ROYAL PROPAGANDA OF SELEUCUS I AND LYSIMACHUS*

MODERN scholars have long recognised that much of the coinage minted by Seleucus I Nicator and Lysimachus was originally designed as some form of propaganda. They have met, however, with only partial success in trying to delineate more precisely the nature and purpose of that propaganda. Especially problematical have been those coin motifs which appear to advertise various omens, prophecies, and *logoi* about Seleucus and Lysimachus, which, in turn, would have lent a charismatic sanction to the kingships of both men. These will be our main concern here; I wish to propose some refinements and some complete revisions of my predecessors' conclusions about this coinage as propaganda. But, in so doing, I will need to review much of the evidence for other kinds of propaganda employed by these two men.[1]

Naturally there are severe limitations and pitfalls in this kind of a study. The first is both the brevity and scarcity of ancient literary and epigraphic remains for the early Hellenistic period. Secondly, any relationships I try to establish will be no more than

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Some of the studies to which I refer in this article are abbreviated as follows:

AHR = *American Historical Review*
ANSMN = *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*
Babelon = Ernest Babelon, *Les rois de Syrie d'Arménie et de Commagène* (Paris, 1890)
Bellinger *Essays* = Alfred E. Bellinger, *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great* (New York, 1963)
Bellinger *Victory* = Alfred E. Bellinger, *Victory as a Coin Type* (New York, 1962)
Bouché-Leclerq = A. Bouché-Leclerq, *Histoire des Séleucides* (Paris, 1903)
Cerfaux = L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, *Un concurrent du Christianisme, Le culte des souverains* (Tournai, 1957)
Downey = Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton, 1961)
ESM, see Newell *ESM*
Griffith = G. T. Griffith, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge, 1935)
Habicht = Christian Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (Munich, 1956)
Head = Barclay V. Head, *Historia Numorum*[2] (Oxford, 1911)
Imhoof-Blumer *Porträtköpfe* = F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen* (Leipzig, 1885)
Newell *Demetrius* = E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes* (Oxford, 1927)
Newell *ESM* = E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints* (New York, 1938)
Newell *WSM* = E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints* (New York, 1941)
Nilsson = Martin Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*[2] (Munich, 1955)
Noe = Sydney Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*[2] (New York, 1937)
Svoronos = J. Svoronos, *Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ κρατοῦς τῶν Πτολεμάιων* (Athens, 1904)
Tarn *Alexander* = W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, 1950)
Tarn *Greeks* = W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938)
Thompson = Margaret Thompson, 'The Mints of Lysimachus' in *Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson* (Oxford, 1968)
Will = Edouard Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellenistique* (Nancy, 1966)
WSM, see Newell *WSM*

All quoted translations of ancient authors are from the Loeb Classical Library.

[1] I will ignore some coin types minted by both men for three reasons: some have defied altogether attempts to interpret them, others are simply too controversial, and still others to which numismatists have confidently attributed meanings raise serious doubts in my own mind as to the validity of these interpretations. The absence of these types (e.g. the horned horse's head, the bull, the Medusa head, the Dioscuri, etc.) from my discussion will not, I think, detract from my main argument.

probabilities. Unlike Roman coinage, Hellenistic coinage is not replete with slogans, which would vastly simplify our task. Thus we are repeatedly trying to connect the visual images on coins with the nonvisual literary and epigraphic evidence.[2]

Lest I appear too glib in my use of the term 'propaganda', let me make it clear what I do, and do not, mean by it. What is not meant is something formalised, regularised, or even institutionalised in the modern sense, or in the Roman sense, for that matter. Speaking of the latter, Harold Mattingly has said:[3]

> It [Roman coinage] was clearly meant to instruct and educate as well as to amuse and supply essential needs. It lent itself admirably to the purpose of informing the public of what the government meant them to know and of enlisting support for imperial policies. Its value as propaganda was fully realised by those who had the control of it.

Implicit in Mattingly's remarks are two striking features of Roman coinage as propaganda. One is the regularity, the predictability, of change in propaganda themes; the other is a degree of professionalism exhibited by the Roman rulers and their moneyers in exploiting coinage as propaganda. Neither of these traits is found to this extent in anything we might label 'propaganda' in the early Hellenistic period. What I mean by propaganda in this period, then, is the largely unsystematic attempt at irregular intervals to publicise a ruler's actual achievements or omens, legends, and prophecies concerning him in order to enhance his own personal prestige and to provide added reasons for continued loyalty to future members of the dynasty he hoped to establish. In other words, such propaganda was an attempt, with little or no prior planning, to crystallise a tradition about the founder himself and about the dynasty, which would buttress the loyalty owed to any one of its members. Such propaganda, then, has a dual significance. The first, and more difficult to evaluate, is its impact upon the public imagination at the time it was employed. The second—from our vantage point easier to assess—is its long-range effect as an ingredient in the formation of both the Hellenistic ruler cult and Hellenistic royal ideology in general.

Though coinage will be our main evidence for observing this propaganda, I do not wish to suggest that such propaganda was confined to coinage alone. In fact the coinage commands a disproportionate share of our attention only because of the relative scarcity of other kinds of evidence. I do feel, however, that the chief value of the coinage is that it points to the existence of other artistic and literary forms of publicity which would have been used simultaneously with the coinage. The value of such propaganda was already known to Isocrates writing in *c.* 365 (*Evag.* 73) and was widely used by both Alexander and the Successors.[4] Assuming that I am successful in demonstrating how Seleucus' and Lysimachus' coinage served as propaganda, we can then be quite sure that they did not neglect the literary variety as a publicity device. On the other hand I emphatically wish not to suggest that propaganda was the primary purpose for minting this coinage. There can be no doubt that it was first and foremost meant to serve as money; however, I do contend that the choice of types and the choices of where and when these types would be struck were given considerable thought beforehand. I propose to discuss the pre-Ipsus propaganda

[2] A particular headache in this connection has been chronology. Though scholars like E. T. Newell and Margaret Thompson have painstakingly laboured over connections and sequences of dies, styles, symbols, and monograms, generally firm dates cannot be assigned to the coins unless they can be associated with known historical events or datable artifacts. It is impossible to summarise their arguments on chronology here, but I would refer the reader to the following general summaries on the problems of dating: C. Kraay, *Greek Coins* (London, 1966) 18–19, Head, pp. lxi–lxiv, L. Laing, *Coins and Archaeology* (London, 1969) 19–22, 23–5, 26–32, 35–6, 39–51. On the general problem of the coins and history see: Kraay, *Greek Coins and History* (London, 1969) 1–18.

[3] *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* v (London, 1950) xlvi–xlvii. See also Michael Grant, *Roman History from Coins* (Cambridge, 1958) 11, 16.

[4] See below, p. 54 n. 21.

separately from that produced after Ipsus, since this one battle so radically altered the fortunes of both Seleucus and Lysimachus, the style of their propaganda, and their reasons for continuing this propaganda.[5]

At the time he recovered Babylonia Seleucus had only one mint at his disposal—that of Babylon itself—but by 306/5 he had three additional mints operating at Susa, Ecbatana, and at his newly-founded capital, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. At all of these cities Seleucus like most of the Successors continued to mint coins with Alexander's own imperial types. These consisted of several denominations of which the most important were tetradrachms showing on their obverses the head of Heracles wearing a lion scalp and on the reverses a seated Zeus holding an eagle in his outstretched right hand, and gold staters with a helmeted Athena on the obverses and a winged Nike on the reverse. All carry the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ* or *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*.[6] At no time during his reign did Seleucus abandon these types altogether. He did, however, begin minting types of his own choosing after *c.* 305, that is, after he was awarded his royal title by his armies. After that date the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ* appeared with many of his innovative types as well as with the Alexander types.[7]

Among Seleucus' most striking pre-Ipsus coins are two series, one of bronze units struck at Susa after *c.* 305 and the other of bronze units and gold double darics struck at Ecbatana after *c.* 303. On their obverses, all of these show the head of Alexander facing right wearing an elephant scalp headdress.[8] Newell and Tarn have suggested that Seleucus adopted the Alexander portrait because Alexander serves as a deified prototype for Seleucus' own

[5] The best modern accounts of the careers of Seleucus and Lysimachus are: Bouché-Leclerq i 1–52, ii 513–34, K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* iv.i[2] 64–9, 210–46, W. W. Tarn in *CAH* vi 461–504, Max Cary, *A History of the Greek World 323–146 B.C.* 39–58, H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte*[4] 369–90, Will 19–86, P. Grimal, *Hellenism and the Rise of Rome* 21–64. In my references to events of these years I shall generally not refer back to these modern authorities unless, at some critical points, their arguments are needed to help reconstruct or interpret the events under discussion.

[6] PLATE VII*a* and *b*. *ESM* p. 108 nos. 283–5, pl. XXII 1–3, p. 163 nos. 428–9, pl. XXXIII 1–2.

[7] PLATE VII*c* and *d*. *Ibid.* pp. 110, 113 nos. 298–9, pl. XXIII 1–5 (Susa), p. 176 nos. 480–1, pl. XXXVI 5–9 (Ecbatana). Seleucia was, according to Newell, the first city to issue coins bearing Seleucus' royal title (p. 12 no. 2, pl. I 1–3) but continuing the Alexander types. Recently, however, the minting sequences worked out by Newell have been corrected by Nancy Waggoner, 'The early Alexander Coinage at Seleucia on the Tigris' in *ANSMN* xv (1969) 21–30, pls. III–V. She argues that Newell's Series I could not have been minted earlier than *c.* 295 B.C. Serious violence is not done to my own arguments, but, as we proceed, I will explain the modifications necessitated by this change. I do, however, hesitate to accept Mrs Waggoner's suggestion that the tetradrachms showing a laureate Zeus on their obverses and Athena in a chariot drawn by elephants on their reverses with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ* were minted as early as *c.* 305. This, however, I will explain below (p. 58 n. 49).

[8] PLATE VII*c* and *f*. *ESM* pp. 109–10 nos. 291–294–297, pl. XXII 10–20, pp. 170–1 nos. 459–60, pl. XXV 4–5. The reverses of the coins from Susa display either an anchor with the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ* or a Nike facing left and holding in her outstretched left hand a small wreath above an anchor. The Ecbatana double darics have on their reverses the horned head of a horse, while the bronzes show a Nike facing left. As will become clear below (pp. 53 and 61), the anchor and Nike are relevant to our interpretation of the Alexander portrait. Any certain connection between the horse's head and the Alexander portraits is not to be had. As a rule I will not describe both sides of coins where there is no immediately obvious connection between them, that is, where the accompanying motif does not help interpret the one under discussion.

That this is, in fact, Alexander and not, say, Dionysus or Seleucus himself is beyond dispute. This is partly for reasons I will outline below (p. 55) regarding Seleucus' post-Ipsus Alexander portraits. The most obvious reason for identifying this portrait as Alexander is its clear similarity to the coin portraits minted by Ptolemy as early as *c.* 318. Svoronos p. 5 no. 18, pl. I 12, Brigitte Küschel, 'Die neuen Münzbilder des Ptolemaios Soter' in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* xi (1961) 9–18. Newell *ESM* 112 has suggested that Seleucus received his inspiration to adopt this iconography from the Ptolemaic original. It follows, of course, that Seleucus' reasons for so portraying Alexander must, in some ways, parallel Ptolemy's own intention in choosing this iconography. On this see Küschel 16–17. I would modify Miss Küschel's conclusions somewhat, but I prefer to make this the subject of a separate study. PLATE VII*h*.

recently completed conquest of Iran and the borderlands of India.[9] This is reasonable but inadequate; would Seleucus have adopted a heroised Alexander for a coin motif unless the latter stood in some special relationship to Seleucus' own kingship? No Greek state before this period is known to have adopted a god or hero on their coinages who was not important in some unique way to the safety and/or prestige of that state.[10] Seleucus, then, would not have adopted Alexander as a god or hero for his own coinage unless he regarded Alexander as a patron or protecting divinity. That he did regard Alexander as having a part to play in the unfolding of his own destiny was explicitly stated by Seleucus as early as 312 B.C. On his return to Babylon in that year his men became terrified at the prospect of an attack from the armies of Antigonus. Diodorus (xix 90.2–4) reports that he addressed them in an attempt to encourage them:

> He added that they ought also to believe the oracles of the gods which had foretold that the end of his campaign would be worthy of his purpose; for, when he had consulted the oracle in Branchidae, the god had greeted him as king Seleucus, and Alexander, standing beside him in a dream, had given him a clear sign of his future kingship that was destined to fall to him in the course of time.

These Alexander portraits would have been adopted by Seleucus in *c.* 305 because, in the wake of his successful eastern campaigns, the prophecy was showing ample signs of fulfilment. In a sense, then, the portrait's significance is twofold: it honours Alexander for his heroic deeds and victories and because he is the patron as well as the prototype of Seleucus' own achievements. It follows, of course, that Alexander's co-patron in Seleucus' revelation, Apollo of Branchidae, should be honoured and advertised in the same fashion, and, as we shall see, this was to be the case after Ipsus.

The reverses of most of these coins supply some supporting evidence for my proposed interpretation of this Alexander portrait. The Ecbatana bronzes show a winged Nike, and some of those from Susa show a Nike holding a wreath out over an anchor.[11] These are a sure indication that Seleucus sought to publicise his recent military successes, a point about which our modern authorities are in full agreement.[12] The propaganda of these motifs, then, is at least consistent with that which I have attributed to the Alexander portraits.

The reality of the need for this kind of publicity becomes fully apparent when we recall the continuing and imminent danger which Antigonus Monophthalmus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes posed to the heart of Seleucus' domain during these years. Despite Seleucus' successes in the east, Babylonia was attacked by the Antigonids in 312, possibly again in 309/8, and an invasion was at least expected in 302/1.[13] What made this problem

[9] Newell *ESM* 112; Tarn *Greeks* 131. That this is a deified or heroised Alexander is clear from the parallel between the elephant scalp headdress worn here by Alexander and the lion skin worn by Heracles on Alexander's own coinage. In each case the animal skin signifies the superhuman quality of its wearer's original victory over the animal.

[10] Gardner, *Archaeology and Types of Greek Coins* (Chicago, 1965). Though this work was originally published in 1882, Margaret Thompson, in her introduction to the 1965 reprint, indicates that Gardner's views are still accepted (*Ibid.* i–xii). G. Macdonald, *Coin Types* (Glasgow, 1905) 22–3, 134–7, Head lv–lvii, F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult in Altertum* (Giessen, 1912) 500–1. It must also be stressed that Seleucus was in no way in legitimate succession to Alexander or the Argead house, a fact which therefore weakened his competitive stance against the other Successors. In fact, the only legitimacy his kingship bore was that conferred on it by his army which awarded him his royal title. F. Granier, *Die makedonische Heeresversammlung* (Munich, 1931) 13–15, 16–21, 91–106, Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*[3] 47 ff.

[11] PLATE VII*e*, *f*, and *g*. *ESM* p. 170 no. 459 pl. XXXV 4, pp. 109–10 nos. 294–6 pl. XXII 15–19, p. 112.

[12] Newell *ESM* 175, 112, 20–1. Though Newell, in this latter instance, is discussing coins now dated to a few years after Ipsus (see p. 52 n. 7 above), his interpretation of these coins could easily be applied to both the Ecbatana and Susa coins. Bellinger *Victory* 26–7, Babelon pp. xxix–xxx.

[13] Diod. xix 100.1–7, Plut. *Demetr.* 7, Polyaenus iv 9.1, Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts* (London, 1924) p. 144 lines 43 ff. edge lines 1–2,

especially acute for Seleucus was that until Ipsus he had virtually no access to the usual recruiting grounds for Greek mercenaries or native Macedonians.[14] The danger was compounded by a potential fifth column in Seleucus' army of men who had once served Antigonus.[15] These men had comprised the garrisons which Antigonus left at Media, Persepolis, Babylon, Carrhae, and probably Susa before Seleucus captured Babylonia and western Iran from him.[16] In the face of the impending battle (of 301) these men might desert to Antigonus.[17]

This brings us to the question of the audience to whom this propaganda might have been directed. Two things are clear: first, nearly all of Seleucus' pre-Ipsus propaganda was designed strictly for local consumption. This we know because he chose to confine most of his new motifs to bronze coinage which would circulate much less extensively than gold or silver.[18] Secondly, the minting sites of these new coinages were Susa, Ecbatana, and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Two of these were populated in part by the former garrisons of Antigonus. In the case of Seleucia, we need only recall Demetrius' garrison which he stationed at nearby Babylon in 312. We can be fairly sure then that these groups were prime targets for Seleucus' propaganda.

There is some evidence that at the close of the fourth century both citizen soldiers and mercenaries were paid anywhere from 3 obols to 1 drachma a day.[19] Whether a soldier was actually paid this rate on a daily basis we simply do not know, but it does not matter; bronze units, halves, doubles, etc., are the currency he would have to use in his day-to-day transactions.

We need, however, to remind ourselves that this coinage by itself would hardly have been effective as propaganda. Rather, we should picture it as a complement to the oral, written, and artistic propaganda of which Seleucus availed himself frequently[20] and which was so commonly employed by the other Successors.[21]

'The Chronology of Philip Arridaeus, Antigonus, and Alexander IV' in *Revue d' Assyriologie* xxii (1925) 182–4, 186–7, P. Schaumberger, 'Drei planetarische Hilfstafeln' in *Analecta Orientalia* vi (1933) 3–6, 'Drei babylonische Planetentafeln der Seleukidenzeit' in *Orientalia* N.S. ii (1933) 103–4, 113 pl.

[14] Griffith 54.

[15] Diod. xix 92.5, Griffith 149 n. 4.

[16] Diod. xix 44.4, 46.5, 48.5–7, 91.1, 92.5, 100, Plut. *Demetr.* 7. Susa's strategic position alone would have dictated Antigonus' stationing a garrison there. Tarn *Greeks* 61–2 (*cf.* Arr. *Anab.* iii 16.9). Griffith 51–2 (and H. W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers* 198) argues that these garrisons must have included a certain number of Greek mercenaries and possibly some Macedonians: '. . . it would have been suicidal at this point to entrust the defence of Asia to Asiatics.'

[17] Diod. xx 113.3. A further potential danger lay in the imbalance of available manpower between Seleucus' and Antigonus' armies. We are told by our ancient authorities (Plut. *Demetr.* 28.3, Diod. xx 113.3) that Seleucus led to Ipsus an army of 10,000 infantrymen and between 10,500 (Plutarch) and 12,000 (Diodorus) cavalry. Antigonus' and Demetrius' combined forces probably numbered some 70,000 foot and 10,000 horse (Plut. *Demetr. loc. cit.*). Even though the combined armies of the allies before Ipsus were some 64,000 foot and over 10,000 cavalry (Griffith 55), there was the possibility that the allies might not converge in time to prevent Antigonus from defeating at least some of them singly. For a general discussion of these figures see: Griffith 53–5, Tarn in *CAH* vi 503–4.

[18] Elias Bikerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris, 1938) 223–4. M. Rostovtzeff, 'Some Remarks on the Monetary and Commercial Policy of the Seleucids and Attalids' in *Anatolian Studies pres. to William Hepburn Buckler* (Manchester, 1939) 278, 282, *Hellenistic World* i 446–51. The chief means by which Rostovtzeff and others have arrived at this conclusion is twofold. First, few copper coins occur in hoard burials, which usually contain gold and/or silver from widely separated mints (see below p. 62 n. 68). Copper is found far more frequently in archaeological excavations, and it is through such excavations that its probable range of circulation can be determined. See also W. Jessop Price, 'Early Greek Bronze Coinage' in *Essays in Greek Coinage pres. to Stanley Robinson* (Oxford, 1968) 90–140.

[19] For a full discussion of rates of pay, particularly that of mercenaries, see Griffith 294–301, Parke *Greek Mercenary Soldiers* 231–4.

[20] Diod. xix 13.1–2, 90–1, App. *Syr.* 57, Paus. i 16.3.

[21] Diod. xviii 23.1, 39.1–4, 58.2–3, 61–2, xix 22–3, 52.1, 61.1–4, xx 20.1, 28.2–4, 37.3–6, Plut. *Eum.* 8.6, 13.3–4, *Pyrrh.* 11.1–2, Justin xiii 6.4, xiv 1.7, 6, Paus. i 6.3.

Little that can be interpreted as personal propaganda was minted by Lysimachus before the Ipsus campaign. Until 306 he had no mint at his disposal, but in that year after becoming king he began striking coins bearing the types of Philip II at his new capital, Lysimacheia. These were silver tetrobols and bronzes showing the head of Apollo on their obverses and a horseman on the reverses. Legends, when they occur on the reverses, are either *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ* with *ΛΥ* or *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥ*.[22] A small symbol, the forepart of a lion, also appears on the reverses.[23] To the extent, then, that it proclaims his newly won kingship the *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥ* might be regarded as personal publicity.

After defeating Antigonus at Ipsus, Seleucus and Lysimachus each issued a series of commemorative coins beginning soon after Ipsus and continuing until their deaths. Both rulers, however, placed the actual victory motifs only on the reverses of their coins. On the reverses of Lysimachus' coins a seated Athena is shown facing left with a spear and shield at her side. In her right hand she holds a winged Nike. On either side of Athena the royal inscription *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* (on the right) *ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ* (on the left) appears proceeding from the top to the bottom of the flan. The Nike in Athena's hand reaches out to place a wreath on the *Λ* in Lysimachus' name. The obverse shows the head of Alexander with long flowing hair, a diadem, and a ram's horn, symbol of the god Ammon.[24] These were struck as tetradrachms, staters, and drachms at Lysimacheia, Sestus, Lampsacus, Abydus, Sardis, Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, Colophon, and Alexandria Troas beginning in 297, at Ephesus after 294, at Heraclea Pontica, Cius, and Amphipolis after 288, at Pergamum, Parium, and Smyrna after 287, at Pella beginning *c.* 286, and at Perinthus and Aenus after 283.[25] Seleucus' coinage has on its reverse a Nike facing right placing a wreath on a trophy, consisting of a helmet, a thorax, a sword, and a shield. The royal inscription *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ* also appears. The obverse contains a young male head facing right. He wears a helmet covered with panther skin and adorned with the horn and ear of a bull. A second panther skin is draped about the neck with the paws tied in front. These were struck as tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms, and obols at only two mints, Persepolis and Susa.[26] In a recent article I have attempted, following Fritz Taeger's arguments, to show that this portrait is of Alexander and not Seleucus, as has been commonly supposed.[27]

Though not commemorative of Ipsus, the victory coinage of Demetrius Poliorcetes which he began minting shortly after 300 B.C. ought to be mentioned here. Unlike the coinages of Lysimachus and Seleucus the victory motif occurs on the obverse; it consists of a Nike alighting on a ship's prow, holding a *salpinx* in her right hand and a *stylis* in her left. On the reverse appears a Poseidon striding to the left and wielding a trident in his upraised right hand. The legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ* extends below and to the right of the figure.[28] Numismatists have long agreed that these coins commemorate Demetrius' victory over Ptolemy at Cyprian Salamis in 307/6.[29] Refining E. T. Newell's earlier observations,

[22] Thompson 164–5, 166 nos. 1–4 pl. XVI 1–4: PLATE VII*i* and *j*.

[23] The lion symbol may be a piece of propaganda. Newell (*Royal Greek Portrait Coins*, Racine, Wis., 1937, 20) suggests that it refers to the lion which, Curtius (viii 1.14–15) mentions, Lysimachus killed after the animal had attacked and wounded him. This event, Curtius would have us believe, took place in Syria in 333, but because Curtius is our sole source for the story, I am sceptical of its authenticity either as an actual event or as a *logos* originating before *c.* 306. There can be little doubt, however, that the forepart of the lion was some form of personal emblem. *Cf.* Helmut Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* ii 240.

[24] PLATE VII*k*. Newell, *Royal Greek Portrait Coins* 21–2, Bellinger *Victory* 27, 30–1, *Sylloge Numorum Graecorum, Fitzwilliam* iv nos. 1841–62, pl. XXXIII 1840–62, Thompson 165–6.

[25] Thompson 165–82.

[26] PLATE VII*l*. Newell *ESM* pp. 154–6 nos. 413–27, pl. XXXII 1–8, p. 113 nos. 300–2, 304–6, pl. XXXIII 6–9, 11–13, p. 157 n. 10.

[27] Taeger *Charisma* i 282–3; Hadley, 'Seleucus, Dionysus, or Alexander?', *NC* 1974, 9–13.

[28] PLATE VIII*a*. Newell *Demetrius* p. 24 no. 14, pl. II 1, pp. 28–31.

[29] *Ibid.* 31–2.

Alfred Bellinger and Marjorie Alkins Berlincourt have argued that Demetrius adopted this coinage at this particular time to advertise his continuing naval superiority and to belittle, as much as possible, the prestige acquired by the victors at Ipsus.[30] To this extent, then, Demetrius' coins were meant to compete with those of his opponents or vice versa. What is striking about Demetrius' coinage is that both sides of the coins carry his message whereas the victory motifs on his opponents' coins appear to be confined to the reverses. One might therefore wonder whether the obverse portraits on Seleucus' and Lysimachus' coins are not also connected in some way with the victory at Ipsus. This possibility is further suggested by the panther skin and bull's horn and ear which adorn the helmet on Seleucus' coins. These are unmistakable symbols of Dionysus, who, even before Alexander's lifetime, was famed as the conqueror of Asia as far as India.[31] Since Seleucus, by virtue of his many successful campaigns up to and including Ipsus, now found himself master of these very lands, the Dionysiac symbols would be a fitting device with which to celebrate the completion of his conquests. Devices such as these also fittingly adorn an Alexander portrait at this time since Alexander, even during his lifetime, was compared, and even compared himself, with the god because their achievements as conquerors seemed so similar. Seleucus then is continuing to honour Alexander as the patron and prototype of his own achievements.[32] I believe, however, that an even more direct link can be established between the portraits on both Seleucus' and Lysimachus' coins and the victory itself.

If it is now clear why Seleucus should have placed an image of Alexander on his coins to commemorate Ipsus, nothing cited thus far gives any indication as to why Lysimachus likewise adopted a portrait of the deified Alexander to accompany his victory motifs. I would propose that this seeming coincidence can be explained by a curious story which Plutarch records in his brief description of the events immediately preceding Ipsus (*Demetr.* 29.1):

> At that time, moreover, bad omens also subdued their [Antigonus' and Demetrius'] spirits. For Demetrius dreamed that Alexander, in brilliant array of armour, asked him what watchword they were going to give for the battle; and when he replied 'Zeus and Victory', Alexander said: 'Then I will go away and join your adversaries; they surely will receive me.'

Despite its apparent lateness I have tried, in another recent article, to show that this story is traceable to the historian Hieronymus of Cardia whose career extended from *c.* 323 to 272 and who wrote a history of the Successors for which he has won high praise from ancient and modern historians.[33] I also tried to show that the story was part of a catalogue of such *logoi* in Hieronymus' work which were in circulation around the time of the Ipsus campaign.[34] Taken by itself, though, the story gives no clear idea of the extent to which Seleucus or Lysimachus would find it useful as propaganda.

This brings us to a feature of Hieronymus' historical approach which I did not mention in my article, but which will serve as a valuable aid to interpreting the numismatic evidence. Hieronymus, as he survives in Diodorus and elsewhere, never vouches either for the literal truth or historicity of such omens and prophecies or for the historicity of events read as such. He does, however, choose to relate such *logoi* because they acquired some definite importance

[30] Bellinger *Victory* 29–30.

[31] Eur. *Bacch.* 302 ff., *Cyc.* 5 ff., Arr. *Anab.* v 2–4, vii 3.4, Megasthenes in Strabo xv 1.7, *FGrH* 715.11a.

[32] Hadley in *NC* 1974, 9–13.

[33] 'Hieronymus of Cardia and Early Seleucid Mythology' in *Historia* xviii (1969) 142–52. I should add here that Babelon xxx came within a hair's breadth of arriving at the same conclusion as myself, connecting Seleucus' new Alexander portrait with Demetrius' dream. His insistence that this portrait was Seleucus prevented him from doing so.

[34] For full discussions about, and bibliography upon, Hieronymus see: Felix Jacoby, *PW* viii 1540–60, T. Brown, 'Hieronymus of Cardia' in *AHR* lii (1946) 684–96, Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte*[4] 369–70.

at the very time he may be describing. He does not therefore repeat such stories merely for curiosity's sake. When he relates these stories, he does so because, at some critical juncture, they have affected popular opinion or that of leaders and thereby exerted an influence on the outcome of events.[35] Thus the importance of Demetrius' dream to Hieronymus would not be its authenticity, or lack of it, as an omen, but that it was believed by a sufficient number of people in the wake of Ipsus to have played a significant part in the growth of Seleucus' and Lysimachus' prestige.[36]

Integral to the value of this *logos* as propaganda would, of course, be its appeal and its credibility, which in this context are probably not entirely separate. That is to say, the message of the dream and its believability would rarely (if at all) be divorced in the popular imagination of this period. Seleucus' partisans would find the story especially appealing since they would recognise a neat parallel between it and Seleucus' own dream of Alexander, though, for Demetrius, Alexander foretells defeat, for Seleucus, victory. The dream-story would also have won a favourable response from Demetrius' critics. It would have been read by many of these as the perfect antidote for Demetrius' chronic *hybris*. About this Plutarch (*Demetr.* 25) reports

> . . . and to these [Philip II and Alexander] he considered himself in no slight measure superior, lifted up as he was by the good fortune and power which he then [302] enjoyed. And certainly King Alexander never refused to bestow the royal title upon other kings nor did he proclaim himself King of Kings, although many kings received their title and position from him, whereas Demetrius, who used to rail and mock at those who gave the title of King to any except his father and himself, was well pleased to hear revellers pledge Demetrius as King but Seleucus as Master of the Elephants, Ptolemy as Admiral, Lysimachus as Treasurer. . . .

Considering, then, Demetrius' unbearable arrogance in the years before Ipsus, the outcome of that campaign, and Alexander's rôle in the dream as harbinger of Demetrius' defeat, the story may have commanded a wide acceptance in the years after Ipsus. Whether or not Seleucus and Lysimachus believed this story, they do appear to have publicised it on their coinage and elsewhere to enhance the charismatic character of their kingships.

If I am correct in connecting Seleucus' Alexander portrait with the story of Demetrius' dream, then the iconographic implications are especially interesting. First of all, from the *logos* we learn that Alexander is deserting Demetrius because the latter's watchword was not going to be 'Alexander and Victory', and, of course, Alexander and Victory are the very subject matter of both Seleucus' and Lysimachus' coinage. Though the panther skins and bull's horn on Seleucus' coins are Dionysiac and therefore bear no immediate relation to the dream, the dream does explain the helmet, for in the dream, we are told, Demetrius beheld Alexander 'in brilliant array of armour'.

Concurrently with the minting of the new Alexander portraits, Seleucus issued staters from Susa, bronze doubles and quadruples from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, bronze doubles, halves, and units from Antioch, and bronze doubles from uncertain mints in Mesopotamia, all of which carry a laureate head of Apollo on their obverses.[37] Of the coins from Antioch

[35] Diod. xviii 60.3–6, xix 29.1–2, 55.5–7, 90, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 11.1–2.

[36] It perhaps ought to be asked why Hieronymus chose to record such a plethora of stories, particularly about Seleucus. A multiplicity of such stories would certainly illustrate the profound impact of Seleucus' successes before and at Ipsus on the public imagination, especially in light of the odds he had to overcome to achieve this success.

[37] PLATE VIII*b*. Newell *ESM* p. 119 nos. 329, 331, pl. XXV 5, 8, p. 13 nos. 99A, B, pl. I 7, 8, pp. 94–6 nos. 911–22, pls. XVI 9–22, XVII 1–6, p. 82 nos. 884, 885, pl. XII 11, 12. The reverses all include the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ* accompanied, on the Susa coins by an Artemis shooting an arrow and standing in a *biga* drawn by elephants, and, on those from Seleucia, by a humped bull facing right in a butting attitude. The reverse motifs of those from the uncertain mints in Mesopotamia show the horned head of a horse or the head of a bull.

some show a tripod[38] the importance of which is shown by the obols which Seleucus minted at Seleucia after *c.* 293. These show on their obverses a tripod-lebes with a cover and on the reverses of some a bow and quiver.[39] Both Babelon and Newell agreed that these are unmistakably symbols of Apollo,[40] and, especially important for us, the tripod represents Apollo in his capacity as an oracle.[41] In their comments about this Apollo head some numismatists have sought to connect it with the story recorded by Justin (xv 4) in which the god himself, not Antiochus, was Seleucus' true father.[42] In my article I have more or less followed Haussoulier and Stähelin in my argument that this story appears to have originated later than the years under discussion.[43] Regardless of whether the story originated during Seleucus' reign, that he appears to have disavowed it is clear from the fact that he honoured his true father, Antiochus, by naming his new western capital after him.[44] I would argue instead that the Apollo portraits commemorate the Didymaean oracle's earlier prophecy of Seleucus' kingship.[45] That Seleucus attached considerable importance to Apollo at this time is shown by the fact that he dedicated a sanctuary to the god as a tutelary divinity of Antioch in its suburb, Daphne.[46] More important for our purposes, however, is the vast temple at Didyma, which Seleucus began rebuilding in *c.* 300 B.C.[47] In a further gesture, seemingly of gratitude to the god, he returned to the sanctuary the bronze statue of Apollo which had been removed by Darius I in 494 B.C.[48]

Besides Apollo, Zeus appears laureate on tetradrachms, drachms, and hemidrachms from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris after 300 (possibly as early as *c.* 305), on staters from Susa after 298, on tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms, and obols from Bactra after 285.[49] About these Newell says:

> There may have been some special association (which now escapes us) between Seleucus and Zeus for at least at a later period he bore the cult title *Ζεὺς Νικάτωρ*.[50]

I would argue that the seemingly unknown 'special association' between Zeus and Seleucus is to be found in Pausanias' biographical note on Seleucus:

[38] Admittedly the tripod shown here is not a type but rather a small symbol which is not meant primarily to convey any propaganda. However, since this tripod actually accompanies the Apollo head on the obverse a likely connection between the two is hard to discount. Head pp. lx–lxi.

[39] PLATE VIII*c*. *ESM* pp. 27–8 nos. 58, 60, 61, pls. VIII 7, 9, 10. No. 61 contains the quiver and bow on its reverse, 59 and 60 show an inverted anchor.

[40] Newell *ESM* 45, Babelon xxxiv.

[41] C. Darenberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* v 475–6.

[42] Newell *ESM* 45–6, Babelon p. xxxiv, Newell *WSM* 96.

[43] B. Haussoulier, *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion* (Paris, 1902) pp. 126 ff., Stähelin in *PW* iiA 1231–2. *Cf.* U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Nordionische Steine' in *Abh. Berl., Phil. hist. Kl.* (1909) 26, 37 ff. no. 11, and Hadley, *Historia* xviii (1969) 151–2.

[44] Downey 581–2.

[45] See above p. 53 and App. *Syr.* 56.

[46] Libanius *Or.* 11.94, Justin 15.4, Downey 68, 83.

[47] A. Rehm, *Didyma* ii *Die Inschriften* (Berlin, 1958) no. 480 pp. 281–2.

[48] Paus. i 16.3, viii 46.3.

[49] PLATE VIII*d*. Newell *ESM* pp. 25–6 nos. 29, 41, 44, 48–57, 59, 62–7, 69–98, 100–4, 111–16, 120–1, 122–4, pls. VI 1–VII 4, VII 7, VII 11–VIII 6, VIII 8, VIII 11–IX 1, IX 3–X 18, X 20–XI 5, XI 10–15, XII 4–6, 7–10, pp. 118 no. 323, pl. XXIV 18, pp. 229, 231–3 nos. 657–75, pl. L 1–22. The reverses of the Seleucia and Bactra coins show Athena wielding a spear and standing in a chariot drawn by a *biga* or *quadriga* of elephants. The Susa staters' reverses show an elephant. These reverse motifs clearly reflect Seleucus' victories suggesting, then, that the laureate Zeus head may in some way celebrate these as well.

The date of 305 for the Seleucian coins is suggested somewhat cautiously by Mrs Waggoner in *ANSMN* xv (1969) 30. Here I hesitate to accept such an early date partly because of the evidence I have presented here regarding the meaning of these Zeus head types. If Mrs Waggoner is correct then these Zeus heads would appear to antedate, by some few years, the origin of the story recorded by Pausanias (i 16.1). The violence done to my own theory is, however, not serious. My other reason for questioning such an early date is a nagging doubt I entertain that Seleucia was founded before Ipsus. This, however, will be the subject of a later article.

[50] Newell *ESM* 38.

> . . . and a little further away one [statue] of Seleucus whose future prosperity was foreshadowed by unmistakable signs. When he was about to set forth from Macedonia with Alexander and was sacrificing at Pella to Zeus the wood that lay on the altar advanced of its own accord to the image and caught fire without the application of a light.[51]

Once more, we can proceed to Seleucus' other propaganda coins whose message and meaning are much more certain and which, I hope, will provide some shoring for the interpretations I have just proposed.

Zeus also appears on 'municipal bronze' coins struck at one of Seleucus' newly founded Syrian cities, Seleucia Pieria. They show laureate heads of Zeus on their obverses and (sometimes winged) lightning bolts on their reverses. Instead of Seleucus' name the reverses carry *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΩΝ*.[52] Appian (*Syr.* 58) informs us that a portent of lightning preceded Seleucus' foundation of the city and that Seleucus then consecrated lightning as a divinity of the place.[53]

Nikes continued to appear on Seleucus' coins after Ipsus. Most spectacular of course are the tetradrachms described above (p. 55) whose reverses contain Nikes placing wreaths on trophies. From Antioch and Seleucia Pieria after 300 and from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris after *c.* 295 Seleucus also issued tetradrachms of the Alexander type which show a wreath-bearing Nike in Zeus' hand rather than the usual eagle.[54] It is clear that these celebrate Ipsus,[55] and that Seleucus copied this device from coins struck by Antigonus at Antigoneia in *c.* 306, shortly after the latter had founded that city as his capital. In this earlier instance the Nike in Zeus' hand appears to have commemorated Demetrius' victory at Salamis.[56] Seleucus, then, in adopting this same motif appears to be taunting Antigonus and Demetrius by publicising his own recent success achieved at their expense.[57]

[51] Paus. i 16.1. *Cf.* App. *Syr.* 56. This story, I would argue, must also derive from Hieronymus. Though I neglected to deal, in my article, with Pausanias' relationship to Hieronymus, I can perhaps present a few brief arguments here. First of all Pausanias refers to Hieronymus (he probably had an epitomised version at his disposal as did, quite likely, Appian and Plutarch) in i 9.7–8 and i 13.7 (*FGrH* 154.9, 15). Pausanias' omen-*logos* is part of a brief biography of Seleucus which parallels that in App. *Syr.* 53–7 which, I have tried to show in my article, stems from Hieronymus. Especially telling is Pausanias' reference to 'unmistakable signs' (*σημεῖα οὐκ ἀφανῆ*) of which he proceeds to recount only one, thus paralleling Appian's catalogue. Particularly significant is the way in which Pausanias parallels both App. *Syr.* 56 and Diod. xix 55.7–9, 90.3–4 in suggesting that the omens pointed to Seleucus' future prosperity. Again, we know that Pausanias depended quite heavily on Hieronymus for his biography of Lysimachus (i 9.7–8) which includes the Ipsus sequence. One can only imagine that, if Pausanias could rely on an abbreviated version of Hieronymus for a biographical sketch of Lysimachus (not uncritically, to be sure, i 9.8) he would most likely have done the same for Seleucus' career which, I would suggest, occurs in too close a proximity to Hieronymus' account of Lysimachus for Pausanias to have ignored it. Truesdell Brown in *AHR* lii (1946) 695 has noted the limited scope of Hieronymus' subject matter referring to it as a 'court view of history'. I would augment Brown's observation slightly by suggesting that it has a quasi-biographical flavour. In this respect Hieronymus' work must have lent itself admirably to the production of biographical extracts. For further details on the relationship of Pausanias to Hieronymus I refer the reader to Rudolph Schubert, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit* (Leipzig, 1914) 46, 52, 53, 183 f., 190 f., 215 and Jacoby *FGrH* ii B pp. 545, 547, *PW* viii 1540, 1542, 1543, 1547, 1548.

[52] PLATE VIII*c*. Newell *WSM* pp. 86, 87–8, nos. 894, 896–99, 901–4, pls. XV 2, 6–10, 12–14.

[53] *Ibid.* 90. A. B. Cook *Zeus* ii 809 notes that *κεραννοφόροι* are mentioned at Seleucia *CIG* III 4458, *OGIS* 246 during the reign of Seleucus IV (187–175) and that after 108 B.C. Seleucian silver and bronze coins showed a lightning bolt bound with a fillet on a cushioned stool *BMC Galatia* pp. lxxii–lxxiii, 270–1 nos. 16–23, 25–7 pls. XXXII 6–8, 10, pp. 273–6 nos. 32, 35, 46, 49, 53–5 pls. XXXIII 2, 6. PLATE VIII*f*.

[54] PLATE VIII*g*. Newell *WSM* p. 86 no. 890 pl. XIV 10–12, p. 93 nos. 907, 909 pl. XVI 3, 4, *ESM* pp. 15–16 nos. 13, 14, 19, 22, 23 pls. IV 1, 12, 13, 16, 18. Again, this revised date for the Seleucia coins is in accordance with Mrs Waggoner's new scheme in *ANSMN* xv (1969) 27.

[55] Newell *WSM* 89, Bellinger *Victory* 27.

[56] PLATE VIII*h*. Newell *WSM* pp. 84–5 nos. 1–5 pl. XIV 3–9, pp. 85–6.

[57] Newell *ESM* 20. Bellinger *Victory* 26–7, Léon Lacroix, 'Copies de statues sur les monnaies des Séleucides' in *BCH* lxxiii (1949) 163–4.

The elephant was also employed after Ipsus. It appears on bronze doubles from Apamea after *c.* 300, on the so-called elephant staters from Susa after 298, on bronze units from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris sometime after 290, possibly after 285, and on tetradrachms struck at Pergamum in *c.* 281.[58] In addition, several issues in large denominations from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris after *c.* 300, possibly as early as *c.* 305, and Bactra from shortly before 285 show Athena in elephant-drawn *bigae* and *quadrigae*.[59] The elephant with Athena types from Seleucia and Bactra must commemorate, in part at least, the important rôle of these beasts in Seleucus' many victories and conquests since he acquired them from Chandragupta.[60] If, again, Mrs Waggoner's proposed beginning date of the Seleucia tetradrachms is correct, then these would have originally celebrated this acquisition.[61] However, in the case of those single elephants on the Apamea bronzes and Susa staters after 300 and the Pergamum tetradrachms of *c.* 281, their appearance on Seleucus' coins so soon after the battles of Ipsus and Corupedium suggests that they celebrate the vital rôles played by his elephant cavalry in these victories.[62]

Very much in the spirit of the numismatic propaganda just described were Seleucus' city foundations during this period (App. *Syr.* 57):

> To the others [cities he founded] he gave names from Greece or Macedonia, or from his own exploits or in honour of Alexander . . . in India Alexandropolis; in Scythia Alexandreschata. From the victories of Seleucus come the names of Nicephorium in Mesopotamia and of Nicopolis in Armenia very near Cappadocia.

This later propaganda, whose meaning and message are quite clear, thus strengthens the probability that the less well understood types are intimately connected with his victories, kingship, and other successes won during these years. The publicity I have tried to attribute to these coins is, again, at least consistent with Seleucus' better understood varieties of propaganda.

Lastly let us return briefly to the anchor. This type first appeared on the reverses of Seleucus' bronze Alexander portraits struck at Susa after *c.* 305. On some of these a Nike is shown holding a wreath above the anchor.[63] After Ipsus the anchor was again placed on bronze units and quadruples issued from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris in *c.* 296–5. I. Svoronos suggested that the anchor commemorates Seleucus' service under Ptolemy as his admiral during his exile from Babylon between 316 and 312.[64] Svoronos' thesis, however, fails to explain why Seleucus used this device so many years later accompanied by a Nike holding a wreath over it. Certainly Seleucus was not responsible for any outstanding naval victories between 316 and 312. In addition, the anchor does not serve simply as a type but is also

[58] PLATE VIII*i*. Newell *WSM* p. 156 no. 1128 pl. XXXIII 1–3, *ESM* p. 118 no. 323 pl. XXIV 18, pp. 15–16 nos. 15–18 pl. IV 3–11, *WSM* p. 316 nos. 1528–9 pl. LXVIII 9–10. The reverses of the Apamea doubles show a horned horse's head. The obverses of the Susa staters show a laureate head of Zeus. The obverses of the Seleucia bronzes show the head of Athena wearing a crested Corinthian helmet, and the obverses of the Pergamum tetradrachms show a horned horse's head. The modification of Newell's dating of the Seleucia coins is on the basis of the recent study by Nancy Waggoner ANSMN xv (1969) 27. *Cf.* Newell *ESM* 20–1, Babelon pp. xxvii–xxix.

[59] PLATE VIII*d*. Newell *ESM* pp. 25–36 nos. 29, 41, 44, 48, 57, 59, 62–7, 69–98, 100–4, 111–16, 120–1, 122–4, pls. VI 1–VII 4, 7, VII 11–IX 1, IX 3–X 18, X 20–XI 5, XI 10–15, XII 4–6, 7–10, pp. 229, 231–3 nos. 657–75 pl. L 1–22. The denominations of these coins are tetradrachms, drachms, and hemidrachms from both mints and obols from Bactra. The inaugural date of *c.* 305 for the coins from Seleucia is, again, proposed by Mrs Waggoner in *ANSMN* xv (1969) 30. Here I hesitate to accept such an early date partly because of the evidence I have presented above regarding their obverse types, the Zeus heads.

[60] Newell *ESM* 38, 230, Friedrich Matz, 'Der Gott auf dem Elefantenwagen' in *Abh. Mainz Geistens- und Sozialwiss. Kl.* x (1952) 740–58.

[61] Waggoner in *ANSMN* xv (1969) 30.

[62] Newell *WSM* 156–7, 316–17.

[63] PLATE VII*g*. Newell *ESM* pp. 109–10 nos. 291, 294–7 pl. XXII 10, 11, 14, 20, pp. 25–6 nos. 45, 46 pls. VII 8, 9.

[64] Svoronos i pp. ρ′-ρα′.

ubiquitous as a symbol accompanying other images on the flan. In this capacity, it frequently designates Seleucus as the minting authority in the absence of a legend. Newell's proposal that the anchor relates to a story recounted by Appian (*Syr.* 56) appears to come much closer to the mark:[65]

> . . . his mother saw in a dream that whatever ring she found she should give him to wear, and that he should be king at the place where he should lose the ring. She did find an iron ring with an anchor engraved on it, and he lost it near the Euphrates. It is said also that at a later period, when he was setting out for Babylon, he stumbled against a stone which, when dug up, was seen to be an anchor. When the soothsayers were alarmed at this prodigy thinking that it portended delay, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who accompanied the expedition, said that an anchor was a sign of safety, not of delay; and for this reason Seleucus, when he became king, used an engraved anchor for his signet-ring.

The difficulty to which I originally referred with regard to the anchor is precisely the same as that of the post-Ipsus Alexander portraits, and the Zeus portraits: that is, the problem of dating the stories which these coins appear to commemorate. Fortunately for us the *logos* is part of the 'catalogue' I have described above (p. 56) and can therefore, with some confidence, be dated back to Ipsus. However a smaller problem does remain. The anchor first appeared on Seleucus' coins in *c.* 305, some four years before Ipsus. Is it possible that the coin motif preceded the genesis of the story by some four years? For such a short interval I regard it as very unlikely that such a story would have come into being to explain Seleucus' adoption of the anchor motif and in turn have gained such currency as to warrant Hieronymus of Cardia including it in his catalogue. If the story originated as early as Ipsus, it is certainly not inconceivable that it could have gained currency around the time Seleucus assumed his diadem, since the story does claim specifically to prophesy his kingship.

Again, as we have done with Seleucus' pre-Ipsus coinage, we must consider the group or groups to whom this propaganda was designed to appeal. Approaching the question once more from the standpoint of denominations, we find (as might be expected) considerable continuity from the pre-Ipsus propaganda, that is, nearly all of the types inaugurated before Ipsus continued to be struck after Ipsus on bronze and small denomination silver. Thus, propaganda carried on coins of this type was still being directed to the Greek and Macedonian military personnel inhabiting the cities where the mints were located.

Several of the new propaganda types, in particular the new Alexander portraits with victories on their reverses, the laureate Apollo, the laureate Zeus, the elephant, and Athena in a chariot drawn by elephants, were struck on tetradrachms and staters for the first time. Since, as Rostovtzeff and others have pointed out,[66] coinage in these denominations was used for long distance commerce, it becomes clear that Seleucus was seeking to win the good will of Greek merchants who after 300 must have been reintegrating the commercial network stretching from the Mediterranean eastward through Mesopotamia and Babylonia to Iran and India. International commerce through Seleucus' realm must have been somewhat impeded before Ipsus due to Antigonus' control of the westernmost outlets for these trade routes in Syria and Anatolia.[67] Once Seleucus had annexed northwest Syria and secured his 'window to the West', he could expect and encourage an influx of a large Greek

[65] *ESM* 44, 112. Babelon (p. vii) tried to connect the anchor with the story of Apollo's fathering of Seleucus (Justin xv 4).

[66] See p. 54 n. 18 above.

[67] So complete does the break in communications between Seleucus' realm and the west appear to have been that Ptolemy, when he sent reinforcements to Seleucus just before Ipsus, was obliged to send a detachment of camel cavalry via the Isthmus (Sinai?) and on across Arabia. Apparently they felt compelled to keep to the waterless desert country and to move as fast as possible. Arr. *Anab.* viii 43.

mercantile population who would be the chief users of Seleucus' large denomination coinage. These, then, must constitute a second major group to whom Seleucus was directing his propaganda.[68]

We would of course like to know why he tended to strike certain motifs, such as the laureate Zeus, Alexander portraits, Nikes with trophies, Athena in elephant-drawn chariots, and the elephant on large denominations, yet chose to restrict most of the Apollo heads and anchors to bronze denominations. For the most part this question must remain unanswered, but we would also like to know why he selected particular mints or groups of mints to issue particular motifs. In dealing with this question some few clues may be found as to Seleucus' choice of denominations.

Perhaps the best starting point for relating coin types to mint locations is Bellinger's and Miss Berlincourt's comment about Seleucus' Alexander portraits.[69]

> Why should this type be confined to two mints so remote from the victory? Is it not because he [Seleucus] was reluctant to show a trophy of Greek arms too near home? In Syria his foundation of cities was a perfectly clear proof of his power, and what had he to gain by reminding his neighbours that the power had been bought at the cost of Greek and Macedonian lives?

This seems unlikely in view of the many Greeks and Macedonians probably already inhabiting these regions and upon whom Seleucus' power rested. If my earlier suggestion is correct that Seleucus was also seeking to win the good will of the growing Greek mercantile population in his cities, then Bellinger's proposal is further weakened.[70]

What we should note here is that the Alexander/Victory coins, the Zeus/Athena, the Zeus/elephant, most of the Apollo heads, and the anchor were struck only in Mesopotamia and/or Iran, that is, the oldest parts of Seleucus' kingdom. Certainly, as of 300 B.C., the prophecies and legends about Seleucus would be better known in these areas than in the lands further north and west which were annexed after Ipsus. As noted earlier Seleucus drew virtually all of his manpower for the Ipsus campaign from these very areas.

Seleucus' choices of minting sites for other individual issues have already been discussed, but I would like to summarise them briefly here. The bronzes showing elephants were minted after *c.* 302 at Apamea to honour that city as the base for his elephant cavalry. The laureate Apollo heads were struck outside Mesopotamia and Iran at only one mint, namely Antioch. This one exception must be due to the tutelary rôle which Seleucus awarded

[68] Rostovtzeff *Hellenistic World* 450–1, 455–6, 459–61, 427, 475–6, 478–9, 483–4, 487, Tarn *Greeks* 5–8. The evidence of very early hoards bears out the widespread circulation of Seleucus' large denomination coinage in this region and adjacent areas. In the early third century B.C. hoard from Ankara (Noe no. 51) are found large denomination coins from Marathus (*WSM* pp. 195–6 nos. 1240–4), Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (*ESM* pp. 12–16 nos. 3, 4, 12, 24), and Ecbatana (*ESM* pp. 163–5 nos. 434, 437, p. 173 no. 475). The Armenak hoard dating from *c.* 280 B.C. (Noe no. 67) contains coins in these denominations from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (*ESM* p. 12 no. 4, p. 15 no. 14, pp. 16–17 nos. 19, 27, p. 37 no. 127), Ecbatana (*ESM* p. 173 no. 473), Carrhae (*WSM* pp. 44 no. 777), Seleucia Pieria (*WSM* p. 87 no. 895), Laodicea-on-the-Sea (*WSM* p. 181 no. 1208). The Gejou hoard from Babylonia, also of *c.* 280 B.C. (Noe no. 118), contains tetradrachms from Seleucia Pieria (*WSM* p. 86 no. 890), Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (*ESM* p. 12 no. 4, pp. 29–30, 35, 38, 41, 48, 49, 53, 55, 57, 59, 62, 65, 67, 74, p. 35 nos. 111–13), Susa (p. 114 no. 304, p. 116 no. 310), and Ecbatana (*ESM* p. 173 no. 475, p. 176 no. 480). Additional evidence is furnished by the third Gordion hoard. Dorothy H. Cox, 'The Gordion Hoards III IV V and VII' in *ANSMN* xii (1966) 26 nos. 41–2. No. 41 is from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. *ESM* p. 12 no. 2, and no. 42 is from an uncertain mint in Mesopotamia struck between *c.* 305 and 280 B.C. *WSM* p. 359 no. 1623. Seleucus' post-Ipsus coins in large denomination circulated as far as Carystus. David M. Robinson, *A Hoard of Silver Coins from Carystus* (New York, 1952) p. 58 nos. 85–6. No. 85 is from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. *ESM* pp. 12–13 nos. 4, 5 pl. II 9, 10, p. 17, and 86 is from Ecbatana (*ESM* p. 176 no. 480) as are nos. 87–9.

[69] Bellinger *Victory* 27 n. 54.

[70] Lysimachus did not hesitate to mint coins celebrating his victory in the very heart of the Greek world. Thompson 165–82.

Apollo as patron of his new capital. He appears to have minted bronzes with laureate Zeus head/lightning bolts at Seleucia Pieria for much the same reason, to honour Zeus as guardian of that city. The Alexander type tetradrachms showing Zeus Nikephoros on the reverse were probably minted at Antioch and Seleucia Pieria partly to facilitate the export of propaganda into Demetrius' realm and to remind the locals of his own victory over their former rulers. Lastly, he probably minted his staters bearing elephants at Pergamum in *c.* 281 to celebrate his victory at nearby Corupedium.

Our conclusions, however tentative, about Seleucus' Alexander portraits now enable us to understand more clearly why Lysimachus followed Seleucus' example and chose to portray Alexander as a divinity on his own coins after 297. We would otherwise be at a loss to explain Lysimachus' sudden adoption of such a motif, since his earlier coinage contains next to nothing which could be interpreted as personal propaganda.[71] But we must also ask why he shows the head of Alexander adorned with the ram horns of Ammon. The most reasonable explanation, I think, is that he was honouring Alexander for his oracular rôle in Demetrius' dream. Certainly it was in his capacity as an oracle that Ammon of Siwah won his fame throughout the Greek world in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.[72] Also, we cannot ignore J. G. Milne's interesting suggestion that Lysimachus' choice of the Ammon motif was somehow connected with his marriage to Ptolemy I's daughter, Arsinoë (II), in 298.[73] The latter, Milne suggests, was an enthusiastic devotee of the god.

What I have proposed here, however, helps us understand why Lysimachus troubled to refound several cities which he renamed in Alexander's honour. These include Alexandria Troas, which was first established by Antigonus, and Alexandria-by-Latmus, the former Heracleia-by-Latmus.[74]

Unlike Seleucus, Lysimachus struck his new Alexander portraits only on gold staters and silver drachms and tetradrachms. On his bronze coins he continued to strike more traditional Macedonian motifs.[75] One group, then, to whom Lysimachus must have been trying to direct his propaganda would be the large mercantile community in the Greek and Hellenised cities of western Asia Minor. This is consistent with his choice of this region for his chief mints after 298[76] and the sheer breadth and volume of distribution of this coinage, which found its way into coin hoards throughout Greece, Macedonia, Asia Minor, Syria, and even Iran.[77] Clearly the use of a deified Alexander motif would be widely appreciated throughout this area since many of these cities had already come to recognise Alexander as a divinity and establish cults in his honour.[78] This also was an area where, during these years, Demetrius still enjoyed considerable popularity.[79] Lysimachus, therefore, would probably have been especially anxious to publicise a story such as Demetrius' dream, which reflected so poorly on the Besieger's charisma.[80]

Again we must note the conditions and events which kept alive the need for continued propaganda of this kind from Seleucus and Lysimachus. Despite their success at Ipsus, the

[71] Thompson 165 suggests that Lysimachus refrained from altering his coinage while Cassander was still alive. Lysimachus was especially close to Cassander and probably wished not to offend the latter's sensibilities by issuing any form of personal propaganda.

[72] H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus* (Oxford, 1967) 202–30, esp. p. 224, Nilsson i 832, ii 146–7.

[73] J. G. Milne, 'Arsinoë and Ammon' in *Studies presented to F. L. Griffith* (London, 1932) 13–15. *Cf.* Cerfaux 216–17.

[74] Strabo xiii 593, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Πλειστάρχεια* s.v. *Ἀλεξάνδρεια* (10) *πρὸς τῷ Λάτμῳ τῆς Καρίας*; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* 42 n. 23.

[75] PLATE VII*j*. Thompson 165, 168 nos. 1–4 n. 1.

[76] *Ibid.* 165–6.

[77] Noe nos. 30, 46, 67, 68, 74, 82, 111, 116, 153, 172, 232, 288, 392, 455, 463, 468, 487, 488, 564, 603, 624, 530, 638, 646, 668, 675, 680, 681, 711, 754, 771, 783, 821, 822, 862, 896, 925, 959, 989, 997, 1004, 1010, 1023, 1033, 1086, 1116, 1147.

[78] Habicht 17–20 for cults datable to Alexander's lifetime; 21–5 for a full discussion.

[79] Plut. *Demetr.* 46.3–4; Habicht 58–65. See p. 52 n. 5 above.

[80] See above p. 57.

kingdoms of both men were still far from secure. The chronic instability which had characterised international politics before Ipsus was still a fact, though it was somewhat reduced by the removal of Antigonus. Demetrius was to remain a serious threat to both men for another fifteen years and between 288 and 285 he nearly destroyed the kingdoms of both. Once the Antigonid threat had passed the way was open for a final confrontation between Seleucus and Lysimachus who, despite their earlier co-operation against the Antigonids, shared little approaching affection for one another.

Both men's propaganda, I feel, was not just window-dressing for their personal prestige; rather, they needed to capitalise, as much as possible, on any such stories which caught the public imagination. This was an era in which political and military power were extremely unstable and competition between the Successors was especially severe. All of these new kingdoms badly needed special sanctions to lend an aura of legitimacy to their otherwise *de facto* power. Of course the prime key to the success of any of these dynasts was his personality, abilities, and achievements, but a vital secondary key would frequently be a combination of charismatic and non-charismatic sanctions. These could help guarantee the longevity of the dynasty once its founder was no longer on the scene. Such sanctions, therefore, had the effect of transcending the life-span of the individual upon whom they were originally conferred.

A further word should be said about the credibility of these stories among the general public of the early Hellenistic period.[81] We are often prone to attribute to the soldier and man on the street of this era a sophistication toward such stories which is really only to be found among that narrow élite—philosophers, historians, poets, rhetors—who have left their writings behind. I would argue that these *logoi* probably were widely believed among the general populace especially in an age passionately seeking inspired leadership from supermen who seemed to be fulfilling a divinely appointed destiny. The premature loss of a Philip or an Alexander left a leadership and ideological vacuum in which those once associated with Alexander would be looked to in hopes of fulfilling those ambitions awakened by him. The stories described above probably gained the currency they did in order to offer a quasi-mythic explanation for Seleucus' and Lysimachus' herculean success in nearly duplicating between them Alexander's own achievements.[82] Lastly it should be pointed out that such stories undoubtedly gained acceptability in direct proportion to the number of mythic paradigms or prototypes they seemed to re-enact. Add to this, then, the general crisis of beliefs, priorities, and attitudes which traditional Greek religion was undergoing in this period, and the psychological value, the assurance, of such stories becomes quite comprehensible.[83]

[81] See p. 57 n. 36 above.

[82] I am reminded of a similar charisma-story current in Egypt in more recent times. I first encountered it in Edward Lane's *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1860) 500 where he repeats a story by the historian Al-Maqrīzī that in A.D. 641, the year of the Arab conquest of Egypt, the general 'Amr Ibn Al-'Ās abolished the pagan custom of drowning a virgin in the Nile for a plentiful inundation. Afterward the Nile refused to rise at its appointed time, and, fearing a famine, 'Amr sent a letter to the *khalīfa* 'Umar for guidance. 'Umar promptly returned two letters, one addressed to the Nile, the other to 'Amr instructing him to throw the other letter into the Nile. It ordered the Nile, if it flowed of its own accord, to cease flowing, but, if it flowed by the will of God, then he implored God to make it rise. Upon receipt of the letter the Nile rose sixteen cubits in one day. Now I myself have been told by reliable Cairo informants that this story is taught and treated as historical fact in the *madrasa*'s of Cairo to this day. This, in a modern city whose population must be at least as sophisticated as that of a typical city of the early Hellenistic period, can perhaps give us some idea of how likely it is that stories of the type I have described above would win a wide audience in the earlier instance.

[83] E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* 236–69. This observation may in fact enhance the value of the story just recounted above since it, like the stories about Seleucus, came into being at a time of profound and violent ideological change with all the anxieties and uncertainties which accompany it. A.-J. Festugière, *Personal Religion Among the Greeks* 39–41, Nilsson ii 225–31.

This, once again, brings us around to the ruler-cult, a subject which, though peripheral to my discussion, nonetheless lends my proposed synthesis much of its significance: namely, that this propaganda will have played an important—hitherto underestimated—rôle in the development of the Hellenistic ruler cult. The charismatic sanctions which Seleucus and Lysimachus won during their careers could not, I feel, have helped but pave the way for their deification after Ipsus by certain Greek cities and for the final establishment of a posthumous cult to Seleucus by his descendants. My intention here, however, is not to explore this transition in detail; I will attempt in a later study to present the propaganda aspects of the subsequent development of the Seleucid dynastic cult.

Finally—and perhaps the reader hardly needs to be reminded of this—I must stress the very tentative nature of my conclusions. I have not been able to avoid altogether the faults I outlined at the outset. I have expressed these ideas in the belief that the rôle and impact of propaganda in the Hellenistic world have been imperfectly understood and too little appreciated. Further studies of this phenomenon are needed, and it is my fervent hope that such future studies will justify, to some extent, the direction my thinking has taken here.

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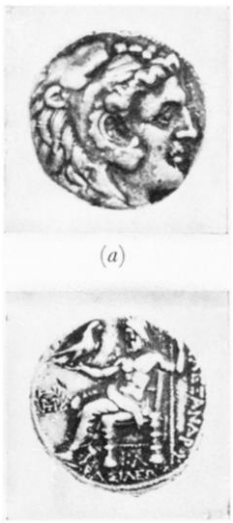

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ROYAL PROPAGANDA OF SELEUCUS I AND LYSIMACHUS

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ROYAL PROPAGANDA OF SELEUCUS I AND LYSIMACHUS