The alternative hypothesis that he was Antiochos' nephew, adopted by the king, is not substantiated by any sources. The mention in an Agatharchides fragment of the action of a Mithridates around the town of Arykanda in Lycia (fr. 16 in Athenaios 12. 528) cannot easily refer to one of the two Seleukid Mithridates, as I previously believed. In fact the reference to abolition of debts that the Arykandians hoped to obtain by Mithridates suggests he was probably Mithridates VI Eupator. For the reasons for the change of the name and more in general on Seleukid onomastics see F. Muccioli, "Antioco III e la politica onomastica dei Seleucidi." *Electrum. Studia z historii starozytnej* 18 (2011), pp. 90-93, which opts for dating the name change around 193/2, just after the death of his brother Antiochos Neos, while Grainger (*op. cit.* p.22) mentions a later date (around 188 BC). Recently B. Scolnic ["When did the future Antiochos IV arrive in Athens?"] *Hesperia* 83.1 (2014), pp. 123-142] has even argued that the Athenian inscription I 7453 (= SEG XXXII 121), dated to 178/7, does not refer to the future Antiochos IV, who used the name Mithridates until 175 when he became co-king with his nephew.

F.W. Walbank (*A Historical Commentary on Polybios*, 1979, pp. 272-3), basing himself on the old hypothesis of T. Reinach (*Mithridate Eupator, roi de Pont* 1890), identifies Mithridates, nephew of Antiochos III, with the homonymous "satrap of Armenia," ally of Pharnakes I, king of Pontos (Pol. 25. 2. 11). O. Mørkholm (*op. cit.* p. 29, n.35) thinks "Armenia" is here Sophene, while Walbank believes it is Lesser

Armenia. L.E. Patterson (“Rome’s relationship with Artaxias of Armenia” *AHB* 15. 4, 2003, pp. 154-162) rightly opts for Sophene, because Mithridates was already a candidate for this throne. Zariadris was still reigning after the Treaty of Apameia (188 BC). It is therefore conceivable that Mithridates was imposed as king of Sophene (maybe by his cousin Seleukos IV) in the period 186-183, succeeding Zariadris. He might be the father of Mitrobuzanes, king of Sophene, and also of Ptolemaios, eparchos and then king of Kommagene and ancestor of the famous Antiochos I of Kommagene. The name Ptolemaios might possibly derive from a matrimonial connection between Mithridates, nephew of Antiochos, and his distant relative Berenike of Telmessos.

Antiochos IV's queen (called for a change Laodike) appears on a series of gold oktadrachms (see above) together with the young king Antiochos, the son of Seleukos IV adopted by Antiochos IV (O. Hoover “Laodice IV on the bronze coinage of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV” *AJN* 14, 2002, pp. 81-87). As in the case of most of the Seleukid kings, Antiochos IV married her after ascending the throne in 175. As we have seen, the name of his queen appears in the so called inscription of Hagemonidas (*OGIS* n. 252; cf. O. Morkholm *Antiochus IV of Syria* 1966, p. 49), but there is no clear evidence concerning her identity or lineage. If the information from a Babylonian source (see above) is credible, she might be a second wife of Seleukos IV who subsequently married Antiochos IV and should have been the biological mother of the young Antiochos and of the only son of Antiochos IV Euphianos, the future Antiochos V Euphator.

According to P. F. Mittag (*Antiochos IV Euphianos: eine politische Biographie*, Berlin, 2006), Antiochos IV had more than one son, because Polybios 31. 2. 4 mentions children (*teknois*) of Antiochos. But they were already deceased at the death of their father, because in the same passage (31. 2. 6) Polybios mentions “the surviving son of Antiochos”, referring to Euphator. However this second son appears on coinage discussed by Grainger (who lists him as Anonymous 4).

It has also been maintained that his queen was his own sister, married previously to their brothers Antiochos and Seleukos (IV) (Grainger, *op. cit.* at the entry Antiochos IV). This hypothesis is debated in the detailed research by Iossif & Lorber (*op. cit.* at the entry Laodike). But see also Stone's and Passehl's remarks in the same entry.

Antiochos, the son of Antiochos IV, at the moment of his father's death, had to be about 9 and so should be born in 173. Probably the birth of Antiochos IV's own son determined the destiny of his nephew and adopted son. If the mother of the latter was the first wife of Seleukos, the queen, then the wife of Antiochos IV was only his stepmother and probably she would not have presented much resistance to the murderous purposes of her husband, even if she did not instigate them.

Diodoros of Sicily (30. 7. 1, surely from Polybios) accuses a friend of the king, a certain Andronikos, of the assassination, while Antiochos IV was campaigning in Kilikia, leaving us in doubt as to whether the king who sentenced the same Andronikos to death was responsible for it, or not. But the Babylonian sources are crudely explicit and the King List noted under July-August 170: “In the year 142, in the month of Abu, the king Antiochos ordered to put to death his son, the king Antiochos “. (Del Monte, *op. cit.* p. 209).

As for the queen, she appears for the last time on an issue of bronzes of Tripolis, dated SE 147 (167/6 BC). They portray the radiate Antiochos with her in the background. It is probable she died not long after. Surely she was dead in 162 because we hear nothing of her in the events which brought Demetrios I to the throne. But probably she had even passed away before the departure of her royal husband on the expedition in the Eastern provinces, otherwise I believe she would have had some role in the regency of his son Antiochos Euphator.

Nysa

This princess is only known from epigraphic testimony (*IG XI*, 1056), which mentions an Athenian embassy to Pharnakes I, king of Pontos, recording also his recent marriage with Nysa, the daughter of Antiochos and Laodike. On the basis of the different datings of this document, Nysa has been identified with a daughter either of Antiochos III (S.V. Tracy “*Inscriptiones Deliacae: IG XI*, 713 and *IG XI*, 1056”, *AM* 107, pp. 303-313), of Antiochos, son and co-regent of Antiochos III (*CAH* vol. VIII 2, pp. 520-521 stemma) or of Antiochos IV Epiphanes (O. Morkholm, *op. cit.* p. 54 and 60; *CAH* vol. VIII 2, pp. 357 and 536).

B.D. Merritt (“Athenian archons 347/6-48/7 BC” *Historia* 26, 1977, pp. 161-191) restored the fragmentary name of the archon as Tychandros and owing to the presence of a secretary from Marathon demos, fixed his date to 160/159. In this view Nysa is probably daughter of Antiochos IV or, with more difficulty for chronological reasons, of his elder brother.

Alternatively, Stephen Tracy, who had published *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 B.C.* in 1990, suggested (“*Inscriptiones Deliacae: IG XI* 713 and *IG XI* 1056,” *AM* 107, 1992, pp. 303-313) an earlier dating. In fact, he identifies the stone cutter of this inscription with one active between 226/5 and ca. 190. The inscription would thus move the archonship of Tychandros from 160/159 to 196/195 (the only available year holding a secretary from Marathon).

If Tracy’s theory is sound, Nysa would have been born about 211, thus being 14 to 15 at the time of her wedding. But nothing excludes that she might be the third daughter of Antiochos, older than Antiochis. So she might be born some time between 217 and 210. A problem rises from the fact that Pharnakes’ heir, the future Mithradates V Euergetes, looks still under age when his father died. But when did Pharnakes leave this world? After the Pontic war (183-179 BC) Pharnakes disappeared from our sources until 170 BC, when a fragment of Polybios (27.17) states: “Pharnakes surpassed all the previous kings in his contempt for the laws.” Some scholars interpret this statement as an obituary notice, but F.W. Walbank (*A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 1979, p. 318) rightly stresses that there is no evidence in this sense. Surely Pharnakes was still living at the time of the Treaty with the Crimean city of Chersonesos [see *IOSPE* i2 402 = R.K. Sherk (ed.) *TDGR* vol.3, no.77 (translated by S.M.Burstein)]. The document ends: “This oath was taken in the one hundred and fifty seventh year, in the month of Daisios, as King Pharnakes reckons (time).” Burstein refers us to his own article (*AJAH* 1980 pp.21-30) for proof that the Mithradatids used the Seleukid Era (year 1: Oct 312-Sept 311 BC). This would date the treaty to 155 BC.

This treaty could be the last act of Pharnakes’ life; he probably died in the same year, since we first hear of his brother Mithradates IV Philopator Philadelphos as ruler and regent in 154 BC, when he is mentioned as sending an auxiliary force to the assistance of the king of Pergamon, Attalos II Philadelphos, against the king of Bithynia, Prousius II. Mithradates IV was already dead in 152/1. [Cf. Inscription of Inebolu in honour of the strategos Alkimos, where Mithradates V is already mentioned (L. Robert, “Monnaies et textes Grecs,” *Journal des Savants*, 1978, 22, p. 151-63).]

In that year, 152/1, Mithradates V should be at least 14/15, and it is a bit odd that a wedding celebrated in 196/5 gave its first fruits only thirty years later, when the supposed mother was around 45. This objection made by Mark Passchl (personal communication, 20 May 2006) cannot be ignored.

So the guesses may be two:

- 1- Nysa married Pharnakes in 196/5 and all the children born to them died in infancy, or in any case before their father's death, excluding Nysa (born ca. 175 BC), Laodike (born around 166?) and Mithradates V (born around 165 BC). It is a possible hypothesis but certainly not a probable one.

- 2- Mithradates V (and possibly Laodike) were children of a second wife of Pharnakes. But as noticed by Roger Powell (personal communication, 24 October 2013), a sister and a daughter of Mithradates VI Eupator, son of Mithradates V, also bore the name Nysa. So this second hypothesis too, even though not impossible, is surely not probable.

An inscription of the Dionysiac club in Athens (*OGIS* 352) honours the King Ariarathes (V) and the Queen Nysa. We do not have any information about Nysa's parents, but as W. S. Ferguson stressed ["Notes on Greek inscriptions. 1. Ariarathes V and Queen Nysa," *Classical Philology*, Vol. 2, n. 4 (1907), pp. 401-406], nothing disproves that Nysa was a daughter of Pharnakes and Nysa (I).

When did this second Nysa marry Ariarathes V, and, consequently, when was she born? Ferguson deduced, from the lack of mention of the Ptolemaia in *OGIS* 352 8 along with the athletic games of the Eleusinia, the Panathenaia and the Dionysia, that the inscription is posterior to 146 BC. This guess is supported by prosopographical information. For example the actor Menelaos, who was one of the ambassadors mentioned in this inscription, appears also in a Delphic document of 128/7. Therefore Nysa and Ariarathes were already married in the period 146-130 BC (the latter year being when the Kappadokian king died), leaving six sons and at least one daughter. We can deduce from the number of their children that the royal couple had to be married for at least a decade, hence no later than ca. 140.

We can be sure that Ariarathes V did not marry until 157/6 BC (in 160 he was still unmarried; afterward he was exiled till 157 BC). Thus we would have the period 157/6-140. These dates are compatible both with a Nysa born around 175 BC (wife of Ariarathes V from ca. 157) and a Nysa born around 160 BC who married the Kappadokian king around 147/6. This second hypothesis might be reinforced by Justin (37. 1. 2), according to whom the six sons of the king are mentioned as under age at the moment of their father's death in 130 BC.

Another weak point of Tracy's theory is elucidated by Ph. Gauthier (*Bulletin Epigraphique* 1995, p. 499), who is thus reaffirming a consideration expressed by Dittenberger himself, who first published the inscription. The decision to erect a statue in Delos in honour of Pharnakes and Nysa (*IG* XI, 1056) and to issue the decree was not accompanied by any specification of the authorization which had been obtained by the Delians, who in 196/5 were still independent, while in 160 the island was an Athenian possession (since 167 BC). Tracy had adopted the explanation (in my opinion not too convincing) that the three Athenian commissars had implicitly been charged to contact the Delian government in order to obtain the due authorizations.

A pointed criticism to Tracy's theory was made by Cristian E. Ghita in his article "Nysa – A Seleucid Princess in Anatolian Context" in K. Erickson & G. Ramsay, *Seleucid Dissolution* (2011). One of his ideas (that Pharnakes, not yet having sons in 179, would have nominated his brother Mithridates as co-regent) is frankly mistaken, because the Mithridates mentioned by Polybios (25. 2. 11) is not his brother but probably an allied king of Sophene (see above), as may be demonstrated by the absence of any co-regency in the treaty with Chersonesos (155 BC).

Some of Ghita's other ideas may be debatable, but the criticism of Tracy's main point looks sound. He highlights Tracy's contradictions about the different cutters: "...in order to make this theory work, Tracy must refute his own earlier attribution of *IG* II2 953 to the cutter of *Agora* I 6006. This in itself casts a shadow of doubt on the process of finding similarities between letter shapes across bodies of inscriptions while at the same time making the distinction between the hands of different people – who might happen to be master and student – or between different styles used by the same man at different stages during his lifetime. If now, pressured by the need to push *IG* II2 953 back in time, Tracy discovers that between the hands which inscribed it and *Agora* I 6006 there are notable distinctions, it might mean that the process of attribution is not as impervious to considerations external to the shape of the letters as it perhaps ought to be." (Ghita, *op. cit.*, p.111).

However, if the attribution of the archontate of Tychandros (and this decree) to 196/5 causes some problems, the same (even though of minor importance, in my opinion) happens for its attribution to 160/59. As noted by Roger Powell (personal communication, 24 October 2013), the only one of the Athenian ambassadors who is known is Leon (son of Kichesias from the demos of Aixone), an important political personage mentioned both by Polybios (20. 29. 31) and Livy (37. 50. 4). Since he appears in a list of epebes around 237/6 BC (*IG II²* 787. 16), he had to be born around 255 BC. Therefore it is hard to see him as an active political man in 160 BC (when he would be 95). In fact he is mentioned for the last time in 189 BC when he pleaded for the Aetolians in front of the Roman senate. But just as our Leon had a probable namesake grandfather Leon (uncle, according to W. B. Dinsmoor ["The Archonship of Pytharatos (271/0 B.C.)," *Hesperia*, 1954]), son of Kichesias and proposer of two decrees in 281/0 and 275/4 BC, he likewise had a homonym grandson or nephew politically active around 150s who may well be our ambassador (G. R. Bugh, "The Theseia in Late Hellenistic Athens," *ZPE* 83, 1990, pp. 20-37).

In my opinion the greater difficulty with putting the archontate of Tychandros in 160/59 is the age of Mithradates V. Admittedly, the marriage between his parents may have happened two years earlier, just when Nysa's cousin Demetrios I Soter took the crown, and Mithradates may even be born in 161 BC. Thus he would appear to be king already at the age of nine, with no regent mentioned in the Inebolu inscription of 152/1, even though there had to have been an effective regent (maybe his aunt Laodike, sister-wife of his uncle Mithradates IV Philopator Philadelphos) or a council of regency.

We might even doubt the correct date of the Inebolu inscription, but a literary source (*App. Mith.* 10) confirms that Mithradates V was already sole king at the beginning of the Third Punic War (149 BC), when he sent some ships and a small force of auxiliaries to the Romans against Carthage, though Appian is often a sloppy writer. However, my opinion is that we cannot be sure about the ending date of the reign of Mithradates IV, just because we are not certain the stele of Alkimos is dated according to the Seleukid era.

If Nysa was a daughter of Antiochos III, she would thus have been born on the eve of her father's oriental expedition, and her name might be tied to this event. In fact, this name had never appeared in either the Seleukid or any other Hellenistic dynasty. Might this name of Antiochos' daughter have been referring to the fabulous Nysa of the myth of Dionysos, located by the Greeks in some Eastern region and from Alexander's expedition onward in Gandhara? (A. B. Bosworth's article in the 1996 Badian festschrift, "Alexander, Euripides, and Dionysos : The Motivation for Apotheosis", pp. 140-166). Or perhaps this name existed already among the dynasties which were related to them (Achaids, Mithradatids...)? Or alternatively among the same Seleukids, if the mysterious mistress of Seleukos II (Athenaios of Naukratis 13.578) belonged to some cadet branch of one of these dynasties? This statement does not imply that Antiochos was an offspring of this relation. He is probably the best known Seleukid sovereign and his Roman enemies would have stressed his possible illegitimate birth, as they did (unjustly) for Perseus.

Further possible evidence in this sense is given by the town of Nysa, founded (at least according to Stephanos of Byzantion s. v. Νῦσα) by an Antiochos in honour of his wife Nysa (I owe this suggestion to Roger Powell, personal communication of 22 September 2012). Actually Stephanos, besides being a late source and the only writer to put it in evidence, is rather confused. In fact, he calls Nysa "the wife of the king Antiochos, whose parents were Seleukos and Antiochis and whose sister was Laodike." While there were several Antiochoi who were sons of a Seleukos and had a sister called Laodike, none was the son of an Antiochis. Therefore the identification of this Antiochos with Antiochos I Soter remains highly uncertain. See also A. Primo, who in his work "Fondazioni di Antioco I Soter in Caria (St. Byz. s.v. *Antiocheia*)" in E. Dabrowa, *New Studies in the Seleucids*, pp. 63-76, maintains that Stephanos' statement reflects a fake tradition, possibly created at Antiochos III's court, to claim a right to Asia

Minor that the main branch of the Seleukid did not rule for thirty years.

Mark Passehl said (summer 2014), "I wonder whether Stephanus has confused the elder half-brother of Antiochos II with his parents. The stress on a sister is quite unusual in such contexts and so probably authentic. Antiochos II married his elder half-sister Laodike, who seems to have been full sister of the executed co-king Seleukos. With this execution the junior children of Antiochos I, by Stratonike, secured primacy in the dynasty, but the marriage of Laodike the elder half-sister to Antiochos II also shows that a compromise was reached despite the execution. Thus it could be that Seleukos the co-king was married to an Antiochis who was daughter of Stratonike and Antiochos I, or perhaps more likely in view of generational chronology, a daughter of Stratonike and Seleukos I. This would represent an earlier stage in the compromise which Antiochos I wished to make between the children of his two wives, the Achaid Laodike and the Antigonid Stratonike."

On the other hand, Strabo gives an alternative explanation (14. 1. 48). It is however sure that the town of Nysa was, if not a Seleukid foundation, then a preexisting Karian town (C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, 9, 1934), hellenized by the Syrian kings [probably by the same Antiochos III at the end of the third century, when Asia Minor was recovered by Achaios (*IG XI 4. 1235*)], as proven by the presence of the tribes Antiochis and Seleukis in this town (N. F. Jones, *Public Organizations in Ancient Greece: a Documentary Study* (1987), pp. 358-60).

K.J. Rigsby ("Seleucid Notes II, Nysa-Scythopolis", *TAPA* 110 (1980), pp. 238-242) examines the case of another Nysa, that is Beth-Shan by the river Jordan, whose usual name in the classical sources was Scythopolis but which Pliny the Elder called Nysa too, information confirmed by numismatics. Rigsby thinks that it is a Seleukid dynastic name which the town assumed after 200 BC when Antiochos III conquered it along with all Ptolemaic possessions of Koile Syria. Rigsby believes that the most probable author of this name change was Antiochos IV Epiphanes, known for analogous actions, and proposes that Nysa-Scythopolis was Antiochos IV's refoundation and owed its name to his presumed daughter who married Pharnakes in the following years. Alternatively, he does not deny the possibility there was an unattested Nysa also in the previous generation of the Seleukid dynasty but maintains that his former hypothesis is more probable.

It has also been hypothesized that Nysa was the third daughter (besides Laodike) of Antiochos, the one destined to marry Eumenes II of Pergamon (Pol. 21. 20. 8), but if Tracy's date is correct, this hypothesis has to be dismissed.

Another One or Two Daughters (names unknown)

As mentioned above, around 194/3 Antiochos, foreseeing the possibility of a clash with the Romans, offered three of his daughters (the first-born Laodike had just wedded his heir Antiochos Neos) in marriage to other Hellenistic kings in order to obtain or consolidate their alliance and friendship (Appian *Syr.* 5). Who was the daughter (one of the three) whom Eumenes II of Pergamon refused to marry? Not Nysa, if Tracy's hypothesis is sound (making her already married to Pharnakes I of Pontos in 196/195). If Nysa and Pharnakes were recently married in 160/159, we can also rule Nysa out, because she cannot then be Antiochos' daughter. If Nysa is not plausible as the rejected daughter, then there must be a further daughter (name unknown). Note that in the following summary (Presumed Birth Dates of the Children According to My Analysis), one or two additional daughters can easily be accommodated. We know that Antiochos during his peace negotiations with Euthydemos I, king of Bactria, admiring the personality of Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, promised to give one of his daughters as wife to the same Demetrios (Polyb. 11, 34.8-9)

Now we may formulate three hypotheses:

- 1- The girl refused by the king of Pergamon subsequently married Demetrios.
- 2- Notwithstanding Antiochos' promise, this marriage never happened, perhaps because Euthydemos I had broken the treaty with Antiochos III and annexed some Seleukid satrapies in the Orient (G. Rougemont, "Nouvelles inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Centrale;" D.W. MacDowall «The role of Demetrios in Arachosia and the Kabul valley» in O. Bopearachchi-M.F. Boussac, *Afghanistan: ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest : actes du colloque international au Musée archéologique Henri-Prades-Lattes du 5 au 7 mai 2003*, 2005).
- 3- The marriage took place before 194/3.

In the first and second case we do not need to hypothesize the existence of another daughter of Antiochos, besides the preceding ones. In the third case we are obliged to postulate a second daughter of unknown name. We would thus have two daughters born between about 217 and 210.

A daughter from Euboea

Livius 37.44.6. gives us notice of the existence of this girl, of whose life we know nothing, not even whether she died in infancy. (See Grainger, Anon. 2.) Probably she was born in 191 BC. The marriage between her parents took place in winter 192-191 BC (probably at the beginning of the year 191). She was already alive just after the battle of Magnesia (fought either in December 190 or in January 189 BC) when Antiochos and Euboea fled from Ephesos.

Ardys (?)

We have information on this presumed son of Antiochos only through a passage by Livy (33.19), the same one that mentions the mysterious Mithridates: "At the commencement of spring he (Antiochos III) had sent his two sons, Ardys and Mithridates, with an army to Sardis with instructions to wait for him there whilst he started by sea with a fleet."

Ardys' name may be Iranian, but it was also borne by an ancient king of Lydia, son of Gyges (VIIIth century). According to Polybios (5. 53. 2), it was the name of the so-called general of Antiochos III, commander of the right wing cavalry in the battle against the usurper Molon (220). It is thus probable that Livy here has been confused or that the text is corrupt. This last guess is shared by A. H. McDonald's supplement in his 1965 Oxford text (following Holleaux *Et. epig.* III, 190): "filiis duobus Ardye<que> ac Mithridate", which separates two unnamed sons from two named commanders. McDonald identifies the two sons with An. Neos and Seleukos IV. Possibly both Ardys and Mithridates were royal nephews, and McDonald's apparatus cites the emendation proposed by Drakenborch: "filiis duobus <sororis> Ardye ac Mithridate" (thanks to Mark. K. Passchl for this important suggestion). In every case the consequence is that we do not need to postulate the existence of another son of Antiochos and Laodike.

Presumed Birth Dates of the Children According to My Analysis

(shown in red; in blue the periods of possible conception; all the dates are BC)

Autumn 222-Late Autumn 221: Antiochos at Seleukeia Zeugma where he marries Laodike, then in Antioch (Polybios 5. 43. 1-2).

Late Autumn 221-Winter 220/19: Antiochos is in the Orient, fighting the rebel Molon and Artabazanes

of Media Atropatene (Pol. 5.51-56). **One child?** (Apr-May 220 ?)

Winter 220-Spring 219: Antiochos in his capital (5. 57).

Spring 219-Late Autumn 219: Antiochos in Koile Syria (against Ptolemy IV of Egypt) (Pol.5. 59-66). **One child?** (Jun.-Jul. 219)

Truce of four months: **Nov./Dec. 218-Mar/Apr. 218:** Antiochos at Seleukeia in Pieria (Pol. 5. 66. 2).

Spring 218-Autumn 218: Antiochos in Palestine (Pol. 5. 68-71). **One child?** (Aug.-Sept. 218)

Winter 218/217: Antiochos wintered in Ptolemais (Pol. 5. 71. 12), but it is possible he had even reached Antioch in view of a possible offensive by Achaïos (Pol. 5. 72-77)

Beginning of the Summer 217: Battle of Raphia (Pol. 5. 79-86). **One child?** (Oct.-Nov. 217)

Summer 217-Spring 216: Antiochos in Antioch, preparing his expedition against Achaïos, in Asia Minor (Pol. 5. 87.). **One child?** (Dec.-Jan. 217-216)

Spring 216-Autumn-Winter 214 : Expedition against Achaïos (Pol. 5. 107. 5; 7. 15-18; 8. 17-23). We do not know whether he wintered in Asia Minor or Antioch. **If he went to Antioch, we should insert in this period at least one child.** (Sept.-Oct. 214)
It is, however, probable (see note below) that Laodike III had reached the king in Asia Minor and subsequently they stayed together in Antioch before his Armenian expedition.

Spring-Summer 213-Spring/Summer 212: In Antioch. **One child?** (Nov.-Dec. 213)

Spring/Summer 212-Autumn 212: Antiochos at Arsamosata (Armenia) (Pol. 8. 25).

Autumn 212-Spring/Summer 211: Antiochos presumably in Antioch. **One child?** (Jan.- Feb.. 211)

Spring/Summer 211- Spring/Summer 210: Beginning of the Oriental expedition. Antiochos in Ekbatana where assembled his army. He probably left Ekbatana in late spring 210. **If Laodike had followed the king to that city, there is room for another child.** (Mar.-Apr. 210)

Spring/Summer 210 - About Spring 205: Oriental expedition. (Pol. 9. 43; 10. 27-31; 10. 48-49; 11. 34; 13. 9).

April 205: The king in Babylon (Del Monte, *op.cit.* p. 61).

About Summer 205: Expedition in the Persian Gulf. (Pol. 13. 9. 4-5).

About Autumn 205 -Winter 204: Antiochos presumably came back to Antioch where he wintered. **One child?** (Aug.- Sept. 204)

About Summer 204: Antiochos in Asia Minor.

Summing up we would have:

Antiochos Neos (b. 220-218)

Laodike (b. 219-215)

Seleukos (b. 219-213)
Kleopatra (b.218-213)
Antiochis (b. 217-210)
Mithridates (Antiochos) (216- 210)
Nysa ? (b. 217-210).
A daughter from Antiochos' second wife Euboia of Chalkis (probably born in 191 BC).

I have to stress that along with these children, securely attested (except for Nysa), Antiochos and Laodike might have had at least three other children (always presupposing that there are no twins). The royal couple may well have had children subsequent to this date (210). Of course, other children might be born from 204 onward. This depends upon the age of Laodike III at the time of her marriage.

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- p. 3: Added reference to Werner Huss, “Eine ptolemaische Expedition nach Kleinasien” (1977).
- p. 9: Replaced list of age relationships with a diagram.
- p. 14: Added reference to O. Coloru, “Antiochos IV et le royaume de Médie Atropatène: nouvelles considerations sur un mariage dynastique entre Séleucides et la maison d’Atropatès” (2014).
- p. 15: Added reference to J. Caimi, “Minima Ptolemaica” (1977), and Chris Bennett.
- p. 17: Added reference to Catharine Lorber, “Numismatic evidence and the chronology of the Fifth Syrian War,” presented at Tel Aviv in 2014.